

The Grammar of Arandic Kinship Terminology

A Survey

Gavan Breen

Foreword

AuSIL is pleased to present this landmark paper, *The Grammar of Arandic Kinship Terminology: a Survey*, written some years ago by the highly-respected linguist, Gavan Breen AO, but not published until now. It is the outcome of extensive research carried out over a decade beginning in 1993, but drawing on his work over many years prior to that. It also draws on the work of many other linguists, who studied Central Australian languages over the span of the 20th century. Now experiencing health challenges, Gavan is keen to make it available to other researchers.

Arandic is the title given to a family of languages of Central Australia, the name of which is derived from the name of the first language to be formally studied in the area, Aranda, now generally spelt Arrernte. The family includes Arrernte, Anmatyerr, Kaytetye, Alyawarr, Antekerrenh and Pertame. Most of these also have regional dialects. See the map on p.86.

The information contained in this paper is of immense significance. As Gavan comments in his Introduction, “all of these languages have suffered massive losses since European settlement.” Data of the quality he and others were able to obtain in past decades are often not possible to obtain now, as some languages no longer have full speakers. This is particularly true of Lower Arrernte and Antekerrenh. Hence the importance of making this research available.

We present this paper as a heritage work. It is as Gavan wrote it and formatted it. It is a complex document, and in the process of transferring it from one digital format to another in preparation for publication, some anomalies crept in, including two page nines! We trust we have found and corrected everything else! There have been slight changes in spelling and hyphenating conventions in some of the languages in recent years. There have also been some more recent publications in this field, in addition to those cited in the reference list.

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Alice Springs October 2022



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ISBN: 978-0-86892-506-6

THE GRAMMAR OF ARANDIC KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY: A SURVEY

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Acknowledgments

The present study, while drawing together aspects of my own and others' research going back many years, really began when I was employed on a grant from the Australian Research Council (grantees Harold Koch and Gavan Breen) for a project: 'Comparative grammar and vocabulary of the Arandic languages' for three years beginning in 1993. I decided to concentrate on obtaining additional data on the less well-known members of the group. However, when this research began to bring to light an extensive range of ways of talking about kin which were previously unknown or hardly known, even in the better-studied languages, I concentrated more on these aspects and extended my fieldwork to almost all varieties. The work continued at times, unfunded, in the following years, and the final writing-up has been funded by a grant from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, 2001-2, for 'Arandic Language Studies'. Thanks are due to my colleagues, for various periods, in the Central Australian Dictionaries Program of the Institute for Aboriginal Development, especially Jenny Green, John Henderson and Myf Turpin, to other linguists who have worked on Arandic languages, especially Ken Hale and Harold Koch, to other linguists, such as Mary Laughren, and most of all to the large number of Arrernte, Anmatyerr, Alyawarr, Antekerrepenh and Kaytetye people, many now deceased, who have shared their knowledge with me and other researchers. Additional thanks to Jenny Green for the map. Thanks also to the Summer Institute of Linguistics for access to material.

Substantial parts of this report have been presented as papers to annual conferences of the Australian Linguistic Society and as a course: 'The grammar of kinship in Central Australia' delivered at the 1998 Australian Linguistic Institute.

Abbreviations

For kinship terms I use the first two letters of words as abbreviations: Fa, Mo, So, Da, Ch, Br, Si, Wi, Hu, Sp (spouse), Co (cross-cousin); one exception is Sb for sibling. e is elder and y younger. m means 'kin of a male or a brother', f 'kin of a female or a sister'. M means 'male' and F 'female'. (Note the difference between m and M, f and F.) L means 'in-law'; BrL could be either SpBr, BrSpBr or SiHu. (These abbreviations are not always used in the main text, but are always used in the small-print details sections.)

Abbreviations used in interlinear translations are: ABL (ablative), ACC (accusative), ALL (allative), AVER (aversive), AVER2 (second part of split aversive suffix, the first part being the dative), AVOID (suffix added to a stem when it is used in avoidance language), CAU (causative), COM (comitative), CON (continuative), DAT (dative), du or DU (dual), EM (emphatic), ERG (ergative), ex (exclusive), FOC (focus), GEN (genitive), GEN2 (second part of split genitive suffix, the first part being the dative), GENMOI (generation moiety), GETHER (kin group; from 'together'), GO (while going), IMP (imperative), in (inclusive), INCH (inchoative), INST (instrumental), LOC (locative), NOM (nominalizer), OP (optative), pl or PL(plural), PRES (present tense), PRIV (privative), PURP (purposive), REC (reciprocal), RED (reduplication), REF (reflexive), REL (relative clause marker), sg (singular), SS (subordinate, same subject) and 1, 2, 3 persons of pronouns. The three singular pronominal possessor markers, which are shortened forms of the relevant dative pronouns, are glossed -my, -your and -his. (AV) denotes an avoidance language word (but it is not used with kinship terms). A handful of bound morphemes that occur only once or twice are not abbreviated but written in full.

1. Introduction

Arandic is a name used for a group of languages in Central Australia. It is derived from the spelling Aranda used for a language name whose spelling in an orthography that has been adopted for it is Arrernte. The group has been thought of as forming a genetic grouping, its members related to one another more closely than to any other language. However, this has not been conclusively established for the most divergent member of the group.

The bulk of the area traditionally occupied by the speakers of these languages belongs to a group of what are generally regarded as dialects of a single language going by the names Arrernte (with several locational qualifiers), Anmatyerr, Alyawarr and Antekerrepenh (all three divisible into at least two varieties). The language to the south of Southern Arrernte (also called Pertame) is Lower Arrernte, which, while sharing the name Arrernte with several other groups, is probably best classified as a separate but closely related language. The north-westernmost language of the group, Kaytetye, is superficially similar to the others by virtue of having shared in a number of sound changes but has not been proven to be genetically closely related. The map shows the location of the languages and some

neighbours.

While all of these languages have shared in some major sound changes which make them superficially very different from other neighbours, there has also been much internal differentiation. Partly for this reason there are some differences between the orthographies used for different languages. One that can be observed in the language names is that in some a non-distinctive final vowel (normally heard in some environments, rarely in others, optional in others) is always written while in others it is not; I have standardized in always leaving it out. The fact that some dialects frequently have initial *a* where others do not is phonological, not orthographic (and the same variation occurs within some dialects). I regard all suffixes (in fact all morphemes — see Breen and Pensalfini 1999) as beginning with a vowel and ending with a consonant (phonologically if not orthographically); some linguists have regarded all morphemes as ending with a vowel.¹

All of these languages have suffered massive losses since European settlement of Central Australia; in particular Lower Arrernte and Antekerpenh are not used now although they are partially remembered by one or two old people. Some varieties still have of the order of a thousand speakers, but much of the morphological complexity to be discussed below is remembered (and that often imperfectly) by only a few old speakers.

Although study of the Arandic languages and kinship structures dates back to the nineteenth century, much of the highly complex grammar associated with kinship terminology (or more correctly, as Wilkins 1989:133 points out, relationship terminology, since it applies also to certain terms that are not, strictly speaking, kin terms, such as *atyew* 'friend' and others to be discussed below), has come to light (or to the view of linguists) only in recent years (and continues to do so). Despite the fact that the most widespread (in its essence) kinship system in Aboriginal Australia has been given the name Aranda, Wilkins (1989:33) had to agree with Bohannan and Middleton's (1968:301) observation that it would be more accurate to call the Arrernte system of kinship famous rather than well-known. Heath (1982:1) emphasizes the need for much more sophisticated and painstaking grammatical and semantic description. Wilkins has a few pages on kin term morphology, and Henderson and Dobson (1994) rather more, but, since it is a dictionary compiled primarily for native speakers and those working with them, not consolidated in a way that would make it easily accessible to specialists in the kinship field. Green (1998) adds substantially to the study of Arandic kinship. The present study is, however, largely based on my own fieldwork.

1.1. Sources

While some data has been extracted from theses and published materials,² or from unpublished materials by other researchers, referred to at the relevant places, most has been obtained in interviews with native speakers. Those speakers or groups who were consulted on a number of matters are identified usually by initial(s) of the person or a member of the group, sometimes by initial(s) of a placename. These are listed and categorized here.

Categories: A: excellent speaker with good knowledge of the more esoteric details of kinship, usually old (but not always, especially in Alyawarr);

B: excellent speaker but with less knowledge of the more esoteric details of kinship, typically middle-aged

C: old partial speaker

d appended to any of the above means 'now deceased';

+ appended means that there was another person making some contribution;

g appended means that there was a group; the leader (usually identified by the initials

¹ A digraph or trigraph of the form Cw, where C is a consonant, denotes a rounded consonant, although the rounding is often heard in an adjacent, especially following, vowel. The vowel denoted by *e* is essentially featureless, and dependent heavily for its pronunciation on adjacent consonants. Digraphs used include *ng*; *th*, *nh*, *lh* (interdental), *ty*, *ny*, *ly* (lamino-alveolar), *rt*, *rn*, *rl* (retroflex), *yt*, *yn*, *yl* (pre-palatalized apical), *rr* (tap/trill), *pm*, *tn* (pre-stopped nasals). Trigraphs are the other pre-stopped nasals *kng*, *tnh*, *tny*, *rtn*, *ytm*.

² Note that H&D is used frequently as an abbreviation of Henderson and Dobson 1994 (Eastern and Central Arrernte to English Dictionary). The words 'Eastern and Central' in this title, like its abbreviation ECAR, includes NAr, NEAr and SEAr as well as CAr and EAr.

although sometimes these refer to the place) was not necessarily the most knowledgeable. A question mark is used when I did not work enough with a person to form a reliable opinion. Some speakers are categorized as A~B, perhaps because they are the most authoritative members of a group where there is no longer full knowledge, or because when consulted they were no longer able to remember details or to explain clearly what they knew. Even the best speakers, however, lacking training in anthropology, had difficulty explaining some concepts and many of them were quite old and frail.

The following abbreviations for language or dialect names are used: LAr Lower Arrernte, Per Pertame (Southern Arrernte), WAr Western Arrernte, CAr Central Arrernte, NAr Northern Arrernte, SEAr Southeastern Arrernte, EAr Eastern Arrernte, NEAr Northeastern Arrernte, ECAr Eastern and Central Arrernte (which includes CAr, NAr, SEAr, EAr and NEAr), Ant Antekerrepenh, Aly Alyawarr, EAnm Eastern Anmatyerr, WANm Western Anmatyerr, Kay Kaytetye.

LAr: TB (A?d, recorded by Ken Hale, 1960), SK (Cd), BD (C), BB (C), LS (C)
 WAr: ER (A~B), GA (B), GA+, AN (A~B), AP (A~B)
 WANm: Ng (B), LP (A~B), TTg (B)
 CAr: HE (Ad), VH (B), RRg (B, perhaps not all the same dialect)
 SEAr: EJ (A~Bd)
 NAr: RF (B), MH (B), DL (B), AR (Bd), MT (B), ST (Ad)
 EAr: LM (A), LC (A)
 NEAr: SC (Ad), MM (A), BN (Bd), M (A)
 Ant: JB (C), BJ (A?d), JM (A?d) (BJ and JM were recorded in the late 60s and early 70s.)
 EAnm: Ag (A?~B; a group comprising student teachers and other young people, and older more authoritative speakers), CP (A; also gave data for Kaytetye)
 Aly: B+ (A?), JBg (B), KBg (A~B), EH (Ad), K (A~Bd), BM (A~B), BM+ (A~B), SPg (A~B). (JBg, KBg, K, SPg were all from a northern community, Epenarra, EH from a little further south, Murray Downs, BM+ and B+ from further south again, Ammaroo.)
 Kay: TJg (B), NK (B), ARg (A?~B; a group comprising student teachers and older more authoritative speakers), TT (A?; spoke Aly instead of Kay at times)

Some of the above were consulted on only a limited number of aspects of the study, mainly because they were interviewed only before the study proper began. Some people who were consulted on only one or two aspects will be referred to more anonymously at the appropriate place. People whose contributions were particularly valuable included Pastor Eli Rubuntja, Gregory Armstrong, Lilly Pananka, Edward Johnson (now deceased), Silas Turner (now deceased), Louis Mulladad, Margaret-Mary Turner OAM (referred to as M), Lena Cavanagh, Sid Cleary (now deceased), Minnie Madrill, Banjo Morton, Elsie Holmes (now deceased) and members of the Weterlempengarr (Epenarra) Community. Some others whose contribution, although not big, was especially significant are named at an appropriate point in the text.

2. The basic kinship system

Charts 1 and 2 illustrate the kinship system of Eastern Arrernte and charts 3 and 4 illustrate that for Kaytetye.³ These systems are recursive and so encompass the whole of society within a finite system, as contrasted with the English and similar systems that cannot cope in practice with relationships that are not fairly close by blood or marriage. In a recursive system any two people would regard one another as fairly closely related, and this relationship would involve certain rights and responsibilities, at least potentially.

The two features that lead to this all-inclusiveness of Australian Aboriginal (in general) kinship systems (and many others) are, firstly, the rule that a kinship term applying to a certain person applies also to that person's siblings (of the same sex or both, depending on the particular term) and, secondly, the rule that many kinship terms are reciprocal, meaning that if I call a certain person by a certain kinship term, that person calls me by the same term.

³ The kinship terms on these charts are affixed with a first-person possessor suffix, or in a few cases are portmanteau terms denoting first person's kin. In some cases there are alternative forms available which do not function morphologically as kinship terms; these are not included on the charts. One possible exception to this rule is *amtewey* in chart 2.

These rules apply to a small minority of kinship terms in the English system. For example, they both apply fully to the term 'cousin': (1) if A is my cousin, then A's brothers and sisters are also my cousins, and (2) if I call A cousin, then A calls me cousin. The first rule applies (with the same sex restriction) to the term 'uncle': if I call a person 'uncle', then I also call that person's brothers 'uncle' (but the second rule does not apply, as none of those people call me 'uncle').

The horizontal recursiveness of Aboriginal kinship systems is due to the first rule. If B is my father, then B's brothers (and even, to some degree, his sisters; see 4.1) are also 'father' to me, and so B's brothers' sons are my brothers and their daughters are my sisters. Furthermore, since this rule applies to my father too, his father's brothers' sons are brothers to him and so they are fathers to me. Consequently, my father's father's brothers' sons' children are my brothers and sisters. Similarly, my father's father's father's brothers' sons' sons' children are my brothers and sisters, and so on (in principle, *ad infinitum*). The 'skin' system (see 3) makes this manageable: all of these (classificatory) brothers and sisters have the same 'skin name' as me. Therefore, even if I cannot trace the actual relationship, I can assume that any person who has the same skin name as me and who is, or seems to be, in the same generation as me can be regarded as a brother or sister. People who are siblings in the Aboriginal system and cousins in the English system (i.e. parallel cousins) are called 'cousin-brother' and 'cousin-sister' in local Aboriginal English (and I use these terms at times).

The same applies to all kinship terms in this generation. My 'skin name' is Kemarre, and this means that any person in my generation whose skin name is Peltharre is my sister-in-law (potential wife) or brother-in-law, any Pengarte person is my (cross-)cousin and any Mpetyane person is my cousin's spouse or sibling-in-law (or, the same thing, my spouse's or sibling-in-law's cousin).

The vertical recursiveness is due to the second rule. For example, my father's father is my *arrenc*, as are his brothers and sisters (and so on). They all call me (basically) *arrenc* too. Looking to the older generation, my *arrenc* can be defined as a person two generations up from me and related to me or to someone that I regard as a sibling through males in that and the intervening generation. Looking to the younger generation, *arrenc* is my son's child (if I am male) or my (actual or classificatory) brother's son's child; that is, a person two generations down from me related to me through males in my own and the intervening generation. Or, more simply, my *arrenc* is a person with the same skin name as me but two generations older or younger.

Now, if my *arrenc* is (among other possibilities) my brother's son's child, then my *arrenc's* father is my brother's son, my *aler*. And since my *arrenc* is (among other possibilities) my father's father, then my *arrenc's* son is my father, *akngey*. Now, both of these apply to any *arrenc*, either two generations down or two generations up: his or her father is *aler* to me and his or her son is *akngey* to me. So *aler* occurs not only in the generation below me, as my brother's child (or my own child if I am male), but also in the third generation above, and *akngey* occurs not only in the generation above me, but also three generations down.

It would be nice now to be able to say: "And so on *ad infinitum*." However, this is not the case. It would seem to follow that the father of the *aler* who is in my great-grandparents' generation (three up) is my brother, and the son of the *akngey* who is in my great-grandchildren's generation is also my brother. In fact he is my *arrenc*. To cope with this we must redefine *arrenc* as a person with the same skin name as me (or some other referent) but an even number of generations above or below.

What happens beyond the fourth generation up or down is not clear, nor is it clear whether or not this is a legitimate question to ask, since these generations may be beyond knowing in a non-literate society. The two possibilities are that in both directions we have a recurring four-generation sequence *arrenc aler arrenc akngey* or that in the ascending generations we have a recurring sequence *arrenc aler* and in the descending generations we have a recurring sequence *arrenc akngey*. A couple of consultants have preferred the former system, none the latter. Most people have no idea.

The Kaytetye kinship system deals with the +3 and -3 generations in a different and interesting way.⁴ There are three kinship terms used in these generations. Unlike in Arrernte,

the terms used in both generations are all the same. One term, *arnawerr*, is used only for father's father's father (and his siblings, and the reciprocals). This is also the word for father's elder brother. A second, *apmarley*, is used for father's father's mother, father's mother's father, mother's father's father and mother's mother's mother. These are the four great-grandparents who are in the opposite patrimoiety to ego. *Apmarley* is also the word for mother's elder sister; in most Arandic dialects it is a term for mother's brother. The third term, *ngkwernerrp*, is used for the other three great-grandparents: father's mother's mother, mother's father's mother and mother's mother's father. These, like father's father's father, are all in the same patrimoiety as ego. This term does not seem to have any other meaning in Kaytetye, but in Alyawarr it is used by a woman for her son-in-law when he is old (see 10).

As Wilkins (1989, chap.1) points out, the kinship system, while 'primarily designed to describe relations between people, ... is also used with respect to other entities that have important social status, including places and totemic beings.' Thus a person may be related to a place, or a place to another place, just as a person can be related to another person. (See also Green 1998.)

A few other features differentiating the Arandic system (and many others) from the English can be mentioned. One is the system of nomenclature for siblings. There is not a simple division into brother and sister in the Arandic system. Instead, there are three terms, meaning, basically, 'elder brother', 'elder sister', 'younger sibling'. In some dialects there is also a term meaning 'sibling of the opposite sex'.

Remember that these terms are used also for parallel cousins — father's brothers' children, mother's sisters' children, and more distant equivalents. A complication (observed by Spencer and Gillen 1899) arises here: the elder-younger dichotomy is not based on the actual ages of the parallel cousins but (at least in the case of first cousins, for whom the facts are well-known) on the relative ages of the linking kinsmen. Thus, for example, the children of my mother's elder sister are my elder brothers and sisters, whether they are actually older than me or not. RF explained that *kak akwek* 'little elder brother' could be used of a cousin-brother who was younger than the speaker but senior in that his mother was elder sister to the mother of the other, who he would call *atyey akngerr* 'big younger sibling'. However, she said that this does not apply in the case of cross-cousins: use of a term like *altyel akngerr* 'woman's older female cross-cousin, see next paragraph', is said to be determined by actual ages, not by the ages of linking relatives. (She had heard *altyel atyey* 'cousin younger sibling' but said it was not normal.)

For cross-cousins there is a division on the basis of sex. In some dialects *ankel* is a male cousin and *altyel* a female cousin. In others *ankel* is a male cousin of a male, *altyel* a female cousin of a female, and *arrwemp* a cousin of the opposite sex. The last term is also the one used in some dialects for 'sibling of the opposite sex', and for some people it has both meanings. The cognate Warlpiri term, *narrumpa*, is 'elder sister of one's spouse'.⁵ (See also 11.1.)

Details of use of *arrwemp* and related forms:⁶

LAr: TB gave it for his opposite sex cross-cousins while others translated it as opposite sex sibling. It was probably used for both. The Lower Arrente form is *urtemp*.

WAr: according to Carl Strehlow (1907-15), *arrwemp* was used for siblings of the opposite sex and group forms based on it used for mixed groups of siblings. Some modern speakers use it the same way, but others say it refers to either a sibling or a cousin of the opposite sex. One speaker said it means 'brother of a woman' (but not 'sister of a man').

WAnm: *arrwemp* seems to be used for both siblings and cousins of the opposite sex, although the data are somewhat confusing.

⁴ Information from ARg. There is some evidence that a system like that used in other Arandic languages is an alternative to that described here.

⁵ Warlpiri data are taken from the Warlpiri Dictionary Database Electronic Files, with additional information from Mary Laughren (p.c.).

⁶ Details of data underlying the more tentative generalisations or inability to generalise are given in this format from time to time. These data sections are not exhaustive, but give additional information or information on aspects where speakers differ or confirmation is lacking. All data can be made available to interested scholars.

For CAr and NAr the data are mixed; most used *arrwemp* for cousins but RRg used it for siblings and DL used it for both but says only men use it. H&D give three meanings, each for "some speakers": cross-cousin of opposite sex; any cross-cousin; sibling of opposite sex. Eastern and northeastern speakers use it for siblings of the opposite sex.

Ant: *rrwemp* attested once as opposite-sex sibling.

EAnm: Ag (all women) used *arrwemp* for "oldest brother."

Aly: the term is *arrempe*; speakers consulted from Epenarra all said this is used by a man for his younger sister and not by a woman at all. However, BM and EH used it for opposite sex siblings in general. There is a word *angalthen* used by a man for his eSi (Green 1992, EH, K).

Whereas in the generation above Ego close kin are differentiated by their gender (as mother, father, etc.), in the generation below Ego they are differentiated not by their own gender (as son, daughter, etc.) but by the gender of the propositus, the person they are thought of as being related to (as child of a man, child of my sister, etc.). Thus a man will call his brother's children by the same term as he calls his own, and a woman will call her brother's children by this term also. Similarly, the term that a woman uses for her children is also the general term for 'sister's children'. Mother and father thus have different terms for their own children. This follows from the conflation of their same-sex siblings under the same term.

Grandparent terms differ from English in that there are four terms, with basic meanings father's father, father's mother, mother's father, mother's mother. Each of these is reciprocal, so that a husband and wife will not call their own son's children (say) by the same term. Furthermore, each applies also to all the siblings of that person, irrespective of gender.

Some further complications of the Arandic kinship system will be described in 4.

3. Sections and subsections

Many Australian Aboriginal societies have a division into what speakers of Aboriginal English call "skins" in some parts of Australia, "meats" in other parts. Anthropologists call them sections if there are four, subsections if there are eight.

To understand this division, we need to start with a division into two parts, called moieties. There are three ways (at least) in which a society can be divided into two equal halves (not including the natural division into male and female). It can be divided into two halves such that two people are in the same half if they are related only through father-child links, and are in different halves if the relationship between them includes a mother-child link. A little thought will show that they will be in the same half if there are two mother-child links involved (or any even number), because each of these links involves a switch to the opposite moiety. Thus I am in the same moiety as my father, my father's father, my brothers and sisters, my brothers' children, and my own children if I am male. In the opposite moiety are my mother, my mother's father and my father's mother, my spouse, my sisters' children, and my own children if I am female. My mother's mother is in my moiety, because two mother-child links are involved. These are patrilineal moieties.

An exactly similar system in which mother-child links keep one in the same moiety and father-child links trigger a switch is the matrilineal. This system is not important in Central Australia, although it is the basic system in some other parts of Australia.

A third division is into generation moieties. In this system there is a switch to the other moiety every generation. I am, therefore, in the same generation moiety as anyone else in my own generation, and anyone in my parents' generation or my children's generation is in the other moiety. However, people in my grandparents' generation and my grandchildren's generation are in my moiety, because the two switches involved bring us back to the same moiety. Hale (1966) coined the terms 'harmonic' for one's own generation moiety and 'disharmonic' for the other.

If there is a combination of a division into patrilineal moieties and generation moieties, the society is divided into four parts. These are 'sections', and a section system applies to the more easterly and southerly of the Arandic tribes, and applied to all of them in the fairly recent past. I will be in the same section as my brothers and sisters and parallel cousins. My

cross-cousins will be in the other section of my generation moiety, as will my spouse and siblings-in-law. It follows that my spouse's cross-cousins will be in my section too. So will my father's father and my mother's mother. In my parents' generation, my father will be in one section, along with his brothers and sisters and also my mother-in-law; my mother, with her brothers and sisters, and also my father-in-law, will be in the other.

The further division into a system of eight subsections can be thought of as a division into a system in which all four grandparents are separated. If we number these subsections so that my father's father is in 1, my mother's mother will be in 2, my mother's father is in 3 and my father's mother in 4. In the next generation, my father is in 5, my mother-in-law (who is related to my father in the same way that my father's father is related to my mother's mother) is in 6, my mother in 7 and my father-in-law in 8. In my own generation, I am in 1 along with my siblings and parallel cousins, my (cross-)cousins' spouses and my spouse's cousins are in 2, my cousins in 3 and my spouse and siblings-in-law in 4. In the next generation, my brother's children and my own children if I am male are in 5, my nieces- and nephews-in-law if I am male or my children-in-law if I am female are in 6, my children-in-law if I am male or my nieces- and nephews-in-law if I am female are in 7, and my sisters' children and my own children if I am female are in 8. There is some latitude in choice of a spouse; first preference (as stated above) is 4 (which need not mean one's own generation), second choice is 3 (cross-cousins, but not actual first cousins), third choice is 2 and some would say and others deny that 1 is also a possibility. The four disharmonic subsections — 5, 6, 7, 8 — are definitely forbidden.

Another arrangement of the subsections is into what Strehlow (1947:72, 1965:136-39) called (using our spelling) '*nyenheng* sections'. The word *nyenheng* means, basically, 'father and child' and 'section' here has a quite different meaning from the way it is normally used in anthropology, as elsewhere in this paper; rather, here, it means 'patrilineal semi-moiety'. The four *nyenheng* sections each comprise two subsections, the members of one being in a father-child relationship to the members of the other. The four *nyenheng* sections are 1 and 5, 2 and 6, 3 and 7, 4 and 8. They are named by just combining the names of the relevant subsections.

The eight subsection names in Central Arrernte are Kemarre, Mpetyane, Pengarte, Peltharre, Perrurle, Ngale, Penangke and Kngwarraye. In Alyawarr the four sections are Kemarr, Petyarr, Pwerl and Kngwarray. The Alyawarr section Kemarr is equivalent to Arrernte subsections Kemarre plus Mpetyane, Petyarr to Pengarte plus Peltharre, and so on. In Antekerpenh and Lower Arrernte the sections are Kemarr, Peltharr, Perrurl and Penangk. Those groups which have subsections do not have names for the sections. There is a word *nyurrrp* (with dialectal variants) meaning 'belonging to the other generation moiety'.⁷ A converse of this (see H&D:516-17) is *nyurrrp arrp-* or *nyurrrp irrp-*, always with a personal possessor suffix as described in 7.1 (and see 13.2). For Western Anmatyerr LP gave a word *kweyekar* for 'own generation moiety'; from Warlpiri *kuyukari*, literally 'other meat'. This must be a mistake, however; the Warlpiri word, as its name suggests, means 'other generation moiety' (Laughren 1982:77). The term is known also in Eastern Anmatyerr and Kaytetye where its meaning corresponds with that in Warlpiri.

For Eastern Anmatyerr Green (1998:10) illustrates a suffix *-apakwey* meaning 'generation moiety'. (The reference is to a traditional sport.)

(1) *Aylernanthapakwey pwelty iwemel aylernanthapakwey arrpenhewarl. Alanthapakwey antwerrkemel mpepethey.*

aylern-anth-apakwey pwelty iw-emel aylern-anth-apakwey arrpenh-ewarl
1du-III-GENMOI ball throw-SS 1du-III-GENMOI other-ALL

al-anth-apakwey antwerrk-emel mpep-ethey
3du-III-GENMOI catch-SS middle-ABL

'We of the same generation team throw the ball towards the others in our team. The others get hold of the ball in the middle.'

This suffix is added to a pronominal form referring to a group of people not all in the same patrimoiety (which is what the gloss 'III' means; see 6.1). It is known also in Alyawarr and Kaytetye, but not in Arrernte. (1) illustrates first person ('our generation moiety') and third person ('their generation moiety'). At least in Alyawarr it can be added to either dual or plural pronoun forms. A second person ('your generation moiety') form, *mpwelanthapakwey*,

⁷ ER (WAr) said that the "*nyurrrp* mob" are called "*ingw* ('night') side" and the others "*arlt* ('day') side".

was accepted by Alyawarr and Kaytetye speakers. Presumably the inclusive-exclusive distinction can be made in the first person forms, but this has not been confirmed.

The patrilineal moieties do not nowadays have names, although Carl Strehlow (1907-15) calls the patrimoiety Pwerrerle-Kemarre-Ngale-Mpetyane⁸ Helherenye (meaning 'belonging to the land') and the other Kwatyerenye 'belonging to the water'. Also, Hale elicited what seem to be patrilineal moiety names in Alyawarr and Antekerrepenh in 1959; these do not seem to have been known to any speakers in the last twenty or more years. There are person-centred names, meaning 'my own patrimoiety' and 'the other patrimoiety'; H&D give *malyanwek*⁹ for the latter and *ilakakey* and *anwakerrakey* for the former. The last two are based on the pronouns *ilak* 'we two same patrimoiety different section' and *anwakerr* 'we plural same patrimoiety different section' (see 6.1). In fact, the 'other patrimoiety' too can be named with pronoun-based names, perhaps using any of the second and third person same patrimoiety different section pronouns; those based on second person pronouns would mean 'your patrimoiety' and those based on third person forms 'his/her/their patrimoiety'. All the possibilities are attested. The second person forms are *mpwelakakey*, based on the dual pronoun, and *arrakerrakey*, based on the plural pronoun. Third person forms are dual-based *alakakey* and plural *itnakerrakey* (Arrernte) / *aytnakerrakey* (Alyawarr). Also, an Alyawarr speaker (K) has given (with the dual base only) contrasting first person inclusive and exclusive forms *aylakakey* (compare Arrernte *ilakakey*) and *aylernakakey* respectively (the latter also in Hale's notes); CP (Eastern Anmatyerr and Kaytetye) confirmed this.

Details:

Mpwelakakey was accepted by BM and EH (Aly) by Ag (EAnm) and by TI (Kay) but not by M (NEAr); *arrakerrakey* was accepted by M. *Alakakey* has three Aly and one EAnm attestations, *itnakerrakey* four attestations including C. Strehlow and *aytnakerrakey* one (K). TI (Kay) accepted *aylernakakey* (with the dual exclusive pronoun).

It would be expected that those persons whom you call by the same kinship term will belong to the same subsection, no matter how distantly they may be related. This is generally true, but there are some exceptions. The term *apmarlaty* appears nine times in chart 1; for a Kemarre ego eight of these are Penangke and one Kngwarraye; in chart 2 it appears nine times of which four are Penangke and five Kngwarraye. H&D:186 (*apmarle* entry) give eight meanings of which five are Penangke and three Kngwarraye (for a Kemarre ego). The corresponding term, *apmarley*, in Kaytetye (charts 3 and 4) similarly represent the Kaytetye equivalents of these two subsection names. Note that Penangke and Kngwarraye are in the same section. The term *arnemerraty* also is applied to kin in the same pair of subsections. The two are sometimes alternative forms for the same kinship relation, but not in all cases.

T. G. H. Strehlow (1965:132-36) quotes from a Western Desert myth, told by a Yankunytjatjarra man and part of the Native Cat (*tyelp*) Dreaming, showing that the people of the Dreaming [creation time] had acquired the subsection system (or kin-group class system, as he prefers to call it) and the associated kinship system after crossing the Palmer River [in the southwest of the Northern Territory] from the south, and had laid down a barrier of sandhills between the countries to the north and the south. The people to the south were referred to as the people of the night and as lacking any form of address and any kinship prohibitions about marriage, while the people to the north had skin-names and the rules associated with them. He takes this to be evidence for the antiquity of the subsection system among the Western Arrernte, while pointing out that the Southern Arrernte (Pertame) had had a section system "till depopulation in the early nineteen-twenties had caused the survivors to adopt the eight-class system of the more numerous Western and Northern Aranda." However, there is what seems to be convincing evidence, based on a comparative study of the forms of subsection and cognate section terms, that the subsection system originated in an area some distance to the northwest of the Arandic area, probably hundreds rather than thousands of years ago, and spread out in various directions from there (see McConvell 1985). Spencer and Gillen (1927) say that 'the Arunta' originally had a section system and that the four extra terms had been borrowed, from the Warlpiri to the north, not

⁸ There are small differences between the Western Arrernte names Strehlow knew and the Central Arrernte names listed above.

⁹ Carl Strehlow's etymology for this word is '*maly* 'father-in-law' for *nw* 'us'', which is more credible than some others of his etymologies; *maly* is 'HuFa' in Aly and (*a*)*nw* is the 'lpl' pronoun root.

long beforehand.

3.1. Asking about 'skin'

Eastern and Central Arrente have a morpheme *-apatherr* ~ *-apetherr* which H&D (177) define as:¹⁰

1. 'skin' or subsection name. This occurs on only a few words:
iwenhatherr? 'what skin name?'
- (2) '*lwenhatherr r?*' — 'Kemarr.'
 'What skin name is he?' — 'Kemarr.'
nhenhatherr 'this skin name'
- (3) *Artw Pengartarl akenh arelh Perrurlekenh ampaty-ampaty... Tyerry ampaty-ampaty nhenh ikwerenh amp map akenh nhenhatherr, Penangkarl.*
Artw Pengart-arl akenh arelh Perrurle-ekenh ampaty-ampaty... Tyerry man Pengarte-FOC but woman Perrurle-GEN ampaty-ampaty person ampaty-ampaty nhenh ikwerenh amp map akenh nhenhatherr, Penangk-arl.
ampaty-ampaty this 3sg:GEN child mob but this-skin Penangke-FOC
 'A Pengarte man is a Perrurle woman's *ampaty-ampaty*. This *ampaty-ampaty*'s children are this skin name, Penangke.'
2. On pronouns, with regard to whether people are *nyurrrp* or not to the person speaking.
anwernatherr 'we (plural) people who are not *nyurrrp* (to each other)'.
arrantherratherr 'you (plural) who are *nyurrrp* to me'.
itnatherr 'they, those (plural) who are *nyurrrp* to me'.

There was a certain amount of evidence that these pronoun-based forms referred to groups with the same skin rather than belonging to the same generation moiety. M once said the first person form was like *Kemarr irrpaty* (see 13.2), which seems to mean 'people having the same skin as Kemarr' (her own skin); this expression seems to be tautologous, meaning just Kemarr. She then translated another form in terms of *nyurrrp*. In general the best evidence seems to favour H&D's gloss, but there must remain some doubt.

A number of speakers of various varieties accepted similar forms based on dual pronouns. ER gave the most comprehensive and coherent set of data, although *-apetherr* seems to be disappearing from the dialect; he was familiar with it, but middle-aged speakers, while aware of it (affixed to *iwenh* 'what', but not to a pronoun), did not use it. This despite the fact that they said that, as GA put it, this is the first question they would ask a stranger. The wording they gave was *Anpernenty iwenh?* (literally 'What skin name?') The second question would be about the person's dreaming (*tnengkarr*). These two, he said, are like a passport and birth certificate.

ER accepted *ilernapetherr* and *nwernapetherr*, both for 'one's own generation moiety' (*ilern* 'we two', *nwern* 'we plural'), *mpalapetherr* and *rrangkerrapetherr*, both 'your generation moiety (being opposite to the speaker's)' (*mpal* 'you two', *rrangkerr* 'you plural'), and *irapetherr* and *itnapetherr* 'opposite (to speaker) generation moiety' (*ir* 'he, she', *itn* 'they plural'). He did not accept *yengapetherr* and *untapetherr* (based on the singular first and second person pronouns respectively). A form based on the dual third person pronoun *iretherr* was not accepted, perhaps because of the repetition of *etherr* in the resulting form (and note that in other dialects *alapatherr*, based on the dual third person pronoun *al*, was accepted). There seems to be no difference in meaning between the dual-based and plural-based forms. However, there are no data on actual usage.

ER also accepted forms based on type II pronouns (see 6.1): *ilakapetherr* (dual) and *ilakeyengapetherr* (plural) and translated them as 'nyenheng (sections)' (see 3). He also accepted *ilanthapetherr* (type III dual; the corresponding plural form was not tried) and its meaning seemed to be opposite patrimoiety; he actually said "*Kemarr pek*, or *Ngal pek*," naming two subsections that are in the opposite patrimoiety, in different generation moieties, and not a *nyenheng* pair. (*Pek* means 'maybe'.) However, a number of speakers of various dialects who accepted other forms did not accept those based on type II or III pronouns, and some of the responses of those who seemed to suggested that there were misunderstandings

¹⁰ Example numbers and interlinear translations are added to definitions taken from H&D.

and in particular that *etherr* or *atherr* was being understood as the dual marker of this form

It was interesting that the oldest Western Anmatyerr speaker, alone among speakers of whatever dialect interviewed on the matter, based his question form on the personal interrogative *ngwenh* 'who?' rather than *iwenh* or *wenh* 'what?'; his translation of 'What skin are you?' was *Ngwenhapetherr ntwam?* This is consistent with the older construction, mostly replaced now by a literal translation of the English question (except that 'is' is not translated), for questions like 'What is your name?', which uses a nominative pronoun (in accordance with the treatment of 'name' as a body part and so inalienably possessed) and the personal interrogative, thus: 'Who you name?'

Alyawarr does not have this morpheme or any particular construction for talking about skins; they would ask what skin a person is with a question that literally means 'what skin you?' (two versions recorded are '*Ikw ilekarl ngan?*' and '*Ilekarl ng ikwan?*', *ilek* 'what', *ng* 'you', *ikw* 'skin'). The situation is similar for the Eastern Anmatyerr group ('*Ikw ilek ngan?*') and also for a group of Kaytetye speakers consulted, who used '*Want ng kwep?*', *want* 'what', *ng* 'you', *kw* 'skin'. However, in each case there was an older speaker (consulted separately) who used -*apatherr* at least in some contexts. CP (Eastern Anmatyerr and Kaytetye) can use the formally dual form *aylernapatherr* to refer to or address a single person of the same skin as her:

- (2) Aylernapatherr akemirray!
 aylern-apatherr akemirr-ay
 Idu:I- get up-IMP
 'You who are the same skin as me, get up!'

The Kaytetye speaker TT, who gave:

- (3) Wantapatherr anhartep?
 want-apatherr anh-art-ep
 what- this--FOC
 'What skin is this one?'

also used a word *aylernengeny* which is formally dual (*aylern* '1du-ex:I') but refers to one person and which he translated as "sister from another place." CP translated it as "brother", suggesting that it refers to an opposite sex sibling, but later seemed to regard it as a Kaytetye equivalent of *apetherr*. This seems not to be so, however; **wantengeny* is not accepted. The function of *-engeny*, therefore, remains quite unclear.

Other details

WANm: *wenham ntwan?* = *wenhapatherram ntwan?* 'What skin are you?' Forms based on pronouns *elern* 'we two', *lengkerr* 'we two', *nwern* 'we plural', *mpwel* 'you two' and *en* 'they plural' were accepted. A form based on a type II pronoun was not.

CAr: *Iwenhapatherram unt?* 'What skin are you?' (*-am* is a question marker); forms based on *item* 'we two', *anwern* 'we plural' and *itm* 'they plural' were accepted, the last not unanimously.

NAr: *Unt iwenhapatherr?* 'What skin are you?'; forms based on pronouns were accepted but mistranslated in some cases (DL said *anwernapatherr* from *anwern* 'we plural' was the same as *anwakerrakey* 'our own patrimoiety' and *arrantherrapatherr* from *arrantherr* 'you plural' the same as *itnakerrakey* 'other patrimoiety') and translated vaguely in others. Forms based on type II pronouns were either not accepted or mistranslated.

EAr: LM gave *ilernapatherr* and accepted *ilapatherr* (two brothers). He accepted third person forms *alapatherr* (*al* '3du:I') and *inapatherr* (*itm* '3pl:I'). He did not accept *ilakapatherr* (*ilak* '1du-II').. LC seemed to understand the type I pronoun-based forms as referring to skin and type II as referring to patrimoiety.

NEAr: M did not accept the type II forms. Her comment on one was: "No. It's got a bit of meaning but not the proper way to say it." Translations of another couple are not enlightening.

Ant: JB used *iwenhapatherr* for the interrogative, apparently influenced by dialects further west as her word for 'what?' is *ilek*, not *iwenh*. (SC and MM from the far east of NEAr country did use *ilekapatherr*.) JB accepted one suggested pronoun-based form and did not know a second.

4. Additional features of the kinship system

4.1. Extension of gender reference of kin terms

It will have been observed that only a minority of kinship terms are specific as to sex. Even

some of these few may lose their specificity. This applies to the two parent terms, which may be extended to apply to the opposite sex siblings of the parent (and, of course, already include the same-sex siblings of the parent). As usual, this applies to classificatory kin just as to "actual" kin, although some informants suggest that the practice may be confined to close kin or to kin with whom one has a close relationship. H&D:477 note this practice only for 'mother', saying that *mey* can be used informally for mother's brother, and can also be referred to as *artw mey*, literally 'man mother'.¹¹

As an example of this usage, a Central Arrernte person, speaking in English, referred to his father's elder sister and his father's younger brother as "my two fathers" and, a little later, referring just to the former: "She's my dad and I'm looking after her."

Details:

LAr: it appears that this usage applies, but there is no hard evidence, just an acceptance of it by a partial speaker who may have been persuaded to agree to it.

WAr: this usage does apply and GA (at least) said that it applies to anyone of the appropriate skin.

WANm: it was not accepted by LP but was accepted (for a close uncle) by the only other speaker consulted.

CEAr: speakers generally agreed although LM insisted that a woman could not call an auntie *akngey* (although a man could). RF said that the usage was not confined to particularly close kin, but applied only when there was a close personal relationship. However, she seemed to say that the verb *makem* 'call Mo' (see 5.1) can be used of any man of the right skin. LM also said that the usage applies to anyone of the right skin, while M said it was only for close kin.

Ant: JB agreed with the usage.

EAnm: Ag said that "old ladies" used to call an uncle *maty*. CP agreed that MoBr could be called Mo and FaSi could be called Fa.

Kay: CP agreed that the EAnm situation applied.

4.2. Special terms for parents' elder same-sex siblings

In addition to the normal words for parents' siblings, there are special terms for their elder siblings of the same sex [only?], which are (unlike the normal terms) reciprocal (at least for many speakers). Both of the terms involved have other uses in some languages.

For father's elder brother the root is *arnawerr*. In Arrernte, for example, a child might call father's elder brother *arnaway* or *arnaway-arnaway* or *tatey arnaway* (*tatey* from English 'daddy') while the older man calls the child *arnawerraty* (*-aty* is a first person singular possessor suffix, 'my'). This usage of the more formal term by the older person and the less formal by the younger person is common, see 7.2.4. Some speakers would use *aler* 'brother's child' for the younger person (younger brother's child). The root *arnawerr* is used also for 'father's father's father' and its reciprocal in Kaytetye and by some Arrernte speakers. It seems (Myf Turpin, p.c.) that, at least in Kaytetye, *arnawerr* can be applied to a father's younger brother if all the elder brothers and the father have died. According to Green (1992:42), however, *anawerr* is 'father's elder sister' in Alyawarr; I can confirm this, but all of my Alyawarr informants also use it in the same way as Arrernte.

Less widespread than the use of *arnawerr* is the use of *apmarl*, normally 'mother's brother' in most dialects, for 'mother's elder sister'. Only Kaytetye and some Alyawarr speakers use it with the latter meaning; the Kaytetye speakers also use it for certain kin in the great-grandparent and great-grandchildren generations, but not for 'mother's brother'. Some of the Alyawarr speakers who accept it for 'mother's elder sister' will not accept it for the reciprocal of that term, 'woman's younger sister's child', but instead use the general term for 'sister's child', *amp* (which is also, in a number of dialects, the common noun 'child').

4.3. Identification of kin across two generations

There may be an identification of kin across two generations. This does not violate the relationship between kinship and subsections; kin involved belong to the same subsection.

¹¹ Sutton (1982) refers to a man addressing mother's younger brother as 'mother' in Wik-Ngathn (Cape York Peninsula).

As an example, consider the term *atyaty* (which, incidentally, is the regular term but not the common one; *atyemey* is much more common). This is generally translated as mother's father. However, it also refers to mother's father's brothers and sisters (among others). The charts show that my mother-in-law's mother is *atyaty*. That is, she could be the sister of my mother's father. Normally, however, she would be a more distant sister, perhaps a parallel cousin or parallel second cousin. If an informant is asked for the term for mother's father's sister, the expected answer would be *atyaty*. However, if asked for the term for mother-in-law's mother the most common answer is *altyelaty* 'female cross-cousin'. *Altyelaty* and *atyaty* are in the same subsection.

It seems, then, that if a +2 kin is horizontally a little distant from me — not in the same 'unit' kinship chart — he or she may be called by a same generation term. Another example is *angkwerey* or *yay* 'elder sister' for father-in-law's mother; the person who gave me *yay* called her other two 'grandparents-in-law' *ipmenh* (which is an own generation term as well as a grandkin term in this dialect) 'mother-in-law's father' and *perlaperl* (reduplicated form of the root *perl*) for 'father-in-law's father'. (Another term used for the last is *mpwerney*, primarily 'brother-in-law').

This practice is probably just a matter of practicality. When people are so distantly related (and are likely to have been dead for years, in the case of the people — the older generations — from whom I got most of my information) the kinship term does not come immediately to mind. People have to work it out, and they do this (often audibly) via the subsection system. Having worked out what 'skin' the particular relative is, they use the term for the closest relative (senior, if there is a difference) in that subsection. So, for example, my father-in-law is in the same subsection as my sister's children; therefore his mother is like my sister, and I call her by the senior sister term, *angkweraty* or, colloquially, *yay*. The fact that the alternative, *arrengaty* 'father's father's sister' (or, in the case of mother-in-law's mother, *atyaty* 'mother's father's sister' as the alternative to *altyelaty*) is a name that refers primarily to a male kinsman may also be relevant in these cases.

Differences between kin charts recorded for different dialects also may result from the same sort of process. For example, in Eastern Anmatyerr as I have recorded it the brother-in-law is *aperley*, the same as mother's mother. In this dialect, also, and some others, the mother's mother term is not reciprocal; mother's mother (and also cousin's spouse) is *anyany*, while a woman's daughter's daughter is *imenhey* (cf. Arrernte *ipmenhaty*).

4.4. Terms for spouses

The root term normally given for 'wife' or 'husband' is *anew* in most dialects (other forms are *new* and *unew*). The most common word for 'married couple' is *anewart*, with a suffix *-art* which combines only with the root *anew*; however, *anewheng* (using the regular kin group, or dyadic, suffix, as in *amenheng* 'mother and child', *arlweyeheng* 'father and child' for example) is also acceptable. The root *mpwern*, 'brother-in-law' in other Arandic languages, is the normal word for 'spouse' in Kaytetye, but it does have the word *anewart*. A term *anenty* is attested for Alyawarr (Green 1992:43) but is not accepted by all speakers. However, there are two other terms with restricted reference.

The root *arrkar* (*irrkarr* in Lower Arrernte) is used of a spouse of someone in one's own generation, or one's grandparents' or grandchildren's generation. However, it cannot be used of one's own spouse. (There is some confusion, perhaps a difference among dialects in the Arandic area, regarding its usage for one's own sibling's spouse; the most likely situation seems to be that it cannot be used for one's own same-sex sibling's spouse.) Thus *arrkareheng*, with the group suffix, means a married couple in a harmonic generation, with one or two restrictions. The cognate Warlpiri term *marrkari* is glossed as 'spousal relationship between own subsection and father's mother's subsection'; it is used by a man of his sister's husband, or of his sister as wife of his brother-in-law, or by a woman of her brother's wife, or of her brother as husband of her sister-in-law'.

The root, *aperl* (or *perl* in some dialects), is used for a spouse in an adjacent generation (and perhaps in any disharmonic generation). Thus, for example, one's own parents could be referred to as *aperlenheng*, and, in fact, Hale glosses it as 'father and mother' in Kaytetye, and

gives the corresponding Lower Arrernte word *perlentyerr* as 'parents'. Carl Strehlow gives *perl* (his "palla") the more comprehensive (but not particularly clear) gloss 'spouse in ascending and descending line'.

This is also the root for 'father's mother', 'son's child' (of a woman) and 'sister's son's child'. (This correspondence does not seem to have been noticed by Strehlow or Hale; in fact Hale spells the term for spouse without retroflexion in Lower Arrernte and thus makes the two different.)¹² And note that, in a section or subsection system, one's spouse belongs to the same (sub)section as one's father's mother and other relatives covered by *aperl* (see, for example, Table 4 of Koch 1982).

Carl Strehlow (n.d.) gives a term "luara" (apparently *lwarr* or *lhwarr*) with the gloss 'bridegroom, espoused one'. It is not known otherwise. In modern Western Arrernte *lwarr* means 'front, in front of, on this side, opposite, this way, towards here'.

Data on *arrkar*

The earliest reference to this term is in Carl Strehlow (n.d.), presumably for Per or WAR; he glosses it as 'husband of married sister'.

WAR: ER states that it is used of a spouse of someone belonging to one's own generation moiety, but not one's own spouse or one's brother's. GA+ knew the term (and likewise *perl*) as an alternative to *new*, but accepted the system as given by others (mainly for other dialects) when it was explained to them.

LAR: Hale's gloss of *irrkarityerr* (equivalent to *arrkarenheng*) is 'sister and WiBr'. BD gives it as 'another person's wife' and illustrates with: "That nother bloke tellem, 'Oh, there's your *irrkarr*' and he says, '*Unew unek*.'" (*Unew* is cognate with (*a*)*new* 'wife' in other dialects and *unek* with WAR and Per *nwek* 'my'.) He says, however, that 'Br and Wi' is *unewart*, although 'Co and Wi' is *irrkarenheng*. (The suffix *-enheng* may be an intrusion from another dialect, replacing the *-intyerr* in the Hale material; note, however, that these are cognate with different morphemes in some Arandic dialects, for example, CAR where *arrkarenheng* refers to two or more people and *arrkarentyerr* to more than two.)

WANm: The most extensive data were obtained from LP, and she used it of people in her own generation moiety, but not of her own husband. (Some other WANm interviewed briefly did accept *arrkar* for their own spouse.) LP used *arrkarenhengatherr* for her 'Br and BrWi' (note that *atherr* is an optional dual suffix), and *anewartatherr* for her 'Si and SiHu' (but agreed later that she could use *arrkarenheng* for the latter). She used *arrkarenhengatherr* also for such couples as Co and Wi, grandchild and wife, and her paternal grandparents, as well as in general for classificatory siblings and their spouses. She would not use *arrkar* of a person not in an ideal marriage situation (see 3).

CAR: Wilkins (1989:35) gives *arrkar* as a term used by a person to refer to the spouse of another person in the same generation moiety, while (*a*)*new* is used for the spouse of a person in the other generation moiety, and also is the generic term for 'spouse'. He uses *arrkarangk* 'your spouse' in an example sentence (in which a man is speaking to his Co, or perhaps his MoFa or DaCh). H&D:254 define *arrkar* as 'A polite word for your cross-cousin's husband or wife, used when talking to or about your cross-cousin ...'. They also note the derived forms *arrkarangk*, *arrkareyek* ~ *arrkarik* and *arrkarenheng*.

NAR: MH and MT noted that the persons concerned do not have to be married to one another for *arrkar* to be appropriate, although they do have to be of opposite sexes. The latter would use *arrkar* for his 'BrWi'.

SEAr: EJ used *arrkar* in reference to people in his grandkin's generations; the situation with his own generation is not clear.

EAR: LM would use *arrkar* for his 'BrWi'.

NEAr: M would use *arrkarenheng* for her 'Br and BrWi', and also for cousin and spouse and other more distant kin in her generation (in appropriate relationships, not necessarily married to one another), but not for her 'Si and SiHu'. She accepted it for grandchildren but not for grandparents.

EAnm: Ag accept the first person form *arrkaraty*. They seemed to regard *arrkar* as an alternative to *anew*, while *aperlenheng* was used for a couple were not actually married to one another but who were of the right skins to do so. CP said *arrkarenheng* could be used for Br and BrWi or Si and SiHu, and accepted that it could be used for granddaughter and husband.

Aly: The bulk of informants agree that there is no first person form of *arrkar* and that this root is used of spouses in the speaker's generation. There is some evidence too that it is used of grandparents' and grandchildren's generations. Most said it can be used for same-sex sibling's spouse; K said not. *Arrkarenheng* can be used of an appropriate pair who are not married, as long as they are of opposite sex. KBg and JBg did not distinguish in meaning between *anew*, *arrkar* and *aperl* as spouse terms.

Kay: Hale's information that *arrkarenheng* refers to 'Si and SiHu' or 'Br and BrWi' was confirmed by two speakers. However, TT accepted it for the former but said *anewart* for the latter.

¹² Note that I am not referring to published material but to an unpublished vocabulary in the case of Strehlow and to raw fieldnotes in the case of Hale.

Data on *aperl*

As noted above, Carl Strehlow glossed this as 'spouse in ascending and descending line'.

WANm: LP used *perlenhengatherr* for 'Fa and Mo' and 'SpFa and SpMo' but not for 'MoBr and FaSi', who are *anewartatherr*. In the next generation down, *perlenhengatherr* was used for the speaker's 'So and SoWi' and for her 'BrSo and BrSoWi', and in general for correctly married couples more distantly related to her, but *anewartatherr* for her 'Da and DaHu' and for her 'BrDa and BrDaHu'.

CAR: A speaker gave *aperl* as a name for 'a boy being kept by a man, instead of a young wife (so called by the man)'; *amp aperlaty* or *away aperlaty* ('my boy'). The boy would call the man *aperlaty* too.

MH noted that if two people who are *aperl* to one another, for example, a woman and her FaMoBr who call one another *aperlaty*, marry one another, they no longer call one another *aperlaty* but *anewaty*. They are now referred to by others as *alanth aperlenheng*, as if they were in the same generation, and not *ratherr aperlenheng* (*alanth* 'they two different moiety', *ratherr* 'they two same section').

SEAr: EJ accepted that people in the appropriate subsections do not need to be actually married to one another to be referred to as *aperlenheng*.

EAR: LM would use *aperlenheng* for his parents or other couples involving the same two sub-sections (such as uncles and aunts), but not for his parents-in-law or other couples involving their two sub-sections (such as spouses' uncles and aunts). These would be referred to as *anewart*. You could, in speaking to one parent, refer to the other as *aperlangkw* 'your *aperl*'.

NEAr: M accepted *aperlenheng* for 'So and Wi', 'nephew or niece and spouse', 'parents-in-law' but not for 'parents' or 'uncle and aunt'. Suitably related couples need not be married.

EANm: Ag: see *arrkar* data section. CP used *aperlenheng* for couples in adjacent generations, such as MoBr and his wife.

Aly: Evidence from speakers who distinguish it from *arrkarenheng* is that *aperlenheng* is used of couples in generations one above or one below the speaker's, such as 'Fa and Mo' or 'Ch and ChSp'. SPg said that this could refer to pairs of women or of men; there is no question, of course, that this is the case when the two are two generations apart, but it seems reasonable that it should apply too to same-generation pairs.

Hale's gloss for *perlenheng* in Kaytetye is 'Fa and Mo', while one speaker (Koch 1982) used it for parents-in-law. NK used it for 'Ch and ChSp'. She distinguished *rlwanth* [3du-III] *aperlenheng* for a married couple from *rlwem* [3du-I] *aperlenheng* for a grandparent-grandchild pair. (See 6 for I and III.)

Data on irregular marriages

WANm: LP used *perlenheng* for correctly married couples (for example, Kemarr and Peltharr) in her children's generation, but for a second-choice marriage (for example, Kemarr with Pengart) she used the compound term *anewart altyelenheng* (*altyelenheng* 'FCo-GETHER'; *ankelenheng* 'MCo-GETHER' could also be used). For a third-choice marriage (for example, Kemarr with Mpetyan) she would use only *menhenheng* 'CoSp-GETHER' and did not allow *anewart*. However, she did use the expression *menhenheng anewakerrek* 'CoSp-GETHER married one another'. In her own generation she would say *arrkarengkw* 'your *arrkar*' to a person in a second-choice marriage, but not to a person in a third-choice marriage, using *menhengkw* 'your CoSp' in this case.

NAR: MT would use *altyelenheng* and *anewart* (and presumably *ankelenheng*), but not *arrkarenheng*, for two cross-cousins of his generation who married. He would use only *ipmenhenheng* of a couple in a third-choice marriage (to the first-choice partner of a cross-cousin).

EANm: CP said that a couple comprising a Kemarre man with a Pengarte wife (second choice marriage) or with an Mpetyane wife (third choice) would still be called *aperlenheng*.

Aly: JB was quite definite that *arrkarenheng*, *anewart* or *aperlenheng* (as appropriate) can be used even of a couple who are "married wrong." The fact that they are married makes it right. (It is not clear whether this is a reference to a Christian marriage over-riding the Aboriginal custom.)

4.5. Words for 'relation' or 'family'

Alty in Eastern and Central Arrernte is defined (H&D:103-4) as 'a relative, family member'. Since everyone in Aboriginal society is a relative, i.e. can be called by a kinship term, it can be taken that *alty* refers specifically to close family members, and this is how the same word in Alywarr is defined: 'close relation, close family, kin' (Green 1992:29¹³). Two of the examples given in the H&D entry are consistent with this more restrictive definition, but the third is not. Extracts from these examples follow:

- (6) *Tyerrty atyeng alty atningk Ltyenty Apurtel anem.*
tyerrty atyeng alty atningk ltyenty apurt-el an-em
 person lsg:DAT relative many beefwood clump-LOC live-PRES

¹³ Green adds further information to the entry, which makes the same point that I have made earlier in this sentence.

A word *arlaty* seems to have the same meaning as *alty* in Western Anmatyerr, meaning 'own family' (as opposed to *arrpenh* 'other [family]'). It occurs also in Northern Arrernte. It combines with the suffix *-enheng* 'gether' in the same way as *alty*; it is not clear whether it shares any other features of kinship terms, although one Northern Arrernte speaker seems to accept *arlatyikw*.

Another word found in the Central and Eastern dialects of Arrernte (and also in Eastern Anmatyerr), and glossed 'relation, relative' by H&D:223, is *arneng*. This seems to function fully as a kinship term; H&D give the forms *arnengaty* 'my/our relative', *arnengangkw* 'your relative', *arnengeyekw* ~ *arnengikw* 'his/her/their relative' and *arnengenheng* 'two or more people who are related', as well as *arnengey*, given as an alternative to *arneng*. My own information about this term is that it refers more specifically to (close) siblings and cousins, although it is sometimes also translated as 'friend'. One person said that it means 'of the same skin'.

(11) *akngey atyengartweyekarnengarneng akngey atyeng-artwey-ek-arneng-arneng*
Fa:my 1sg:DAT-owner-DAT-relative-RED
seems to mean 'people that I call father who are closely related to my own father'.

The word *akwerrk* in ECarr (H&D:78) has the primary meaning 'newly grown, young, new, newborn' but is used mainly of animals and plants, and some speakers find its use about humans offensive. However, there is a secondary meaning: 'relatives, relations, especially younger ones'. Examples are *atyeng akwerrk map* 'my relatives' and:

(12) *Arrwekelenyel apekarl artek itnek akwerrk.*
arrwekel-eny-el apek-arl art-ek itn-ekakwerrk.
before-from-ERG maybe-FOC bury-PAST 3pl-DAT relatives
'Maybe our ancestors buried the members of their families here.'

This word cannot take affixes, such as person possessor suffixes, peculiar to kinship terms, although, as the examples show, a dative can be preposed.

Data:

WAnm: LP said that *arlaty* is family, also 'relation' as in 'He's my relation, I wouldn't tell the police ...'. She did not accept *altyang* (which is the expected form of *alty* in her dialect), but a young member of Ng did. LP used *arrpenh*, the normal word for 'other, different' as the converse of *arlaty*:

(13) *arrpenh yanhan, tyengnehkweny* *arrpenh yanh-an tyengneh-ekweny*
'different family' other that-FOC 1sg:GEN-PRIV

SEAr: EJ translated *arneng* as 'friend' but would use *arnengenheng* 'friend-gether' or *arnengaty* 'my *arneng*' of people in the same generation moiety but not all in the same subsection. VH accepted *alty* (and noted that you can also be *alty* to a country, *pmerek alty*, see the example in 7.2.1), but said that the normal way to say someone is a relation of yours is to say *R atyengartwey* '3sg 1sg.DAT-OWNER (see 7.2.3)'. Another way is to say *atyeng akwerrk* 'a relative of mine'.

NAr: DL translated *arlaty* as 'yours (a thing, or a relation)' and volunteered *arlatyikw alty* which he translated as 'your friend' (but *-ikw* is third person singular possessor). A father-son pair (ST and MT) seemed to understand it as meaning 'close relation', and *atyengarneng* '1sg.DAT-arneng' as referring to a brother (MT) or cousin (ST added – or corrected?). They accepted the use of the formative *-akem* 'call' with it. ST, with EJ and BN, also applied *arlaty* to a place; *arlaty anwekantherrenh* (*arlaty* 1pl-DAT-III-PL-GEN2) was said to mean 'this place', more literally 'our place'. They later equated *arneng* with *atyew* 'friend' (also 'person who was initiated with you'), which also shares the morphology of kinship terms.

EAr: LM accepted *arneng* as 'brother'.

NEAr: M said that *arneng* referred to your brothers and sisters and cousins. MM used *akwerrk* as well as *alty* for 'family'. The following example from Green (1998:14) seems to illustrate an additional meaning for *alty*.

(14) *Amp yanh apetyetyek anwernekeng altyirremel anetyek.*
amp yanh apety-etyek anwernek-ekeng alty-irr-em-el *an-etyek*
child that come-PURP 1pl-DAT-ABL relative-INCH-PRES-SS be-PURP 'Get
that kid to come so that s/he can get to know us.'

Ant: JB used *akwerrk* for 'family'.

EAnm: Ag translated *atyengarneng* as 'she's my sister', 'he's my brother' and on another occasion as 'a distant brother or sister'. They gave *ngkwengarnengekweny* '2sg:DAT-arneng-PRIV' as a translation of 'What relation am I to her?' but it seems to mean something like 'no relation to you'. They gave *atyeng pelty* for 'my relation', and *atyeng akwerrk* for 'my family'.

Aly: BM gave *atyenhernem*, *ngkwenhernem*, *ikwerenhernem* as words for 'family'; literally they are '1sg.GEN-PL', '2sg.GEN-PL', '3sg.GEN-PL', respectively. Later, with his wife, he accepted *altyernem* (*atyenh*) for

atyenhernem. *Ngkweng altyarrpemarl* was said to mean 'your relation'; literally '2sg.DAT relation-too-FOC'. EH said that there was no word for 'family', as in 'two families having a fight'. She said *alty* was 'close' as in *ankel alty* 'close cousin'; if the sousin is not close you just say *ankel*. *Angkwerey alty* is "full sister"; this includes half-sister, for which there is no specific term. She did not accept constructions peculiar to kinship terms (preceding dative possessor, pronominal possessor suffix) on *alty*. For two people related just through their skin names you could say *inkepenh yanhatherr*, *inkepenh* means 'from another place'. She accepted *altyelenheng* (cousin-gether) *inkepenh*.

Kay: IT translated *pelty* as "from one mother." However, CP translates it as 'friend'.

4.6. Order of siblings

Unlike some South Australian languages which are reported to have sets of birth-order names up to ten (see for example Schürmann 1844), the Arandic languages do not have a well-developed set of birth-order names. Terms used are mostly based on spatial or temporal (or both) terms denoting relative order and essentially divide children into early, middle and late. In addition, there is a term meaning 'older than' for siblings. Also there are ways of relating classificatory kin to the direct relation.

The following terms are known for Eastern and Central Arrernte, and their description draws heavily on Henderson and Dobson (1994).

(a) older

Akngerrepat has the primary meaning 'older or senior person', and the secondary meaning 'oldest one(s) of a family or group'. The example given is:

Yay akngerrepat r. 'She's my oldest sister'.

This clearly contains *akngerr* 'big'; the second component *pat* (sometimes *apat*) does not appear elsewhere. (A relationship with the verb *apatem* 'to be confused' seems unlikely; *akngerrepat* is a term of respect and has no connotation of senility.) This, and also *akngerr* 'big' and *akngerrty* 'big' can be used with kinship terms other than those for siblings, and are dealt with in the following section, as are *alherr* 'younger' and *akwek* 'small'.

Arrwekeleny is derived from *arrwekel* 'in front; first; before, earlier; in the past'. The third meaning given for *arrwekeleny* is 'first child, the oldest brother or sister'. (Meaning 1 is 'first one, one in front, the one before'; 2a 'the people who came before us; ancestors, old people'; 2b '(one) from before us, (one) in the old days'.)

(15) *Kak apek alakenh anpernem ngkwengeng arrwekeleny, mey anyentekenh.*

kak apek alakenh anpernem ngkweng-eng arrwekel-eny mey anyentekenh

eBr maybe thus call-PRES 2sg.DAT-ABL before-from Mo one-GEN

'A big brother is one that's older than you, if you have the same mother.'

Lterrk appears in the Dictionary only as [abbreviated] (1) 'hard, tough, solid', (2) 'tight, strong', (3) 'physically powerful, healthy', (4a) 'with a strong will, hard to convince', (4b) 'mean, not generous', (5) 'difficult'. The meaning 'older' has been heard only from Northern Arrernte speakers. It can be applied to non-kin terms: *marl lterrk*, *marl mpepentyurlt*, and *marl alherr* 'oldest girl, middle girl and younger girl'. Other phrases heard were *artw lterrk* 'oldest man (i.e. male)', *akngerrepat lterrk* (not translated) and *kak lterrk* and *kely lterrk*, both 'eldest brother'.

Alkngarelhem is a verb whose primary meaning is given as 'look back behind you'. It is composed of *alkng* 'eye' and *arelhem*, the reflexive form of *arem* 'see, look'. Its meaning in relation to kinship is 'be the older brother or sister of someone'; it also means 'be older than someone'. It is not clear if it can be used with the latter meaning outside the kinship context.

(16) *Arrwekeleny alkngarelhek mpepiperrek.*

arrwekel-eny alkng-ar-elh-ek mpep-iperr-ek

before-from eye-see-REF-PAST middle-AFTER-DAT

'The oldest child is older than the middle one.'

(17) *Akngerr rarl alkngarelhek ikwer.*

akngerr r-arl alkng-ar-elh-ek ikwer

big 3sg-FOC eye-see-REF-PAST 3sg:DAT

'The big one looks back at him.' (This refers to the second brother.)

(b) middle

Mpep means 'middle', 'in between', 'on the way (between places)', 'in the middle (of doing something)'. From this is productively derived *mpepiperr* 'the one in the middle', which can be used of the middle (i.e. not oldest or youngest) child of a family. However, there is also a non-productive derivation *mpepetyurlt*, used only of kin: *akngey mpepetyurlt* 'father's middle brother'. See also the example for *lterrk* above, and note the slight difference in the form used there. *Mpepetyurlt* in that example is used with a non-kin term (*marl* 'girl, female') but nevertheless is used of kin. The second component, (*n*)*tyurlt* cannot plausibly be related to any other morpheme.

(c) younger

Ingkerneny is derived from *ingkern* 'behind', 'back part of something', 'after, later'. Its primary meaning is 'the last one(s)' but it is frequently used to mean 'younger ones, youngest one', especially of brothers and sisters.

(18) *Alakenh ant atyengarl ilek, akwek ingkerneny.*

alakenh ant atyeng-arl il-ek, akwek ingkern-eny
 thus only 1sg.DAT-FOC tell-PAST small behind-from
 'That's all that was told to me, being the youngest one.'

Another meaning of *ingkerneny* is 'modern, today's'.

Akantyeny is derived from *akanty* 'tip, point, end', also 'animal's tail', and means 'last child in a family'. The formative *-eny* is, of course, the same moderately productive morpheme that appears above in *arrwekeleny* and *ingkerneny*; another example is *mpepeny* 'the one in the middle'. There are examples of *akantyeny* being combined with *ingkerneny*: *ingkerneny akantyeny*. It may be that *akantyeny* means 'last' and *ingkerneny* 'younger', although H&D equate them.

Untyel inem literally means 'carry on the back of the neck' (*unty* 'nape'), but has the idiomatic meaning 'to have someone as a younger brother or sister'.

(19) *Amp nhenhel M untyel inek.*

amp nhenh-el unty-el in-ek
 child this-ERG nape-LOC get-PAST
 'This child had a younger sister [or brother], M'.

(This construction is attested for Western Arrernte too.)

A related expression, not noted by H&D but attested for northern, eastern and northeastern Arrernte, is formed by suffixing *-ipenh* ~ *-epwenh* 'after, because of, from' to *unty*. This is just one of a set of terms, referred to further in 14, formed by adding this suffix to a body part term. It was noted by Hale (1959-60) for Bond Springs (just north of Alice Springs, and with the allomorph *-epwenh* which is not normally heard now from that dialect — Central Arrernte), and has recently been attested from an eastern Arrernte speaker (*untyipenh*) and from speakers of northern and northeastern Arrernte (both *untyipenh* and *untyepwenh*). Hale gives the sentence:

(20) *Yanh ngkweng untyepwenh alhem.*

yanh ngkweng unty-epwenh alh-em
 there 2sg.DAT nape-AFTER go-PRES
 'There goes your young brother.'

Note that terms like *maty akngerrepat* ('eldest mother'), *maty mpepiperr* ('middle mother') and *maty akantyeny* ('youngest mother') can be used as appropriate to refer to one's natural mother. *Maty akngerr*, *maty akwek* ~ *akely* and *maty alherr* cannot; they refer to classificatory kinsmen who are older or younger than one's natural mother (or whatever).

A type of expression that is, at first sight, self-contradictory is exemplified by *kak akwek*. It could be used by a person to address or refer to another person who is a senior brother, in that he is the son of an elder sister of the speaker's mother, say, but who is actually younger than the speaker. The reciprocal of this term would be *atyey akngerr*.

In Alyawarr (data from Green 1992, mostly with further confirmation) has the terms:

aletharr 'eldest child', also *alkenh* 'big', and *arrwekeleny*;

amethenh 'youngest child', also *ingkerniperr*, *ingkernepenh*, *antengepenh* all meaning 'from behind'. The word *amethenh* can be verbalized with the causative suffix; the present tense form *aletharreleyel* means 'making a child the eldest (by having another one)'.

4.7. Distant and close kin

There is no special term to denote what we would call 'real' in English; for example, to specify a 'mother' as my real mother or natural mother, as opposed to her sisters, her cousin-sisters, and so on. My real mother is simply called 'mother' (*mey*, *maty*, etc).

Other mothers may, however, be mentioned with a qualification to specify that they are not my natural mother. The least esoteric way is to use a relative age specifier. A person who is elder sister to my natural mother is called, in Central Arrernte, *mey akngerr*, literally 'big mother'. Alternatives are *mey akngerrty*, again 'big mother', and *mey akngerrepat* 'elder mother'. A younger sister or younger cousin-sister of my natural mother can be called *mey akwek*, 'little mother'. None of these qualifiers is confined to use with kinship terms.

One that is confined to use with kinship terms, however, is *alherr* (which is not known to all speakers now); *mey alherr* seems to be the same as *mey akwek*. One informant translated it as 'stepmother', suggesting that there is something more to it,¹⁴ and Carl Strehlow (n.d.) translates it (in isolation) as 'half' or 'step-', but in all of his examples where it is used with a kinship term, such as those in the next paragraph, it is translated 'younger'. All other evidence too is that it means 'younger'; that, for example, *mey alherr* is just a classificatory mother who is called younger sister by one's real mother.

Present-day speakers accept *alherr* only with mother and father, but Carl Strehlow says that it can be used with at least some other kinship terms, namely *arrenc* and *tyemey*, the two grandfathers, *kamern* 'MoBr', *new* 'Sp', *mparn* 'BrL', *irntang* 'SiL', *anterr* 'SoWi' and *mar* 'WiMo / fDaHu'. Examples include *arrenc lherr* 'FaFayBr [and FaFaySi?]', *kamern lherr* 'MoyBr', *new lherr* 'WiySi / HuyBr', *mparn lherr* 'mySiHu', *mar lherr* 'WiMoySi [and WiMoyBr?]'. For elder counterparts of these terms *kngerr* 'big' is used instead of *lherr*. No cognate of *lherr* was found in Alyawarr; some Alyawarr speakers when asked about it equated it with *akngerr* 'many' (not 'big' as in some dialects), thus *amey alherr* = *amey akngerr* 'many mothers' (while others just did not know it). With this meaning, this corresponds to a word *alhirr* in northeastern Arrernte.

Terms such as *kngerr* and *lherr* are not, of course, confined to specifying more distant kin; *kamern lherr*, for example, does not necessarily refer to a more distant uncle, but just one who is younger than one's mother. (However, since many speakers use it only with terms for mother and father, it does apply only to more distant kin for them.)

Birth order terms can also be used; for example, *maty kantyeny* 'youngest mother' = mother's youngest sister, *maty mpwepiperr* 'middle mother' = a mother in the middle of the family. Such terms could refer to one's natural mother too.

Arerrenty is a term used for close kin without any reference to any relative age. For example, *maty arerrenty* is defined by one Arrernte speaker as "a close mother but not your natural mother." The same person gave as an example two women, one of whom was a sister of the natural mother and the other a cousin-sister. It seems that *arerrenty* can be used of kin when the relationship can be traced; this is probably generally limited to a connection three generations or less back.¹⁵ In Western Arrernte a term *iteny* 'near' is said to have the same meaning as *rerrenty*, while in Northeastern Arrernte *itw* and *arrer*¹⁶, both 'near', can be used.

Artw arerrentyekenh was translated as 'countryman' and *arelh arerrentyekenh* is the feminine equivalent; this seems to mean someone belonging to the same patrician or *nyenheng* group

¹⁴ Although the same person on another occasion defined *akngey alherr* (*akngey* 'my father') as *atyengartweyek atyeyekw* '1 sg:DAT-owner-DAT ySb-his' 'younger sibling for the one I belong to'.

¹⁵ An interesting feature of Central Australian Aboriginal English is that the term 'full' is equivalent to *arerrenty*. For example, my full brother is not my brother who has the same parents as me, but is my cousin-brother, *kak arerrenty* or *atyey arerrenty*, who might share a pair of grandparents or great-grandparents with me. This usage does not seem to apply to Alyawarr Aboriginal English; there a full brother is a blood brother.

¹⁶ Note the differences between *arrer* and *arerrenty*; they are not thought to be related.

as the referent.

Terms given for distant kin include *itepiperr*, literally 'from the edge' and translated by one Northern Arrernte person as "some from Alcoota or Napperby that are same skin as me"¹⁷ (referring to people he would call brother; Alcoota is in Northeastern Arrernte country and Napperby Western Anmatyerr). A Northern Arrernte speaker defines *maty itepiperr* as *pmer arrpenhiperr maty* 'my mother from another country'. Others are *itepeny ulker*, *arleng ulker*, *arlengeny ulker* (Central Arrernte; the first translatable as 'a bit close' and the others as 'a bit far').

A term on which the data are quite inconsistent is, variously, *inkepwenh*, *inkepenh*, *inkiperr* and *inkekenh*. This is probably not related to the Arrernte word *ink* 'soul, spirit', but rather to the Alyawarr word *ink* 'side' — whether it refers to close kin, as some say, or distant as others say. The form *inkekenh* was said to be the same as *iteriperr*, literally 'from the side', which has not been heard from any other source, and seems to refer to close kin. However, the two people (NEArr) who first gave *inkepwenh* said it was the same as *itepiperr* (and, in fact, in other contexts *-iperr*, *-ipenh*, *-epenh*, *-epwenh* and *-apwenh* are variants, regional in the case of the last four, of one morpheme see H&D:392-93). According to an Alyawarr speaker (EH), for people related just through their skin names you say *inkepenh yanhatherr*; *inkepenh* means 'from another place'; she agreed that you could say *altyelenheng inkepenh*.

These terms all seem to be nominals; thus, for example, we have ergative phrases such as *akngey alherrel* 'my father's younger brother-ERG' and *akngey arerrentyel* 'my close father-ERG'. *Arerrenty* is not a kinship term, and does not take suffixes peculiar to kinship terms, such as the group suffix *-enheng*.

Additional data:

LAr data are scant; *rerrenty* was used and seems to have applied to persons whose mothers were actual sisters (or presumably whose fathers were actual brothers). No evidence could be found of (*a*)*lherr*, but this could very well be due to the last speakers' lack of knowledge.

According to Carl Strehlow (1907-15), *lherr* 'younger sibling of' was used with terms with primary meanings grandfather (FaFa and MoFa), Fa and Mo, FaSi and MoBr, SpFa and SpMo, Sp and BrL and SiL. Not, surprisingly, with the grandmother terms. In any case, present day speakers accept it only with *kart* 'father' and *mey* 'mother'. They would use *kwek* 'small' instead of *lherr* with other terms. Strehlow gave *kngerrty lherr* as 'uncle (younger brother of father)'; *kngerrty* in present-day Western Arrernte means 'big', but Strehlow uses it as an alternative to *kart* 'Fa' and it has other meanings (such as 'leader') in traditional stories.

WAR: GA+ translated *arerrenty* as 'close family, people whose fathers are from the same country'. Unlike others, GA accepted *arerrentyenheng*.

WANm: LP explained *arerrenty* as "like cousin-brother. Different grandfather or grandmother. That's my brother-*arerrenty*." *Amey alherr* is "young mother" ('younger sister of mother'). Mother's elder sister is *amey angerrepat*. She accepted *arrenc* (FaFa) *alherr* but added *ngkerneny* 'behind, i.e. coming after'; she volunteered *arrenc angerrepat*, presumably 'FaFaeSb'. Ng explained *arerrenty* as used for a relationship that you can trace, and said that suffixes like *-aty*, *-angkw*, *-enheng* can't be affixed.

SEAr: EJ would accept the use of *arerrenty* of children or grandchildren of two brothers or two sisters. Another specified it as applying to a relationship that can be traced.

CAR: HE defined *akngey alherr* as

- (21) *atyengartweyek atyeyikw alakenh*
atyeng-artwey-ek atyey-ikw alakenh
 lsg:DAT-owner-DAT ySb-his like that
 'younger sibling of the one I belong to'

but also used the prefix *step-* in translating *alherr*. (See 7.2.3 re 'owner'.)

NAR: MH accepted *mey alherr* as like *mey akwek* but not used for one's own mother's own sister; it could be her cousin-sister. *Melherr* (with root *m* 'Mo') was not accepted. The terms *maty akngerripat* 'my senior Mo', *maty mpwepiperr* 'my middle Mo' and *maty akantyeny* 'my youngest Mo' can be used to refer to your natural mother, specifying her place in her family; *maty akngerr* 'my big mother' and *maty akwek* 'my small Mo' cannot be used of your natural mother. *Maty arerrenty* is 'MoFaBrDa'.

RF accepted *arerrenty* for close (but not 'own') kin, exemplifying with her own family: the son of her second daughter could call her other daughters and her sister's daughters *maty arerrenty*, her eldest daughter *maty akngerrepat*, her third (but not youngest) daughter *maty mpwepiperr* and her (younger) sister's daughter *maty akantyeny*. His own mother and a distant classificatory mother would both be *maty*. She also used *arerrenty* of

¹⁷ Some quotes, such as this, are taken from fieldnotes and may not be verbatim.

herself and two other women; both of whom were no closer than second cousin to her (but cousins of one another). She once rejected *itw* or *itepiperr* for distance of kin but on another occasion accepted the latter for distant kin.

Other NAr speakers gave similar but less detailed and not always clear information. One group used *mikw* ('Mo-his') *inkekenh* as an alternative to *mikw iteriperr*; *iteriperr* was translated as 'sideways' — 'mother's side; might be a big sister and a young sister — one is *inkekenh*; same as *alherr*'. They translated *itepiperr* as 'sideways, mother in a different line again'. *Maty akngerr*, *matyakngerrty* and *maty akngerrepat* were all given for 'MoeSi', *maty alherr* and *maty akwek* for 'MoySi' while *maty akentyeny* was 'mother's youngest sister'. The eldest of the group, ST, did not accept *alherr* with other than mother and father; his son MT was not so sure. EAr: LM thought that *itepiperr* referred to kin *pmer arrpenhiperr* 'from another country', and that *inkiperr* was the same. On another occasion he used the form *inkepwenh* and equated it to *arerrenty*. LC would accept *alherr* with any kinship term.

NEAr: M said that *itw* is 'close relation', *itepiperr* 'everyone else'. She translated *artw arerrentyekenh* (lit. 'man belonging to *arerrenty*') as 'countryman', i.e. belonging to the same clan estate — the people of an area of land belonging to a *nyenheng* section; the female equivalent is *arelh arerrentyekenh*. SC, who accepted several of the terms discussed, also used an expression 'brother *inkuty*', which is a puzzle. (He used *inkapwenh* - *inkepwenh* rather than *inkiperr*.)

EAnm: Ag translated *angkweraty arerrenty* as "cousin-sister, once or twice removed" and gave *angkwerenheng arerrentyatherr* for two women one of whom would call the other *angkwer arerrenty*. (See 5.4 for *-enheng*; *atherr* is 'two'.)

Aly: Some did not know *arerrenty*, but others knew it as referring to, say, sister or cousin-sister of mother (and equivalent for other kin). *Awayenheng* ('eBr-GETHER') *arerrenty* is 'two cousin-brothers'. SPg distinguished own mother from distant mother just by the use of the genitive pronoun ('my' in the example): *amey atyenh* vs *amey*.

4.8. Extension of sibling terms

Kak is defined (H&D:436) as:

- 1a. older brother
- 1b. father's older brother's son; cousin
- 1e. mother's older sister's son; cousin
2. male cross-cousin (father's sister's son, mother's brother's son). A less common informal way to describe these people.
3. a male with the same skin name as you and your older brother, and who is about the right age.
4. brother (older or younger). This was probably only used with this meaning by young children originally but is now common with many people under 40.

Yay (H&D:634-35) is the female counterpart of *kak*, primarily 'older sister'.

However, there are some indications that the more general use of these terms to indicate a brother or sister whether older or younger is not merely an innovation spreading from child language, but may be quite old and perhaps even the original meaning. Note the use of terms like *kak mweyemwey* and *yay mweyemwey*, described in 11.1. There seems to be no idea of seniority inherent in these terms in this case, but instead the reference is probably to the respect with which each of these must treat the other.

If a person was "found" (conceived, *alkngirrek*) in the "wrong" country, i.e. not in the father's country, a person belonging to that country might call that person a brother or sister. For example, a woman is Kngwarraye (having a Kemarre mother and a Peltharre father) but was "found" in a Kemarre/Perrurle estate. A Kemarre woman might call her *yay* for this reason (*renhareyartek mpwarem* 'making her like them'), and be called *yay* in return.¹⁸ She could also call the Kngwarraye woman *amp* 'niece', the correct name for a person of this subsection. Again in this usage of *yay* the translation can only be 'sister'; there is no connotation of seniority because each uses the term for the other.

Furthermore, it seems that *kak* and *yay* are used, without reference to seniority, when used in a familiar way between cross-cousins. It seems also that a person can call the cousin of classificatory sibling in the same *nyenheng* estate *kak* or *yay*.

¹⁸ See also section 11, on skewing.

5. Some grammar applied to kinship terms

5.1. The formative -akem

The free verb *akem* is defined by H&D as:

- (a) call someone something, name something, describe them as something, refer to them as something;
- (b) call a person a relative. Used with family relation terms, which are also used for the dreamings and conception places of those relatives.¹⁹

Examples given for meaning (b) are:

- (22) *Arelh Kemarrel artw Kngwarray ahenterr akem.*
arelh kemarr-el artw kngwarray ahenterr ak-em.
 woman Kemarre-ERG man Kngwarraye HuFa call-PRES
 'A Kemarre woman calls a Kngwarraye man "ahenterr" (father-in-law).'
- (23) *Th apmer nhakw ipmenh akem.*
th apmer nhakw ipmenh ak-em
 lsg.ERG place that MoMo call-PRES
 'I call that place grandmother (mother's mother).'

The dictionary also gives a word *makem*, under the head-word *me*³ (NE) [= NEAR] 'mother's brother; uncle'. *Makem* is defined as 'call someone mother's brother'. A longer form, *marlakem*, is given as an alternative. The use of *-arl* in this way in compounds like this is productive, although its function is not clear. (See Wilkins 1989: 354.)

In fact, *me*³ is simply a free form, attested only in the northeastern variety and in Alyawarr, of what the dictionary has as *m+*⁴ 'mother' (and other meanings, not including mother's brother or any male) (= my *m-*). As such, it can refer to mother's brother as well as mother, as described in 4.1. *Makem* is a compound of *m-* and *akem*, and is equivalent to phrases such as *ahenterr akem* and *ipmenh akem* in the sentence examples given above. Furthermore, it can mean 'call someone mother' as well as 'call someone mother's brother'. Since *akem* is used with *m-*, and other forms such as *any-*, *k-*, *aty-* and *atny-*, which rarely, and for most speakers never, occur as free forms, I am regarding all such constructions as compound words: thus *ahenterrakem*, *ipmenhakem*, and so on.

Note that *anewakem*, literally 'calling (someone) spouse' is glossed as 'marrying' by H&D, although the corresponding reciprocal form *anewakerrem* may also be used.

There are three other verbs in Eastern and Central Arrernte that include in their meanings 'to call (someone something)'. Only one of these, *anpernem*, is used with reference to kinship terms (see H&D:149-50).

Details:

LAr: one speaker used the sentence *Yeng alenh nherrakek* 'I called that one HuMo', which is strange in that the subject pronoun (*yeng*) is nominative, not ergative. (The final *ek* is the past tense suffix.)

WAR: ER knew this construction; younger ones did not. Forms elicited or confirmed were: *makem* 'call Mo / MoBr', *nyakem* 'call Fa / FaSi', *wenhekem* 'call FaSi', *kamernekem* 'call MoBr', *kelyekem* 'call eBr', *arengekem* 'call FaFa / mSoCh'. Note that the monosyllable roots are combined with *akem*, and the longer forms with *kem*, the normal form of the free verb in this dialect. (This seems to be the case in LAr too.)

WANm: the only speaker consulted (LP) accepted or gave *anyakem* (identified as referring to 'uncle' but must be 'call Fa'), *wenhakem* 'call FaSi', *atyakem* 'call MoFa' and *arengekem* 'call FaFa / mSoCh'.

CAr and SEAr: ten speakers were consulted and all use *-akem* compounds, except that it seems that for the far northeastern area *-kem* is used also, or instead. (Also in this area the root of the verb in its free form is not *ak-* but *k-*.)

EAnm: Ag gave *makem* and accepted some forms based on other kinship terms.

Aly has a verb *akeyel* (equivalent to *akem*) 'call' although some speakers I consulted preferred *antweyel* or *ineweyel*. However, there was no solid evidence of a compound like *amakeyel* as opposed to *amikw akeyel* 'calls Mo'.

¹⁹ Note that the form of verbs given as headwords in Arrernte dictionary entries is the present tense, with suffix *-em*.

5.2. The formative *-ankethenh*

H&D define *-ankethenh* as '[a suffix which is used] after certain family relation words; [with the meaning] having that particular relation, having that relation of yours still alive.' They give the example:

- (24) *Anyankethenh mapel atwetyalay, lhampw.*
any-ankethenh mapel atw-etyalay lhampw
 father-having mob-ERG hit-don't orphan
 'You lot have got a father, don't beat him up, he's an orphan.'

They give a second meaning (the first being the predictable one) for *mankethenh*, the combination of this suffix with *m-* 'mother': a child who wants to stay with its mother all the time rather than going off to play or do other things; a 'mummy's boy/girl'.

For many speakers, *-ankethenh* seems to be combinable with all "normal" kinship terms, i.e. terms which can combine with group and at least some person suffixes. Most speakers give a meaning equivalent to that given by H&D, for example 'you've got a ...'. However, some referred to the 'excessive dependence' aspect (which would seem to be much more likely with terms based on *m-* 'mother' or *any-* 'father').

-ankethenh can be used, at least in Arrernte, in speaking of a bereavement:

- (25) *Anwern arrengankethenh ekwenyarlirrek.*
anwern arreng-ankethenh-ekweny-arl-irr-ek
 lpl FaFa-having-PRIV-FOC-INCH-PAST
 'We lost our father's father' (literally, something like 'we became not people who have a father's father').

An Alyawarr example from Green (1998) illustrates the use of *-ankethenh* in relation to one's relationship to country:

- (26) *Ayengan aperlankethenh yanh apmerew.*
Ayeng-an aperl-ankethenh yanh apmer-ew
 I-EM FaMo-having that place-DAT
 'I am related to that country through my father's mother.'
 [literally: 'I have a father's mother for that country.']

Data

WANm: LP gave *mankethenh* as having essentially the same meaning as H&D's second meaning, and gave an equivalent translation for *anyankethenh*: "you following your father" (for example, a sixteen-year-old who should get away from his father and do his own things). Consistent with this type of meaning, she accepted the use of *-ankethenh* with *angkwer-* 'eSi' and *k-* 'eBr' but not with *atyey-* 'ySb'. However, she did not accept it with *awenh-* 'FaSi', although she did with *menh-* 'MoMo'. These were the only terms I asked. Another WANm speaker translated *mankethenh* as "she belongs to a mother," and accepted *atyeyankethenh*.

EAR: LM said that *anyankethenh* means "he got father" and adds that "somebody might get cheeky for that boy or girl," with the implication 'watch out, his (or her) father might take to you'. LC used *-ankethenh* with *arweng* 'dreaming from father's side': *arwengankethenh* 'you've got a dreaming'.

NEAr: A divergent apparent meaning was given by MM, when she explained *mankethenh* as "when he lose mother, and auntie got to look after him, like that." However, I had on another occasion got the gloss "he got a mother" from her and her husband (SC). (It is not clear which gave it; however, both belong to the same general area.) They had also accepted *kankethenh* (*k-* 'eBr'), *atyankethenh* (*aty-* 'MoFa') and others. They also used it with dreaming terms *arweng* and *altyerr*.

EANm: Ag translated *mankethenh* as "kid always cry for his mother", and accepted *angkwerankethenh* (*angkwer* 'eSi').

Aly: Some speakers said that *-ankethenh* can be used with any kinship term, but not with *atyew* 'friend'. They also accepted *altyerr-ankethenh* 'having a dreaming' (i.e. dreaming from the mother's side). EH translated *amankethenh* as "He got a mother"; and accepted it with *ayn-* 'Fa', *k-* 'eBr', *angkwer-* 'eSi', *amp-* 'fCh', *arreng-* 'FaFa' and, without specifying, any other kin. Of the avoidance terms (for which see 10), she accepted it with *ngwarr-*, *irrwerr-*, *anman-* and *arrmar-* but not *mwarlenth* (and it is not compatible with its use, see above). She also used it or accepted it with *mpertalty*, *ngkwernerrp* and *akwetyerr*. SPg gave the examples:

- (27) *Amankethenhan nhenh artneyalpew.*
am-ankethenh-an nhenh artn-eyalp-ew
 Mo-having-EM this cry-go back and do-PAST 'He
 cried for his mother' (wouldn't let me look after him)

- (28) *Angkwerankethenhan ngan nthweyel.*
angkwer-ankethenhan ng-an nthw-eyel.
 eSi-having-EM you-EM look for-PRES
 'You looking round for your sister.'

KBg explained that *amankethenh* could be used in a situation where you are telling a child: "Don't come crying to me, you've got a mother, go to her." A sentence given by EH: *amankethenh angan artneyel* has this implication, and she said *aynankethenh* would be used in a similar way.

5.3. Prefixation

The Arandic languages are suffixing languages; there are only two small patches of prefixing morphology in what is otherwise a totally suffixing system. Both are found in the morphology of kinship terms. One occurs in Kaytetye (Koch 1990:195) where two of the three singular possessor affixes (see 7.1) on kinship terms are prefixes. For example, using the root *arreg* 'father's father', where Central Arrernte has *arregaty* 'my father's father', *arregangkwa* 'your father's father', *arregikwa* 'his or her father's father', Kaytetye has *arregeny*, *ngkarreg* and *kwarreg* respectively. More on this later.

The second is found in Lower Arrernte. This is a language which is now almost totally extinct, and our knowledge of it is full of holes. In the kinship terminology we have fragments of a system, which may or may not have been complete, of prefixes specifying (redundantly, it seems, at times) the gender of a kinsman. There are a number of different prefixes for each gender but there is no indication of any regularity, for example of certain prefixes being used for kin in certain generations or for senior versus junior kin.

The prefixes are:

akng- 'male', probably derived from the term *akngey* 'my father', which occurs in a number of Arandic languages and is not itself analysed as containing a prefix;
alyw- 'female', which may be related to the Western Arrernte term *lyurr* 'grandmother';
akely- 'male', presumably related to (*a*)*kely* 'elder brother' in some of the more southerly and westerly dialects of Arrernte;
(*a*)*wey-* 'male', a bound form of *wey* (*away* in some dialects) 'boy';
kwey- 'female', a bound form of *kwey* 'girl'; and
kw- 'female', also presumably from *kwey* 'girl'.

Details are as follows:

akng- 'male' is attested in *akngarreg* 'FaFa', *akngertart* 'MoFa', *akngipmenh* 'MoMoBr, fDaSo' (also 'grandson' without further specification), *akngempenn*, also *akngempennay*, 'BrL', *akngepey* 'person with whom a man went through initiations'. Of these, only the third and fourth are attested without a prefix, i.e. *ipmenh*, which would include any person who could be called *akngipmenh* and also any sister of any such person — 'MoMo' and 'fDaDa', and *mpenn*, which, as far as we know, is used only of a male and so would have the same meaning as *akngempenn*.

alyw- 'female' is known only in *alywertart* 'MoFaSi', which is the feminine counterpart of *akngertart*; the presumed root *rtart* is not attested in this language, but it is in some other Arandic languages.

akely- 'male' is known in *akelyak* 'eBr', *akelyirtey* 'yBr' and 'cousin' (probably 'junior male parallel cousin'), *akelyankel* 'male cross-cousin of a male' and *akelyaler* 'mSo'. The roots *irtey* 'ySb', *ankel* 'male Co' and *aler* 'mCh' are attested without a prefix, while *irtey* and *aler* are also attested with prefix *kwey-*.

(*a*)*wey-* 'male' is known in *awayirtey* (same as *akelyirtey*), *weyaler* (probably the same as *akelyaler*).

kwey- 'female' is known in *kweyirtey* 'ySi', *kweyaler* 'Da (presumably of a man or a brother)', *kweyaleraty* 'my Da' (with *-aty* 'my'). These are feminine counterparts of *akelyirtey/awayirtey* and *akelyaler/weyaler*.

kw- 'female' in *kungker* (presumably derived from, or perhaps more correctly written as, *kwungker*, cognate with *angkwer* in some other Arandic languages), *kwirtey* (= *kweyirtey*), *kweltyel* 'female cross-cousin of a female' (cognate with *altyel* in other Arandic languages), *kwamamp* ~ *kwamp*, presumably based on *ampa* 'fCh' and translated 'nephew', which must be a mistake, *kwarteng* 'sister-in-law' (cognate with *arteng*).

Another fourteen kinship roots are attested but not known with any of these prefixes.

5.4. Kin groups

Many Australian languages have morphemes that combine with kinship terms to refer to groups of people related in such a way that the kinship term, to which the morpheme is

affixed, is used by one or more members of the group to refer to or address the other member(s). See Breen (1976) and Merlan and Heath (1982) for early surveys of such group kinship terms. See also Wilkins (1989) and H&D (entries for *+nhenge* and *+ntyerre*) for details of the Central and Eastern Arrernte systems. The term '(kin-)dyadic' has been used for affixes of this type, although any implication that they normally apply to groups of two is not correct for the Arandic languages.²⁰ I gloss the suffix as 'gether', using an Aboriginal English suffix derived from 'together' (as in father-GETHER, auntie-GETHER).²¹ The following description is of the Western Arrernte system, which is, however, essentially the same as the systems in the other Arandic dialects.

Taking *tyey* 'younger sibling' as an example of a kinship term that behaves regularly, we have a group form *tyeyenheng* which can be translated as 'a group of people, one or more of whom is or are called *tyey* by one or more others'. The term *tyeyenheng* most commonly refers to two people, say two brothers. *Tyeyenhengetherr*, with the dual suffix *-etherr*, refers specifically to two. *Tyeyenhengenheng*, with the suffix reduplicated, refers to a group of three or more. Other plural suffixes are *-entyerr* and *-artw* (the latter perhaps only following *-enheng*).²² Examples are *ngkwerentyerr* 'sisters', *ankelentyerr* 'male (cross-)cousins' and *menhengartw* 'mother(s) and child(ren)'. Certain kinship terms use a different stem for these forms. For example, *kart* or *kngey* is 'father', but *nyenheng* is 'father and child'; *mey* 'mother' gives *menheng* 'mother and child', *kely* 'elder brother' gives *kenheng* 'brothers' and *kway* 'elder sister' gives *ngkwerenheng*. The plural suffix *-entyerr* is perhaps cognate with, but synchronically distinct from, the word *ntyarr* 'many'. The cognate form *-intyerr* in Lower Arrernte is not plural but corresponds to *-enheng* in other dialects.

There are cases in which the definition given for these suffixes must be modified in that the root is not the term used by any member of the group for any other, but is a term used by certain others to refer to the relationship between the parties. One example concerns the root *irrkarr*; this is a term used by a speaker to refer to the spouse of a person in the speaker's own generation (or an even number of generations above or below) but it is not used to refer to or address one's own spouse. Thus *irrkarenheng* is a married couple in one's own generation, but they do not call one another *irrkarraty*; there is no such word. The other example concerns the root *perl*; this means 'mother's mother' and its reciprocal, and with these meanings it behaves in the same way as most other kinship terms. But it is used also to refer to the spouse of a person in a generation an odd number away from the speaker, for example in his or her parents' generation, and in these cases it is used in the same way as *irrkarr*. See 4.4.

Since some of my data do not conform to Wilkins' (1989:136) statement that dyadic suffixes are suffixed only to the senior member of a pair or group,²³ I concentrated on this aspect in my survey. My conclusion is that, while some speakers adhere to such a rule, it does not follow, as Wilkins concludes, that certain combinations of stem plus *-enheng* are not possible. For example, *aler* has the primary meaning 'man's child', but it also means 'FaFaFa' and so refers to a senior person. The only kinship term that refers primarily to a junior person and does not refer also to a senior person in another generation (disregarding *amp*, which does not appear in that form in higher generations, but does appear as *ampaty*) is *atyey* 'younger sibling'. However, a speaker (of Northern Arrernte) who at first rejected *atyeyenheng* changed her mind after further thought and, using the example of her own and her sister's sons (see also 2), said that it could be used in the circumstance where one person was older than another but referred to and addressed the other as elder sibling because the other's parent is elder sibling of the first's. Thus, in this case, T is older than P, but T's mother J is younger sister of P's mother Rand so P calls T *atyey* 'younger brother'. But, since

²⁰ Or some others; McGregor (1996) speaks of "dyadic and polyadic kin terms" for Gooniyandi.

²¹ The term 'gether' probably occurred in print first in Koch (1982). Merlan and Heath (1982:107) use a form 'gija'.

²² In ECAR *-entyerr* can go on monosyllabic kinship terms only if they already have *-enheng*, for example, *awenhentyerr* 'aunties' is permitted, **mentyerr* 'mothers' is not but *menhengentyerr* 'mothers' is. H&D do not make this clear.

²³ Wilkins (1989:136) says that "the convention is that *-nhenge* 'kin-dyadic' suffixes only to the term used to refer to the senior kin-relation in the group". So terms for junior kin (like *amp*) can't occur with *-enheng*. Incidentally, his definition of '*KINTERM-nhenge*' does not cater for *arrkarenheng* or *aperlenheng* (as 'married couple'), or such Alyawarr avoidance forms as *ngwarrenheng*.

T is senior in age if not in terminology, it is permissible to refer to T and P together as *atyeyenheng*.²⁴

Just as there is no priority — or at least no absolute priority — for the senior member in the naming of a pair, there seems to be no priority for either sex in naming, for example, a group of brothers and sisters. In Alyawarr, where there is no term for 'cousin of the opposite sex', a male and female cousin together could be called either *ankelenheng* or *altyelenheng*, '(male) cousin-GETHER' and '(female) cousin-GETHER' respectively.

Note the similarity to the system whereby a group is named from one of its members, for example, in Aboriginal English, Rosie mob, meaning 'Rosie and the others' or 'Rosie and her family' or something similar (depending on the context). The Aboriginal English suffix -GETHER is in some ways (but not all) the kinship equivalent of 'mob' and similar terms. However, you can use a kinship term in the X-mob construction too, e.g. "mummy mob," and this is not the same as mother-GETHER. The former is ambiguous and can mean 'my mother and the others who are with her, or associated with her', or 'a group of people who are mother (classificatory, perhaps including my actual mother) to me', and the latter 'a group, one or more members of which are mother (actual or classificatory) to the other member(s)'.

Summary of data

WAr: GA accepted *lerenheng*, *tyeyenheng* and *ampenheng*.

WANm: LP accepted *alerenheng* and *ampenheng*, but did not accept *atyeyenheng* under any circumstances.

This dialect has *-art* corresponding to the WAr plural form *-artw*, for example in *anyenhengart* 'a group of three or more of whom one or more can be called father or aunt by the other(s)'. This suffix must be distinguished from *-art* in *anewart* 'married couple', which is equivalent to *anewenheng*. The latter *-art*, which is found in all dialects, combines only with the root *anew*. The plural *-art* is attested only following *-enheng* on a monosyllabic root; *-entyerr* on a longer root, as in *arregentyerr* 'a group of three or more of whom one or more can be called father's father by the other(s)', corresponds to the compound suffix *-enheng-art* on a monosyllabic root. If the group is of only two persons the dual suffix *-atherr* usually follows *-enheng*, as in *angkwerenhengatherr* 'two sisters' or *kenhengatherr* 'two brothers'.

ECAr speakers generally accepted *-enheng* with any kinship term, although a couple would not use *ampenheng*, giving or accepting *ampatyenheng* instead (and see above on RF's usage of *atyeyenheng*). MM, on the other hand, would accept *ampenheng* but not *ampatyenheng*. These, and other dialects dealt with below, do not have any equivalent of the WAr *-artw*. Thus *menhengentyerr* would correspond to the WAr *menhengartw*. *-entyerr* is used only following *-enheng* when the root is monosyllabic, but is used alone with longer roots; thus *awenhentyerr* 'FaSi-gether-PL'. For far NEAr and Ant speakers it seems that *-entyerrmay* be simply an alternative to *-enheng*.

In Ant (BJ, JM) an allomorph that seems to be confined to 'mother's father' is illustrated by *al atyemeny* '3du:I MoFa-gether' and *alyen atyemeny* '1du:ex:I MoFa-gether'. Segmentation of *atyemeny* is a problem; the root is *aty* but a common (in other dialects too) first-person possessed form is *atyemey*, so the -GETHER suffix could be simply *-eny*.

EAnm: Ag used *-enhengenheng* for plural. They accepted *ayteyenhengatherr* (*aytey* 'ySb') as an alternative to *angkwerenhengatherr* (*angkwer* 'eSi') and *alerenhengatherr* (*aler* 'mCh') as an alternative to *aynenhengatherr* (*ayn* 'Fa') but not *ampenhengatherr* (*amp* 'fCh') as alternative to *menhengatherr* (*m* 'Mo').

Aly accepted all kinship terms with *-enheng*. Only EH was consulted on plurals; she used *amenhengenheng* but did not accept *amenhengentyerr* for 'mother(s) and child(ren)', and she used *awenhenhengenheng* and also accepted *awenhentyerr* for 'aunt(s) and nephew(s)/niece(s)'.

Kay: TT formed the plural *of-enheng* forms with the regular plural marker *-amern*.

5.4.1. The use of *-enheng* on *purt* 'group'

Apurt ~ *purt* is defined by H&D:191 as: 1. a lump of something, especially a roundish lump; blob, ball, clod, bit. 2. a clump or group of things; stand of trees, mob, cluster. 3. together. This is clearly not a kinship term. However, when it refers to a group of people it can combine with the suffix *-enheng* 'gether' and in this way behaves as a kinship term. This is attested for Eastern and Central Arrernte dialects; of the three Western Arrernte speakers consulted, the eldest accepted *wurlenheng* (*wurl* being the Western Arrernte equivalent of *purt*) while the other two did not. Alyawarr and Anmatyerr seem not to have any equivalent.

²⁴ It should be noted, however, that this speaker accepted *alerenheng* for 'father and son', and so did not always exclude the possibility of adding *-enheng* to the term for the junior of the pair.

(A)*purtenheng* is said to refer to two or more people together; examples include:

(29) *Apurtenheng anwern anek / anerrirretyart.*

Apurt-enheng anwern an-ek an-errirr-etyart.
group-GETHER 1pl sit-PAST sit-PL-used to
'We all sat / used to live together.'

(30) *Ilernenh apurtenheng ratherr atwek.*

ilern-enh apurt-enheng r-atherr atw-ek
1du-ACC group-GETHER 3-DU hit-PAST

'They hit the two of us together (i.e. they didn't say 'You hit that one and I'll hit this one'; they hit us together)' Or a car hit us. [Informant's explanation, slightly edited]

(31) *Tyenheng apurtenhengelarl mpwarekakwel.*

ty-enheng apurt-enheng-el-arl mpwar-ek-akwel
MoFa-GETHER group-GETHER-ERG-FOC do-PAST-
supposedly 'The grandfather and the grandson both did it.'

Purtenheng has been heard on a number of occasions followed by *artwemeny* (for which see 12.2); one informant describes this combination as a "remembrance word." It seems to refer to someone who has passed away and who had been closely associated with some person or persons still living. One person equated it to *ilern artwemeny*, someone who had been "travelling round together" with me. Another said that the difference between *ilern artwemeny* and *ilern artwemeny apurtenheng* is the emphasis on togetherness.

Purt does not combine with other suffixes peculiar to kinship terms; there is no *purtaty*, for example. There is no evidence of other terms referring to groups combining with *-enheng* (only *atherr* 'two' was specifically asked about).

Data:

WAR: ER accepted *wurlenheng*, repeated it as *wurl arrpenh* 'other group', and paraphrased it as *malyenwek map* 'group in the opposite patrimoiety' on one occasion and as *nwakerrakey map* 'our own patrimoiety (plural)' on another. Younger speakers did not use *purtenheng* or *wurlenheng*.

CAR: VH said that *apurtenheng* referred to two or a group of people together and gave the first example above.

NAR: RF translated *apurtenheng* as 'family in a group' and gave the second example above. DL translated *purtenheng artwemeny* as "you were in one mob." ST with MT gave *purtenheng* when asked about *arlalttyenheng* (see 4.5): *ingkerrenyek purtenheng* "one group of family" (*ingkerrenyek* 'all-DAT').

Apurtenheng 'whole lot', *apurt alhetyek*, 'we all go, together' = *ingkerrek (anwern) alhetyek*.

SEAR: A speaker, in a younger generation but knowledgeable in language as well as being well-educated in a Western sense, readily accepted *purtenheng* and thought she had heard it; didn't accept *atherrenheng* (*atherr* 'two').

EAR: LM accepted the term and gave *apurtenheng atwek* "whole lot fight" [Whole family?] "Everyone mixed up, *ingkerrek atwek*." Other examples he gave on other occasions were *ilem apurtenhengel atwek ker* 'Us two together killed the animal,' and *purtenheng artwemeny* "nother one [who had lived with us] been pass away."

LC gave "you lived together" as a comment on (rather than translation of) *apurtenheng artwemeny*. She regarded *apurtenheng* as referring to people who had lived or travelled a lot together.

NEAR: Some speakers accepted it; one of them, M, described *purtenheng artwemeny* as a "remembrance word," explained it as referring to someone you had been with, gave the third example above, and did not accept *atherrenheng*.
Ant, Aly: No equivalent was found.

6. Kin-related pronouns

The Arandic languages, with the exception of one dialect, have a system of kin-related non-singular pronouns;²⁵ for example, first person dual may take one of three forms (or four for some dialects), according to how the two persons concerned are related. A similar system exists in some languages to the south.

This system was first reported by Strehlow (1942:177). Hale (1966:318-19) described the principles underlying it, as he saw them. He names agnation and the principle of alternating

²⁵ The material presented in 6.1 - 6.3 is based on the paper 'Kin-related pronouns in Arandic languages' presented to the Annual Conference of the Australian Linguistic Society in 1996. The material presented in 6.4 and 6.4.1 is based on the paper 'Arrernte pronouns: amazing facts never before revealed' presented to the same conference in 1995.

generations as the principles of kinship organization underlying the system. The former term refers to the division of society into two patrilineal descent groups or patrimoieties as described earlier; the members of one group are agnate with respect to one another and non-agnate with respect to members of the other group. He uses the abbreviations +A to mean 'agnate' and -A to mean 'non-agnate'.

The second term refers to the partitioning of society into two opposed sets of alternate generation levels or generation moieties. Hale prefers to use the less cumbersome term 'harmonic'; a person is harmonic with respect to those kinsmen who belong to the same set of alternate generation levels, i.e. the same generation or generations removed by an even number. Thus members of one's grandparents' or grandchildren's generation are harmonic because they are two generations away; members of one's parents' or children's generation are disharmonic because they are one generation away. The abbreviation +H means 'harmonic' and -H means 'disharmonic'.

These two principles were said to operate in Arandic pronoun systems to divide non-singular pronouns into three sets. Groups of persons who are agnate, or belong to the same patrimoieties, are divided into two sets according to whether they are all harmonic or not (i.e. +A/+H, +A/-H). Groups of persons who are not all agnate form a third group (-A) not further subdivided by generation level.

This system was stated originally for two dialects, which he called Eastern Aranda and the Alitera dialect,²⁶ by Strehlow (1942-44), and for Antekerrenpenh and Lower Arrernte by Hale (n.d.b and 1966 respectively). Hale had recorded similar systems for Alyawarr and Kaytetye (Hale 1966:323 note 3). Yallop (1977) describes the system and gives the forms for Alyawarr as spoken at Lake Nash. Koch (1982) does the same for Kaytetye, as does Wilkins (1989) for Mparntwe (or Central) Arrernte. Pertame, or Southern Arrernte, does not seem to have such a system, and it was not reported for Western Arrernte until 1995 (see below).

6.1. Representative Arandic systems

Tables 1 to 4 give the subject pronoun set for Alyawarr, Kaytetye, Central Arrernte and Lower Arrernte. For reasons which will become clear later I am following most of the earlier workers and numbering the groups: I, II and III instead of +A/+H, +A/-H and -A, respectively.

The Alyawarr pronoun system is used as the first illustration because it is the most elaborated of the well-documented systems, having a division of first person forms into inclusive versus exclusive as well as the kin-related divisions. This system is shown in Table 1. Only intransitive subject forms are listed; for most pronouns the transitive subject forms are the same, but first and second person singular have separate transitive subject forms, *ath* and *ntw* respectively. See Yallop (1977) and Green (1992) for further information.

Table 1. Alyawarr subject pronouns

	First inclusive	First exclusive	Second	Third
singular		<i>ayeng</i>	<i>ng</i>	<i>r</i>
dual				
I	<i>ayl</i>	<i>aylern</i>	<i>mpwel</i>	<i>al</i>
II	<i>aylak</i>	<i>aylernak</i>	<i>mpwelak</i>	<i>alak</i>
III	<i>aylanth</i>	<i>aylernanth</i>	<i>mpwelanth</i>	<i>alanth</i>
plural				
I	<i>anwingkerr</i>	<i>anwerningkerr</i>	<i>arringkerr</i>	<i>aytningkerr</i>
II	<i>anwakerr</i>	<i>anwernakerr</i>	<i>arrakerr</i>	<i>aytnakerr</i>
III	<i>anwantherr</i>	<i>anwernantherr</i>	<i>arrantherr</i>	<i>aytnantherr</i>

There are also very common non-specific third person dual and plural forms, *ratherr*, formed by suffixing the dual formative *atherr* to *ra*, and *renem*, with the plural formative *ernem*.

²⁶ In current terminology used in the Institute for Aboriginal Development's Central Australian Dictionaries Program, these are Central Arrernte and Eastern Arrernte respectively.

Morphemes that can be identified here are:

<i>ayeng</i>	'1(ex)sg'
<i>ng</i>	'2sg'
<i>r</i>	'3sg'
<i>ayl</i>	'1du'
<i>anw</i>	1pl'
<i>mpwel</i>	'2du'
<i>arr</i>	'2pl'
<i>atherr</i>	'two'
<i>al</i>	'3du'
<i>ayt</i>	'3pl'
<i>err</i>	'plural'
<i>0 ~ ingk</i>	I' (for Hale '+N+H')
<i>ak</i>	II' (for Hale '+A/-H')
<i>anth</i>	III' (for Hale '-A')

Wilkins (1989) has a different analysis of *ingk* and *err*, which he regards as one morpheme, a combined form of *ingkerr* 'all'. This would seem to imply that other instances of *err* are derived from an earlier *ingkerr*, so, for example, *aytnantherr* derives from an earlier **aytnanthingkerr*. In fact, *ingkerr* itself may be synchronically a compound; compare *ingk* in *atningk* 'many'. There is no particular reason, however, why *ingk* should have any sort of plural connotation here, given that both the root to which it is affixed and the suffix *err* are plural. Note that Kaytetye has *angk* (Koch n.d.a, 1982), as has Western Arrernte in its second person plural form *rrangkerr* (but it still has *ingkerr* 'all'). Kaytetye *angk* is followed by an optional *err*. Table 2 shows the Kaytetye system.

Table 2. Kaytetye subject pronouns

	First inclusive	First exclusive	Second	Third
singular		<i>ayeng</i>	<i>ng</i>	(<i>e</i>) <i>r</i>
dual				
I	<i>aylem</i>	<i>aylern</i>	<i>mpwel</i>	<i>erlwem</i>
II	<i>aylak</i>	<i>aylernak</i>	<i>mpwelak</i>	<i>erlwak</i>
III	<i>aylanth</i>	<i>aylernanth</i>	<i>mpwelanth</i>	<i>erlwanth</i>
plural				
I	<i>aynangk(err)</i>	<i>aynerningk(err)</i>	<i>errwangk(err)</i>	<i>atangkerr</i>
II	<i>aynak(err)</i>	<i>aynernak(err)</i>	<i>errwak(err)</i>	<i>atak(err)</i>
III	<i>aynanth(err)</i>	<i>aynernanth(err)</i>	<i>errwanth(err)</i>	<i>atanth(err)</i>

This system differs from that of Alyawarr only in the form of some of the morphemes, the *em* suffix on two of the dual I forms, and in the optionality of *err* noted above.

Anmatyerr pronouns are known from incomplete sets collected by Andrews (n.d.) and Breen, and included in Breen (1988-95), and from an almost complete set in Purle, Green and Heffernan (n.d.). Anmatyerr is, in fact, a name used to cover two quite divergent dialects (and both forms have some significant differences within their varieties) and it is not always clear which dialect the data are from. The data are generally similar to those for Alyawarr, but there are some interesting differences. The most significant is that the suffix *-ingkerr* or *-engkerr* is recorded on some dual forms: Breen has *lengkerr* for first person dual I inclusive in western varieties (and *elern* for the corresponding exclusive), while Andrews has *ilingkerr* and *ilerningkerr* for first person dual I inclusive and exclusive respectively. No such forms occur in Purle, Green and Heffernan, although Green (p.c.) has recently recorded *alengkerr* 'they two'. Interestingly, the western dialect seems to lack this suffix on the third person plural, having only *n* (westernmost speakers) or *itn* (further east).

The third person dual form *al* is recorded only for the eastern dialect; only forms based on the singular compounded with *atherr* 'two' are attested for the western dialect. A first person plural inclusive form *anw* is attested (J. Green p.c.) only for the western dialect; in which (*a)nwengkerr* is more common.

The modern Central Arrernte system is shown in Table 3; see Wilkins (1989) and Henderson and Dobson (1994) for further information.

Table 3. Central Arrernte subject pronouns

	first	second	third
singular	<i>ayeng</i>	<i>unt</i>	<i>r</i>
dual			
I	<i>ilern</i>	<i>mpwel</i>	<i>ratherr</i>
II	<i>ilak</i>	<i>mpwelak</i>	<i>alak</i>
III	<i>ilanth</i>	<i>mpwelanth</i>	<i>alanth</i>
plural			
I	<i>anwern</i>	<i>arrantherr</i>	<i>itn</i>
II	<i>anwakerr</i>	<i>arrakerr</i>	<i>itnakerr</i>
III	<i>anwantherr</i>	<i>arrantherr</i>	<i>itnantherr</i>

Differences from the Alyawarr system include:

absence of the inclusive / exclusive distinction (but see the following paragraphs);

absence of the I third person dual form **al*

use of the III form for 2nd plural for I, instead of the expected **arr*;

absence of the *ingk* allomorph of I forms;

absence of the *err* plural on regular I forms.

All of these differences are probably very recent; Hale recorded *al* in 1959 and some older speakers still accept it, some older speakers have *arringkerr* for 2nd person plural I and at least some of these have *anwingkerr* and *itningkerr* as corresponding first and third person forms. Hale recorded *arringkerr*, *anwerningkerr* and *itningkerr* for these three. See also the note below on Strehlow's material.

There are remnants of the inclusive / exclusive distinction in the data for Central and Eastern Arrernte. It will be noted that the I forms use the original exclusive form, with *ern*, while the II and III forms use the original inclusive, without *ern*. Thus, in the dual, *ilern* not *il*, *ilak* and *ilanth*, not *ilernak* and *ilernanth*. However, a speaker from Bond Springs, in the Central Arrernte area, recorded by Hale in 1959, gave the forms with *ern* for all the first person nominative pronouns. However, he omitted the *ern* from the longer genitive forms: thus *ilern*, *ilernak*, *ilernanth* for dual nominative I, II and III respectively, but *ilernekenh*, *ilekakinh*, *ilekanthinh* for the corresponding genitives. (Plural genitives were not elicited.) Nowadays more knowledgeable speakers are happy to accept *ilernak* and *ilernanth* as alternatives to *ilak* and *ilanth*. Also, a few will accept *il* as an alternative to *ilern*, while some who do not accept this will accept a genitive pronoun based on this root: thus *ilekenh* for *ilernekenh*.

Some speakers of this dialect have *ng* as an uncommon alternant to *unt*. Note that in Alyawarr *ng* is nominative and *ntw* (corresponding to *unt* and, in fact, often pronounced the same) is ergative. Central Arrernte has now no nominative/ergative distinction for second person singular. Note that monomorphemic first person non-singular pronouns are of the same form as Alyawarr exclusive pronouns. Note also that there exist rarely used compound inclusive pronouns which can be used to make an exclusive/inclusive distinction. These are based on the uncommon second person singular alternant *ng*, compounded with the appropriate non-singular pronoun, thus: *ngilern* 'you and I, I', *ngilak* 'you and I, II', *nganwern* 'we (pl.incl), I' and so on. Wilkins (1989:123 note 19) regards these as examples of the pronominal inclusive construction, parallel to such examples as *akngey ilak* 'my father and I' (lit. 'father we two II') or Margaret *itnakerr* 'Margaret and they' (lit. 'Margaret they plural II'). (See Wilkins 1989: 407-11.) This is undoubtedly so diachronically, but if it were so synchronically one would expect them to be based on the normal alternant of the second person singular, thus *unt ilern*, and so on. These are used, but the usage of the *ng*-based forms is out of all proportion to other usage of *ng*. Recently discovered kinship terms like *mengilernek* 'mother of you and me', based on the root *m-* 'mother' and the dative *ngilernek* also support the belief that pronouns with *ng* are compounds and not phrases (as David Wilkins, p.c., pointed out to me).

Morphemes that can be identified are:

ayeng '1sg'

unt '2sg'

r '3sg'
il ~ ilern 'ldu'
anw ~ anwern '1pl'
mpwel '2du'
arr~ arrantherr '2pl'
atherr 'two'
al '3du'
itn '3pl'
err 'pl'
0 'I'
ak 'II'
anth 'III'

The Eastern Aranda and Alitera dialect system reported by Strehlow (1942-44) differs from the system shown in Table 2 in the following respects:

there are no kin-based third person forms, the only third person nominative forms reported being the dual *iratherr* and the plural *irarey* (derived with the plural suffix *arey*); the second person plural I form is *arr*; *rringkerr* is given also, while inflected forms are based on the root *rr* (e.g. *rrek* dative).

The northeastern form of Eastern Arrernte differs from Central Arrernte in the following respects (H&D:771-73):

there is an inclusive / exclusive distinction but only in the plural;²⁷
 second person plural I is *arringkerr*.

6.2. Antekerrepenh and Lower Arrernte

Antekerrepenh and Lower Arrernte are the dialects used as exemplars by Hale (n.d.b and 1966 respectively). Neither has any really knowledgeable speakers left. Hale worked with one good speaker of each around 1960, and Breen worked with a couple of good speakers of Antekerrepenh in the late 60s and early 70s.

Antekerrepenh forms reported by Hale are essentially the same as those reported for Alyawarr in Table 1 except that they lack first person exclusive forms.²⁸ There are a number of differences in forms reported by Hale and collected by Breen from various informants. Some (but not all) of Breen's informants had the inclusive/exclusive distinction; possibly it is confined to the western part of Antekerrepenh country. Hale's third person plural I form is *irrat*, which is quite different from anything found anywhere else. Breen's informants generally used a non-specific form comprising the singular pronoun and a plural suffix *-ay*.

The most interesting aspect of the Antekerrepenh material is a fourth kin-based category based on a suffix *-(a)pw* or, in a single token, *-apwelany*. This seems to be interchangeable with *-anth* for certain combinations of kin — spouses and siblings-in-law, and will be discussed further in 6.3.

Another irregularity is that *al* was given for 'two cousins' and for 'they two: mother's father and daughter's child', and *aly* and *alyen* for 'we two: ego and mother's father'²⁹ In both cases we would expect the III forms (*alanth*, *alyanth* and *alyenanth* respectively) and in fact there are examples in the corpus of *-anth* forms at least for cross-cousins. Note that, in at least some Arandic dialects, cross-cousins are sometimes referred to or addressed informally as brother or sister. Note also that the root *arrwemp* means opposite sex sibling in some dialects, opposite sex cross-cousin in some, and both in some (see 2).

²⁷ This is shown as working in the opposite direction to this distinction in other dialects, i.e. with *ern* inclusive and *0* inclusive, but my data indicate that this is a mistake.

²⁸ This dialect, which Hale called the 'Georgina River variety' (of Antekerrepenh) is the dialect also called Ayerrereng; see the map.

²⁹ *Alya* by an eastern speaker (Bill Jenkin, one of my two best informants) who did not have the inclusive/exclusive distinction, *alyen* by a western speaker (Jack Marshall) who did. Relevant material from tape transcripts is given in 6.3.

The Lower Arrernte system is shown in Table 4, based on Hale's (1966, p.323) table supplemented by items from his 1960 field notes.

Table 4. Lower Arrernte subject pronouns

	first	second	third
singular	<i>yeng</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>il</i>
dual			
I	<i>ilern</i>	<i>angatherr</i>	<i>ilatherr</i>
II	<i>ilak</i>	<i>mpelak</i>	<i>alak</i>
III	<i>ilanth</i>	<i>mpelanth</i>	<i>alanth</i>
plural			
I	<i>unarr</i>	<i>angarey</i>	<i>ilarey</i>
II	<i>unakerr</i>	<i>arrakerr</i>	<i>itnakerr</i>
III	<i>unantherr</i>	<i>arrantherr</i>	<i>itnantherr</i>

Hale's fieldnotes have also three first person dual inclusive forms, or phrases, formed by combining the second person singular with the appropriate dual pronoun: *angilern* I, *angilak* II and *angilanth* III. There is nothing in the notes to show whether these are obligatory or whether the short form can be used for inclusive as well as exclusive. The dual and plural second and third person I forms are all derived from the singular using number markers.

The most interesting single item in Hale's fieldnotes, in the light of the comments above about the fourth category in Antekerrepenh, is a form *angilemperneny*, translated as 'you (my wife's brother) and I'. This includes a suffix *-emperneny*, derived from *mpern* 'brother-in-law', which corresponds (insofar as we can tell from the very slight evidence) to the *-apw(elany)* of Antekerrepenh. The fourth category, then, seems to apply only to (potential?) married couples and to (classificatory?) in-laws of the same generation (and perhaps to corresponding kin in other harmonic generations, such as wife's father's father) and so to make a finer distinction than the section system makes.³⁰ (Likewise, the kinship system in these dialects, as also in Alyawarr, makes finer distinctions than the section system.)

Another fact not reported by Hale (1966) is that in his fieldnotes *ilern* is glossed 'bro[ther] or cross cous[in]'. Thus the evidence for Antekerrepenh that cross-cousins and 'cross-grandfathers' are treated as siblings in the pronoun system is matched by this fragment of evidence for Lower Arrernte.

The evidence, then, suggests that the non-agnate category can be subdivided into a disharmonic semi-moiety in which the *-anth* suffix is always used, and two harmonic demi-semi-moieties in which alternative strategies are sometimes used, in one case the I forms and in the other a form not previously known. I have no evidence on when or why the alternative forms are used.

There are, therefore, three areas in which Hale's description needed to be modified:

- (1) His principles do not apply to grandparents' and grandchildren's generations.
- (2) For many speakers, the system as described does not apply to individuals in the same generation.
- (3) Some dialects have a fourth category.

These will be considered in more detail in the following section.

6.3. Modifications to the Hale description

(1) Hale's principles do not apply to grandparents' and grandchildren's generations. On the contrary, people belonging to either of these generations are treated as members of the same patrimoiety, irrespective of the facts. As expressed to me by BJ in 1972:

³⁰ While dialects further west have a subsection system (although this is quite recent), Antekerrepenh still had a section system at that time.

Note that Warlpiri (M. Laughren, p.c.) has a form of the second person singular pronoun used only between brothers-in-law. It also has a form used between a man and his cross-cousin, father's father, mother's father or wife's maternal uncle.

- (32) *Kwerr away artartety, aly lherrey.*
kwerr away artart-ety, aly lherr-ey
 come on boy MoFa/mDaCh-my ldu:I go-let's
 "Come on grandson, we'll go.

"That's same as saying *aly lherrey* mean brothers, but you still call him *aly* again, like he's *artartety*." I asked if *aly* was used by a man with a daughter's child and also with a son's child and he said "Yes."

Other relevant phrases include *al atyemeny* 'they two mother's father-GETHER', *alyen atyemeny* 'we (dual exclusive I) mother's father-GETHER' (JM). *Atyemeny* is based on the root *aty*, which has the same meaning as *artart*; the suffix *-emeny* occurs only with this root.

In fact, the first linguist to notice this was probably the late Janet Stanham, an SIL fieldworker who seems to have been a particularly perceptive observer. After describing the usage (for Alyawarr) in a similar way to other linguists quoted above, she adds (Stanham 1972:24): "All of a person's grandparents (and their siblings) are regarded as belonging to that person's own skin group [i.e. section]."

Almost all the data obtained from modern speakers backed this up, as did the only relevant item found in Hale's fieldnotes. (This will be quoted below, when I deal with an apparent counter-example.)

As explained above, of a person's four grandparents, two belong to the same patrimoiety as the person: father's father and mother's mother, while the other two belong to the other patrimoiety: father's mother and mother's father. Thus we would expect, that, say in Alyawarr, we would have *ayl arrengey* 'you, my father's father, and I', *ayl anyany* 'you, my mother's mother, and I', *aylanth aperley* 'you, my father's mother, and I' and *aylanth artartey* 'you, my mother's father, and I'. In fact, the pronoun is *ayl* in all four cases.

It is true, as reported by Wilkins (1989) for example, that group I forms, like *ayl/aylern* (inclusive / exclusive) in some dialects, *ilern* in others, are the default forms. In fact, they are the only forms used nowadays by many speakers. This is not the explanation of their use in the cases I am referring to. The speakers consulted in this study were typically highly competent, knew the more specialized forms, and understood that it was their usage that I was particularly interested in.

Neither does a recent language change seem to be involved. The Lower Arrernte and Antekerrenpenh data are particularly relevant here. These are both now virtually extinct, and went out of daily use many years ago. Hale's and my work has been only with old people who remembered the language. The languages have probably not changed in the last half century or so, except insofar as they have been reduced by the deaths of the last good speakers.

A study of the literature on the Arandic kin-related pronouns shows that, with one exception, no writers present any evidence that the system as they describe it does extend over a range greater than two generations. The one exception is found in Koch (1982); he gives the Kaytetye sentence

- (33) *Nhetherrart aty arenherr aperlenheng erlwewanth.*
nh-etherr-art aty ar-entherr aperl-ehheng erlwewanth
 that-DU-definite 1sg:ERG see-PAST FaMo-GETHER 3du-ACC-III

translated as

'I saw the two of them, grandmother and grandchild.' (Compare Table 2; *erlwewanth* is the object form of *erlwanth*.)³¹

There are two things that can be said about this example. Firstly, it is contradicted not only by my fieldwork (which has been very brief in Kaytetye), but also (if we assume the situation would be the same for *atyewaley* 'mother's father' as for *aperl-* 'father's mother') by a sentence in Hale's Kaytetye fieldnotes:

- (34) *Atyewaleyehheng erlwem apeyayeran.*
atyewaley-ehheng erlw-em apeyayt-eran.
 MoFa-GETHER 3du-I come-PRES

³¹ I have written the root meaning 'they two' elsewhere as *rlw*, as suggested by the pronunciation of my informant, or (*e*)*rlw* instead of *erlw*.

'A grandfather and his son [sic] are coming.'

Secondly, while according to my data the sentence quoted by Koch should have *erlwew* (the object form of *erlwem*) instead of *erlwewanth*, nevertheless, his sentence is a correct Kaytetye sentence. However, it does not have the meaning he gives it. This becomes clear in the light of the material on terms for spouses given in 4.4.

To recapitulate briefly, while the root *mpwern*, 'brother-in-law' in other Arandic languages, is the normal word for 'spouse' in Kaytetye, it also has the normal Arandic root *anew* 'spouse' in the form *anewart* 'married couple'. In addition, the root *arrkar* is used of a spouse of someone in one's own generation, or one's grandparents' or grandchildren's generation, although it cannot be used of one's own spouse. Finally, a spouse of a person in the generation above or below the speaker can be referred to with the root *aperl*, which is also the root for 'father's mother', 'son's child' (of a woman) and 'sister's son's child'. (Note that, in a section or subsection system, one's spouse belongs to the same (sub)section as one's father's mother and other relatives covered by *aperl*; see, for example, Table 4 of Koch 1982).

And so the Kaytetye sentence quoted by Koch actually means 'I saw the two of them, husband and wife', where the two might be in the speaker's parents' or children's generation.³² The actual reference was to the speaker's parents-in-law. The reference could not have been to a grandparent/grandchild pair, given that the object pronoun used was *erlwewanth*, not *erlwew*.

Further details:

Almost all data from about thirty separate sources (individuals or small groups) indicated that type I pronouns were used for grandparent/grandchild groups. A few people used a type III pronoun with *aperlenheng* 'FaMo-GETHER', but this is clearly because that can also refer to a married couple, and some (ER, LC, M, CP, JB+) made it clear that this was so; ER and JB+ said that if two people who were related as *aperlenheng* in the former sense married they would change from using type I pronouns to using type III. Marriage apparently puts the spouses into the same generation. There was no contrary evidence that seemed at all reliable. M would use *ilanth* '1du-III' with her DaDaDa.

(2) For many speakers, the system as described does not apply to individuals in the same generation. This seems to be a regional feature. Again I first noted it in Antekerrenpenh, but it is also suggested by one item in Hale's Lower Arrernte notes (which he — p.c. — originally regarded as probably a mistake). Again, it has been confirmed by many present-day speakers. The difference is that cross-cousins are treated as +A/+H, or I, whereas they are actually -A(+H), or III.

In one's own generation, kin pairs for which the I form, such as *ilern*, is used, in accordance with previous descriptions, include siblings, parallel cousins, and spouses of cross-cousins, while *ilanth* is used for cross-cousins, spouses, the spouses of siblings, and parallel cousins (and some other more distant relatives).

The data from the current study have some inconsistencies, but suggest that:

ilern is used for siblings, parallel cousins, and the spouses of cross-cousins (as expected, and there are no exceptions to this), but also, in Lower Arrernte,³³ Western Arrernte and Western Anmatyerr, for cross-cousins;

ilanth is used for spouses and the spouses of siblings or parallel cousins and, in Northern and Eastern Arrernte,³⁴ Antekerrenpenh, Eastern Anmatyerr, Alyawarr and Kaytetye, for cross-

³² In my original draft of the 1996 paper I added parenthetically at this point the following: "And it is easy to imagine an elicitation situation in which this mistake would have occurred; I only have to think of the way I would have done it." Harold Koch's response, when I sent him a copy of this draft for comments, was to save me the trouble of imagining, by sending me a copy of his transcript of the relevant exchange. This makes it quite clear, to both of us in the light of the knowledge we now had, that there had in fact been a misunderstanding.

³³ The evidence is an item from TB (Hale's fieldnotes), in which *ilern* is glossed as '[we two] bro[thers] or cross-cous[ins]', and my own data, from BD, a much less knowledgeable speaker. Hale (p.c.) thought his item was probably a mistake.

³⁴ For most purposes, Northern Arrernte is treated as part of Central Arrernte by linguists working on these dialects.

cousins.

Thus Northern and Eastern Arrernte, Antekerrepenh, Eastern Anmatyerr, Alyawarr and Kaytetye (forming a northern and eastern group) conform (in this respect) to the Hale schema for this generation, while Lower Arrernte, Western Arrernte and Western Anmatyerr (a southern and western group) seem not to. The anomaly in the latter group is the treatment of cross-cousins. Alpher (1982)³⁵ discusses some other languages in which cross-cousins are singled out for special treatment (in particular, being treated as if they belong to a disharmonic generation), and suggests that this is related to a change from an earlier situation in which they were preferred marriage partners to a situation in which they are not. There is no evidence for such a change in the past in the Arandic languages. There are, however, some cases where cross-cousins are treated anomalously in Arandic, both as siblings and as mothers/uncles (see 4.8, 11.1).

Data:

For pairs or groups related as cross-cousins the type I pronouns were used by LAr (TB, BD), WAr (TS, ER) and WANm (Ng) sources, and also, unexpectedly, by VH (CAr) and M (NEAr). Type III pronouns were used by seventeen sources covering the other dialects or languages. For siblings-in-law BD (LAr) and Ng (WANm) used type I as did VH (CAr) and RF (NAr). ST (NAr) and seven sources representing EAr, NEAr, Ant and Aly used type III. Type I was used for married couples only by TS (for LAr) and VH (who used it for all same-generation kin groups); type III was normally used.

(3) Some dialects have a fourth category. Yet again, the first indications are in the early Lower Arrernte and Antekerrepenh material, but the category is confirmed by older speakers of the variety of Eastern Arrernte spoken between the Harts Range and the Plenty River.

This category (IV) first became known to me in 1976 when the Antekerrepenh speaker Jack Marshall gave me the sentence:

(35) *Alekepwarl ayeng ngketyek.*
alekepwarl ayeng ngk-etyek
 1sg talk-PURP

'I want to talk to those two brothers-in-law'.³⁶

I had expected the first word to be *alekantharl* (*al* 'they two', *-ek... arl* 'allative', *-anth* 'III'; I asked if the word for 'they two brothers-in-law' were *alepw* (as that was what the inflected form suggested) and he corrected it to *alapw*.³⁷ I have since confirmed *-apw* ~ *-epw* with a number of far eastern Northeastern Arrernte speakers; they know it and accept examples but I have not heard them use it or been able to elicit it.

Another form of this suffix, heard only once from a speaker from the far eastern part of Antekerrepenh territory, is *-apwelany*, in the word *alyapwelany* 'we two: my wife and I'. This was actually recorded prior to the sentence discussed above, but, unfortunately, I did not notice it at the time. It is not recognized by my Eastern Arrernte informants.

In Hale's Lower Arrernte notes there is a form *angilemperneny*, translated as 'you (my wife's brother) and I'. This comprises *ang* 'you (sing.)', *il* 'we (dual)' and a suffix *-emperneny*, apparently derived from *mpern* 'brother-in-law'. The resemblance between *-emperneny* and

³⁵ Referring to Hale (1966) among others.

³⁶ Although I have since found it on one of the first recordings I made of Antekerrepenh, in 1967. This, unappreciated at the time, has both the first person dual form *alyapw* and the second person dual form *mpwelapw*. I did not work seriously on Antekerrepenh until 1975, having previously recorded it only on a survey field trip in 1967 and while en route to or from work on other languages in subsequent years. By then JM was the only good speaker left, and his health had deteriorated markedly.

³⁷ He did not use it for sisters-in-law or spouses, however.

A few other forms were obtained in this session. I suggested *alyapw* for the first person dual and this was repeated with agreement. Trying to elicit a second person form (for which *mpwelapw* was later accepted), I was given *alyenepw*, which is a first person exclusive form. A first person plural form *anwepwerr* was also accepted.

The alternation between *a* in shorter words and *e* in longer words (exemplified by *epw* in *alekepwarl* versus *apw* in *alapw*) has been noted also with some other morphemes.

-apwelany is interesting and raises the question of whether the latter, and also *-apw*, might also be derived from the word for brother-in-law, the root of which is *mpwern* in Antekerrepenh and Eastern Arrernte.³⁸

It seems that this category, which does not seem to be any longer in active use, can be used to refer to groups related as (potential as well as actual?) spouses and siblings-in-law, although it may originally have been used only with brothers-in-law.³⁹ It seems too that it is interchangeable with *-anth*. For example, Hale (n.d.b) quotes an Antekerrepenh (Ayerreng) sentence: *pmerarl aylanth rrempwerrlerlan* 'We (you, my brother-in-law, and I) are going to the camp' (using a respect form of the verb).⁴⁰ My corpus also has a number of cases of pronouns with the *anth* suffix used for husband and wife, and for brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law.

Details:

Only SC (NEAr) and JB (Ant) of the speakers consulted in the course of this survey had any knowledge of the *-apw* suffix. SC said it was for "brother-in-law or anything like that" and accepted it for a married couple. JB accepted it only for brothers-in-law. However, they normally used type III pronouns for these relationships and regarded *-apw* as an alternative to *-anth* with a smaller range of usage. None had any knowledge of the *-apwelany* or *-empweny* forms.

Note that the use of *-apw* in contrast to *-anth* in Antekerrepenh and far eastern Eastern Arrernte, which have a section system (four skins), makes a finer distinction than the skin system does, as one's cross-cousins belong to the same section as one's spouse and siblings-in-law.

The system of kin-related pronouns in Arandic languages is therefore tentatively restated as follows:

The basic (group I) form is used for persons in the same generation who belong to the same patrimoiety, in some dialects also for cross-cousins, and for other groups of persons separated by an even number of generations;

Another form (II) is used for persons in the same patrimoiety but separated by one generation;

A third form (III) is used for persons in the same generation or one generation apart and in different patrimoieties, except that for some dialects it is not used for cross-cousins;

A fourth form (IV) is used in some dialects for persons who are related as spouses or siblings-in-law. This seems to be an optional alternative to the third form in these cases.

A significant difference between the Strehlow-Hale system and the one that I have described is that in the former the same pronoun would always be used for the same pair or group of (sub)sections, whereas in the latter that is not the case. (Adding *-apw* to the Strehlow-Hale system would modify this generalization, however, for Antekerrepenh and Eastern Arrernte.) For example, in the Strehlow-Hale system a Kemarre person with a Peltharre person would always use *ilanth*. In the revised schema they would use *ilanth* if in the same generation (e.g. a husband and wife) but *ilern* if two generations apart (e.g. father's mother and son's child). I

³⁸ Note that Warlpiri (M. Laughren, p.c.) has a form of the second person singular pronoun used only between brothers-in-law. It also has a form used between a man and his cross-cousin, father's father, mother's father or wife's maternal uncle.

³⁹ I find a lot of variation in meanings that people give for unfamiliar items in the kinship field, and I tend to assume (unless I have some particular reason not to) that the narrowest meaning that I am given for a word or morpheme is the most correct. It is clear that speakers who don't control the full system tend to generalise a form that refers to, say, a particular kin in a particular context, to the same kin irrespective of context (which may involve one or more steps of generalisation).

⁴⁰ The suffix *-arl* in *pmerarl* seems to be a rare alternative to the suffix *-ewarn* that this speaker usually used (Hale n.d.b). It was given then three times in quick succession, and *-ewarn* used many times. This sentence from Hale n.d.c does not appear in Hale n.d.b. The speakers I worked with used *-ewarn* or *-ewarl*; the variation is geographically based.

Speakers I worked with did not know respect vocabulary, and Jack Marshall identified *rrempwerrlerlan*, when I repeated it to him, as *arwemerrlerlan*, meaning "go to the camp and show yourself up long your relations" or another time 'show up, appear in the distance'.

have discussed this difference with speakers and they have accepted it calmly.

My analysis of the situation leaves out usage when people are separated by three or more generations. This is usually of academic interest only, and it may well be that speakers do not worry about it. It would not surprise me if a knowledgeable person used the II form or the III form, as appropriate, for a group involving someone in the great-grandchildren's generation, in response to a linguist's question but used the I form if the occasion arose in real life.

6.4. Western Arrernte

The Western Arrernte system as previously reported, notably by Strehlow (1942-44), and as used by most present-day speakers, is shown in Table 5.

Table 5. Western Arrernte subject pronouns

	first	second	third
singular	<i>yeng</i>	<i>unt</i>	<i>ir</i>
dual	<i>ilern</i>	<i>mpal</i>	<i>iretherr</i>
plural	<i>nwern</i>	<i>rrangkerr</i>	<i>itn</i>

The only form in Table 5 that can be segmented synchronically is *iretherr*, which is compounded of the singular form *ir* and *therr* 'two'. However, diachronically, *ilern*, *nwern* and *rrangkerr* are seen to be complex forms. The second syllable of *ilern* and *nwern* corresponds to the Alyawarr exclusive marker *-ern*. *Rrangkerr* is cognate with Alyawarr *arrangkerr*, and its compound nature is shown by the fact that, just as in kin-related compound forms in Alyawarr, Central Arrernte and other dialects, inflectional suffixes can intervene between the original root (*rr*) and the compounding suffix. For example, with dative *-ek* we get *rrekangkerr* (alongside *rrangkerrek*, which is probably used by most modern speakers). Also, as pointed out by Koch (1982:70), the presence of the 'own patrimoiety' terms *ilakekey* and *nwakerrekey* (reported by Strehlow 1965) in Western Arrernte suggests that *ilak* and *nwakerr* had once been present in this dialect. These features make the system seem like a remnant of an earlier more complex system as found today in other members of the language group.

The expanded set of Western Arrernte pronouns first came to light (meaning my attention) during a discussion of kinship terms, and especially group kinship terms, with Amy Pareroultja of Hermannsburg in 1994. See 5.4 for a description of group kinship terms.

There is evidence in early sources for the suffix *-enhang* in Western Arrernte, although it was not recognised as a productive suffix on kin terminology. Strehlow (1944:77) gives the four terms *tyewenhang* (translated as 'twins'), *menhang* 'mother and child', *nyenhang* 'father and child' and *kenhang* 'brothers' as if they were the only ones.⁴¹ Earlier, Kempe (1891:4) gave *-enhang* (his "nanga") as a dual suffix on personal nouns, and gave a paradigm showing it affixed to *artw* 'man'. I speculate that he heard it on kinship terms, incorrectly generalised to personal nouns, and then used *artw*, which does not in fact combine with this suffix, as his illustrative stem.

The expanded set of Western Arrernte subject pronouns, as given (incompletely) by one speaker (AP) and confirmed independently and completed by several others, is shown in

⁴¹ Strehlow says: "Aranda has three numbers - singular, dual and plural.....However, the dual proper, for all practical purposes, has become obsolete and is to-day found only in the archaic chants and in a few common personal nouns where the dual conveys a special shade of meaning which would be absent from the plural.

Nouns of the latter category are:

tjó'anana — twins; also = two friends of the same age who are constant companions.

mǎ'nana — mother and baby (from *meia* — mother)

njǎ'nana — father(s) and son(s). From root **nja-*, c.f. *njé'kua* (= **nja-* + *-ékua*) = his father.

kǎ'nana — two brothers.

Table 6. Perhaps only one of the informants (ER) was really familiar with the system. There is some evidence that Tyurretye Arrernte, the (little-known) dialect of the western Macdonnell Ranges, also has this system.

Table 6. Western Arrernte subject pronouns (expanded set)

	first	second	third
singular	<i>yeng</i>	<i>unt</i>	<i>ir</i>
dual			
I	<i>ilern</i>	<i>mpal</i>	<i>iretherr</i>
II	<i>ilak</i>	<i>rrakerr</i>	<i>itnakerr</i>
III	<i>ilanth</i>	<i>rrantherr</i>	<i>itnantherr</i>
plural			
I	<i>nwern</i>	<i>rrangkerr</i>	<i>itn</i>
II	<i>ilakeyeng</i>	<i>rrakerreyeng</i>	<i>itnakerreyeng</i>
III	<i>ilantheyeng</i>	<i>rrantherreyeng</i>	<i>itnantherreyeng</i>

An optional inclusive-exclusive distinction is introduced by compounding, as in Arrernte. Some informants use the normal second person present pronoun, *unt*, however, and so the analysis proposed by Wilkins for Central Arrernte is more acceptable than it was for that dialect. The only form volunteered was *unt ilern* 'you and I (I)' but the II and III forms *unt ilak* and *unt ilanth* were readily accepted. ER, however, prefers *ng*-based forms.

The alternative first person plural forms *nwakerr* (cf. the 'own patrimoiety' term *nwakerrekey* mentioned above) and *nwantherr* were accepted by some speakers.

The forms in Table 4 differ from the Central Arrernte forms in the following respects: plural forms, other than I, are not based on a plural pronominal root, nor do they have *err* as a (redundant) plural marker, but they are constructed from the corresponding dual forms by suffixation of *eyeng*;

while first person dual II and III forms are the same as the corresponding forms in Central Arrernte, the second and third person dual forms are the Central Arrernte plural forms (complete with *err*, the redundant plural marker in Central Arrernte and other dialects); second person plural I is distinct from second person plural III (and Western Arrernte thus conforms to Alyawarr and other dialects in being regular in this respect).

Morphological analysis of the forms in Table 4 presents some problems. The following morphemes seem to be present:

yeng '1sg'
unt '2sg'
ir '3sg'
ilern '1du.I'
nwern '1pl.I'
il '1non-sg.(II and III)?'
mpal '2du.I'
rrangkerr '2pl.I'
rr...err '2non-sg.(II and III)?'
therr 'two'
itn '3pl.I'
itn...err '3non-sg.(II and III)?'
eyeng 'plural'
ak 'II'⁴²
anth 'III'

6.4.1. Historical speculations

The common Western Arrernte pronoun system shown in Table 5 has remnants that suggest an earlier more complex system similar to the present Alyawarr system (Table 1). These, as noted above, are *ern* (= Alyawarr exclusive marker) in *ilern* and *nwern*, and *angkerr*

⁴² This is sometimes reduced to *ek* in inflected forms, e.g. first person dual II dative *ilekek* instead of *ilekak*. This has been noted from a NEAr speaker also.

(compare Alyawarr *ingk-err*) in *rrangkerr*. Given the irregularity of the extra forms in Table 4, however, it seems improbable that these (the extra forms) are all part of the old system. They are more likely to be loans from Central Arrernte or some other dialect. The suggestion, then, is that the earlier complex system was simplified, and then extra forms were borrowed to return much of the earlier complexity to the system.

It is interesting in this connection that T. G. H. Strehlow did not report the kin-related pronouns in Western Arrernte, although he was aware of their existence in eastern dialects, which he would not have known so well. However, we must note also that he was not aware of the group kin terms either (at least as a productive system), in any dialect.⁴³

His father, Carl Strehlow (n.d.), lists just one unambiguously Western Arrernte kin-based pronoun: *itnakerreyeng* (his "etnakarajinga") which he glosses as 'family (of another person)'. Other forms he gives could just as well be from another dialect. However, this one example is enough to suggest that the system was in existence in Western Arrernte in the early years of the twentieth century.

The details of the borrowing (if such it was) are bizarre. The two first person dual forms were borrowed into the appropriate slots, but the plural forms were not borrowed (or they were borrowed as alternatives, not as the primary forms). Instead new plural forms were made from the duals, thus negating the function of *il* as a first person dual root. Even more strangely, in second and third person plural forms were borrowed as duals, and new plurals were constructed from these. Again, the result is that pronominal roots have lost their earlier meanings, as has the plural morpheme *-err*.

There are few clues to the reason for this strange pattern of borrowing. One possibility is that the *-err* plural was reinterpreted as a dual, since *-err* is the regular dual marker on verbs in the Western dialect. However, in first person this would have introduced forms based on the root *nw*, and these would have had datives beginning with *nwek*, e.g. **nwekakerr* for 1du.II. These dative forms would have clashed with the dative of the first person singular, *nwek* (which itself is presumed to be originally a plural form). To avoid this clash, the dual forms were borrowed in the first person.

The origin of the new plural formative *-eyeng* is another mystery. It has the same form as the first person singular pronoun, but there seems to be very little reason why this should be a way of forming plural in the first person and no reason at all in the other persons. Kaytetye has a genitive suffix of this form, but there is no obvious reason why a genitive should be borrowed as a plural formative. There is also a suffix *-eyneng* in Kaytetye which Koch (n.d.b.) glosses as 'collective' with the meaning 'all the'. The nearest Arandic plural suffixes are *-ay* in Antekerrepenh and *-arey* in a few dialects. Note also the widespread Arandic group kin suffix *-enheng* (referred to above, especially 5.4). A few Australian languages have non-singular pronouns derived from singulars. One of these, Panyjima, in the far west of the continent (Dench 1991:157), has a system of third person pronouns in which *thana*, a plural in many languages, functions as singular, and dual and plural are formed from that. One of the two alternative plural forms has the suffix *-nyungu*, which, given the right sound changes, is a conceivable source for *-eyeng* (or *-enheng*). It's a long way away but. The Kaytetye *-eyneng* is clearly the most likely source so far.

7. Marking possessor of or by kin

A feature of Arandic languages is the variety of methods for marking possession in kinship. Generally, an unspecified (for possession) kin term may be followed (usually) by the appropriate genitive (the usual method for marking alienable possession of anything), or may be preceded by the appropriate dative (and in these cases I tend to hear the combination pronounced as a single word),⁴⁴ may be suffixed by a morpheme derived from the

⁴³ Breen (1995) speculates on a possible reason for this ignorance.

⁴⁴ However, the question of what constitutes a word in Arandic languages is a difficult one that has not yet been answered (but see Henderson, forthcoming). Examples of this construction in H&D (see below) are written as separate words. Koch (1990:194-5) says that in Kaytetye "Bound person markers are used only for a singular propositus, non-singulars being indicated phrasally by an independent pronoun in the DATive case." However,

appropriate dative, may be followed by a pronoun suffixed with an 'owner' marker, or finally, in some dialects, may be suffixed by a morpheme that denotes that the possessor is the son-in-law of the speaker, who can only be a woman. (The last will be dealt with along with avoidance terms in 10.) The unspecified kin term may or may not be the same as the root.

Thus, for example, in Arrernte, with the root *arrenc* 'father's father' we may have *arrenc atyinh* (with the first person singular genitive), *atyengarrenc* (with the first person singular dative prefixed), *arrencaty* (with the suffix *-aty* derived from the dative pronoun *atyeng*), all meaning 'my father's father', or *arrenc atyengartwey*, literally 'father's father for me-owner'.

Kaytetye, on which my knowledge is more limited,⁴⁵ differs from other Arandic languages in that the second and third methods seem to be conflated. First person singular is marked by a suffix *-ey*, corresponding to Arrernte *-aty*: thus *arrencgey* 'my father's father'. Other forms, however, use prefixes: thus *ngkarrenc* 'your father's father' in Kaytetye corresponds to Arrernte *arrencangk* (with the prefix in Kaytetye and the suffix in Arrernte derived from the second person singular dative, *ngkeng* and *ngkweng* respectively).

The third method listed above will now be dealt with in more detail.⁴⁶ Others will be described under 7.2.

7.1. Pronominal possessor suffixes on kinship terms

Most previous descriptions of Arandic languages (such as Strehlow 1942-44, Yallop 1977 and Wilkins 1989; see also Koch 1990) have mentioned only singular forms for the method of marking possessor by suffixation of a bound form of a dative pronoun. In Arrernte, for example, as well as the unmarked *mey* for 'mother' (perhaps the only term used by most present-day speakers), the terms *maty* 'my mother', *mangk* 'your mother' and *mikw* 'his or her mother' have long been known to linguists.⁴⁷ (Breen 1975-76 has a brief mention of a fourth, non-singular, form in Antekerrepenh, as in *maylek* 'mother of you and me'.) It has been noted also that certain inflectional suffixes may precede the person suffix as in *melaty* 'my mother-ergative' or *mekaty* 'for my mother', or may be divided into two parts, one before and one after the person suffix, as in *mekatyinh* 'my mother's'. They may also, especially with younger speakers, follow, or even do both, thus ergative *matyel* and *melatyel*. See, for example, Wilkins (1989:134-35) and H&D:379 (+*inhe* entry).

A change that is currently taking place in some communities is that one of the person-marked forms is being generalized. Thus, instead of the unmarked *mey* 'mother', speakers in one Central/Eastern Arrernte community are using the first-person marked form *maty* as an unmarked form, speakers in a Southern Alyawarr community are using the third-person marked form *mikw* (and Yallop 1977:91 observed an earlier stage where the third-person marked form had been extended to second-person possession), and Western Anmatyerr speakers are generalizing a modified third-person possessed form, *mwek*, resulting from migration of the rounding of earlier *mekw*.

Recent research, inspired by a form heard originally in the mid 70s from the Antekerrepenh speaker Bill Jenkin, has revealed that in fact this method of using pronominal person possessor suffixation can use any dative pronoun, dual or plural as well as singular. The particular item that inspired the search was the sentence:

(36) *Angkwerey antyeny aynelaylek aherr atwern.*

angkwerey antyeny ayn-el-ayl-ek aherr atw-ern

eSi old man Fa-ERG-ldu:I-DAT kangaroo kill-immediate past,

translated as "Well sister, old dad's killed a kangaroo." The morpheme *ayl-* denotes 'we

Hale (n.d.) wrote them as compounds. Examples such as *Japanangkaku-jajinyanu* 'Japanangka's father' and *Napurrulaku-kurdunyanu* 'Napurrula's child' (Laughren 1982:73, 79) shows that in similar expressions in Warlpiri the dative phrase is regarded as being compounded with the kinship term.

⁴⁵ And owes a lot to Harold Koch's unpublished grammatical notes.

⁴⁶ Section 7.1 is based on a paper entitled 'Twenty-eight ways to say "mum" in Arrernte', presented at the Annual Conference of the Australian Linguistic Society in 1996.

⁴⁷ Generalisation of one of these forms by younger speakers has been noted in some areas — generalisation of the first person form to all in EAr, and of the third person forms in WAnm and Aly.

(dual, I)', as explained in 6.

Although I did not immediately appreciate the structure of this wonderful word *aynelaylek*, I did attempt to find out more at the time. However, I was frustrated by the fact that many things that could be said using such forms can be said in simpler ways. For example, when I asked how you would tell your brother that your father killed a kangaroo, I was told: *Akngeyel aherr atwern*, literally 'My father killed a kangaroo.' This, of course, is perfectly adequate, although *aynelaylek* may have a nuance that *akngeyel* lacks. Regrettably, it was only after about twenty years when I had the opportunity to transcribe my 1976 Antekerrenpenh tapes that I had this construction brought back to my attention.

The conclusion that other type I forms — first person plural and second and third person non-singular — would be likely to exist follows naturally. Thus we would have such forms as (to exemplify from Alyawarr which, unlike most dialects, has an inclusive-exclusive distinction in first person pronouns):⁴⁸

amaylew 'mother (*am-*) of you and me (*ayl* + *-ew* ~ *-ek* 'dative' + zero marker for class I)

amaylernew 'mother of a third person and me'

amanwewingkerr 'mother of us (plural) (*anw-* '1pl' + *-ew* ~ *-ek* 'dative' + *-ingk-* 'class I' + *-err* 'plural')

amempwelew 'mother of you two (*mpwel*)'

amarrewingkerr 'mother of you (plural)' (*arr-* '2pl')

amalew 'mother of them (dual)' (*al-* '3du')

amaytnewingkerr 'mother of them (plural)' (*aytn-* ~ *ayn-* '3pl').

In all these terms the individuals referred to by the pronominal part belong to the same section, or — for the corresponding terms in a dialect which has subsections — to either or both of the subsections corresponding to an Alyawarr section. The mother may, of course, be classificatory. Thus, as well as applying to siblings, they may be used for groups comprising father's father(s) and (male's or brother's) son's child(ren), mother's mother(s) and (female's or sister's) daughter's child(ren), or people related to one another as cross-cousin's spouse/spouse's cross-cousin.

Forms formed from class II, III and IV pronouns seemed more problematical. However, some informants, especially the Alyawarr speakers (who don't have IV in their dialect, however), were happy to accept them. For example, *amaylewak* (mother-ldu-dat-II) was said to be usable by a man speaking to his father, for example, and it would mean 'mother of one or other of us'. Some Eastern Arrernte speakers did not accept such forms at first. (The actual form I suggested first to this group was *aynilekanth* 'father-ldu-DAT-III'.) But when I added a dual suffix (making it *aynilakanth-atherr*) it was readily accepted. The meaning is then 'both our fathers'; it could be used by a wife talking to her husband, for example, or by two cross-cousins. Similarly, when appropriate, with a plural suffix: *aynilekantherr-arey* 'our fathers'. (However, at least some speakers would accept that *aynilekanth-atherr* could also mean 'two people who are father to one or other of us', and there is no reason to doubt that it could be understood this way in the right context.)

Terms made with first person exclusive class II and III pronouns were most problematical, for me at least. For some time I found it hard to work out how they might be used.

However, people did accept them; the Alyawarr speaker BM told me that:

(37) *"Aynanwernewantherernem apetyeyel*

ayn-anw-ern-ew-anth-err-ernem apety-eyel

Fa-1pl-ex-DAT-III-PL-PL come-PRES

is like *aynanwewantherernem apetyeyel* but you're telling someone else." (The difference is that in the latter the exclusive marker *-ern* is absent.) *Aynaylernekak* was explained in terms of the sections or 'skins' of the people involved. It amounted to a situation where I might be with my son, say, and talking to a third person, say a cross-cousin, about a fourth person who might be father to either me or my son. In terms of skins, if the speaker were *Kemarr*, say, the companion would be *Pwerl*, the addressee *Petyarr* or *Kngwarrey* and the topic *Kemarr* or *Pwerl*. There are a number of other ways the topic could be described. Let us imagine that he is *Kemarr* and is a (real or classificatory) younger brother to the speaker and the addressee is a *Petyarr* and is a cross-cousin of the speaker: from the point of view of the speaker he

⁴⁸ The actual forms given have not necessarily been elicited; for example, I do not have *amaylew*, but I do have *aynaylew* 'father of you and me'.

would be *ayteyaty* 'my younger sibling' or *ayteyaylernekak* if the son is involved as well; with the son, the companion, as intermediary he would be *aynikw* 'his father'; from the point of view of the addressee it would be *ankelangkw* 'your male cross-cousin'; involving the addressee instead of the companion, the term *ayteyaylewanth* could be used if the topic was named from the point of view of the speaker or *ankelaylewanth* if from the point of view of the addressee; involving the addressee instead of the speaker it might be *ankelempwelewanth* from the point of view of the addressee or *aynempwelewanth* from the point of view of the companion.⁴⁹ The reasons why any particular one of those expressions might be used have not been studied; again, it is easier to imagine some of the expressions being used if the topic is dual.

I have very few examples of anything resembling spontaneous use of these forms. Sometimes a speaker has volunteered a form when we are discussing the subject, but usually I cannot even elicit them. People tend to give more simple forms, omitting reference to one of the people I have mentioned (and, of course, still giving a correct answer to my question).

However, unelicited sentences containing such forms have become available recently in stories (including Bible stories) made by Alyawarr speakers working with David Blackman of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The first example I saw was in a children's story book (Summer Institute of Linguistics 1996); the stories were made by showing the (adult) language workers a series of drawings and asking them to make a story about them. The first story in the book, about three boys who got lost, had the beautiful sentence:

(38) *Amaynewantherrethen aynaynewantherrethen nthwewanem amp ikwerernem.*
am-ayn-ew-anth-err-ethen ayn-ayn-ew-anth-err-ethen nthw-ew-anem amp
 Mo-3pl-DAT-III-PL-also Fa-3pl-DAT-III-PL-also look for-PAST-then child
ikwer-ernem
 3sg:DAT-PL

translated as 'Their mothers and fathers looked for the children'. The boys could have been two brothers and their cross-cousin. The same kinship terms were used with ergative marking on the following page. Note that there is no number marking, but the use of the complex kinship terms seems perfectly natural and efficient.

David Blackman (p.c.) later sent me a number of other examples, mostly from translations of Bible stories, and all based on the pronoun *aynantherr*. One is:

(39) *Rap iterrew, Akngey ayerneyew, arntarntaraynteyew alerikw ikwerenh ilkw.*
Ingwerernemelan awank-an ayernenh Akngey alakenh aleraynewantherrew.
r-ap iterr-ew akngey ayern-eyew arntarntar-aynt-eyew alerikw ikwerenh ilkw
 3sg-and think-PAST God ask-PURP look after-CON-PURP mCh-his 3sg:GEN big
ingwer-ernem-el-an awank-an ayern-enh akngey alakenh aler-ayn-ew-anth-err-ew
 other-PL-ERG-EM long ago-EM ask-used to God like that mCh-3pl-DAT-III-PL-DAT
 'He decided to ask God to look after his eldest son. People in the olden days used to pray to God like that for their children.'

I suspected, however, that the first example could also mean:

'The mother and father of one (or two, but not all) of the children looked for the children.' I have found that some Alyawarr speakers, but not all that I asked, accept this translation, which seems to be perfectly natural because it doesn't matter whose mother and father it actually was. It is easy to extend this story to make a context for the use of a form using a first person exclusive pronoun: the lost children came upon someone else's camp; while there they saw the parents coming and said to someone (say an uncle) at the other camp:

(40) *Nhak amanwernewantherrethen aynanwernewantherrethen apeyalheyel.*
nhak am-anw-ern-ew-anth-err-ethen ayn-anw-ern-ew-anth-err-ethen apeyalh-eyel.
 there Mo-1pl-ex-DAT-III-PL-also Fa-1pl-ex-DAT-III-PL-also come-

PRES which can be freely translated as 'Here come our mother and father', but also specifies that 'we' includes one or more people who are cross-cousin (or some relationship that is equivalent for our purposes) to the one(s) whose parents are coming, and excludes the addressee. Again, it doesn't really matter whose parents they are. Again, some speakers accepted this sentence as possibly referring to one set of parents, while others thought it could only apply to all the parents.

⁴⁹ These have not all been checked.

Another pair of sentences that I found to be acceptable is:

- (41) *Nhanyem ampaylernewanth* / *aleraylernewanth.*
nhanyem amp-ayl-ern-ew-anth / *aler-ayl-ern-ew-anth*
 this fCh-1du-ex-DAT-III mCh-1du-ex-DAT-III

This is our child.' (Spoken by a parent who is accompanied by the other parent. An Arrernte speaker has accepted an equivalent sentence.)

The procedure adopted by some speakers of explaining a complex kinship term through the medium of sections or subsections (as illustrated for one word above) raises the question of whether these terms conform to the (sub)section system or to the pronouns. For example, to tell two people, *aperlenheng-atherr*, say 'father's mother and her son's child', something about the father of one of them, would you use *aynempwelew* 'Fa-2du:1-DAT' because you would address them with the pronoun *mpwel*, or would you use *aynempwelewanth* 'Fa-2du-DAT-III' because that's the form you would use for the same combination of skins in the same generation (such as husband and wife)? The answer I have had from Alyawarr speakers is that you would use the former; you would follow the pronoun. This seems logical, since the forms are built using the pronoun.

However, one Northeastern Arrernte consultant, M, who would use the class I pronoun instead of the class III for cross-cousins (unlike almost all other Eastern and Central Arrernte people I have worked with), said she would use the word *milekanth* (mother-1du-DAT-III) for speaking to a cross-cousin about her mother. Then she equated this word to *mey ilernek* (mother 1du.I-DAT). I have this in my notes followed by the comment 'Wow!'. I queried this and she stuck to it. Her use of class I instead of class III for cross-cousins seems to be quite genuine and cannot be attributed to lack of competence; she is extremely competent. She once illustrated the distinction between the two classes when talking about the 'cousin-mother' relationship (see 11.1), in which she addresses a particular close cross-cousin as 'mother': "*Menheng ilanth* is really for mother and daughter; *menheng ilern* is like *altyelenheng-atherr*." This means that with mother and daughter (or mother and child — *menheng*) you use the class III pronoun *ilanth*, but when you are using *menheng* to refer to a pair of female cousins (*altyelenheng*) in the case where one can be called *mey* 'mother' by the other, the correct pronoun is the class I *ilern*, as used for cousins. (The suffix *-atherr* marks dual; it could have been used with any of the group terms in the sentence. The cousin-mother does not call the other cousin daughter, but cousin — *altyel*.)

Tables 7 and 8 give the nominative and dative forms for Central Arrernte and Alyawarr respectively. In both cases some forms are different for some speakers; for example, some older Central Arrernte speakers have the nominative I forms *anwingkerr*, *arringkerr* and *itningkerr* in the plural, but would use *anwern*, *arrantherr* and *itn* as less specific forms. In each table the dative is given immediately below the corresponding nominative. For the singulars, the reduced form of the dative that is compounded with kinship term roots is given below the dative.

Table 7. Central Arrernte nominative and dative pronouns

	first	second	third
singular	<i>ayeng</i>	<i>unt</i>	<i>r</i>
	<i>atyeng</i>	<i>ngkweng</i>	<i>ikwer</i>
	<i>aty</i>	<i>angkw</i>	<i>ikw</i>
dual			
	<i>ilern</i>	<i>mpwel</i>	<i>ratherr</i>
	<i>ilernek</i>	<i>mpwelek</i>	<i>ikweratherr</i>
II	<i>ilak</i>	<i>mpwelak</i>	<i>alak</i>
	<i>ilekak</i>	<i>mpwelekak</i>	<i>alekak</i>
III	<i>ilanth</i>	<i>mpwelanth</i>	<i>alanth</i>
	<i>ilekanth</i>	<i>mpwelekanth</i>	<i>alekanth</i>
plural			
	<i>anwern</i>	<i>arrantherr</i>	<i>itn</i>
	<i>anwernek</i>	<i>arrekantherr</i>	<i>itnek</i>
II	<i>anwakerr</i>	<i>arrakerr</i>	<i>itnakerr</i>
	<i>anwekakerr</i>	<i>arrekakerr</i>	<i>itnekakerr</i>
III	<i>anwantherr</i>	<i>arrantherr</i>	<i>itnantherr</i>
	<i>anwekantherr</i>	<i>arrekantherr</i>	<i>itnekantherr</i>

Table 8. Alyawarr nominative and dative pronouns

	First inclusive	First exclusive	Second	Third
singular		<i>ayeng</i> <i>atyeng</i> <i>aty ~ ey</i>	<i>ng</i> <i>ngkweng</i> <i>angkw</i>	<i>r</i> <i>ikwer</i> <i>ikw</i>
dual				
I	<i>ayl</i> <i>aylew</i>	<i>aylern</i> <i>aylernew</i>	<i>mpwel</i> <i>mpwelew</i>	<i>al</i> <i>alew</i>
II	<i>aylak</i> <i>aylewak</i>	<i>aylernak</i> <i>ayernewak</i>	<i>mpwelak</i> <i>mpwelewak</i>	<i>alak</i> <i>alewak</i>
III	<i>aylanth</i> <i>aylewanth</i>	<i>aylernanth</i> <i>aylernewanth</i>	<i>mpwelanth</i> <i>mpwelewanth</i>	<i>alanth</i> <i>alewanth</i>
plural				
I	<i>anwingkerr</i> <i>anwewingkerr</i>	<i>anwerningkerr</i> <i>anwernewingkerr</i>	<i>arringkerr</i> <i>arrewingkerr</i>	<i>aytningkerr</i> <i>aytnewingkerr</i>
II	<i>anwakerr</i> <i>anwewakerr</i>	<i>anwernakerr</i> <i>anwernewakerr</i>	<i>arrakerr</i> <i>arrewakerr</i>	<i>aytnakerr</i> <i>aytnewakerr</i>
III	<i>anwantherr</i> <i>anwewantherr</i>	<i>anwernantherr</i> <i>anwernewantherr</i>	<i>arrantherr</i> <i>arrewantherr</i>	<i>aytnantherr</i> <i>aytnewantherr</i>

Each of these dative (or where applicable reduced dative) terms can be compounded with the following kinship term roots (given as Central Arrernte term/Alyawarr term where they are different, and with simplified glosses):

m/am 'Mo', *anylayn* 'Fa' (except that the first person singular form is *akngey*), *atny* or *apmarl* 'MoBr', *awenh* 'FaSi', *k/away* 'eBr', *angkwer* 'eSi', *atyeylaytey* 'ySb', *ankel* 'male Co', *altyel* 'female Co', *anew* 'Sp', *anenty* 'Sp' (only in Alyawarr), *mpwern* 'BrL', *arnteng* 'SiL', *mwer* 'WiMo, fDaHu', *aler* 'mCh', *amp* 'fCh', *ahenterr* 'HuFa, mSoWi', *arntew* 'WiFa', *arnemerr* 'father-in-law', *anherr* 'HuMo', *arrenc* 'FaFa', *aperl* 'FaMo', *aty* 'MoFa', *ipmenh* 'MoMo' (not in Alyawarr), *anyany* 'MoMo' (except that the first person singular form is just *anyany*), *aypmenh* 'fDaCh' (in Alyawarr), *arnawerr-* 'FaeBr', *arneng-* 'Sb or Co' (usually translated 'relation' or 'friend'; not in Alyawarr).

They can also be compounded with a number of other terms such as:

atyew 'age-mate', *altyerr* 'dreaming', *arweng* 'totem' (not in Alyawarr) and *irrp-* ~ *arrp-* 'like, in the same subsection' (never as a free form; not in Alyawarr).

A subset of them can be compounded with *arrkar* 'spouse (of someone in the same generation or an even number of generations removed, but not of the speaker)', *akwent* 'brother-in-law' (in some dialects) and *ngwarr* 'husband' (in some dialects; used by a woman in referring to her daughter's husband, see 10).

A final point of interest. Note that, although *ilern* is the first person singular nominative pronoun in Arrernte, the corresponding suffix on kinship terms is usually *-ilek*; the expected *-ilernek* is acceptable, with the same meaning. It is clear (as noted above, 6.1) that *ilern* is the earlier exclusive member of an inclusive/exclusive pair *il/ilern*. The inclusive/exclusive distinction has been lost (except from the far north-eastern dialect), and so has the shorter form *il*. Some older speakers, while not accepting the bare root *il* (except for one eastern speaker, LM), do recognize a genitive form *ilekenh* as having the same meaning as *ilernekenh*.

In the far north-eastern form of Arrernte, the pronoun *il* has been lost (although one speaker, MM, has agreed that there is such a word) and so the inclusive/exclusive distinction is retained (at least by older speakers) for the class II and III pronouns and for plural class I, but not for dual class I. (In Lower Arrernte *il* has become the third person singular root.)

A monosyllabic class I form *al* 'they two' (corresponding to class II and III *alak* and *alanth*) has similarly all but disappeared from the language, and has been replaced by *ratherr* (from the singular form *r* plus the dual suffix *-atherr*).

In Western Anmatyerr, in which, in general (at least in the further western form), all

monosyllables have been augmented by addition of a syllable *-ang*, the first person dual inclusive class I nominative pronoun was (before the *-ang* augmentation happened, presumably) augmented by the ending *-engkerr*, corresponding to the class I plural ending *-ingkerr* in other dialects. Thus we have the dual and plural inclusive/exclusive pairs *elengkerr/elern* and *anwengkerr/anwern* (sometimes without the initial vowels) respectively.

In Kaytetye the inclusive/exclusive distinction has not been lost, but the monosyllabic non-singular pronouns have added endings to become disyllabic. The former 1du.incl *ayl* has become *aylem*,⁵⁰ a possible 2du *mpw* has become *mpwel* and the 3du (*e*)*rlw* has become (*e*)*rlwem*. All three have retained the short form as the base of inflected forms. (The postulation of earlier *ayl* and (*e*)*rlw* is supported by comparison with other Arandic languages; the postulation of *mpw* is not. Rather, such comparison suggests that *mpwel* is earlier.)

It might be thought that the reason for both processes — loss of the monosyllabic dual pronouns from Arrernte (at the cost of losing the inclusive/exclusive distinction in the first person) and augmentation of the monosyllabic dual pronouns in Western Anmatyerr and Kaytetye — could have been a desire to eliminate monosyllabic dual (or non-singular) pronouns. However, there is a strong case against this: monosyllables in Arrernte and Kaytetye are many (and would have been too in Western Anmatyerr), and in particular there are monosyllabic singular pronouns that seem to be under no threat. Such a rule would apply only to non-singular pronouns.

7.2. Other methods of marking possession with kinship terms

7.2.1. Prefixing or preposing dative noun phrase

Possessor of a kinship term is frequently denoted by a dative-marked pronoun or other noun phrase preceding the term. In some dialects, at least (including Western Anmatyerr and North-eastern Arrernte), it is used particularly by younger speakers. It is frequently, perhaps generally, heard as cliticized rather than preposed as a separate word, at least when the possessor phrase is a pronoun; thus *tyengaperl* rather than *tyeng aperl* ('my father's mother', Western Anmatyerr).

Western Arrernte does not allow this; a dative pronoun, which is often used as genitive, must follow the kinship term, e.g. *altyel nwek*, not *nwek altyel* or *nwekaltyel*.

In Eastern and Central Arrernte a kinship term may be preceded (or prefixed?) by any dative; thus *atyeng akngey* 'my father', *Toby-ek aler* 'Toby's son', *meyek mey* 'mother's mother' (all from Wilkins 1989:135). A term like *alty* 'relative' — kin-related but not strictly a kinship term — can occur in this construction too, e.g. *pmer Mparntw nhenhek alty* 'A person related to this place Mparntwe (Alice Springs)'. Wilkins states that the reverse order also occurs but does not give examples. He says that only suffixed forms (*maty*, etc.) and dative constructions (as well as forms not marked for possessor at all; see p.40) can be used for address.⁵¹ As the second and third examples here indicate, this method is available also for the situation where the possessor is represented by a noun or noun phrase rather than just a pronoun. This is further illustrated by examples in Henderson and Dobson (1994:437), such as *Arlkityarrek akngey* 'Arlkityarre's father' and *marl arrpenhek anew* 'another woman's husband'.

This construction may have a derivative function too; there is a snake called *aherrekaler*, bright orange with a black head, poisonous, perhaps the ringed brown snake, *Pseudonaja modesta*. (Other names are *akarrkngern-arrkngern* and *uternarlpawenh*.) The name *aherrekaler*, translated 'child of [male] kangaroo', is given to it because of its colour (data from M and another).

There are some restrictions on what kinship terms can occur in this construction, which seem not to be the same for all speakers. In general, disyllabic or longer roots may be preceded by

⁵⁰ Stanham (1972) notes the same augmentation as an option in her Alyawarr notes from Murray Downs.

⁵¹ Some of my data support this, and almost none contradict it. MM could address BrSoCh as *arrengey*, *atyengarreng* or *arreaty*, but also as *arreng atyinh* (with postposed genitive pronoun)

a dative and monosyllabic roots may not, although with some speakers a dative before a (surface) vowel-initial monosyllabic root is permissible, and a few seem to allow a dative before any root. Alyawarr speakers often used a redundant *-ey* on those kinship terms for which it is the normal first person singular possessor suffix; for example, *atyeng awenhey* 'my FaSi-my', *atyeng aperley* 'my FaMo-my'. This was not normally done when the appropriate possessor suffix was *-aty*, however. Thus *atyeng aytey* 'my yBr/Si', not *atyeng ayteyaty*. For most speakers this does not apply to the root *away* 'eBr'; *atyeng away* was not accepted but *atyeng awayaty* was. This root is unusual in that, although disyllabic, it seems never to occur without a person or group suffix.

This construction is of interest in that if monosyllabic kinship terms are permitted at all as free forms they are most likely to appear here. (Whether dative + kinship term forms a single word or is a two-word phrase is, of course, of relevance here. The uncertainty on this point is just one aspect of the general uncertainty regarding the nature of the word in Arandic languages.) Monosyllabic roots are *m* 'mother', (*a*)*ny* or *ayn* 'father', *atny* 'MoBr', *aty* 'MoFa', *k* 'elder brother' and *amp* 'child of woman'. The last is a very common word as a free form, but with the meaning 'child' rather than as a kinship term. As a kinship term it seems never to occur except with a person possessor suffix (except that some speakers would accept a group term *ampenheng*). Speakers who would not accept *atyengamp* accepted *atyeng ampaty*. There are instances of *atny* being used in English sentences, and following a dative, but no clear instances of it being used as a free form in Arrernte sentences. *m* 'mother' was collected by Hale about 1960 from an Alyawarr speaker (he was recorded in Northeastern Arrernte country and called himself "half Alyawarr" but the other twenty odd kinship terms collected from him are all Alyawarr). H&D give *m* as a northeastern word for 'mother's brother'. The use of the vowelless root *m* 'mother' as an independent word is convincingly shown in a paraphrase by a far-Northeastern Arrernte speaker of *mitnek* (see 7.1) as "*itnekingkerrenh m kwenh*," literally 'belonging to them (plural, I) mother indeed' (with the genitive pronoun preceding the noun, which is unusual). Another speaker of this dialect used the expression *meng ikwerenheng*, which seems to mean 'from his or her mother', using the ablative suffix *-eng* on *m* 'mother'. There is a probable similar example for *ny* 'father' (also in Northeastern Arrernte) but none for *aty* (or equivalent) 'mother's father', and as for *k* 'elder brother' it does not even seem to occur after a dative.

There is an example in Hale's field notes of the English loanword *meyt* 'mate' being used in this construction: *atyengemeyt* 'my mate' (Kay). This loanword is used instead of the native term *alyey*, which functions grammatically as a kinship term (and *atyengalyey*, glossed as 'my age-mate' is listed in Hale n.d.a:23).

As M's translation above illustrates, non-singular pronouns can participate in this construction, and type II and III pronouns are acceptable, although with some speakers perhaps only with number markers. Thus one speaker hesitated to accept *ilekakarreng* 'Idu-DAT-II-FaFa' (i.e. 'father's father of one or other of us, we being in the same patrimoiety but a generation apart') but accepted it with the dual suffix *-atherr*, so that it referred to two people, one being the appropriate grandfather (or grandchild, etc.) of one of us and the other of the other.

A summary of the data from several sources (each comprising a speaker or a small group):

LAr: TB used the construction in a phrase *ityeng urrempaty* 'my female cousin (male speaking)'. The possessor is doubly marked here. There are at least two examples of this construction being used in LAr with the word *pmer* 'place, camp, country', which shares some of the morphology of kinship terms, in T. G. H. Strehlow's notebooks,⁵² *Arrerntekpmer* 'place belonging to Arrernte' (Book XXXVII: 76, 1967) and *newartekpmer* 'married couple's camp' (Book XX: 67, 1955).

WANm: LP does not seem to use the construction with monosyllabic stems, thus *atyengamey* (not *atyengam*) 'my mother'. The root *am* 'mother' is here augmented with *ey* to make it disyllabic. Pronunciation of preposed dative pronoun plus kinship term as a single word is common in this dialect, and it has even been heard in conjunction with a possessor suffix, thus *tyengarteyaty* 'lsg.DAT-ySb-my' as well as *tyengartey* for 'my younger sibling'. A focus marker *-arl* can intervene between the dative pronoun and the kinship term (as in *tyengarl atyemey* 'lsg.DAT-FOC MoFa') but this is not grounds for regarding the construction as two separate words.

CAR: VH generally accepted the construction for disyllabic and longer roots but not for monosyllabic.

Exceptions are *awenh* 'FaSi' and *mpwern* 'BrL' for which she did not accept it, and *aty* 'MoFa', for which she

⁵² I have seen only parts of Strehlow's notebooks — those dealing with Lower Arrernte. There are undoubtedly examples of various matters relevant to this paper elsewhere in the notebooks.

did. She did not accept it for the portmanteau term *atyemey* 'my MoFa' and was doubtful about *akngey* 'my Fa'. SEAr: EJ (with ST and BN) accepted the construction for disyllabic and longer roots including portmanteau words such as *atyemey* 'my MoFa' and *akngey* 'my Fa' and also the form *kak* 'eBr' (which does not take kin-possessor suffixes, and is perhaps originally a baby-talk term). He did not accept *atyeng amp* for 'my SiCh', but instead said *atyeng ampaty*.⁵³ He readily accepted *atyengany* (with monosyllabic root) 'my Fa' but did not accept *atyengem* (with vowelless root) 'my Mo', substituting the partly redundant *maty atyinh*. An interesting phrase he volunteered was *atyeng angkwerekatyinh* 'lsg:DAT eSi-DAT-my-GEN2' = 'my elder sister's'.

EAR: LM accepted all types of combination at times, but on balance it seems that he would not accept combinations of dative + vowelless root. Thus, while he first accepted *atyeng m*, and also *atyeng mey*, he did not (on a later occasion) accept *atyengem* in a sentence, or ergative forms *atyengemel* and *atyengemeyel*, but substituted *melaty*.⁵⁴ (This inconsistency is attributed to vagueness associated with his age and frailty.) He did, however, seem genuinely to accept combinations of dative and the monosyllabic root *atny* 'cousin-uncle', see 11.1. He did not accept *atyeng amp*, but used *atyeng ampaty*.

He (and his wife, NAr) accepted this construction with non-singular pronouns, e.g. *ilernek arreng* 'ldu.I-DAT FaFa', *anwekingkerr arreng* 'lpi.I-DAT FaFa', *mpwelek arreng* '2du.I-DAT FaFa', *mpwelekek arreng* '2du.II-DAT FaFa', translated as "father and son's *arreng*," and *mpwelekek arrengatherr* '2du.II-DAT FaFa-DU'. LC used the dative freely with disyllabic roots and redundantly with the derived form *ampaty* (*tyeng ampaty* 'lsg.DAT fCh-my') but used the postposed genitive with derived or portmanteau forms when the root was monosyllabic. However, she did accept *ngkweng atny* 'your cousin-uncle' and *atyeng atyemey* 'my mother's father'. She did not accept it with *kak* 'eBr'.

NEAr: M accepted this construction with disyllabic roots. She reluctantly accepted it with portmanteau forms like *akngey* and *mey*, and dimorphemic forms like *maty* and *ampaty*, but said that they are not good Arrernte. She commented that children use *atyeng* a lot, for example, *atyengeyay* 'my (elder) sister', *atyengemamey* 'my mummy'. (*Yay*, like *kak*, is a widely used form perhaps originally baby talk; *mamey* is, of course, from English.) She accepted *atyengaty* 'my mother's father' (also *atyengatyemey*), but not other forms with monosyllabic roots like *atyengatny* or *atyengany* or *atyengek*. However, she later gave a form *ilernekenyekenh* 'belonging to your and my father' (*ilern-ek-eny-ekenh* 'ldu.I-DAT-Fa-GEN'), suggesting that the use of monosyllabic roots in this construction is acceptable if there is further suffixation. This needs to be followed up. She also gave a form with a type III pronoun which is interesting in that the pronoun is genitive, not dative, and the form has therefore been written as two words: *ilekanthinh nyekenh* 'belonging to your and my fathers (we being cousins)' — *il-ek-anth-inh* 'ldu-DAT-III-GEN2'. Other *ilernek*-Kin (with ldu.I possessor) and *anwekingkerr*-Kin (with lpl.I possessor) were accepted. *Ilekakarreng* (with ldu.II possessor, e.g. father and I) was a problem, but *ilekakarrengatherr* (with *dual-atherr*) was OK.

SC and MM accepted or gave this construction with all types of stems: disyllabic (like *awenh* 'FaSi'), monosyllabic with surface vowel (*ayn* 'Fa'), vowelless (*m* 'Mo'), portmanteau (*mey* 'Mo') and derived (*katy* 'eBr-my'). The use of the vowelless root *m* 'mother' as an independent word is convincingly shown in MM's paraphrasing of *mitnek* (see 7.1) as "*itnekingkerrenh m kwenh*," '3pl-DAT-I-pl-GEN2 mother indeed'. The use of *kak* 'eBr', not morphologically a kinship term, as in *ngkweng kak*, was not accepted; *ngkweng kangkw* (with redundancy) was said instead. Another example of redundancy is in *atyeng aleraty* 'my FaFaFa'.

EAnm: Ag gave some forms, such as *tyengarreng* 'lsg:DAT-FaFa' and accepted others, but not *tyengemey* (with *mey* 'mother') or *tyengangey* or *tyengany* (with *angey* 'Fa:my' or *any* 'Fa').

Aly: BM+ mostly wanted to use this construction with redundant person possessor suffixes on the kinship term: thus *atyeng awenhey* 'my FaSi-my', *atyeng aperley* 'my FaMo-my'. However, they did accept it without this suffix at times, as in *atyeng arreng* 'my FaFa'. It may perhaps be relevant that this was usually when the appropriate possessor suffix (which was almost always first person singular in the elicitation session) was *-aty* and not *-ey*, thus with *anew* 'Sp', *atyew* 'friend', *aytey* 'ySb', *arrempey* 'opposite sex sibling' (however, *atyeng away* was not accepted, *atyeng awayaty* 'lsg:DAT eBr-my' being substituted). The construction was not accepted with a monosyllabic root; thus *atyeng amey* 'lsg:DAT Mo-my' was not acceptable, nor was *atyeng ayn* or *atyeng aynaty* 'lsg:DAT Fa(-my)'. However, *ngkweng aynengkw* '2sg:DAT Fa-your' was accepted, so the situation is not clear.

SPg accepted the construction with twelve of the twenty-one disyllabic or longer roots mentioned in the session, but not with the other nine or with monosyllabic roots (even with derivational suffixes) or portmanteau words. However, although they accepted *atyeng aytey* 'lsg:DATySb', *ngkweng aytey* '2sg.dat ySb' and *ikwer aytey*

⁵³ The latter form contains a redundancy as both the prefix and the suffix express the first person possessor. Such redundancy is occasionally but not normally found with other kinship terms, but *amp* is unique in that it is a common noun meaning 'child' as well as a kinship term 'child of woman'. As such, it is not used in its simple form for any kinship term other than 'child of woman'; i.e. when it is used with other meanings, such as 'woman's father-in-law' or 'father-in-law's sister' it requires a possessor suffix such as *-aty* or *-angkw*. In particular, the first person form *ampaty* is treated as a root and, for example, can be reduplicated like a disyllabic root.

⁵⁴ Note that the ergative suffix *-el* precedes the possessor suffix *-aty*.

'3sg:DAT ySb' they did not accept *aylew aytey* 'ldu:in.1-DAT ySb' but said *ayteyaylew*, using the kin-possessor suffix, which has the same form here as the dative pronoun, and similarly the corresponding plural form *ayteyanewingkerr*. KBg, from the same community, accepted *atyeng away* 'lsg.dat eBr' and *atyeng ampaty* 'lsg.dat fCh' which SPg had not, and also accepted the construction with non-singular pronouns: *anewingkerr arrenng* 'lpl:in-dat-I-pl FaFa' and *anewakerrarrenng* 'lpl:in-dat-II-pl FaFa'. JBg used the person suffix *-ey* on the few combinations I elicited from them or put to them for approval: thus *atyeng aypmenhey* 'lsg.dat tDaCh', *aylew aypmenhey* 'ldu.1:in-dat tDaCh', *aylernew aypmenhey* 'ldu.1-ex-dat tDaCh' and *aylernewak aypmenhey* 'ldu-ex-dat-II fDaCh'.

Hale (1959-60) gives several examples involving non-singular class I pronouns in Kay: *mpwewarlwey* 'your (du) father', *atewangkarlwey* 'their (pl) Fa', *ilengkarlwey* 'our (du:ex) Fa', *aynekangkarlwey* 'our (pl:ex) Fa', *mpwewarrenng* 'your (du) FaFa' and one sentence:

(42) *Apen mpwel mpwewarrenngewarl*
ap-en mpwel mpw-ew-arrenng-ewarl
 go-IMP 2du 2du-DAT-FaFa-ALL
 'Go to your father's father.'

Kay: TJ+ accepted a form with a class III pronoun: *aylewantharlweyetherr* 'ldu:in-III-Fa-DU' 'our two fathers (man speaking to wife)'. However, TT did not accept the simple form *aylewarrenng* 'ldu:in.1-DAT-FaFa'. Prefixes (and probably other kin-specific bound morphemes) are not used on Kaytetye kinship terms such as *akey* 'eBr' and *tyaty* 'MoFa' which are regarded as foreign or child language (Myf Turpin, p.c). There is also in Kaytetye a prefix *mw-* 'my' used only on *aytnmenh* 'MoMo' (Myf Turpin, p.c).

7.2.2. Postposing the genitive pronoun

The normal method for expressing possession of anything that is alienably possessed is to postpose the genitive pronoun. It is commonly used also with kinship terms, and is the commonest method used currently, at least in some dialects. As noted above, in Western Arrernte the dative pronoun often follows the kinship term, but this is simply a result of the general usage of dative pronoun instead of genitive in this dialect. (Datives are based on the suffix *-ek*, possessives *-ekenh*. The *-enh* may be analysable as a noun stem formative; in Western Arrernte it is always used when another nominal affix is added to the pronoun; for example, 'our (plural)-ergative' is *nwernekenhel*, not **nwernekel*.

There seems, for some speakers at least, to be some sort of complementary distribution between preposed dative and postposed genitive, with the former used for disyllabic roots and the latter with monosyllabic roots (which are perhaps always augmented in some way); see the notes above on the usage of the EAr speaker LC. However, postposed genitive is probably always acceptable.

Genitive also may precede the kinship term. The expression *tyeng arntengekenh mey* (EAR:LC) 'lsg.DAT SiL-GEN Mo' 'my sister-in-law's mother' is interesting; there are two kinship terms here, one marked with a genitive suffix as possessor of the other. However, the genitive marked term must precede the possessed kinship term because it is preceded by a dative pronoun. Changing the order would probably cause problems with comprehension. Note also MM's paraphrase of *mitnek* in 7.2.1.

Redundant use of genitive pronoun with pronominal possessor suffix has been heard on occasions; for example *awayaty atyenh* 'eBr-my lsg:GEN' 'my elder brother' (Aly) and *Ngkarlwey nthek ngkeyeng?* 'your-Fa where 2sg:GEN' 'Where's your father?' (Kay), both from Hale's field notes.

Other data

WANm: LP gave both *amey atyehenh* and *amaty atyehenh* for 'my mother'; the latter uses the 1sg possessor suffix as well as the lsg.GEN pronoun.

EANm: Ag used redundant constructions, like *maty ngkwinh* 'Mo-your 2sg:GEN', several times.

Aly: SPg explained *amey aylewakenh* 'Mo ldu-DAT-II-GEN2' by saying: "kid's auntie talk about the kid's mother." This seems to mean that in talking to the child she is referring to the mother as 'our mother' and using the pronoun appropriate to her relationship to the child.

Kay: TJg gave *arlwey aylewantheyeng* 'Fa ldu-DAT-III-GEN' 'our fathers (man speaking to wife)'. NK translated *aylewantheyeng akeley* 'ldu-DAT-III-GEN FaSi' as "my wife's auntie"

7.2.3. Suffixing a dative plus 'owner' clitic

The morpheme *artwey* is given by H&D:286-88 as:

- 1a. 'owner', as in 'owner of a place' (these days in the European sense as well as in the Aboriginal sense) or 'owner of a dog';
- 1b. 'having something' as in *warrkek artwey* 'having a job', *ulyek-artwey* 'having some shade [available, to sit in]';
- 2 'someone who belongs to a dreaming, ceremony or song; an owner of these things';
3. 'relation, especially older relation; parents, grandparents, ancestors' (and an example under this heading shows that it includes God);
- 4, 'having a particular relation; someone who has a relation of this type', as in *anewek-artwey* 'married' (having a spouse)', *ampek-artwey* 'having children';
5. 'belonging to a particular dreaming', as in *irretyek-artwey* 'belonging to the wedge-tailed eagle dreaming'.

Subentries are given for forms with pronominal and group suffixes as used on kinship terms:

"*artweyaty* 'my/our *artwey*'

"*artweyangkw* 'your *artwey*'," with the example:

- (43) *Artweyangkwewern alpay!* *artwey-angkw-ewern alp-ay*
 'Go back to your owner!' (spoken to a dog); owner-your-ALL return-IMP

"*artweyeyekw*, *artweyikw* 'his/her/their *artwey*'," with an example including the phrase *artweyikw arey mapeng* 'with all their relatives';

"*artweyenheng* 'two or more people who are related to each other; relations'," with an example, in part:

- (44) *Arelh awenk yanh atherr artweyenheng atherr akwel, ...*
arelh awenk yanh atherr artweyenheng atherr akwel
 woman girl that two owner-GETHER two supposedly
 'Those two girls are supposed to be relations, ... '.

Other subentries are:

"*kelek artwey* 'already an *artwey* of something';" for example:

- (45) *R akwel amp kelek artwey* *r akwel amp kel-ek artwey*
 'She's already got kids, apparently.:'; 3sg supposedly child already-DAT owner

"*apmerek-artwey* 'an owner of land who inherits it through his father's and father's father's side, someone who belongs to this land';

"*artweyek-artwey* 1. 'related to each other', "

- (46) *Ratherr artweyek-artwey alherrem.*
r-atherr artwey-ek-artwey alh-err-em.
 3sg-DU owner-DAT-owner go-DU-PRES

'Those two, who are related to one another, are going off now';

"2. 'a relation of a relation, usually parent's parents', "

- (47) *Arrengey ... ngkweng-artweyek-artwey.* *arrengey ngkweng-artwey-ek-artwey*
 'Your *arrengey* is your father's father.' FaFa 2sg:DAT-owner-DAT-owner

(45) is probably an instance of interpolation of a word (*kel* in this case) inside another word (*ampekartwey*); see Henderson (forthcoming).

An expression heard from a Northern Arrernte speaker (DL) was *artwey-ankethenh*, translated as "He's got a boss, not *alhengkey*" (*alhengkey* means 'unwanted'); this can be used of a dog having an owner, or to say that a person has a mother and father.

As gloss 3 of *artwey* in H&D indicates, this is a method of marking possession confined, for many but certainly not all speakers, to senior kin; some would confine it to older generations while others would also use it for senior kin in the same generation, accepting it for elder brother, say, but not for younger sibling. A term like *anwernek-artwey* can be used with such meanings as 'our father', 'our mother', 'our parents', 'our ancestors'. It comprises the dative pronoun 'for us (plural)' with the 'owner' suffix, and so could be translated as 'the one who owns us'. To refer to a specific kin a kinship term is used with it: thus *akngey anwernek-artwey* 'our father' or (from H&D:353) *arlpaty akwek atherrek artwey mikw* 'the two little ringneck parrots' mother'. A more detailed explanation of a relationship is given in the following example:

- (48) *Ayeng ngkweng-artwey. Ayeng mey ngkwinh, yay atyinhekenh.*

ayeng ngkweng-artwey ayeng mey ngkwinh yay atyinh-ekenh.
 1sg 2sg:DAT-owner 1sg Mo 2sg:GEN eSi 1sg:GEN-GEN
 'I'm your parent. I'm your mother, [you] belong to my elder sister.' (EAr:LC)

A couple of spectacular examples of multiplication of *-artwey* are:

artweyek-artweyek-artweyek-artwey "grandfathers to grandfathers, grandmothers to grandmothers; our generations and generations and generations." (NEAr:M)

Anwernekartweyek-artwey kartweyek-artwey "generation to generation," *anwernekartweyek-artwey, anwernek-arreng-arreng kartweyek-arreng-arreng.* "that one grandfather's grandfather's son's father." (CAr:HE) (*anwern* '1pl:I', *arreng* 'FaFa')

The latter, the English part of which is rather garbled, is written as transcribed, with word breaks which were heard as separating the dative suffix from the stem and having it behaving as the beginning of a word.

Perhaps related to the phenomenon described in the latter part of the previous paragraph, in Western Arrernte there is a change in progress from *-ertwey* (corresponding to *artwey* in some other dialects) suffixed to the dative *-ek*, to *-ekwertey*, with the roundness migrating from the *rt* to the *k* of the dative suffix which thus loses its identity and becomes part of a larger suffix. In the case of the first person singular pronoun, whose dative *nwek* is suppletive, the segmentation of the resulting form *nwekwertey* is not clear. It is indicative of the confusion that one informant said that *nwekwertey* came from *nwekekwertey* (i.e. *nwek* '1sg.dat' + *suffix-ekwertey*).

In Alyawarr, in which *-artey* corresponds to Arrernte *-artwey*, some speakers use *atyengewartey* instead of *atyengartey*. Thus, they use a dative suffix before *-artey* even though the word *atyeng* is itself a dative.

Other details:

WAr: *nwekwertey* could be used of *kart* 'Fa', *mey* 'Mo', *kamern* 'MoBr' for example, but not of *ketyey* 'fCh' (ER, GA+). GA, who says *nwekertwey* (not *nwekwertey*), nevertheless uses *-ekwertey* with non-singular pronouns: *ilernekwertey* '2du.I(-DAT)-owner'. However, in view of the way roundness tends to spread in Arrernte words this is perhaps not of much significance. GA accepted *ilekanthekwertey* '1du-DAT-III(-DAT)-owner' for a situation where our two fathers (we being cousins) are referred to. He accepted but did not repeat *ilekantheyekwertey* '1 (du)-DAT-III-pl(-DAT)-owner' but would say *nwernekwertey* '1pl(-DAT)-owner'. WANm: LP gave *arreng kwerenh, kwerarreng, arrengek, arreng kwerartey* as ways of saying 'his or her FaFa'. (The 'owner' suffix is *-artey*.) The following example illustrates use of a singular kin-possessor suffix with plural reference as illustrated by the following pronoun, which is formally III but used as the unmarked form.

(49) *Anyengk w apetyem arrehantherrartey.*
any-engkw apety-em arr-eh-anth-err-artey
 Fa-your come-PRES 2pl-DAT-III-PL-owner
 'Your (plural) father is coming.'

She did not accept *angkwer atyengartey* for 'my eSi', but gave *angkwerangkwer atyengenh*. Similarly, she did not accept the use of the 'owner' suffix when referring to 'ownership' of a parent by a child.

Ng used the 'owner' suffix with generalized third person forms: *mwek tyengartey* 'my mother' and *nywek tyengartey* 'my father'. They accepted the construction only with older generation owners. Thus you could say *aperl atyengartey* of your 'FaMo' but not of your 'fSoCh'.

CAr: VH would use *-artwey* 'owner' of any relative, but RR+ preferred (or confined) its use for older people.

SEAr: EJ accepted the use of *-artwey* on *ilanth* '1du:III' as well as *ilern* '1du:I'.

NAr: DL would accept it only with older generations and RF only for older people (including elder brother); ST/MT also thought that it would be used with older generations at first, but then accepted its use with others. The latter two accepted *ilekanthartwey* '1du-DAT-III-owner' with the comment: "Might be Kngwarraye and Ngale coming; might be two cousins coming." They then agreed that you could say it for just one of them coming.

EAr: LM accepted *-artwey* with reference to a younger generation: *S aler atyengartwey* 'S is my son'. He accepted *artweyaty* and *artwey atyinh*, both 'my owner'. LC seemed to accept *-artwey* with all generations (but there was some possible misunderstanding). She would use the construction with no reference to the actual kinship term, thus *Ayeng ngkwengartwey* '1sg 2sg.DAT-owner' in a situation where she was a mother (actually mother's elder sister) of the person concerned. SC/MM seemed to accept the expression for older or younger generations.

NEAr: M could use type II and III pronouns in this construction, for example *ilekakartwey* '1du-DAT-II-owner' could be used when she was speaking to her mother-in-law about her mother. MM used *maty atyengartwey* 'my

mother' with the possession doubly marked, and accepted *ilekakartweyatherr* 'I du-DAT-owner-DU' "me and auntie's two fathers." She gave *atyengartwey* as 'my father', omitting specification of the actual kinship.

Ant: JB accepted the construction for younger as well as older generations.

EAnm: Ag gave examples of the construction but most involved redundancies, as *arregaty atyengartwey* 'FaFa-my lsg:DAT-owner'. The only exception was *arelh ampwatyengartwey* 'woman old lsg:DAT-owner', translated as "mother to me."

Aly: EH used *atyengewartey*, not *atyengartey*, i.e. 'lsg.DAT-DAT-owner' with dative marked twice. However, others used *atyengartey*. The former may be generalizing from non-singular forms like *aylewartey*, in which the dative has its usual form, *-ew*. The construction was accepted with older and younger and same generation kin. The construction with class II and III pronouns was accepted by K without non-singular marking (*aylernewakartey* 'I du-ex-DAT-II-owner' "that daddy belong his daddy, *arregney* for that young fellow") and by JBg only with non-singular marking (*akngeyatherr aylewanthartey* 'Fa-DU I du-ex-DAT-III-owner' but not *akngey aylewanthartey*).

Kay: TT seemed to use *atyengewartey* (or *atyengwartey*?) with reference to his father. This needs confirming as it seems to have dative expressed twice. CP did not accept *arlwey atyengartey*.

7.2.4. Asymmetrical use of methods of marking possession

Any difference in meaning between the various methods of marking possession of kin is not clear. For example, a Western Anmatyerr speaker said that *arreg ngkwehenh* =

ngkwengarreg = *arreg ngkwengartey* = *arregengkw*, all 'your father's father' (glosses 'FaFa 2sg-GEN', '2sg.DAT-FaFa', 'FaFa 2sg.DAT-owner' and 'FaFa-your' respectively).

However, she said also that *arregaty* is grandchild, not grandfather; *arreg atyengartey* = *arregarreg* = grandfather. She was using first person possession in the latter comparison, second person in the former, but this is unlikely to be significant. It seems clear that there are differences of this type in usage (as already noted for the 'owner' construction by H&D) even though these are not necessarily reflected in the translations.

There is evidence of asymmetrical usage of terms where the basic term is reciprocal and one member of the pair is senior to the other. The preference for using the 'owner' forms in reference to older kin was mentioned above. There seems to be a preference for the forms with possessor suffix to be used by the senior person and a reduplicated form, which is more familiar (see 8), to be used by the junior (as the second statement in the previous paragraph says). For example, a man calls his son's children *arregaty*, but they call him *arregarreg*. In another example, where the generation gap is larger, he calls his daughter's daughter's children *mwerey* or *mweraty* and they call him *mweyemwey*. However, people say that any forms can be used either way.

8. Reduplication of kin terms

According to Wilkins (1989:137), reduplication applies to "a number of kin terms, including all four grandparent terms" and in these cases appears to refer only to the grandparents, not the grandchildren. It indicates affection and/or respect.

H&D (1994) give reduplicated forms for only three of the grandparent terms (excluding mother's father) and describe such terms as "affectionate or casual"; similarly, the reduplicated form of *mwer* 'WiMo' is described as "a more casual form." A similar connotation is implied by their definition of the reduplicated form of *awenh* 'father's sister, aunt' as "auntie."

However, it seems that reduplication of some other forms has a different function. *Atyey-atyey* (from *atyey* 'younger sibling') is defined as "someone who is thought of as a younger brother or sister but who is less closely related than someone who is your *atyey*." *Anew-anew* (from *anew* 'spouse') is defined as "boyfriend, girlfriend, lover." *Ampaty-ampaty* (from *ampaty* 'my SiCh') is:

1. child of a distant sister
2. a woman's father-in-law, and his brothers and sisters
3. a woman's brother's father-in-law
4. a man's sister's father-in-law
5. a man's father-in-law

6. your father's cross-cousins.

They comment that: "The relations that are called this are especially respected, and direct contact is avoided." In all three of these cases, then, the reduplicated form refers to a more distant relation than the unreduplicated form.

Finally, the reduplicated forms of *arnteng* 'HuSi' and *aler* 'BrCh' are given as the same as the unreduplicated forms; reduplication seems to have no function.

My own survey research focussed on what forms were used rather than their usage, but the information I obtained supported H&D's description of the reduplicated forms of terms which are reciprocal and apply to people in different generations (such as the grandparent/grandchildren terms) as affectionate and casual, and supported Wilkins' statement that they are used generally to refer to the older generation.

My data regarding *anew-anew* (from *anew* 'spouse') are inconsistent; some accepted it and some did not. I suspect those who did not accept it did so because of its meaning; it is not just a more casual form applicable to one's *anew*, but is applied to someone who, at least if one is married, is an illicit lover. (Hence the laughter that greeted my query to one group about the term.)

H&D's relegation of some reduplicated terms to more distant kin is consistent with information I have on some forms. For Western Arrernte I was told that *anterr-anterr* (from *anterr* 'father-in-law', cognate with *ahenterr* in Eastern Arrernte) is a "sort of father-in-law." This seemed (on further enquiry) to refer to a classificatory father-in-law. An Alyawarr group gave similar information about *ampaty-ampaty* (but in much less detail than that quoted from H&D above).

The function of reduplication in the previous two paragraphs, and perhaps in the one before them as well, is in line with a frequent function of reduplication in nouns in general in Arandic and many other Australian languages. This could be described as attenuation⁵⁵: RR has some of the characteristics of R, or is like R but lacking some essential characteristic of it, or contains R as a notable or characteristic feature, or is some sort of spread out or attenuated R. Thus *atherrk-atherrk* 'green' is derived from *atherrk* 'small green plant', *ingkwelp* is '(native) tobacco (which can be chewed as a narcotic)' while *ingkwelp-ingkwelp* is 'a plant like native tobacco but no good for chewing', *ilkartw* is 'a type of edible melon' while *ilkartw-ilkartw* is 'a type of inedible melon', *kwaty* is 'water', *kwaty-kwaty* 'watery, runny', *ankerr* is 'coolibah tree', *ankerr-ankerr* 'place where there are a lot of coolibahs', *atnyenty* is 'moon' and *atnyenty-atnyenty* 'a small white grub that curls up in the ground, and looks a little like a crescent moon'. The actual relationship between the meanings of the simple and reduplicated forms is varied, but the idea of the simple form as being 'fully R' and the reduplicated form as being 'R-ish in some way' is often there.

My data show, in general, that reduplication can apply to the disyllabic kinterm roots and also to *ampaty*. It does not apply to suppletive forms like *akngey* 'father' and *atyemey* 'mother's father'. Thus I too cannot confirm Wilkins' statement that it applies to all four grandparent terms; however, there is a term *rtartart* (H&D:543) which some speakers (of Western and Central/Eastern Arrernte) regard as equivalent to a reduplicated form. This is cognate with the normal form for the kinship term, *artartey* ~ *artartety*, in Alyawarr. A term for elder brother, *kak* or *akey*, also is regarded by some speakers as equivalent to a reduplication; it is not clear whether this is because of its similarity to the root *k* 'eBr' (from which it may be derived) or because, like reduplicated forms, it is a less formal term.

Some reduplicated forms do undergo changes from the root form; for example, *mwer* 'WiMo' is reduplicated as *mwey-mwey* in Arrernte and *mey-mey* in Alyawarr. It may be that this change is related to this being, at least originally, a childish form, since only a child would have referred to his (potential/ classificatory) mother-in-law with such a familiar term. (H&D:487 make a similar point.) Another example is *ipmenh* 'MoMo', reduplicated as *menyemenyey* in WAr. In Aly *arnawerr* 'FaeBr' may be reduplicated as *arnawerr-arnawerr* or *arnawey-arnawey*. In NAr (at least) it seems that *arnawey* takes the place of a reduplicated form (this not being acceptable); The older member of the pair (FaeBr) is called

⁵⁵ Or as T.G.H. Strehlow put it (1965:131) put it: "reduplication has a diminishing effect upon the meaning of the noun".

arnawey by the younger (yBrCh) and calls him (or her) *arnawerraty*.

Ampaty is unique in that it is the only dimorphemic form which can be reduplicated; it comprises a root *amp-*, basically 'woman's child' and a first person singular possessor suffix *-aty*. One person accepted the reduplication of corresponding second and third person forms (*ampangkw* and *ampikw* ~ *ampeyekw*), but most did not.⁵⁶ Collocations such as *ampaty-ampaty ngkwinh* 'your *ampaty-ampaty*' are acceptable, despite the contradiction between *-aty* 'my' and *ngkwinh* 'your'. Furthermore, my data indicate that reduplication of *ampaty* in terms referring to senior or more distant kin is not obligatory, as H&D's entry implies. I have a number of examples of senior or distant kin being called *ampaty*; kin involved include mother's mother's mother, father's mother's father, son's daughter's daughter, father-in-law's sister, mother-in-law's brother's wife and father's cross-cousin.

A few disyllabic and longer forms seem not to be able to be reduplicated. These include *away* 'elder brother' (Aly), *anyany* 'MoMo' (Aly) and *ay(p)menh* 'SiDaCh' (Aly). *Anyany* is unusual in another respect in that it is a first person possessed form but does not need the *-aty* suffix (although *anyanyaty* is acceptable). Words that Arrernte speakers did not accept in reduplicated form (although Alyawarr did) included *arnawerr* 'FaeBr' and *ahenterr* 'HuFa'. Perhaps reluctance to reduplicate these was due to their length. The situation regarding some of the more obscure kinship terms, such as the Alyawarr avoidance forms, has not been investigated.

Details:

Much of the detail is summarized in Table 9. The second column head line refers to the individuals or groups who were the source of the information. 'Others' includes words from Breen (1988-95) and words elicited from or contributed by students at an adult literacy course in Anmatyerr. Gaps in the table indicate that the relevant questions were not asked.

It may be that some negatives arise from misunderstanding. For example, BM+ may have rejected reduplication of *mwer* because there is no *mwer-mwer*, overlooking the fact that *mey-mey* is accepted as a reduplication of *mwer*. Similarly, when I asked them for a reduplication of *malyey*, they may have said no because there is no *malyey-malyey*, although there is *maly-maly*. A CAr speaker may have rejected *anew-anew* because its meaning is somewhat different from *anew*.

Table 9. Details of reduplication data

	WAnm LP	WAnm others	E/CAr combined	EAnm Ag	Aly BM+	Aly SPg	Aly KBg
m 'mother'	N		N	N	N	N	N
any-ayn 'father'	N		N	N	N	N	N
arnawerr 'FaeBr'						Y	
a(p)marl 'MoBr'	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
atny 'MoBr'			N		(not	applicable)	
awenh 'FaSi'	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
mwer 'WiMo'	Y		Y	Y	N	Y	Y
anherr 'HuMo'	Y		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ahenterr 'HuFa'			N		Y		Y
maly 'WiFa'	(not	applicable)		N	N		Y
k 'eBr'	N		N	N			
away 'eBr'	(not		applicable)		N	N	N
angkwer 'eSi'	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
atyey-aytey 'ySb'	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ankel 'MoBrSo'	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
altyel 'MoBrDa'	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
anew 'spouse'	N		N/Y		N		N?
mpwern 'WiBr'	Y						N
arnteng 'HuSi'	Y	Y	Y	N			Y
aler 'BrCh'	Y		Y		Y	Y	Y
amp 'SiCh'	N		N		N	N	N

⁵⁶ One person - M (NEAr) - seemed to accept reduplication of other dimorphemic forms, e.g. *mikwemikw* 'Mo-his-Mo-his', but in view of statements like "They can say that, but it's not a proper way of saying it ... "it seems that this may have been a matter of her own creativity rather than a normal usage.

ampaty 'SiCh'	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
arreg 'FaFa'	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
aperl 'FaMo'		Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
atyemey 'MoFa'	N		N	N	(not	applicable)	
artartety 'MoFa'	(not	applicable)			N	N	N
aty 'MoFa'	N		N		(not	applicable)	
i(p)menh 'MoMo'	Y	Y	N/Y	N		N	N
anyany 'MoMo'	(not	applicable)		N	N	N	N

The WANm cognate of *apmarl* is *marlamarl* 'HuFa', 'mSoWi'; 'MoBr' in this dialect is *kamern*, which cannot be reduplicated.

Other data:

WAR: GA accepted reduplication of *arreg* 'FaFa', *perl* 'FaMo', *ankel* 'male Co' ("sometimes"), *ltyel* 'female Co', *ler* 'mCh'. *Ipmenh* 'MoMo' reduplicates as *menyemenyey*. The "reduplicated" form of *tyemey* 'MoFa' is *rtartart*. The reduplicated form of *anterr* 'SpFa', *anterranterr* is a "sort of father-in-law"; he accepted that this means classificatory. Other terms can't be reduplicated. (Note that *wenhewenh*, the expected reduplicated form of *wenh* 'FaSi', was not accepted, but, as he pointed out, a homophonous form means 'hearing'; this is derived regularly from *w* 'to hear'.)

WANm: LP: *arregaty* is 'my grandchild', not 'my grandfather'; *arreg atyengartey* = *arregarreg* = 'grandfather'. BrCh calls her *wenhawenh*; *aleraler* = *aleraty* = (my) brother's child. 'eBr' is *akey* or *akely*; neither can be reduplicated. *Marlamarl* was translated as 'great-great-grandmother or -father'; *marlaty* 'great-great-grandson or -daughter'. A fSoWi calls her HuMo *anherranherr* and is called *anherr* (*aty*) by her; the same applies also to CoMo and CoDa.

Another entry of some interest in Breen (1988-95) is *ankerlankerl* 'wrong for marriage'.

The (incomplete) kinship chart made during the WANm literacy course course has *arregarreg*, *perlaperl*, *atyemey*, *menhemenh* for grandparents; *arreg*, *aperl*, *atyemey*, *menh* for grandchildren; also *marlemarl* for a great-grandparent and *marlaty* for a great-grandchild.

ECAR: Speakers were generally in agreement; VH differed in not accepting reduplicated 'cousin' terms (and see other notes above). LM accepted *ampangkw-ampangkw* and *ampikw-ampikw* while VH and LC did not.

People did accept *ampaty-ampaty atyinh* and *ampaty-ampaty ngkwinh* (*atyinh* 'my', *ngkwinh* 'your'), showing that the *-aty* in *ampaty* was not necessarily interpreted as the lsg possessor suffix. Acceptance of the 'gether' form *ampatyenheng* also shows this. VH accepted that *kak* might be a reduplication of *k* 'eBr' and regarded *rtartart* (used mostly to small children) as a reduplication of *atyemey*. One group pointed out that if you reduplicated *aty* (the root of *atyemey*) you would get *atyaty* which is homophonous with 'MoFa-my'. DL said that you could not reduplicate *akngey* 'Fa' but you say *arrawel* instead. Many people did not know that word, but several accepted it, translated it as father, and accepted that it was morphologically a kinship term. DL said that *arrawelaty* did not mean 'my father' but "my dog — best friend — he look after you." In this he received no support from others.

EAnm: Ag regarded *mam* 'Mo', presumed to be a loan from English, as the reduplicated counterpart of *mey* 'Mo-my'.

Aly: BM+ accepted *ampaty-ampaty ngkwenh*, and did not allow reduplication of *anyany* 'MoMo', *artartety* 'MoFa', *amey* 'Mo', *akngey* 'Fa', *mwerey* 'WiMo', *malyey* 'HuFa', *awayaty* 'eBr-my' (but *akey* takes the place of a reduplication of this), *anew* 'Sp'. SPg also accepted *ampaty-ampaty ngkwenh* and *ampaty-ampaty ikwerenh* and also accepted *ampengkw* and *ampikw*. They used *ampikw ikwerenh* (with two occurrences of third person possessor marking). They said that the reduplicated terms are mostly used by little children of older people. They said that you could use *ampaty-ampaty* of your elder sister's children (it was women speaking) but would just say *ampa* (*atyenh*) of your own. *Mwerey* is reduplicated as *mey-mey*. Other reduplications given were of *ankel* 'MCo', *altyel* 'FCo' and *andarnawey* 'FaeBr'. KBg confirmed *mey-mey*, and laughed at *anew-anew*. See the table for more information from these three groups.

9. Case allophones peculiar to kinship terms and pronouns

Certain compound case suffixes may be split by pronoun suffixes on kinship terms and kin suffixes on pronouns (see for example Yallop 1977 chap.9, Wilkins 1989:128,134-35).

These are the genitive (*ek+enh* in most dialects) and the aversive (*ek+ety* in most dialects).

When these are split by a suffix with a final stop, the /e/ of the second part of the compound becomes /i/. Thus, the Arrernte kinship term *maty* 'my mother', *m+aty*, has genitive *mekatyinh* in some dialects, and the expected *mekatyenh* in some other dialects; the pronoun *ilanth* 'we two III' has aversive *ilekanthity* rather than *ilekanthety* in some dialects. Note that this does not apply to plural pronouns, since the morpheme *err* intervenes between the stop and the latter part of the compound suffix. So, for example, the genitive of *anwantherr* 'we

plural III' is *anwekantherrenh*, never **anwekantherrinh*.

Similarly, the genitive form of singular pronouns may have /i/; for example, *atyinh* 'my', *ngkwinh* 'your (sg.)', *ikwerinh* 'his, her, its'. The second of these is more common than the others, while the third is considerably less common (and, of course, does not have the same phonological conditioning).

It is interesting that in Antekerrepenh the accusative suffix, which can be added (optionally) to any noun, is *-inh* after a monosyllable, e.g. *arrwinh* 'rock wallaby-ACC' and *-enh* elsewhere e.g. *aherrenh* 'kangaroo-ACC'. This, of course, has nothing to do with kinship; nor is it dependent on the nature of the final consonant.

Details:

This phenomenon does not occur in WAr, Aly, EAnm or WAnm.

CAr and NAr speakers mostly use *-inh* after a stop, although it seems that some would also accept *-enh*. An example is:

- (50) *Amp yanh kwenh alerekatyinh anem*
amp yanh kwenh aler-ek-aty-inh an-em
 child that indeed mSo-DAT-my-GEN2 be-PRES
 'That child belongs to my son.'

Northern speakers use *(a)tyenh* '1sg:GEN' while others use *atyinh*. All use *ngkwinh* '2sg:GEN'. According to H&D, *ikwerinh* '3sg:GEN' is a younger speakers' pronunciation; however, it has been heard from an old NAr speaker. Speakers of these dialects do not use *-ity*.

SEAr and NEAr and Ant speakers use the forms with /i/, except that *ikwerinh* does not seem to be used. An example of *ity* is:

- (51) *Amp akwekaterirrem; ilekakity aterirrem.*
amp akwek ater-irr-em il-ek-ak-ity ater-irr-em
 child small fear-INCH-PRES ldu-DAT-II-AVER2 fear-INCH-PRES
 'The baby is frightened; he's frightened of you and me.' (Spoken, say, by a father to his child.)

Contrast:

Amp akwek aterirrem; ilernekety aterirrem. (Same translation, spoken, say, by a person to a brother or sister.)
(Ilernekety is ilern-ekety 'ldu-AVER'.)

10. In-laws and avoidance

As in many Australian cultures (see Elkin 1954:115-17) there are requirements for certain kin to avoid one another, and certain other kin to constrain their interaction with one another. The most notable and best known of these is the avoidance requirement involving men and their mothers-in-law. However, there are others; Spencer and Gillen (1968:88), for example, say that:

A man may speak freely to his elder sister in blood, but those who are tribal Ungaraitcha [*angkweraty* 'eSi-my'] must only be spoken to at a considerable distance. To younger sisters, blood and tribal, he may not speak, or at least only at such distance that the features are indistinguishable.

Such rules are covered by the term *ikirrem* (ECAr) which H&D:350-51 define as: avoid contact with certain relatives, or be reserved with them according to Aboriginal law.

This is mostly done to show respect to these relatives....

A nominalized form, *ikirrenty*, is defined as:

respectfully avoiding direct contact with certain relatives. Another

relevant term is *talkw angkem*, defined (H&D:542) as:

talk to someone indirectly, through other people Certain relations, for example a mother-in-law and son-in-law, who are expected to avoid each other out of respect, can only communicate this way.

Alyawarr has *ikaneyel* or *amek-areyel*, corresponding to *ikirrem*, and *ikanenty* and *amek-arenty* corresponding to *ikirrenty*.

In language, this is reflected in an abundance of terminology referring to in-laws, and in an avoidance style of language, no longer known in most dialects, but still used to some extent in at least Alyawarr and Eastern Anmatyerr. This appears even in English; for example, to say that there is "no room" for a certain man in a certain place is a way of saying that there is a mother-in-law of his in that place and so he is not allowed to go there. An Alyawarr word for "room" in this sense is *arlkiwerr* (see Green 1992:78).⁵⁷ (This may be derived from *arlka*

'body', *iwerr* 'road, track, path, way'.)

The basic term for mother-in-law (of a man), son-in-law (of a woman) is *mwer* in most dialects, *mar* in some; it is *aylety* in Kaytetye. The same term would be used by a man of his mother-in-law's brothers (and, of course, by a woman of her son-in-law's brothers, who are also sons-in-law). Another term used in Arrernte is *urtalty*, which some say can be used by a man only of a woman while others say it can be used also of her brothers. The corresponding Western Arrernte term is *rtwalty*, which applies also to mother-in-law's brother. The Alyawarr term also is *rtwalty*, which some would confine to the actual mother-in-law of the man and actual son-in-law of the woman, while others would use it, like *mwer*, for all the mother-in-law's brothers and sisters, and still others would say that only a woman uses it. Some speakers accept the group form *rtwaltyenheng* 'mother-in-law-GETHER', but person suffixes such as *-aty* 'my' and *-engkw* 'your' cannot be used. In Kaytetye *rtwalty* seems to be replacing *ayletyey*. Alyawarr also has another term *mpertalty* said by some to be equivalent to *mwer* and *rtwalty*, although others would restrict its use to women only or to men only. Like *rtwalty*, it seems to be combinable with the group suffix *-enheng* but not with person suffixes.

Alyawarr has two other specialized terms for a woman's classificatory son-in-law (and see below for some other mother-in-law / son-in-law terms). The term *akwetyerr*, which does not have the morphology of a kinship term, is used for a young son-in-law — one too young to understand the avoidance laws. He calls her *mey-mey*, the reduplicated form of *mwer*. The term *ngkwernerrp* refers to an old son-in-law, and is said to be used by a woman. It is also used by a mother of her eldest son. It does not have the morphology of a kinship term. It is used in Kaytetye for some of the great-grandparents / great-grandchildren.

Eastern Anmatyerr also has *akwetyerr*; speakers said that he is called this until he starts to grow a beard, and that he calls the mother-in-law *wethernem* and her brother *mey-mey*. (They said that *wethernem* is English 'whatsaname'; however, it is also the plural of *weth* 'that' and is given below as one of the words used in Alyawarr by a mother-in-law of her son-in-law, so this may be a folk etymology.)

Details:

Most speakers consulted (WAr, NAr, EAr, NEAr, EAnm, Aly) would use *urtalty/rtwalty* for MoL's brothers and fDaHu as well as MoL. Only LM (EAr) and MM (NEAr) disagreed. BM+ (Aly) said it applied only to the actual WiMo or fDaHu, and EH (Aly) said it was a woman's word.

EH and SPg (Aly) accepted *rtwaltyenheng* but would not accept person possessive suffixes on *rtwalty*.

Charts 1 and 2 show that, at least for the most thoroughly studied part of the Arandic area, there are a number of terms for father-in-law. This applies to Western Arrernte too; for some speakers a man's father-in-law is *rntuy* and his son-in-law is *kamern* (= 'MoBr'); however, some can use *rntuy* reciprocally, for 'son-in-law' as well, and some can use *kamern* reciprocally. A woman's father-in-law is *amp* (= 'fCh') or *anterr* or *irnemarr*, and other terms less well attested are *ketyey* (= 'child'), *ketyey amp* and *peyepey*. A man's daughter-in-law is *mey* or *mey irnemarr*.

According to H&D, words for father-in-law in ECAr are:

ampaty-ampaty 'woman's father-in-law', 'woman's father-in-law's brothers and sisters', 'woman's brother's father-in-law', 'man's father-in-law', 'man's sister's father-in-law'.
arnemerr 'father-in-law', also given as 'wife's or husband's father'. It also means 'man's son-in-law' for some speakers, 'man's daughter-in-law' for others. The implication is that *arnemerr* means 'wife's father' for those speakers for whom it also means 'man's son-in-law' and means 'husband's father' for those speakers for whom it also means 'man's daughter-in-law'; however, this is not stated.

arntewey ~ *rntewey* ~ *rntuy* 'father-in-law of a man', does not apply to his sisters, who are called *ampaty* or *ampaty-ampaty*. It also means 'son-in-law of a man'.

ahenterr 'father-in-law of a woman', 'sister's father-in-law'. The father-in-law normally calls his son's wife and her sisters *mey* (= mother) and her brothers *apmarley*.

apmarl 'father-in-law of a woman'.

⁵⁷ Green gives an example: *Arkiwerr-weny-wety ayeng aneyel* 'I am staying because there is no "room" there.' It seems that *arikiwerr-weny-wety* 'room-lacking-AVER' could be replaced in a sentence like this by *arikiwerr-wety* 'room-AVER'.

As noted above (3), *apmarl* is one of the two kinship terms that can be applied by a person to people of more than one subsection. Of the terms given in the two previous paragraphs, only *peyepey* and probably *rntuy* and its variants and are not fully kinship terms; in the latter case, the only evidence that it is are a doubtful acceptance of it with the *-enhang* 'gether' suffix (while others did not accept it) and one occurrence with preposed dative pronoun as possessor. Unlike most kinship terms, it cannot be used of the opposite sex siblings of the referent. All of the other terms used for father-in-law have other meanings as well. This seems to apply also to Alyawarr and Anmatyerr; I have no evidence of father-in-law terms that are special in any way.

Details:

WAR: ERsaid that he would use *rntuy* for WiFa but not mDaHu. (There is some evidence that *rntewey* might be a more correct phonemicization than *rntuy*.)

ECAr: One person (not clear which) in a mixed SEAr/NAr/NEAr group used *tyeng rntewey* 'lsg:DAT WiFa'. This group and other NAr and NEAr said that this term can be used only of a male.

Ntywaty is an Alyawarr word used only by a man, of his brother-in-law. According to Yallop (1977:154), a man calls his sister's husband *mpwerney* but his wife's brother *ntywaty*. My information, however, is that both terms can be used for any brother-in-law.

(52) *Ntywatyethen aylernanth alheyel awangk.*

ntywaty-ethen ayl-ern-anth alh-eyel awangk

mBrL-also Idu-ex-III go-PRES hunting

"Telling others, me and brother-in-law going hunting."

Ntywengk 'your brother-in-law', *ntywik* 'his brother-in-law' and *ntywenhang* 'brother-in-law-GETHER' are used (so there is a root *ntyw-*).

Akwent is said to be the same as *ntyw-*. However, although group and second and third person possessed forms, *akwentenheng*, *akwentengk* and *akwentik*, are acceptable, the corresponding first person form **akwentaty* is not; you say *akwent atyenh*. The same word (but heard as *akwernt*) occurs in Western Anmatyerr; it combines with *-enhang* 'gether' but not with other suffixes peculiar to kinship terms. It occurs also in Kaytetye (perhaps as *makwernt*), but I have no data on its grammar. The Warlpiri term *makurnta* (a) 'opposite matrimoiety', (b) 'son-in-law or mother-in-law of person in subsection of speaker's father's mother' is cognate.

A woman can use only *mpwern-* for her (or any woman's?) brother-in-law. (EH said that only a man could say words like *ntywengk*, *akwentengk* etc, except that a woman could say them for a linguist.)

Urtnekiwerrenty is a word used in Northern and North-eastern Arrernte to denote a pair of cousins whose children (of the appropriate sexes) are correct marriage partners for one another. This definition implies a pair of cousins of the same sex, but in fact some speakers would apply it only to female cousins, while others would use it for any pair of cousins. This may be attributable to its general disuse; many speakers do not know it at all. The word *urtnekiwerrenty* could be translated as 'throwing one another into the coolamon (in which a baby is carried)': *urtn-ek-iw-err-enty* 'coolamon-DAT-throw-REC-nominalizer'.

Expressions such as *ilanth urtnekiwerrenty* 'we two cousins' and *akngey urtnekiwerrenty* 'my father and his cousin' are said to be acceptable. An Eastern Anmatyerr form is *urnekiwerrenty* and is translated as "two full cousins" and said to apply only to females.

One Northeastern Arrernte speaker used the corresponding verbal form, as in the sentence:

(53) *Altyelenhangatherrew, urtnekarliwerrek atherrekenhel ilernekenh, anewakerrek.*

altyel-enhang-ather-ew urtn-ek-arl-iw-err-ek atherr-ekenh-el ilern-ekenh

Fco-GETHER-DU-EMPH coolamon-DAT-REL-REC-PAST two-GEN-ERG(?) Idu:I-GEN

anew-ak-err-ek

spouse-call-REC-PAST

I am not able to explain this sentence fully, but basically it means the children of two female cousins married one another. She said that it applies to cousins who belong to the same estate — an area of land belonging to people of one *nyenhang* section (i.e. one of the four pairs of subsections formed of people related through the male line).

Also related to this is the term *urtnekurtnek* 'coolamon-DAT-coolamon-DAT' which seems to mean 'promised' (of a female promised from birth to a man as a wife when she reaches an appropriate age). See also Green (1998:57). An Alyawarr equivalent is *arlengarriperr*, literally 'from the coolamon'.

The term *nyurrrp* in Arrernte, *nywerrp* in Anmatyerr and Alyawarr is defined (H&D:516-17, for ECAR but applicable to the others) as 'in the opposite generation group to someone'. This means, for most practical purposes, people who are one generation apart. H&D go on to say that "the relationship between a person and certain relations that are *nyurrrp* to them is marked by respect or avoiding each other (e.g. *mwer* 'mother-in-law, son in law') while the relationship with certain other relations involves teasing or joking."⁵⁸

Alyawarr and Eastern Anmatyerr currently have an avoidance language used by mothers-in-law in speaking about their sons-in-law. (There is some evidence that women may use it also about their mothers-in-law and also about men who have had a ceremonial association with their brother; Green p.c.) A few items from this language appear in the Alyawarr dictionary (Green 1992). The language is generally the same as the normal language, but differs in three ways:

- the use of special kinship terms to refer obliquely to the son-in-law;
- the use of special suffixes on kinship terms referring to kin of the son-in-law;
- the use of avoidance forms of certain very common lexical items;
- the use of special suffixes on other lexical items.

Other dialects do not now have such a language, but the appearance of some of the terms in a list of "friendly secret code of words" ("*ankatja kerintja*" = *ngkety kirrenty*) in C. Strehlow (1907-15; my source is the handwritten English translation by Chewings, p.1410 et seq.⁵⁹) suggests that they did once. This language is

only known to fully initiated men, and to some extent also it is understood by the elderly women, and spoken by them as well. A man, e.g. may speak with his mother-in-law by using this vocabulary, or he may use it to speak with his brother-in-law, or his wife in the presence of others, it being unknown to other tribes, strangers and also the children.

Strehlow gives a list of hundreds of lexical items, with the ordinary language forms and English equivalents. In many cases the "secret" forms are normal forms in another dialect. It seems (Jenny Green, p.c.) that the Eastern Anmatyerr avoidance lexicon is the richest, at least in the domain of kinship terms, now existing in the Arandic group.

There are few examples attested of direct reference by a mother-in-law to her son-in-law. One was in the sentence *Ayeng mpertalty-ankethenh* 'I've got a son-in-law' (said instead of *Ayeng mwer-ankethenh*, which some said could not be used, others accept it; see 5.2 for *-ankethenh*). This would be a way of saying 'My daughter is married now.' Note also that avoidance language was not used in the response to my elicitation of the sentence:

- (54) *Kwey atyenh arlwenthelew yanhewenh ampikwel-arleng.*
kwey atyenh arlwenth-el-ew yanh-ewenh amp-ikw-el-arleng
 girl 1sg:GEN married-CAD-PAST that-GEN fCh-her-LOC-COM
 'My daughter married her son.'

Speaking to or about her daughter, a mother will refer to the daughter's husband with the term *ngwarr*, which can be translated as 'husband', with the proviso that it is restricted (in the singular, and with the appropriate person possessor suffix) to the meanings 'your husband' (if the daughter is the addressee) or 'her husband' (if the daughter is not the addressee). There are corresponding meanings in the non-singular.

- (55) *Ngwarrenkwelarleng ahen.* *ngwarr-engkw-el-arleng ahen*
 'Go with your husband' Hu-your-LOC-COM go(AV):IMP
- (56) *Antywerlentyarreyel ngwarrikwitwew.* *antyw-erlentyarr-eyel ngwarr-ikw-itw-ew*
 'She's drinking with her husband' drink-AVOID-PRES Hu-her-COM-DAT
- (57) *Ngwarrikw iwerlentyarrew.* *ngwarr-ikw iw-erlentyarr-ew*
 'She left her husband' Hu-her throw.away-AVOID-PAST

⁵⁸ An EA speaker said that the word *nyurrrpengenyurrrp* refers to "something going on between the two groups", e.g. teasing. *Nyurrrpengenyurrrp arrkenirrem*; *nyurrrpengenyurrrp akngakem*. (*Arrkenirrem* 'playing, having fun', *akngakem* 'separating, picking on'.)

⁵⁹ This translation is not necessarily accurate, however; see Wilkins 1997:418-9.

- (58) *Ngwarrenheng ameramererlentyarreyel.* *ngwarr-eheng ameramer-erlentyarr-eyel*
 'She and her husband are talking' *Hu-GETHER talk(AV)-AVOID-PRES*
 One (male) informant also gave 'cousin and wife' as a translation of *ngwarrenheng*. There is no corresponding usage on the part of the husband/son-in-law; for example, a husband speaking to his wife will refer to her mother (his mother-in-law) as *amengkw* 'your mother'.

Speaking to or about her daughter's child(ren) or her son-in-law's father or aunt, a mother will use the term *irrwerr* (*urrer* in Eastern Anmatyerr). This term is therefore equivalent to 'father', 'son' or 'nephew' (or less likely 'aunt') according to the circumstances.

'Where's your father?' (to daughter's child) *Nthenharl irrwerrengk?* (Note that the avoidance form for 'where' was not used here.)

'daughter's husband with his father' *irrwerrheng*

A Warlpiri equivalent, perhaps a loan, is *wurruru* 'paternal relationship between mother's mother's brother's and woman's son-in-law's subsections'.

Speaking to or about her son-in-law's mother or uncle (mother's brother) or his nieces or nephews a woman will use the term *anman* or *atnman*. The terms 'uncle', 'son', 'nephew (sister's son)' or sometimes 'mother' could be used in translating it. Thus *anmanheng* 'my daughter's husband with his mother'.

- (59) *Kweyay, ngwarrenkw il, atnmanikw[ewarl?] tyety-ayerr ahaneyew.*

kwey-ay ngwarr-engkw il atnman-ikw-ewarl tyety-ayerrahan-eyew girl-EMPH husband-
 your tell:IMP uncle-his-ALL meat(AV)-AVOID go(AV)-PURP 'Girl, tell your
 husband to go to his uncle [for] meat.' (Green 1998)

This may be a loan from Warlpiri *parnman* 'maternal relationship between wife's and wife's mother's subsections'.

The meaning of the term *arrmar* is not clear and it does not seem to be accepted in some communities. Green (1998:45) glosses it as 'woman's son-in-law's male cross-cousin' (who is *apmarl* = 'mother's brother' to the woman). The following example from Green is in Eastern Anmatyerr.

- (60) *Arrmarekikw ngkweyengkwerretyek.* *arrmar-ek-ikw ngkweyengk-err-etyek*
 'Go and talk to his cousin.' *cousin-DAT-his talk(AV)-REC-PURP*

(Woman speaking to unspecified person and referring to her son-in-law through his cousin.)

Also (Green p.c.), it can be used by a woman speaking to a (classificatory or, presumably, actual) brother's daughter of the addressee's cousin who is *thampartey* to the speaker's brother. *Thampartey* is "a special term that men use to refer to certain other men who are involved in the same ceremonies" (H&D:546). It is an "indirect and respectful way" to refer to them, and is a loan from English (somebody); an equivalent term is *anyent arrpenh*, literally 'a certain person'.

I have discussed this term several times with an informant, with results that appear to be somewhat contradictory. The following sets of statements were made on different occasions:

it would be used by a man talking to his cross-cousin about another man of the same section as his cross-cousin (perhaps the man's brother-in-law);

arrmarenheng could be used by a man about his brother and his cousin (male or female);

arrmar-ankethenh 'you have an *arrmar*' would be addressed to the son-in-law's cousin, which means that *arrmar* is the term a mother-in-law uses for her son-in-law when speaking to or about his cousin. Also, she gave *arrmarenheng* for 'son-in-law with his cousin', which supports this analysis;

arrmarenheng is like *ankelenheng*, and a woman can use it of two male cousins (of one another). Not specifically her son-in-law and his cousin; she couldn't think of a term for that. *Arrmaraty* (= *ankelaty*), *arrmarengkw* and *arrmarikw* are OK, also *arrmar-ankethenh*. While the meaning of *arrmarenhengarl ahanenherliwek* (with the avoidance form of the verb) is 'my son-in-law and his cousin went', you can say *arrmarenhengarl alherliwek* (using the normal form of the verb) for 'two male cousins went'.

It seems that, unlike *ngwarr-*, *irrwerr-* and *anman-*, *arrmar-* can be used by a man and is not an avoidance term in the same sense as those others are. Strehlow gives this word (his "arbmar") as a substitute word for "ankalla" (= *ankel* 'male cross-cousin'). A Warlpiri equivalent is *ngarmara* 'cross-cousin relationship between one's own and mother's father's subsections'.

Green (1998) has recorded *araty* in Eastern Anmatyerr as a term a woman uses when referring to her son-in-law by way of his mother's father. Strehlow gives this term (his "eratja," perhaps *iraty* in Western Arrernte) as substitute for "tjimia" (= *tyemey* 'mother's father'). It may be a loan from Warlpiri; *maraji* means 'mother's father relationship between the mother's and the son-in-law's subsections'. The *aty* of *araty* is not a suffix; various suffixes specific to kin terms can follow it, as in *aratyengkwa* 'your *araty*'.

Another term attested only for Eastern Anmatyerr (Green 1998) is *inkely*, used of the woman's son-in-law via his mother's mother.

A third term not attested in Alyawarr but recorded by Green (1998) for Eastern Anmatyerr is *alyarrp* for woman's son-in-law via his sibling (i.e. presumably his sister, since his brother is also a son-in-law and so to be avoided). This corresponds to Strehlow's (1913:48) "ljerba" (= *lyarrp*) as a substitute for "kalja" (*kely* 'elder brother'). (When I asked Alyawarr speakers about this word their response made it clear that they were thinking of the word *ylarrpeny*, for which see 12.)

The term *mwarlenth* refers to a woman's son-in-law with his brothers, who are also, of course, her classificatory sons-in-law. Thus *mwarlenth-atherr* 'two sons-in-law'. It cannot be used for one person; thus there is no term **mwarlenthikwa*, for example. It would, therefore, seem to be not morphologically a kinship term.

(61) *Mwarlenthernem, atyenhernem ahanew tyetyayerrewarl.*

Mwarlenth-ernem, atyenh-ernem ahan-ew tyety-ayerr-ewarl.
SoL-PL 1sg:GEN-PL go(AV)-PAST meat(AV)-AVOID-ALL

All the sons-in-law, all of mine, went to get meat. (Green 1998)

Another meaning given for it by some Northern Alyawarr speakers is 'daughter and her husband', thus equivalent to *ngwarrenheng*. Others do not accept this.

There is conflicting information on whether the terms *ngkwernerrp* and *akwetyerr* may be used in avoidance language. On one occasion the sentences:

Ngkwernerrp ayerr aheneyneyel. 'My old son-in-law is going past'
and

Nthekenty-angkwarr akwetyerr? 'Where is my young son-in-law?'

were elicited from EH using avoidance language, but on another occasion it was said that you would say *ngkwernerrp apetyeyel* and *akwetyerr apetyeyel* (not the avoidance form *ahenenheyalyel*). Epenarra informants accepted *-ayerr* on both of these terms.

Where there is no such special lexical item available, and sometimes when there is, the son-in-law is referred to by the kinship term proper to the person through whom he is being referred to, augmented with an ending which could be called a respect suffix. The terms I have recorded with this function are *-ayerr* (compare Green 1992:123 and 1998:46), *-amperl* (also heard by Green, p.c.) and *-ernem*. Thus, for example, *aperlengkwa-ayerr* would be used to address the father's mother of the son-in-law and means 'your daughter's child who is my son-in-law'. (The root *aperl* applies to the relationship 'father's mother' and its reciprocal 'daughter's child', among others.) Alternatives to this term are *aperlengkwa-amperl*, *aperlengkwerne* and probably combinations of at least the first two of these, as in *aperlengkwa-amperl-ayerr*.

All three of these suffixes appear in other contexts in the language:

-ayerr seems to be a non-productive equivalent to *-areny* 'associated with, belonging to, from' (Green 1992:71) but is translated by Green (1992:123) as 'comes out of'. It sometimes follows a noun to which the inflectional suffix *-eng* (also 'from, out of' has been added, as in *iylpwereng-ayerr* 'black goanna' from *iylpwer* 'hollow (in tree)' or *alckereng-ayerr* 'aeroplane' from *alcker* 'sky'. In other words it follows a noun stem, as in *melerr-ayerr* (an alternative to *melerrayt*) 'edible grub from turpentine bush (*melerr*)'. In some cases (none that I know involving *-eng*) the root is not known: *arrpayerr* 'caterpillar on tarvine', *thenh-ayerr* 'grub in termite mound', *interlpint-ayerr* 'Acacia sp.'.

-amperl is translated (Green 1992:39) as (1) 'poor thing' as in *atyeng-amperl* 'for poor me' or *weth-amperl* 'that poor thing', and (2) 'really, extremely' as in *akely-amperl* 'very small' (cf. *akely* 'small')

-ernem is a productive and very common plural marker (Green 1992:220).

Other examples (each given only one of the possible glosses) include *ankelengkwarnem* and *ankelengk-ayerr* 'your cousin who is my son-in-law', *artarteyengkernem* and *artarteyengk-ayerr* 'your daughter's child who is my son-in-law'. Examples in which the respect suffix seems to be redundant because an avoidance kinship term is used include *irrerengk-ayerr* 'your father who is my son-in-law' and *ngwarrikw-ayerr* 'her husband who is my son-in-law'. Examples in which a normal kinship term with respect suffix is used, although an avoidance kinship term is available include *alerengkwarnem* 'your brother's child who is my son-in-law' (she could have said *irrerengk*) and *amarlengkwarnem* 'your mother's brother who is my son-in-law' and *ampengkwarnem* 'your (sister's) child who is my son-in-law' (both = *anmanengk*).

Other methods noted of referring to a son-in-law include:

mweraylew 'son-in-law for you, my brother, and me' and *mpertalty* or *mpertalty-ayerr* or *mpertaltyernem* 'son-in-law' (all of these said by the mother-in-law speaking to her brother, the last three perhaps to others also);⁶⁰

ngkwenhernem, *ngkwenh-ayerr* and *ngkwenh-amperl-ayerr* 'your son or sibling's son who is my son-in-law', literally 'your-respect'. These were used to either parent or an uncle or aunt; *ngkwengepelyernem*, literally 'for you friend respect'; *pely* can, it seems, be used for any actual sibling or half-sibling, thus *atyengepely* 'my brother or sister', *aylewepely* 'our (two) brother or sister', *anewingkerrepely* 'our brother or sister';⁶¹

wethernem, which the mother-in-law can say to anyone, or to herself; *weth* is a word that can be used to refer to someone or something that the hearer can be expected to know, 'that one, you know the one'.⁶²

Kin of the son-in-law are called by standard kinship terms augmented, in some areas, with the suffix *-eyneng*, which seems to be equivalent to a kin-possessive suffix: thus *arreaty* 'my FaFa', *arreatyngkw* 'your FaFa', *arreatyngkw* 'his or her FaFa', *arreatyngkw-eyneng* 'son-in-law's FaFa'. This suffix seems to be used only in areas close to Kaytetye country (such as Murray Downs, just east of Ali Curung), and may be a loan from Kaytetye, in which it is a plural suffix. Alyawarr speakers from further away, at Weterlempengarr (Epenarra), do not accept it as Alyawarr. EH used it in such constructions as *ameynengel-arleg* 'with his (her son-in-law's) mother' *arreatyngkw-eyneng-arleg* 'with his father's father', and several other similar forms. It is not used as a term of address; thus *angkwereyneng* is 'brother-in-law's sister' and so 'daughter-in-law' and would be addressed as the latter, *anherrey*. Green (1998:45) gives the Eastern Anmatyerr sentence:

(62) *Arreatyngkwewarl ahan, kel ntw urrerengkwewarl ahanheleyn tyety*
arreatyngkw-eyneng-ewarl ahan kel ntw urrerengkw-ewarl ahan-elhel-eyn
 FaFa-AVOID-ALL go(AV):IMP right 2sg Fa(AV)-your-ALL go(AV)-CAUS-GO:IMP
tyety
 meat(AV)

'Go to his grandfather, then bring back the meat to your father.'

As illustrated by the comitative constructions in the previous paragraph, inflectional suffixes follow the suffix *-eyneng*. Thus the genitive of *angkwereyneng* is *angkwereynengewenh* and the ergative *angkwereynengel*. In this it resembles the first person possessor with *-ey* suffix: the ergative of *angkwerey* 'my elder sister' is *angkwereyel*, not **angkwereley*, whereas the ergative of *angkwereyngkw* 'your elder sister' is *angkwereyngkwel* ~ *angkwereyngkw*, and that of *angkwereyngkw* 'his or her elder sister' is *angkwereyngkwel* ~ *angkwereyngkw*.

One would expect a term *ameyneng* for the son-in-law's sister's children, but EH did not accept this. Instead she used a term *arlampan* which seems to be equivalent to *ampa*, but also to *amey* and *apmarley*. However, although *arlampanheng* was used for 'son-in-law with his nephew or niece', it seems that *arlampan* is not an avoidance term.

⁶⁰ I was told that combinations such as *mpertalty-aylew-ayerr* and *mpertalty-ayerr-aylew* 'our (dual) son-in-law' and *mpertalty-anewingker-ayerr* and *mpertalty-ayerr-anewingker* 'our (plural) son-in-law' are acceptable. This needs to be confirmed.

⁶¹ This was not accepted by ER, who did not know the word *pely*. Green (1992:63) gives *apely* 'friend, close family, mate' for the Lake Nash dialect. For EAnm Ag translated *pely* as 'relation'. The ECAr equivalent is *ipely* (H&D:391). It can be preceded by a dative pronoun and at least in ECAr it can combine with *-enheng*.

⁶² *Weth-ayerr* was not used of the son-in-law by the Murray Downs informant, EH, who however would use it and also *wethenty-ayerr* (see below) to refer to something owned by the son-in-law.

Arlampanenheng-atherr was said to mean 'mother and son or daughter' (and accepted as equivalent to *amenheng*); *arlampanikw* 'his mother or uncle' and *arlampanengk* 'your mother or uncle'; **arlampanaty* with first person possessor suffix, was not accepted. A form with *-ankethenh* also was accepted, but pronounced *arlamp-ankethenh* (haplology?). Epenarra people said *arlampan* was the same as *apmarl* 'mother's brother', and accepted *arlampanaty* as 'my mother's brother'.

The morpheme *-ayerr* is used not only on kinship terms, but also on other nouns in avoidance language, thus *tyety-ayerr* 'meat' (*tyety* itself is an avoidance form), *kwaty-ayerr* 'water' (also, using an avoidance form, *ntwaly-ayerr*) or *ngwelarring-ayerr* 'tomorrow'. *-amperl* also can be used in this way, thus *tyety-amperl*.

Special avoidance vocabulary includes:

ahen- (also heard *ahan-*) 'to go', equivalent to normal *alh-*

nwarr- 'to stay', equivalent to normal *an-*

amelyak- 'to eat' (and for some speakers also 'to drink'), equivalent to normal *arlkw-* (and *antyw-*) (compare Strehlow's secret language form for 'to eat', which seems to be *melyiw-*)

aleperankw- 'to get (water)', equivalent to normal *inp-*

ilpak- 'to fight', equivalent to normal *atwerr-* (hit-REC)

ameramer- 'to talk', equivalent to normal *angk-* (also in Strehlow's secret language)

ntwaly 'water', equivalent to normal *kwaty* (and corresponding to Strehlow's secret language term *untaly*)

tyety 'meat', equivalent to normal *aker* (and compare Strehlow's secret language form, which seems to be *tyawety*)

anment 'fire', equivalent to normal *rwa* (also in Strehlow's secret language)

nthekenty-angkwarr 'where' as in

(63) *Nthekenty-angkwarr ngwarrengkwant?* *nthekentyangkwarr ngwarr-engkw-an*
'Where's your husband?' (mother to daughter) where(AV) Hu-your-EM

lyengkwert 'today' (also in Strehlow's secret language)

(There are odd instances of normal forms being used in avoidance situations: *an-* 'to stay', *angk-* 'to talk'.)

Some normal verb forms are replaced by derived forms in (elicited) avoidance language, using derivational suffixes taken from normal language. For example, *apeyalh-* 'to come' (in which *ap-* is an old morpheme meaning 'go') is replaced by *ahenenheyalh-* (*ahen-* 'to go' -*enh* 'passing' -*eyalh-* 'go and do'). *Alp-* 'to return, go home' is replaced by *aheneyn-* (-*eyn* 'while going'); *akng-* 'to carry, take' is replaced by *ahenelhel-* in which *-elhel* is the causative, so it literally means 'cause to go'. (See Green 1992: 134-39 for more information on the derivational suffixes.)

However, most verbs retain their normal form, and carry a suffix *-erlentyarr*⁶³. Sometimes an avoidance verb will take this suffix too. See the examples under *ngwarr-*.

Third person pronouns and demonstratives are said to be not permitted in avoidance language. Thus you could not say **Ngwarrikw yanhan ahanew* but must say *Ngwarrikw-ayerr ahanew* 'Her husband went away'. You would say *Lyengkwert ahanenheyalpem* and not **Lyengkwert ran ahaneheyalpem* 'He (son-in-law) is coming back today'. Two sons-in-law together could be expressed as *wethentyayerratherr* and more than two as *wethentyayerrernem*. (Compare *wethernem*; it is not clear what the *-enty* is.) *Angkepertamperl ahanenheyalpeyel* is translated as 'He's coming back'; *angkep* is 'back' and it is not clear what the *ert* is.

It seems that an avoidance kinship term may be omitted if the use of some other avoidance term makes it clear. For example, the one word sentence *Nthekenty-angkwarr?* 'Where? (avoidance)' means 'Where is my son-in-law?' and may be spoken to anyone. It could, for example, be translated as 'Where's your son?' if spoken by a woman to the mother of her son-in-law. The use of the avoidance form makes it clear that the speaker is referring to her son-in-law, so the kinship term *anmanengk* (or whatever may be appropriate) is not needed.

The genitive of *aperlengkwayerr* was given as *aperlengkwayerreweh* 'FaMo-your-AVOID-

⁶³ This is rather like a suffix *-entyelirr* in Arrernte. This suffix denotes sympathy on the part of the speaker for the actor. For example, *alhentyelirrek* was translated 'He's gone, poor thing.'

GEN', although *aperlewengkwenhayerr* 'FaMo-DAT-your-GEN2-AVOID' was accepted. An allative form of *tyetyayerr* occurs in the phrase *tyetyayerrewarl ahanew* 'went for meat'.

Some degree of respect in language applies also between certain other kin. Green (1992:168) gives a word *irrwemeleyel* ~ *rrwemeleyel* which she defines as "1. a ceremonial way of saying 'give', used between certain relations 2. give or 'promise' someone in marriage."

An example sentence for meaning 1 is:

- (64) *Akerayerr atyengamperl irrwemeley. aker-
ayerr atyeng-amperl irrwemel-ey*
meat-AVOID lsg:DAT-poor give(respect)-OP 'Give
poor old me that meat.' (two cousins talking).

Note the use of *-ayerr*, and compare also the reference in the next section to the translation of *mwerey* 'mother-in-law' as 'cousin'. As another example shows (as well as the short explanation of the word given to me), this word also functions as an avoidance language verb for a mother-in-law of a man, and so definition 1 could use 'between or of' rather than just 'between'.

Another avoidance situation, but much less restricted, is between brother and sister. Note the use in some dialects of a special form (*arrwemp*, *arrempe*) for a sibling of the opposite sex.

Wilkins (1989:214) gives an example of use of a plural verb form by a sister addressing an elder brother:

- (65) *Door-ekety lherltiw ayeng arratenhetyenheng.*
door-ekety lh-erltiw ayeng arrat-enh-etyenheng.
door-AVER go-PL:IMP lsg go out-GO-future
'You mob get away from the door, so I can get out.'

I was not able to elicit such forms from the one (Alyawarr) person I asked.

The existence of 'special registers' in other Aboriginal languages is well documented (see for example Dixon 1972, 1980, 1982; Haviland 1979; McGregor 1989, 1990; Garde 1996).

11 Cousin-mothers and other skewing

Skewing was first described by Lounsbury (1969) in reference to the Omaha language.

Omaha-type skewing is defined by Ackerman (1976:555) as:

Ego's mother's brother and Ego's mother's brother's son are terminologically equivalent; so also are Ego's mother's sister and his mother's brother's daughter.

Green (1998:60-61) gives a brief survey of earlier references to skewing in Australian kinship systems.

Two examples of skewing will be discussed below. See also 4.8 for circumstances in which, for example, a woman might call a classificatory sister's child by a term for 'sister', and be called 'sister' in return.

11.1. Cousin-mother

Arandic languages have skewing in which a person, A, addresses or refers to a kinsman in the same generation, B, by a term which primarily refers to a next generation up kinsman, while B addresses or refers to A by the expected own generation term (or perhaps sometimes by an informal sibling term). For example, a woman may refer to a cross-cousin as *mey* 'mother', translated in Aboriginal English as 'cousin-mother',⁶⁴ but the reciprocal term is *altyel* 'female cross-cousin'. As one person put it, *Tyeng altyel tharl makek*, 'I called my cousin mother'. The term *altyelaty maty* also has been heard for the 'cousin-mother'

Similarly, a male cousin may be called *atnyaty* in Arrernte, *apmarley* in Alyawarr, 'mother's brother'. This was noted for Alyawarr by Yallop (1968). Some Arrernte speakers said that only men would use *atnyaty* in this way (although women could use the other person forms, such as *atnyangkwa* 'your mother's brother'). In this case the woman would call her male

⁶⁴ The term 'cousin-mother' occurs in Sutton 1982 p.194 but it refers to a man's brother's wife. He is 'son' and she is 'mother' ('cousin-mother'). The same relationship applies between a man and his actual mother's younger brother's daughter.

cousin *mey* 'mother'. It is not clear whether the term 'cousin-uncle' is used at all in Aboriginal English or whether male cousins are included in 'cousin-mother'.

Cousin-mother's or cousin-uncle's spouse is called *ipmenh* (Arrernte), as is the spouse of any cross-cousin.⁶⁵ A woman's cousin-mother's son is a classificatory son-in-law, but is in a special situation because of the closeness of the relationship of his mother and his mother-in-law. He can (at least in NEAr) be called *kakmweyemwey* 'elder brother son-in-law' (or *kak* or *mwerey*) and can call her *yay mweyemwey* 'elder sister mother-in-law' (or *yay* or *mweyemwey*). The sister of *kak mweyemwey* can be called *yay anherranherr* or *anherrey*. These terms are interesting; firstly because they imply that each is senior to the other and secondly because they use only informal terminology. For example, **kay mweyemwey*, using the more formal *kay* 'my elder brother' instead of *kak*, is not permitted. Also, there is no term **tyey mweyemwey*, using the term for 'younger sibling'.

A consequence of this (as noted by Yallop 1968) is that, since the male cousin's son is called *apmarlaty / apmarley*, which also means 'mother's brother', one calls people in the male line by a term meaning 'uncle' in all three generations, +1, 0 and -1. Women in these three generations, being uncle's sister, are all called 'mother'. Extension of this to the next generation down has been noted from an Alyawarr group (KBg), who said that "daughter's daughter's husband is *apmarley*'s son but you call him *apmarley* again." (This usage was confirmed later by EH. This kinsman may also be called *artartey*, the same as 'mother's father' or *ankeley*, = 'male cross-cousin'.) Another usage (from the same community, confirmed by a member of another community) is for a man to call a classificatory mother-in-law (and be called by her) *anyany* 'mother's mother'. (This is the same as you would call her father, who is a male *anyany*, 'mother's mother's brother', and also her brother's child, so again you have the same term for three — at least — generations in the male line.) Perhaps another example of skewing is the translation by two old Alyawarr men of *mwerey* (basically 'WiMo', 'fDaHu') as 'cousin' (in one case), 'little bit cousin' (in the other); I have not been able to get more information on this, but *mwerey* is child of female cross-cousin.

It appears that this type of relationship is governed by shared mother's dreaming, or by "country," rather than by close blood relationships, although kin related by shared dreamings are quite likely to be related by blood also. However, this needs further study. Data obtained so far are confusing but seem to indicate that it is the child of the brother in the +1 generation who is called by the more senior term; this is the case in seven of the eight situations that can be compared. Thus, in one case, a senior (in years) cousin is called mother by her junior cousin whose mother was younger sister of the other's mother; in another case a junior (in years) cousin is called mother by her senior cousin whose mother was elder sister of the other's father. The child of the more senior person in the elder generation is called by the senior term in five of the eight cases. There are a number of cases where evidence suggests that one or more of the members of a family are called cousin-mother by members of another family, but others are not.

Wakaya, a distantly-related language immediately to the north of Alyawarr whose last competent speaker died nearly thirty years ago, seems to have had a different form of skewing, in which the same terms (differing in final vowel according to gender) are used for MoBrCh, MoBrChCh and MoMoBrCh.

Details:

LAr: no information

WAr: some informants did not know the usage, but ER accepted it and said that it was used for "close."

However, he said that his 'cousin-mother' would call him 'son', which does not conform to usage in other dialects.

WANm: LP did not accept this usage (and commented that Warlpiri did not have it either), but another speaker did accept it.

SEAr: EJ knew the usage: a pair of male cousins could be called either *atnyenheng* or *ankelenheng*. He said that it is determined by "country."

A SEAr/NAr/NEAr group (EJ, ST, BN) said that a person might call a cousin *maty* if they are one dreaming.

NAr: MH is called *mey* and her brothers *atnyaty* by the children of their father's actual younger sister. DL said that *atnyaty* is 'older (male) cousin' and *ankelaty* 'younger (male) cousin' and all female cousins are *altyelaty*,

⁶⁵ After telling me this, M (NEAr) added, "You call your own child that sometimes."

but this is not consistent with the terminology he uses for some of his actual cousins, for example, *atnyaty* for his younger male cousins (including AR) who are children of his mother's younger brother. Their sister (RF) he calls *altyelaty* but his sister calls them *tyey* 'younger sibling'. When you call a cousin *atnyaty*, you call his father *apmarlapmarl* instead of *atnyaty* as usually used for 'uncle'. "Auntie you call *apmarley* too." RF says that DL calls her *mam* 'mum' and she calls him *kak* 'elder brother'. This, she says, is because she's "close to his mother" (who was her father's elder sister). DL and AR said that 'cousin' is *mey* if it's from your parent's younger sister. The sons of their mother's younger brothers call RF 'mum' and AR *tnyaty*. Another speaker called AR and his brothers *ankel* and said they call him the same, but he calls their sister RF *mey* 'mother' and she calls him *arrwempaty* 'cousin of opposite sex'. He can also call RF *anherraty* 'woman's mother-in-law' and she calls him the same; I do not know this term otherwise as one useable by a man or of a man. He named another cousin (whose connection with him I do not know) whom he calls *atnyaty* and is called by him *ankelaty*, and calls his father *apmarlaty*.

EAR: LM calls certain male cousins *atnyaty* and is called *ankelaty* by them, although the skin names they use suggest that they should call one another *mpwernaty* 'brother-in-law' (and, in fact, they can too). He says that if you call a male cousin *atnyaty* you would call his sister *altyelaty*.

NEArr: A female speaker calls her mother's younger brother's son, *atnyaty*. He calls her *altyelaty* and her brother *ankelaty*. The female cousins call one another *altyelaty*. A female cousin may also be called *yay*. However, on another occasion she said only a man would call someone *atnyaty* (although it seems that she, as a woman, could use the second person form *atnyangkwo*). The woman would call the man *mey*, "cousin-mother." Of *kak mweyemwey* she said: "His mother is cousin *atyinhekenh* [belonging to mine]. They are *urtnekiwerrenty* [see 10]." M calls her MoeBrDas (and their MoSiDa, or her MoeBrWiSiDa) *mey* and is called *altyelaty* by them "because she's my blood cousin." "*Menheng ilanth* [Mo-GETHER ldu-III] is really for mother and daughter; *menheng ilern* [Mo-GETHER ldu-1] is like *altyelenheng-atherr* [fCo-GETHER-DU]. *Ilern menhengarl nhenh kwenhay*." It applies to "your real close relations." JW's brother is called *ankelaty*. She would not use *atnyaty* at all; can say *atnyangkwo*, *atnyikwo*. Your cousin-mother's husband is called *ipmenh* (and perhaps also *kak*). MM agreed that cousin-sister is called *maty* and calls her *altyeley* and that the husband is *ipmenh*. Two male cousins (of one another) might be called *atnyenheng*, and would also be called *ankelenheng*. Ant: JB knew of the usage but was not able to give any information on the circumstances.

EAnm: One member of the group (M) calls another (J) cousin-mother. M's Fa was J's MoeBr. Also, M uses the term for another person whose Fa is eBr to M's Mo. A woman calls cousin-mother's brother *amarley* ('MoBr') and is called by him *altyeley* 'FCo'. She calls his father (her actual MoBr) *amarley* also, and is called *ampaty* 'SiCh' by him.

Aly: SP and her sisters call KB and her sisters *amey* and KB's brothers *amarley*. KB's Fa is eBr of SP's mother. KB calls SP and her sisters *altyeley*. Relative age doesn't matter. Another person who calls SP *amey*. is Da of the eSi of SP's Fa. K, who was very old and whose data were unclear, referred to the Fa of the cousin-mother as "private uncle"⁶⁶ and to the use of the same kinship term for people in adjacent generations.

Kay: TT knew the usage.

11.2. Brother / son-in-law

In some dialects there are terms denoting a classificatory son-in-law who is closely related or has the same mother's dreaming, or both. According to some informants, this son-in-law is not to be avoided, because of the closeness of his relationship to the mother-in-law which results in his not being an actual potential husband for her daughter. However, in one area I was told that there is an avoidance relationship and the man is a potential husband for the woman's daughter. These terms are compounds of a dual pronoun with the term *altyerr* 'dreaming', but have singular reference. According to a WAnm speaker, the term *lernaltyerr* (*lern* 'ldu:ex:I', i.e. a pronoun used in reference to oneself and a sibling) means 'son-in-law', but "You can talk to him; he's in your own family, your cousin's son. ... *Mwer* [WiMo] is different family." She gave *mpwelaltyerr* (*mpwel* '2du:I') as another word with the same meaning, but it is clearly 'your son-in-law' as opposed to *lernaltyerr* 'my son-in-law'. Green has fuller information for these terms in Alyawarr and gives *aylern-altyerr* (*aylern* = W Anm *lern*) as the first person form, *mpwel-altyerr* as the second and *alaltyerr* as the third (based on *al* '3du:I'). She uses the gloss 'brother / son-in-law' and the term "'brother'" in translations, although *aylern-altyerr* is initially defined as 'you, whose mother comes from the same country as me'. An example of the use of this term is:

- (66) *Aylern-altyerray, ngkwerlp atyeng inerlew!*
ayl-ern-altyerr-ay ngkwerlp atyeng in-erlew
 ldu-ex-dreaming-EM tobacco 1sg:DAT get-quickly:IMP
 "Brother," go and get me some tobacco! (Green 1998)

⁶⁶ As Green (1988:14) points out, 'private' in this context means '(genealogically) close'.

These terms can be used by men as well as women.

According to my Alyawarr data, alternative first-person close son-in-law terms are *aylaltyerr*, *aylern-altyerr*, *aylak-altyerr* and *aylernak-altyerr*. These all seem to have the same meaning; for example they are all used for address. Note that they are based on first person dual inclusive I, first person dual exclusive I, and first person dual inclusive and exclusive II. However, some speakers do not accept the forms (the first and third in the list) based on inclusive pronouns. Type II forms are the appropriate ones for the mother-in-law-son-in-law relationship, while type I forms are typically used for a sibling relationship. Hence the aptness of a gloss like 'brother/son-in-law'. *Aylern-altyerr* seemed to be the preferred form for my main informant.

For WANm, LP does not accept *nwernaltyerr* (with the '1pl:ex:I' pronoun instead of the dual) as a plural of *lernaltyerr*, but simply translates it as 'Dreaming'. For Aly, the situation regarding pluralization of these 'brother / son-in-law' terms is not clear. Green gives a first person form with the normal plural but still with the dual pronoun: *aylern-altyerrernem* 'all you "brothers"'. However, she also gives forms based on plural pronouns such as *arringkerr-altyerr* "another's *aylern-altyerr* and their siblings" (*arringkerr* '2 plu.I'). My own data indicate that duals and plurals (referring to the number of the referent) are formed with dual and plural suffixes: thus *aylern-altyerr-atherr* 'two sons-in-law', *aylern-altyerrernem* 'more than two sons-in-law'. However, the forms based on plural pronouns are used when the speaker (for example, in the case of first person forms) is one of a group of two or more (siblings, for example, although I expect it would apply too for *arrengeheng* and possibly other types of group). So, for example, a woman accompanied by her sister could call their (singular) 'brother/son-in-law' *anwingkerr-altyerr* or *anwerningkerr-altyerr* or *anwakerr-altyerr* or *anwernakerr-altyerr*, the pronouns used being, respectively, first person plural inclusive I, first person plural exclusive I, first person plural inclusive II and first person plural exclusive II. (Some would not accept the inclusive forms.)

Forms based on the second person pronoun which have been attested are *mpwel-altyerr* (*mpwel* dual I), *mpwelak-altyerr* (*mpwelak* dual II), *arringkerr-altyerr* (*arringkerr* plural I) and *arrakerr-altyerr* (*arrakerr* plural II). Third person forms attested are *alaltyerr* (*al* dual I), *alak-altyerr* (*alak* dual II), *aytningkerr-altyerr* (*aytningkerr* plural I) and *aytnakerr-altyerr* (*aytnakerr* plural II).

These *-altyerr* forms do not function grammatically like kinship terms. For example, **atyeng aylern-altyerr*, literally 'for me my brother/son-in-law', was not accepted, although *aylern-altyerr atyenh* was (*atyenh* 'my'). (The genitive pronoun *atyenh* here seems to be redundant, but this phrase was accepted on two occasions.) *Aylern-altyerr aylewenh* also was accepted, although it would seem that *anwingkerr-altyerr aylewenh* or *anwakerr-altyerr aylewenh* would be more appropriate (*aylewenh* 'our dual inclusive I'). Terms like *aylern-altyerr-ankethenh* seem to be acceptable, however. The genitive of *aylaltyerr* was given as *aylaltyerrewenh* and (from a different community) that of *aylern-altyerr* was given as *aylern-altyerrewenh*; **aylernew-altyerrenh* was not accepted.⁶⁷ The ergative of *aylaltyerr* was given as *aylaltyerrel*.

A different term for 'dreaming', *a(t)nengkerr* (see 13.3), is used as an alternative to *altyerr* in Eastern Anmatyerr and is the only word attested in Kaytetye as the second part of compounds of this type. Thus *aylernanengkerr*, was given (from the male point of view) by TT (Kay). His explanation was: "From my grandchildren belong my nanna. It's a cousin mother-in-law. Mother-in-law might be young person. Born from my auntie. One dreaming." (Note 'cousin mother-in-law'; 'sister mother-in-law' might be expected as a reciprocal of 'brother son-in-law'. There are some other problems too with the explanation.) CP accepted *ilernatnengkerr* as an alternative to *ilernaltyerr* for EAnm.

Other data:

NEAr speakers, some fairly young, seemed to know terms like *ilernaltyerr* (or *aylernaltyerr* in the speech of MM), *ilakaltyerr*, *ilanthaltyerr*, *mpwelaltyerr*, *mpwelakaltyerr*, *anwernaltyerr* and *anwakerraltyerr*. However, although MM said they applied to "one country" and another person "one dreaming," the meanings given for them seemed mostly to have nothing to do with sons-in-law. For example, one person said *ilernaltyerr* would be, for example, 'brother' and *ilakaltyerr*, for example, 'father'. Perhaps these terms were being confused with

⁶⁷ *Aylernew-altyerr* would have a rather different meaning, 'our Dreaming', 1du:excl-Dreaming', see 13.

similar terms using dative pronouns; for example, *ilernekaltyerr* 'Idu:I-DAT-dreaming' would mean 'we two having the same dreaming' and so could refer to a brother. However, CP (EAnm) said *ilernakatnengkerr* 'Idu-II-dreaming' (not *ilernekatnengkerr* 'Idu:I-DAT-dreaming') meant 'one dreaming' and agreed that this would refer to a father-child pair.

12. Bereavement and sympathy

12.1. Bereavement

As one might expect, there is a more extensive vocabulary for talking about bereavement in Arrernte than in a language like English. A recent bereavement is talked about indirectly; for example, one might break the news that a woman has lost her husband by saying that so-and-so *arlwekerewernirrek*, literally 'single women's camp-to-become-past', 'she has gone to (or better, arrived at) the single womens' camp' (where young unmarried women, widows and other single or temporarily separated women live together). Similarly, a widowed man *arnkentyewernirrerl* — 'goes to the single men's camp'. To express the state, as opposed to the becoming, the locative is used instead of the allative: *arlwekerelirrem* and *arnkentyelirrem*. The various bereaved kin terms mentioned below may be used, as appropriate, verbalized with an inchoative ('become') suffix. Or a kinship term may be used with a privative ('lacking') suffix and an inchoative verbalizer: thus, for example, *kelyekwenyirrek* 'elder brother-lacking-become-past' 'elder brother died' in Western Arrernte, *awayewenyerrew* with the same meaning in Northern Alyawarr. As noted above (5.2), a similar expression using *-ankethenh* can be used; thus: *anherrankethenh kwenyarlirrek* is equivalent to *anherrekwenyarlirrek* 'lost one's mother-in-law' (of a woman). A person may 'lose' (*aparlpilerl*) a relation, just as in English. A person who dies is said to have *uyerrek* 'finished, come to an end, gone away', equivalent to English 'passed away', or *arrangkwirrek*, based on *arrangk* 'no, nothing' and having approximately the same meaning. One does not use the "straight" (i.e. non-euphemistic) word for 'died', *ilwek*, of a person one liked or respected. (See H&D: 235-36, 364-65, 622-23). Similar practices apply to the other languages of the group.

The word usually given as a translation of 'orphan' is *alhampw* or variants thereof (*lhampw*, *lhwamp*, *lhump*, *alhamp*) in varieties of Arrernte, *alyump* in Lower Arrernte and (unrelated) *rrkwern* or *errkwern* in Western Anmatyerr. This, however, has a wider meaning than the English word, and this is only partly captured by the H&D entry (p.86-87), which defines it as "a child who has lost one or both parents; orphan." In fact, it can be applied to bereavement of a number of other kin — some would say any kin, although it would normally be understood as applying to loss of a parent if it is not clear or made clear that it is another. Thus you can say *mekikw alhampwirrek* 'Mo-DAT-his orphan-INCH-PAST' 'lost his or her mother', *mikw akwekek alhampwirrek* 'lost his or her mother's younger sister (little mother)', *awenhekikw alhampwirrek* 'lost his or her father's sister' and so on. Note that the dative is used of the person who died: you become an orphan 'for' your mother or whoever. Similarly, to express the state of being an orphan you would use the copular verb, basically 'sit', and the dative: *Mekaty anwern lhampw anem* 'We are orphans because my mother has passed away'; *Akngeyek anwern lhampw anem* 'We are orphans because my father has passed away'.

This differs somewhat from the situation in Alyawarr, in which *alhamp* means a person who has lost a father, while *amarteny* is a person who has lost a mother. One group gave a compound term, *alhamp-amarteny*, for someone who has lost both, but another informant used *alhampwerrew* ('became *alhamp*') of someone in this situation. According to one person, *alhamp* can be used also of someone who lost a father's sister, and *amarteny* of someone who lost a mother's brother. Another term heard from one group of Alyawarr speakers and confirmed by another individual was *irrweleng* 'person who has lost a father', verbalized as, for example, *irrwelengerrew* 'lost a father'; *irrweleng-anem ayeng* means 'I am fatherless now'. The etymology of this term is not known; *irrweleng* is homophonous with a term meaning 'upper, top' — *irrwel* 'up, on top' with suffix *-eng* (which combines with certain location and time words), and also with an Arrernte name for the tree *Grevillea juncifolia* (which is *tharrkarr* in Alyawarr).

The blackfaced cuckoo-shrike (a grey bird with a black face) is called *mekelhampw* (and

variants thereof) in Arrernte; this is analysed as 'mother-for-orphan', i.e. 'one that is an orphan because it has lost its mother'. The same bird is called *amarteny-amarteny* in Alyawarr; this could be translated as 'like one who has lost a mother' (see 8. on the function of reduplication).

Other terms translated as 'orphan' include *wayetyeway* (given as "waitjuwaia") by Carl Strehlow and known at present by some older Arrernte speakers. He gives it for what Chewings translates as 'full orphan', as opposed to motherless half-orphan *lhump* (cognate with *alhampw*) and fatherless half-orphan "lūkurkuna" (in his spelling; it has not been heard from modern speakers). This is probably *lwekerenkenh* 'belonging to (an occupant of) the single women's camp'. Another version of *wayetyeway* is *watyeway*. Meanings given for it vary: some say it is the same as *alhampw*, while others (including H&D: 629) say it means a person who has lost a brother or sister. H&D add that: "People are called this by their mother(s), aunts and cousins." Another term, *atnamp*, is given the same definition as *alhampw* by H&D (306), except that they add that it is "more sympathetic." They also give it as a reduplicated form, with the same meaning. One informant said that "Only old people use it now." The same person said that *atnamp* can also be used of fruit, 'shrivelled up'; *atwakey* 'wild orange' for example, or *utyerrk* 'wild fig' might *atnampirrerl* 'become shrivelled'.

The other bereavement that rates a specific term in English is loss of a spouse; a person is widowed and becomes a widow or widower. The term for both widow and widower in Lower Arrernte, Western Arrernte and Western Anmatyerr is *warlekwert*. As with other gender-neutral terms, gender may be specified by adding an appropriate term such as 'man' or 'woman'; for example, in Lower Arrernte *arrkwety warlekwert* 'widow' and *urtwa warlekwert* 'widower'. Most of the Central and Eastern varieties have this term too, with *inpert* as an alternative; the Northeastern dialect has only *inpert*. (This is according to my data; H&D:383, 627 suggest that *warlekwert* is found in all varieties and *inpert* only in the eastern, northern and northeastern and with the meaning only of 'widow'.) The Alyawarr term too is *inpert*. Note, too, that according to H&D:383 a reduplication of *inpert* is a name of a type of cicada; this may be due to a perceived resemblance of its call to the wail of a person just widowed.

Carl Strehlow gives for 'widow' *warlekwert* (which he says means 'the one who has been robbed of her man') and *lwekerereny* (which is simply 'occupant of the single women's camp') and for widower *nkentyelirrem* (which is actually a verb, meaning 'being an occupant of the single men's camp') and "injūlabaterama" (his spelling, not otherwise attested, said to mean 'the one who has lost his woman' but apparently an inchoative verb in the present tense). My suggested explanation of the last term is that it is *ntyerlepertirrem* which would mean something like 'becoming adversely affected by the pointing bone (a pointed bone or stick used to put an evil spell on a person)' (see H&D: 513 for *ntyerl* and :185 for *-apert*, equivalent to the Western Arrernte *-epert*). The implication is that the wife's death is believed to have been caused by magic (perhaps because she was not old enough to be expected to die).

H&D: 302 give *arelh atherrk* (also *marl atherrk* and *arrwekety atherrk*), literally 'green woman' as an eastern term for a woman recently widowed. They add: 'Called this because of the yellow clay she covers herself with'. Like other bereaved kin terms, this can be verbalized; *atherrkirrem* 'become a widow'. H&D:589 also give *untarn* as meaning 1. yellow ochre; 2. white clay that a woman puts on herself when her husband passes away, and that other family members put on for the funeral ceremony; 3. a woman whose husband has recently passed away.⁶⁸

A word *ywerlt* in Western Arrernte and Western Anmatyerr and *yurlt* or *ywerlt* (see H&D:638 for the distribution) in Central and Eastern Arrernte means, according to H&D, 'someone whose child has died, grieving parent or close uncles and aunts'. For example, *arelh ampw yurlt* is 'an old woman who has lost her children'. However, it was said (NEArr) that you can't say *ampekikw yurltirrek* because it "doesn't sound good." The same person said that you should not use *yurlt* about your own generation; you would incur a curse of death

⁶⁸ It is interesting that in Wakaya, to the north of Alyawarr, it is a "soldier" (a member of a revenge expedition) who is called by the same name as 'white clay', presumably for a similar reason.

(*imatyewennng*). You can use it only of *nyurrrp* [disharmonic] generations. If you wanted to tell someone about, say, your cousin losing a child, you would have to ask your child, for example, to tell it for you. This applies even to distant relations.

Alyawarr has a word *ankerathek*, 'a parent who has lost a son or a daughter', as in *atey aweth ankerathek* 'man (*atey*) who has lost a son'. *Anker* is 'spinifex wax (used as a glue)' and *-athek* 'towards'; this term is probably connected with *ilpatelheyl* (see the second paragraph down). A related expression is *ankerel atwelhew* 'lost a child', literally 'hit oneself with spinifex wax'. Alyawarr also has a word *areperrk*, which some translate as 'a woman who has lost a son or daughter', while for others it is 'a woman who has lost all her children'. Green (1992:72) gives it as:

1. a female whose children have passed away, 2. with lots of children (?) [(?) in original]

A term *ngkwatharrp* in western areas, *ulyarrpeny* in the east, *ylarrpeny* in Alyawarr, *amatheng* in Kaytetye, is usually said to mean 'last one left of a family' — someone whose brothers and sisters have passed away (*Ayeng anyentanem anem* 'I'm the only one now', or, from the same person, *Ayeng kwenh ikngirrek* 'I really became alone'). However, a number of informants, in various areas, used it to mean 'one who has lost a brother or sister'.

A word *urelirrem*, 'fire-LOC-INCH-PRES', in Arrernte, *ilpatelheylel* in Alyawarr, refers to the former custom of burning off the hair of the head and (for a man) the beard on the death of certain kin. Green (1992:145) gives *ilpateylel* as 'burn grass' and 'singe off hair'; *ilpatelheylel* differs only in having the different form of the causative formative, *-elhel* instead of *-el*. Note that the Arrernte verb is intransitive and the Alyawarr one transitive. This custom has now been replaced by one of cutting the hair off with scissors. An Alyawarr speaker explained that burning spinifex would be put on the head, and then brushed off quickly. Alyawarr has a word *ampwerr*, meaning 'a head that has been shaven in mourning'. One far northeastern Arrernte speaker gave data suggesting a complementary distribution of kin terms according to whether one said kinterm-dative *alhampirrek* 'became an orphan for [kinterm]' or kinterm-dative *urelirrek* 'had one's hair burnt off for [kinterm]'. Thus, for example, *arengekikw alhampirrek* 'lost one's father's father' but *alerekikw urelirrek* 'lost one's child (of a man) or brother's child'. However, this needs confirmation; the division could well be into senior versus junior, or some other way. She used *alhampirrek* for the grandparent/grandchild terms (but would naturally be thinking rather of the grandparent), for the terms for parents and their siblings, and for the terms for her parents-in-law. She also used it for (male) cousin and for sister-in-law. She used *urelirrek* for her children, sisters' or brothers' children, son-in-law (*mwer-*, which a woman would think of as primarily son-in-law and a man as primarily mother-in-law), brother-in-law and elder brother (but not for elder sister; she said *angkwerekikw ulyarrpenyirrek*). An Alyawarr speaker would use her equivalent of *urelirrek*, *ilpatelhew*, for at least her children, sisters' and brothers' children, son-in-law, cousin and husband. Most people mentioned only sons and daughters.

According to Carl Strehlow (1907-15; Chewings translation, p. 1323): "If a small child dies, its father singes off his beard with a firestick, and cuts off the hair on his head; the mother hits her head on top with a stone until the blood flows ... "

Further details:

LAr: SK: *Warlekwertirremel alkiwem* 'After she loses her husband she chucks [her clothes] away'. *Alyump*, *meyekweny* 'orphan, without a mother'. Comment from BB: 'If he lost one [parent] he'll be still *alyump* and lose the two still *alyump*.'

WAr: ER said *ngkwetharrp* (not *ngkwatharrp*) is *lhump*. He doesn't know *tmamp*. He doesn't know the term *urelirrem*, although he does know the custom. *Warlekwert* is 'widow(er)', e.g. *arrkwety warlekwert* 'widow'. *Wayetyeway* was translated as 'alone, no friends, no father'. *Inpert* was not known. GA+ said that *warlekwert* is 'widow', not 'widower'; 'widower' was given only as *inkentyereny* 'belonging to the single men's camp'. The word *inkentyewernirrek* can be used to say that a man's wife has died, and *lwekerewernirrek* to say that a woman's husband has died. *Lhump* is used for someone who has lost either parent; *watyeway* was said to be an "old word." *Ywerlt* is someone who has lost a son or daughter. For saying that someone has lost a brother or sister you could use expressions like (for elder brother) *kely parlpilek* (using the normal word for 'lost') or *kelyekwenyirrek* 'became elder brotherless'. They did not understand *ngkwatharrp*, saying that only women used it.

WANm: All said 'widow(er)' is *warlekwert*, orphan *rrkwern* or *errkwern* (Ng also *lhwamp*; they would also use *errkwern* of someone who had lost a Sb), person who has lost a Ch *ywerlt*. LP used *apalpelek* 'lost' in the same way as the WAr speakers. All accepted *ngkwatharrp* and did not know *ulyarrpeny*.

CAr: VH said that *arlwekerewernirrek* is used mostly to say that a woman has been widowed. She accepted *warlekwert*, *alhampw* (loss of either or both parents) and *yurlt*.

SEAr: EJ accepted and used *wayetyeway* (but pronounced it *watyeway*). He did not accept *alhampwirrem* with kin other than parents. His information on *atnamp* was confused, but he seemed to accept *alerekikwarl atnampirrek* 'became *atnamp* for mSo'. He would use *urelarlirrem* of a woman (or a man?) who had lost a child. He used *aparlpilek* 'lost' of an aunt. *Wayetyeway* was confused. He did not know *ulyarrpeny*, and knew *ngkwatharrp* as referring to the loss of a sibling. He thought that *inpert* referred to loss of a child. *Warlekwert* was 'widow(er)'.

NAR: MH would say *mekikw alhampwirrek* 'became an orphan for his or her mother', *mikw akwek alhampwirrek* 'do. for mother's younger sister', *awenhekikw alhampwirrek* 'do. for aunt' and so on. So there is "real" *alhampw* who has lost a "real" parent, and others who have become *alhampw* by losing some specified relation. RF did not know *ngkwatharrp* or *ulyarrpeny* and said the last one left would be *ikngareny* (not a kin-specific term). DL knew the former (*ngkwatharrpirrek* "He lost his brother") but not the latter. He thought that *wayetyeway* meant 'old people', naming his mother-in-law and a classificatory father as examples.

A NAr-SEAr-NEAr group (ST, MT, EJ, BN) used *arnkentyelirrem* and *arlekwerelirrem* 'became in the single men's or women's respectively camp' to convey news of someone being widowed. Note that these words use *-el* 'LOC' not *-ewern* 'ALL'. They gave *inpert* for 'widow(er)' but also accepted *warlekwert*. They expressed losing a child by *urel(arl)irrek* and *yurltirrek*, and described the custom of burning, and nowadays cutting, the hair. (The focus marker *arl* can be interpolated into derived words; see Henderson, forthcoming.) They said that you can be *alhampw* for any relation. They said (with examples) that *atnamp* is the same as *alhampw*, and examples they gave of *wayetyeway* show that it can be used in the same way too, e.g. *ankelek wayetyeway* 'bereft of a male cross-cousin'. ST explained *ngkwatharrp*:

- (67) *Ngkwatharrpirrek, ayeng anyentanem anem. Ayeng kwenh ikngirrek.*
ngkwatharrp-irr-ek ayeng anyent-anem an-em ayeng kwenh ikng-irr-ek
 last one-INCH-PAST lsg one-now sit-PRES lsg indeed alone-INCH-PAST
 'Became the last one, I'm the only one now. I'm left alone.'

He said that *ulyarrpeny* was the same as *ngkwatharrp*. EJ gave *arelh atherrk*, lit 'green woman' as a name for a (recent?) widow and used the derived verb *atherrkirrek* 'became green', but then said that this usage was from Kityarr country to the east (part of Ant). They did not know *ankerathek*.

EAR: LM used *aparlpilek* 'lost' with reference to death of a relative, and also the intransitive verb *uyerrek* 'finished, disappeared'; he used *inpert* for 'widow(er)' (and accepted *warlekwert*), *alhampw* for 'orphan' (and accepted *atnamp*) and said that *ngkwatharrp* meant 'no brothers or sisters, all gone.' This does not apply to an only child. He said *wayetyeway* was someone who had lost a Br. He accepted expressions like *awenhek alhampwirrek* 'FaSi-DAT orphan-INCH-PAST' = 'lost auntie', but repeating one of these with *arrangkwirrek* (lit. 'became nothing') — another common expression for 'died' — made it seem that he had possibly misheard the *alhampwirrek*. He accepted the term *urelirrem*.

LC used *alhampw* for 'orphan', used *parlpirrek* 'lost' (the intransitive counterpart of *parlpilek*) and *inpertirrek* 'became a widow' to express loss of husband, and said that a man who has lost his wife is *warlekwert*. Parents who have lost a child are *yurlt atherr* — *artw yurlt* and *arelh yurlt* (*atherr* 'two', *artw* 'man', *arelh* 'woman'). She accepted both *ngkwatharrp* and *ulyarrpeny* as "He lost his brother," and added after the first: *impay ngkwatharrp*, two sisters, I got no other brothers and sisters. Just left one. Just yourself. (*Impay* 'leave (it)!') On a later occasion she accepted *urelirrem* as "lose his son or daughter" and said that this is her dialect and *yurltirrem* is "Alice Springs language." She accepted *wayetyeway* as "I lose my brother" and added:

- (68) *Impay, wayetyeway, kak ikwerenh aparlpilek!*
imp-ay wayetyeway kak ikwer-eh aparlp-il-ek
 leave-IMP eBr 3sg:DAT-GEN2 lost-CAUS-PAST
 'Leave him alone, he's *wayetyeway*, he lost his big brother!'

Also on this occasion she said that a widow is *warlekwert* (and also *arelh atherrk* 'green woman') and (contrary to what she had said before) a widower *inpert*. She accepted *atnamp* as = *alhampw*, but not in her dialect.

NEAr: M knew *yurlt* and *urelirrem* (but did not know the old custom of burning hair off). *arelh ampw yurlt* is 'an old woman who has lost her children.' However, she would not say *ampekikw yurltirrek* 'fCh-DAT-her *yurlt*-INCH-PAST' because it "doesn't sound good." You can't say *yurlt* about your own generation, only about "nyurrrp mob" (disharmonic generations) There is an unclear reference to *imatyewennng* 'curse of death' if you say something about your cousin (for example) who has lost a son — even if related just by 'skin'. You could tell your child to say it for you.

She agreed that you could be *alhampw* for any relative, volunteering as well as accepting examples. However, later she did not accept the construction *kinterm-DAT alhampw-INCH* for expressing the loss of certain relatives; on that occasion she accepted it for *awenh* 'FaSi' and *apmarl* 'MoBr' but not for *altyel* 'FCo' (which she had earlier accepted), *angkwer* 'eSi', *arrenc* 'FaFa' or *anherr* 'HuMo'. She gave a number of example sentences; for example, as alternative ways of saying that somebody's grandfather had passed away:

- (69) *Arrenc kwenyarlirrek. Arrencankethenh kwenyarlirrek.*
arrenc kweny-arl-irr-ek

FaFa PRIV-FOC-INCH-PAST for *ankethenh* see 5.2

(These sentences were each heard as two words; however, *kweny* is normally heard as a suffix.)

She accepted *atnamp* as = *alhampw*, but said that only old people use it now; she also gave and illustrated its use in reference to fruit. She explained *wayetyeway* as: "They've lost someone; mothers and mother's sisters and mother's cousins and nearly all the family calls that." However, she then seemed to say that it was people in the same generation. She knew *ngkwatharrp* and *ulyarrpeny*, the latter not her own language. *Inpert* is both widow and widower in her language; *warlekwert* a different language.

MM says *inpert* for widow(er) and accepted *yurlt* as someone who has lost (*aparlpilek*) a child. *Ulyarrpeny* and *ngkwatharrp* both referred to losing a brother or sister; SC added that it meant only one man or woman left (in the family). MM agreed with the suggestion that this could refer also to an only child. She called someone who had lost a parent *alhamp*; SC said *alhwamp*.

On a later occasion MM (now *inpert* herself) accepted *urelirrem*. She accepted the construction kinterm-DAT *alhamp*-INCH for loss of *ankel* 'MCo', *apmarl* 'MoBr' and *awenh* 'FaSi', and volunteered it for any 'Fa'. She gave it also for *arreg* 'FaFa', *ahenterr* 'HuFa', *arlpmenh* 'MoMo', *aty* 'MoFa', *arnteng* 'SiL' and *anherr* 'HuMo'. She did not accept it for *aler* 'mCh' or *amp* 'fCh' for which she used *urelirrem*, e.g. *ampekikw urelirrek* 'lost her child'. She used *urelirrem* also for *mwer* 'fSoWi', *mpwern* 'BrL', *k* 'eBr'. For *angkwere* 'eSi' she said *angkwerekikw ulyarrpenyirrek* 'She lost her sister and became the last one.' Obviously in the last case she had a particular situation in mind, and there may have been similar influences in some other cases; there is no obvious logical division according to, for example, generations.

She accepted *atnamp* as the same as *alhamp*, and said that *wayetyeway* is "himself, no brother" (man or woman). It is not clear just what this means.

Ant: JB accepted *alhamp* as 'orphan', someone who had lost a father, and gave the same word also for someone who had lost a son or daughter or a brother. She gave *alyarrpeny* (possibly mistakenly for *ulyarrpeny*, or more likely a mishearing by me, this being the first time I heard the term) as "last one left, no other brother." Losing a husband or wife is *inpertirrem*.

EAnm: Ag have *inpert* 'widow(er)', *alhampw* 'orphan' (primarily used for one who has lost a parent, but can apply, at least in its verbalized form, to loss of other kin), and *atyelhek* 'mother who has lost a son' and also, curiously, 'someone who has lost a cousin'. Etymologically, the last looks as if it is from *aty* 'MoFa' plus *lhek* 'went' (and MoFa is in the same subsection as Co).

Aly: All speakers or groups consulted gave *inpert* for 'widow(er)' (distinguished as *arelh inpert*, *artw inpert*) and (*a*)*marteny* for 'person who had lost mother'. All except one group used *alhamp* for 'person who had lost father'. These can be verbalized with inchoative *-err* as *inpertterrew* 'was widowed'. You would tell of a mother's death by saying *amewikw amartenyerrew* 'Mo-DAT-his orphan-INCH-PAST'. According to EH the same verb would be used of MoBr. For a father the expression was *aynewikw alhamperrew*, and this verb was used also for FaSi. Most used *areperrk* for 'a woman who has lost a child'; this can be verbalized as in *ampekwikw areperrkerrew* 'she lost a child'.

BM+: 'Lost a child' was translated as *amp ikwerenhek ltyanterrek*. They accepted *ylarrpeny* as 'one who's lost a brother or sister'.

EH used the kinship term plus privative *-weny* plus inchoative *-err* for telling of the death of eBr, eSi, fCh and mCh she, thus *awayewenyerrew* 'lost eBr' ('became elder brotherless'). She would use *ilpatelhelew* for (at least) Hu, Da, So, BrDa, BrSo, DaHu, Co. It seems that it is used with kinterm-DAT in the same way as the inchoative bereavement verbs. She accepted *ylarrpeny* as "might be lose brother or sister" and gave the example *ylarrpenyerrew ayteyewikw* 'lost his or her young brother or sister'.

K expressed loss of kin with the verbs *aperrertelew* 'lost' and *ylpelerrerrew* 'forgot one another', neither confined to kinship use. He used *ylarrpenyerrewfor* 'lost brother' but added *anyent-anem ayeng* 'now I am alone', showing that *ylarrpeny* means 'last one'. He explained the way hair was burnt off, using the word *ampwerr* which SPg later translated as 'shaven head'. He translated *areperrk* as 'mothers who lost all their family'. He accepted *ankerathek* and *ankerel atwelhew*.

KBg used *ilpatelheleyel*, which they translated as 'singeing', and *ampwerr*. They used the expression *Anewart-atherr ankerel atwelhew* to say that a married couple lost a child, and accepted *ankerathek*. They used *alhamp-amarteny* of someone who had lost both father and mother. They translated 'lost sister' as *angkwerey ylpelhelew* (?), *ylpelelhelew* seems more likely). They used *ylarrpeny* for 'last of family'.

SPg gave *ankerathek* as 'husband or wife who has lost a son or daughter' and *ankerel atwelhew* as 'lost a child'. They used *irrweleng* for 'person who has lost father' (*irrwelengerrew* 'lost father'; *irrweleng-anem ayeng* 'I'm fatherless now'). They had an expression *tyengepelty ylpelhelew* for 'lost brother or sister'; *tyeng* is 'lsg:DAT and *pelty*, which seems not to be a kinship term (in that *peltyenheng* is not acceptable) also means 'friend'. *ylarrpeny* means "last one left."

12.2. Artwemeny

The word or formative (*a*)*rtwemeny* has been described as a "remembering word" by one

Northeastern Arrernte speaker; a Northern Arrernte person described it as "sorry language." It refers to a person who has passed away or (in the usage of some speakers) is no longer around for some other reason, or (again not for all speakers) is no longer functioning well. Examples given were of someone who is in gaol, someone who is in an old people's home, someone who went away (for good, or for a long time), someone who is *vert* — literally 'mad' — probably thinking of a person who is senile, someone who is old and crippled, someone who is "not energetic" and "not reliable" any more. One person, when asked about the word *aylanth-artwemeny* (based on *aylanth* 'we dual III') said "like this one and me," referring to her separated husband, who was with us at the time. Another person said that it could be used in reference to a person who was no longer liked. One man said it could be used of someone who had gone hunting, but his father disagreed and wanted to confine it to people who had died. One person who gave some of the above examples then added: "But it's really for somebody who passed away." Some examples given by one or more informants were disputed by others; for example, that *artwemeny* might be used of a person who is in gaol. The attitude of the speaker may be relevant, since some people stressed that it was used of a person who had been appreciated:

(70) *Mwerr anemel mpwaretyart maty artwemenyelarl.*

mwerr an-emel mpwar-etyart m-aty artwemeny-el-arl
good sit-SS do-used to Mo-my missed-ERG-REL

"That mother of mine that I'm sorry about used to be able to do things when she was good." A person in gaol might be missed or one might take the attitude "good riddance to him (or her)." I am glossing it 'missed'.

A number of informants said that it was not used for close kin. *Maty artwemeny*, for example, is used for:

(71) "mother *arerrenty*, but not really mother *thew* —like mother *arerrenty war*; like
real only

country-engentyel mother anpernem nhengulker iterlaray."

ABL call-PRES you know-like know-IMP

'A slightly distant mother, not really your mother— just a slightly distant mother, like from a country that you call mother, that sort of thing, you know.'

(A reference to a particular place and some of the people who belong to it and their relationship to her then follows. See 4.7 for *arerrenty*.)

It combines with either a kinship term or a pronoun. Unlike formatives like *-akem* and *-ankethenh* or the person endings, it does not combine with roots like *m-* 'mother', or even longer roots like *awenh* which can occur as free forms. Thus we have *maty artwemeny* and *mey artwemeny* but not **martwemeny*. It will combine with a borrowed English term, as in *granny artwemeny*. This all suggests that *artwemeny* may be a free morpheme. This is supported by the following example:

(72) *Arrekantherr-artweyarl uyerrenhekarl; artwemenyarl uyerrenhekarl.*

arr-ek-anth-err-artwey-arl uyerr-enh-ek-arl artwemeny-arl uyerr-enh-ek-arl
2pl-DAT-III-PL-owner-REL disappear-GO-PAST-REL missed-REL

"It's your parent that passed away; it's *artwemeny* that passed away."

In most dialects *artwemeny* will combine with a non-singular nominative pronoun, thus *ilern-artwemeny*. My suggested **ayeng-artwemeny*, with *ayeng* 'I', was not accepted; as one speaker put it, "No, you'll be still alive." Data on Western Arrernte, from only one speaker, suggest that the dative pronoun is used in that dialect and that the deceased or absent person is not included in that pronoun; this needs confirmation. I regard *artwemeny* as a combining form with pronouns because of the way its genitive form may be formed: the genitive of *ilern-artwemeny* is *ilernek-artwemenyekenh*, with the pronoun part of the compound carrying a dative suffix and the second part carrying the genitive suffix *-kenh* (which is based on the dative), or *ilern-artwemenyekenh* (with only the second part inflected). Compare the genitive of a form like *ilak* 'we two II', which is *ilekakenh*, comprising *il* 'we two', *-ek* 'dative = first part of the genitive suffix *-ekenh*', *-ak* 'II', *-enh* 'second part of the genitive suffix *-ekenh*'. In Alyawarr, the options seem to be dative on the pronoun and either no suffix or genitive on the *artwemeny*: thus, for example, *aylewak-artwemeny* or *aylewak-artwemenyewenh* 'belonging to my late father'. The genitive of constructions using kinship terms is formed in the normal way for noun phrases; thus the genitive of Alyawarr *akngey artwemeny* 'my late father' is *akngey artwemenyewenh*. Similarly, in Arrernte the genitive of *kak artwemeny* is *kak artwemenyekenh*.

The meaning of the form *maty artwemeny* is 'person whom I called *maty* = "my (classificatory) mother," who is no longer around and whose absence I am sorry about'. If we substitute another person ending, using, say, *mangkw* instead of *maty*, we would make the appropriate change in the translation; in this case we would substitute 'you' for 'I' and 'your' for 'my'. Similarly for other kinship terms and other person endings.

The meaning of *ilanth-artwemeny* is 'person related to me in such a way that I would use *ilanth* as the first person dual pronoun referring to that person, who is no longer around and whose absence I am sorry about, and me'. That person could be, among others, a mother, uncle, spouse or cousin. The pronominal part could be any of the non-singular pronouns, with appropriate adaptation of the translation.

Pronominal terms may be expanded by the addition of a kinship term, to assist in clarifying the identity of the person referred to. Arrernte examples are *pmarlepmarl ilanth-artwemeny* 'my late (or absent) uncle', *mpwerney ilanth-artwemeny* 'my late brother-in-law'. In Alyawarr, *arrangey aylern artwemeny* 'my late father's father', *awenhey aylak artwemeny* or *awenhey aylernak artwemeny* 'my late auntie'.

There is one example of a construction of the form kinship term-genitive pronoun-*artwemeny*: this is *atyew atyinh artwemeny* 'my late (age)mate'.

The meaning of a genitive form seems to be primarily to refer to something which belonged to a person who has passed away and which therefore, because of its association with the dead person, is no longer wanted. For example, an Eastern Arrernte speaker, explaining the term *ilernek-artwemenyekenh* '1du:I-DAT-missed-GEN', said "might be old motorcar or old dog or old camel, no good for me and you now, any old thing. We don't need it anymore. Might give it away. *Anwern ahentyekwenyeng* [because we don't want it]." A different connotation is implied by another example: a tree referred to as *ilanth-artwemenyekenh* 'my late uncle's dreaming'.

Some examples of the use of these forms follow:

(73) *Elanth-artwemeny nthwelanerretyam.*

el-anth-artwemeny nthw-elanerr-etyam

1du(in)-III-missed walk around-DU-imperfect

'We two (e.g. my mother who has now passed away, and I) were walking around together.' (WANm:LP)

(74) *Anwern-artwemenyekenh imperrel alhem. anwern-artwemeny-ekenh imperr-elalh-em* 1pl:I-missed-GEN track-LOC go-PRES

"We following our family's story." i.e. specifically our father's father's story. (SEAr:EJ) *Imperr*, given by H&D:371 as 'a straight mark made on something; scratch, groove' was said by the speaker to mean 'track', and to be his equivalent of *impaty* (see H&D:368).

(75) *Ilernartwemenyekenh arrularl ilern anek ilernartwemeny; akngay; ayeng ahentyanetyakenheng. Ayeng alhwarrp.*

ilern-artwemeny-ekenh arrul-arl ilern an-ek ilern-artwemeny akng-ay ayeng

1du:I-missed-GEN long time-REL 1du:I be-PAST 1du:I-missed take-IMP 1sg

ahenty-an-etyakenheng-eng ayeng alhwarrp
throat-be-NEG-ABL 1sg sorry

'That belongs to that person who lived with us for a long time (and who with me could use the pronoun *ilern*). Take it, because I don't want it. I'm sorry (about that person).'

(76) *"Iterlarey. Nheng arrwekerl mpwarekarl iterlarek nhengulkerey. Ilern-artwemeny kwenh nhenhelarl anetyart. Alakenh."*

iterlar-ey nheng arrwekerl mpwar-ek-arl iterlar-ek nheng-ulker-ey

remember-OP you know before do-PAST-REL remember-PAST you know-like-EM

ilern-artwemeny kwenh nhenh-el-arl an-etyart alakenh

1du-missed indeed here-LOC-REL be-used to like that

"Let me remember. That one, you know who, I remembered he did that sort of thing.(?) We two (a person in the same section as me and who has gone now, and I) really used to live here. Like that." (NEAr:M)

(77) *mpwelak-artwemenyarl anerretyart kwenh*

mpwel-ak-artwemeny-arl an-err-etyart kwenh
 2du-II-missed-REL be-DU-used to indeed

'one who used to be here and who was related to you in such a way that I would have addressed the two of you as *mpwelak*.' (NEAr:M)

(78) *tyengartwey maty artwemeny nhenhekareyartwey*
tyeng-artwey m-aty artwemeny nhenh-ek-arey-artwey
 lsg:DAT-owner Mo-my missed this-DAT-PL-owner

'a person whom I called mother and who was parent or senior kin to me and to all of these' (NEAr:M)

(79) *Akngzey artwemeny uyerrek. Ayeng alhamp-anem anem.*
akngzey artwemeny uyerr-ek ayeng alhamp-anem an-em
 Fa:my missed disappear-PAST lsg orphan-now be-PRES

'My father passed away and now I'm an orphan.' (NEAr:SC)

(80) *Aperley artwemenyel atyenhenh ayenh atnwenhenh anatyewarl.*
aperley artwemeny-el atyenhenh ayenh atnwenh-enh anaty-ewarl
 FaMo missed-ERG lsg:GEN lsg:ACC take-imperfect bush potato-ALL

'My father's mother used to take me hunting for bush potatoes.' (Aly: Green 1998)

Other details:

WAR: The form is *-rtwemeny*. It is known to ER. The only examples obtained in this dialect involved the addition of the suffix to a dative pronoun, for example, *ilernekertwemeny* 'our friend who passed away'. It seems, therefore, that the deceased person is not included in the pronoun in this dialect, and so a singular pronoun is permitted; for example, *nwekertwemeny*, presumably 'my friend who passed away'. At a second session he accepted the usage with a person who is not dead but gone away or no longer competent.

WANm: Usage seems essentially to agree with that in other dialects, other than WAR. Examples include *mey artwemeny*, *maty artwemeny*, both 'my mother who passed away', *mangkw artwemeny* 'your mother who passed away', *atyewaty artwemeny* 'my age mate who passed away' (possibly also *atyew artwemeny*).

ECAr: A large part of the information on *artwemeny* comes from speakers of these dialects.

EAnm: Ag could use *artwemeny* with pronouns, e.g. *aylakartwemeny* would be, say, 'an auntie who had passed away', and with kinship terms, as *atyemey artwemeny* 'my late MoFa'.

Aly: A fairly substantial number of informants were consulted, most of whom would use *artwemeny* only of people who had died.

12.3. Sympathy

A suffix *-eparety*, attached to kinterm roots, is used when you feel sorry for someone (as an Alyawarr informant explained it) or on account of someone, and can be translated (especially in the former case) 'poor old'. There is not much known about it; it is not known to many speakers, and some who did know it referred to words with it as "old words." Some thought it referred only to people who have passed away.

It does not seem to be acceptable with forms marked with person suffixes, or equivalent suppletive forms; thus 'poor old dad' is *anyeparety*, not **akngzeyeparety*. Data on whether inflectional suffixes follow or precede the *-eparety* are inconclusive: one Arrernte speaker accepted genitive *anyeparetyekenh*, but not **anyekeparetyenh*, while an Alyawarr informant accepted ergative *ameleparety* and *ameparetyel*. Note also that when I suggested *Ameleparety aker amperneyel* 'Poor old mum is cooking the meat' (to another Alyawarr couple) it was accepted except that the verb was changed to *arrtyeyel*.

(81) *Impay, apmarleparety!* *imp-ay apmarl-eparety*
 Leave him alone, that's your uncle! (NAr) leave-IMP MoBr-poor

(82) *Menty ayntey ameparetyekenh!* (Aly) *menty aynt-ey am-eparety-ekenh*
 'Leave it alone, it belongs to poor old mum!' leave lie-OP Mo-poor-GEN

It is relevant, especially in the light of the last example below, to compare the meaning of words like ECAr *akuny*, generally translated as 'poor thing' or something similar, but expressing sympathy, pity or affection (H&D:73). The other gloss given by H&D is 'dear thing'. It is often used when cooing over a baby.

Sympathy may also be expressed in Arrernte by the morpheme *-entyelirr-*, affixed to a verb stem: thus *alhentyelirrek*, translated by the speaker as "going away; we sorry about that man," or by another person as "someone leaving-poor thing." An Alyawarr suffix

and *ilekaty*. SPg gave or accepted these three and in addition *ilekenheng*, *ilekempwelew* and *ilekarrewingkerr*. K also accepted some of these forms.

13.2. *Arrp*

According to H&D:260-62, the ending *-arrp*, which usually follows other endings, means:

- 1a 'only (this and not anything else), just (this)'
- 1b 'only (do a certain thing), (do) a particular thing (and not something else)'
- 2a '(do something) on your own, by yourself'
- 2b '(do something) to yourself'
- 3 'self (as opposed to someone else), (my)self, (your)self, (him)self, (her)self, etc.'
- 4 (some dialects) only with pronouns: 'minding your own business, keeping to yourself'
- 5 '(something) of its own, (its) own (something); individual, distinctive, different, particular'
- 6 'each other'

As a sub-entry, *arrp-* (northeastern dialect), *irrp-* (southeastern and northern) occur only with the pronominal possessor suffixes *-aty*, *-angkw* and *-ikw* [or *-eyekw*]. [Note that the main headword *-arrp* applies to all dialects.] It is glossed as:

- 1 '(something that is) exactly the same as something else, especially in the way it looks; the image of someone, spitting image'
- 2a 'the same as something in some way'
- 2b 'with the same skin name as someone else'

The suffixed forms *arrpaty* and *irrpatty* mean:

- 1 '(something that is) exactly the same as me or us (as opposed to you, her, etc.), especially in the way it looks; the image of me, my spitting image'
- 2 'the same as me or us in some way'.

The other suffixed forms are similar except with second person or third person reference, as appropriate. The examples given show that these words are used (usually, it seems) in contexts where kinship is of no relevance.

The compound *nyurrrp arrp-* / *nyurrrp irrp-* (with any of the endings *-aty*, *-angkw*, *-ikw* ~ *-eyekw*) is defined as 'people who are not *nyurrrp* to each other, people who are in the same generation group'. Two sentence examples are given.

My data are of poor quality and hint at usage of these terms with kinship terms and with pronouns, but do not make the function in these cases at all clear.

Data:

LAr: The sentence: (86) *Akngerrty irrpatty kwenh lyetant urremirrantyem.*
akngerrty irrpatty kwenh lyet-ant urremirr-anty-em
 old man indeed now-only arrive-hither-PRES
 'That old man (same skin as me?) indeed now shows up.'

appears on a tape recorded by Luise Hercus of an old man, a first language speaker of Wangkangurru (spoken east of LAr) here speaking LAr. No translation was given; I speculate that *irrpatty* is the same word we are discussing.

WANm: Ng accepted *arrpaty* as "same" (although it is not clear what this meant for them) and did not accept *arrpenheng*.

SEAr: EJ explained *irrpatty* as *ayengartek* 'like me'. He accepted *irrpennyheng*, but it is not clear that he heard it properly.

NAr (also SEAr and NEAr): ST gave compounds of the form kinterm *irrpatty*, he paraphrased *anewaty* ('Wi-my') *irrpatty* as *atyenganew* '1sg:DAT-Wi' 'my wife', gave his son MT and his classificatory son DL as examples of *aler* ('mCh') *irrpatty*, and also said *akngey* ('Fa:my') *irrpatty* without explanation. He gave two subsection names which are not *nyurrrp* to one another to illustrate *nyurrrp irrpatty*. On a later occasion he used the form *arrpaty* while EJ (SEAr) and BN (NEAr) who were with him at the time said *irrpatty*. They gave the phrases *ilanth* ('1du-III') *irrpatty* and *anwantherr* ('1pl-III-PL') *irrpatty* but translated them only as "all in one." NEAr: SC and MM did not know the term.

Aly: Green (1992) defines *arrpaty*, *arrempaty* as 'similar to me' [There is no separate entry for *arrempaty*]. Two of three examples have it affixed to a skin name, for example *Kngwarrey arrpaty* 'a Kngwarrey like me'. Note the inflected form in *Akemarr arrpelaty-arleng* 'Akemarr like-LOC-my-accompanying' 'with an Akemarr like me'. The second person form is given as *arrpengakw*, *arrpwengkw* 'similar to you', and the third person form as *arrpikw*, *arrpik* 'similar to him or her'. KBg did not know these terms.

13.3. Terms related to dreamings

Certain words referring to one's dreaming (see below for definitions), one's place of conception or the country to which one or one's close kin belong behave morphologically as kinship terms. These include *altyerr*, *arweng*, *apmer* (for some speakers) but not *aknganenty*, *angampenty*, *anganty*, *anger*, *atnengkerr*, *arnty*.

Aknganenty is defined (H&D:69) as:

1. the dreamings which are passed down through the father's side; 2. sites which are the physical signs of characters from the Dreaming, including the places where they came into existence; 3a. the site where someone is conceived; 3b. [some speakers] the place where someone is born; 4. the dreaming associated with a particular thing; 5. a distinctive birthmark, said to have been made by the dreaming it resembles.

This word is derived from the verb *aknganem*, meaning:

1. originate in the Dreamtime and exist forever; 2. be conceived in a place; 3. live somewhere forever, or for a very long time.

A very similar verb to *aknganem* is *angampem*, defined (H&D:129) as '1. originate in the Dreaming and exist forever; 2. be conceived, come to life'. Derived forms are *angampenty* 'the Dreaming; the creation of the world and the things in it, and its eternal existence' and *angampekarl* '1. a place or site that originated in the Dreaming; 2. the place where someone was conceived'.

Altyerr is defined by H&D (p.104) as:

1. the Dreaming, Dreamtime; the creation of the world and the things in it, and its eternal existence; 2a. a person's dreaming or totem, the dreaming story that belongs to a place; 2b. a place where a dreaming belongs or comes from; 3a. your mother's *aknganenty* dreaming, i.e. the dreaming she gets from her father's side; 3b. the place where your mother's dreaming is from; 4. particular dreaming stories, and things that are part of the story; 5a. a dream; 5b. while dreaming, in your dream.

Of these 2 and 3 are mutually exclusive; 3a and b apply only to the northeastern area while 2a and b apply to the southeastern, central and northern. (Eastern is not mentioned.)

Clearly, for those who do not make the terminological distinction between *altyerr* 'mother's dreaming' and *aknganenty* 'father's dreaming' these two terms have more or less the same meaning. Nevertheless, for both these speakers and those who do make this distinction, *altyerr* functions as a kinship term and combines with at least some of those affixes which are characteristic of kinship terms, while *aknganenty* (and *angampenty*) do not. Perhaps the fact that *altyerr* is a nominal root and the other two are derived nouns is relevant to this difference.

One knowledgeable informant accepted the kin-possessor suffixes on *altyerr*, but not the 'gether' suffix, *-enheng*. At another extreme, a less knowledgeable speaker (at least in kinship matters) accepted only the 'gether' suffix, defining *altyerrenheng* as 'from the one dreaming', or in Arrernte '*altyerr anyent ikweriperr*'. Others accepted both the kinship possessor and 'gether' suffixes. One of these defined *altyerraty* as 'having the same dreaming as me'. This seems to be different in meaning from *atyeng altyerr* 'my dreaming' (for which one could also say *altyerr atyinh*), and this points to a subtle distinction between *altyerr* (at least with this type of suffixation) and the 'real' kinship terms. However, an older speaker from the far northeast translated *altyerraty* as 'my mother's dreaming', and this supposed distinction may not be real. It is clear, however, that any definition of 'gether' applicable to kinship terms does not apply to its use in *altyerrenheng*; there is no question of one member of a group being called '*altyerr*' by another, although, if the correct translation of *altyerraty* is the first given above, it could be used by one person of another. An Alyawarr speaker accepted *atyeng altyerraty* (with redundancy) but not *atyeng altyerr*. Pronouns can, of course, be prefixed to *altyerr* with the function described in 11.2.

Arweng, attested for central, northern and northeastern areas, is defined (H&D:289) as 'own personal dreaming; totem'. They give as subentries *arwengaty* 'my/our dreaming', *arwengangk* 'your dreaming' and *arwengeyekw* ~ *arwengikw* 'his/her/their dreaming'. Some of my informants accepted other usages also, suggesting that all kinship suffixes can be used with *arweng*.

Arweng seems to differ from *altyerr* and *aknganenty* in that it refers to a particular feature of the landscape, a rock, perhaps, or a tree, which is part of a dreaming and which is the conception site of a particular person, and not to the dreaming as a whole (which may link together many such sites over a great distance). It comes from the father's side.

Anganty is defined (H&D:130) as:

a place or thing which is a visible part of a dreaming story, including the people who come from that dreaming. Especially used of the place where someone was 'found' (conceived), where the spirit of the ancestor of that place entered the mother's body. When a person dies the spirit returns to this place.

This term is found in Anmatyerr as well as the Eastern and Central group of Arrernte dialects, and is not morphologically a kinship term.

Anger is attested for southeastern, central and eastern areas and said to be the same as *anganty*. The Western Arrernte equivalent is *nger*, defined by my informants as 'one's birthplace', and also 'a wart': "a hard little lump on your finger or your foot. That reminds you of where your birthplace is." I have very little information on this term, and no evidence that it can behave as a kinship term.

Arnenty seems to be an Alyawarr equivalent of *anganty* (and to be distinguished from *anenty* 'spouse'). It does not behave as a kinship term.

Atnengkerr ~ *tnengkarr* is defined (H&D:311) as 'Dreaming stories'. There is no evidence that it can behave as a kinship term.

Apmer ~ *pmer* is defined (H&D:187) as:

- 1a. country, land, region; 1b. an area of land and the things on it (trees, etc.), countryside;
- 2a. camp;
- 2b. home, house;
- 3a. place, location, site; 3b. direction, place;
- 4a. a general word for places and areas which can go before the word for a place or type of place;
- 4b. goes before words of which one of the meanings refers to a (type of) place or area and makes it clear that it is this place meaning rather than another meaning of this word;
5. occurs in some phrases describing times (examples given).

Wilkins (1989: lexicon, *pmere* entry) says that it takes person suffixes and gives *apmerangk* as an example. I consulted Wilkins' two chief language teachers on this matter; one (MH) agreed that this was so and accepted this example, which she translated as 'same country as you'. She also accepted *apmeraty*, *apmerikw*, *apmerenheng* 'same country as one another', but not *apmer-ankethenh*. The other (RF) did not accept kinship suffixes with *apmer* at all. I have also had a negative reaction from other Arrernte speakers and several Alyawarr speakers.

Nevertheless, as noted above (2), places are regarded as kin; H&D give a sentence in their *apmere* entry:

(87) *Th apmer nhakw ipmenh akem.*

th apmer nhakw ipmenh ak-em
 lsg:ERG place there MoMo call-PRES
 'I call that place mother's mother.'

Such a sentence would often have a placename as object.

Data:

Carl Strehlow (1907-15) gave "arungatja" (*arwengaty*) as 'person belonging to me'.

WAR: GA+ gave the data noted above. They have terms *tnengkarr*, *altyerr* and *knganenty*, perhaps all interchangeable, but no evidence of any kinship morphology on them.

WANm: LP's term for dreaming is *nwernaltyerr*, noted above (11.2). Ng had *altyerr* and *aknganenty*, not distinguished in meaning but the former takes person possessor suffixes.

ECAr speakers generally knew *arweng* and *anganty* as defined above. The former, but not the latter, can take pronominal possessor suffixes and other morphology specific to kin. They could use these suffixes also on *altyerr*; *altyerraty* was defined as 'having the same dreaming as me' and *altyerrrenheng* as 'from the one

dreaming' or 'two men or women with one dreaming'.

CAR: VH defined *aknganenty* as 'where you (or something) has originated from' and *altyerr* as 'the stories from where you (or something) originated from'.

NAR: RF was not clear about any difference between *altyerr* and *aknganenty*. DL knew *altyerr* as dreaming from the mother's side' and *aknganenty* 'dreaming from the father's side'. ST (with others) equated *aknganenty* with *irrpmernenty* 'creation'. They used *altyerr* as a general term for 'dreaming'.

EAr:LC said *atyeng altyerr* is 'my mother's country' and "*Yeng aknganek* — my country" (using the verb from which *aknganenty* is derived; *yeng aknganek* would mean 'I was conceived'). The *-akem* construction (see 5.1) is used to refer to grandmothers' country; her children *ipmenhakerl* 'call MoMo' her mother's country and her brothers' children *aperlakerl* 'call FaMo' it. She gave the term *arwengilekak* 'totem-1du-DAT-II' (see 7.1) to refer to something that was a totem for her and her father.

NEAr speakers used *altyerr* for dreaming from mother's side and *aknganenty* for dreaming from father's side. M did not accept *altyerrenheng*, but did use pronominal possessor suffixes on *altyerr*. She knew *anger*. Some statements of SC seem strange: he associated *arwengenheng* with a married couple whereas I would have thought it referred to two people with the same totem, and he gave *arwengankethenh* the meaning I would have given *arwengenheng*.

EAnm: Ag said *altyerr* was 'mother's country' and *arweng* 'father's country'; they can add pronominal possessor suffixes to both.

Aly speakers understand *altyerr* as from the mother's side and *anganenty* as from the father's side. *Altyerr* can take pronominal possessor suffixes. *Apmer* and *arnty* cannot.

Kay: TT seemed to accept *kwaltyerr* 'his-dreaming', but CP did not accept pronominal possessor affixes on *altyerr*.

13.4 Terms related to ceremony

The terms *atyew* and *alyey* 'friend, mate', sometimes translated as 'age-mate', also has a meaning given by H&D:331 as 'what a man calls another man who has been through initiation with him.' As mentioned above (1) these function morphologically as kinship terms, and this may be associated with the ceremony-related meaning, which may be the original primary meaning of the terms.

Green (1998:56) shows that the Alyawarr word *antyangkwelk*, defined (in Green 1992:55-56) as 'female cousins (at initiation time), mother and mother-in-law of the initiate', can combine with the 'gether' suffix *-enheng*, and so functions as a kinship term — at least when it is used with this meaning. The other meaning given in Green 1992 is 'firestick used at initiation ceremony time'. H&D:509 give the latter meaning, but not the former, for the Arrernte cognate, and also the meaning 'substitute word for 'fire' that is used ... at the time when initiation ceremonies are on'.

There are other ways of referring to kin at ceremony time, such as *aylaper* ~ *aylaperewern* 'elder brothers and sisters of initiate' (Green 1992:124) but no evidence that these are kinship terms morphologically.

14. Hand signs and related terminology

Sign language words naming kin, and the associated verbal terms, form a reduced set of kinship terminology which is comparable with the women's son-in-law terminology. The hand signs mostly involve touching a particular part of the body, and the verbal terms also refer to the same part.

The best-known nowadays are perhaps the signs and associated words for woman's child / sister's child and for younger sibling. The former (*amp*) is *alemepenh* / *alemiperr* / *alem(e)pwenh* in Arrernte and Western Anmatyerr, literally 'from the liver' (also given by one speaker as *alemekenh* 'belonging to the liver'), and *a(t)nertepenh* 'from the stomach' in Alyawarr. Some (LC and EH in my survey) say that only a woman may use the associated handsign, which is to touch the stomach with the fingers. The word and the sign are probably useable also for others of the same skin, such as father-in-law (i.e. *ampaty-ampaty*). The reference is clearly to the child having come from the mother's 'stomach'. An alternative term used in Arrernte is *irnwepenh*; this could be derived from *urtn* 'coolamon, dish' (the required sound changes are common in Arandic) plus *-epenh* 'from', but the associated handsign is the same.

Younger sibling is *untyipenh* / *untypwenh* in Arrernte, *nthekepenh* / *ntheqiperr* in Alyawarr. This means 'from the nape (of the neck)'. The associated handsign is to tap the front of the shoulder with the fingertips of the same side hand. The reference is to the practice of carrying a younger sibling on the shoulders. One Arrernte speaker used the term *untyelinek*, meaning 'took on the back of the neck'. Some Alyawarr speakers say that this term can be used for anyone you have looked after, so for these it may not be a kinship term at all. For example, BM (admittedly without using the actual term) said you could say:

(88) *Atharl angenh nthekek angek, akereel ayenh want.*

ath-arl ang-enh ntheke-el ang-ek aker-el ayenh want
 1sg:ERG-REL 2sg-ACC nape-LOC carry-PAST meat-INST 1sg:ACC feed:IMP
 'I used to carry you around, now you get me meat' (for example, to your son).

The suffix *-pwenh* used in some of these (and others to be dealt with below) is a form of the suffix *-ipenh* ~ *-iperr* in Arrernte, *-penh* in Alyawarr and Western Anmatyerr meaning 'after, because of, from' (see, for example, H&D:392-93). The form *-pwenh* is used mainly in north-eastern Arrernte, but when used in reference to kin it has a much wider distribution. Some people who would use *-ipenh* normally used *-epenh* (as an alternative to *-iperr*) in *alemepenh*. Note also the (optional) reduction of *alemepwenh* to *alempwenh*.

The only other hand-sign-based kinship term heard was *arranepenh* 'father, father's sister, man's child, brother's child'. The hand sign is to tap the chin with the outside of the right forefinger, other fingers curled up (word only from WANm, in which *arran* means 'chin'; sign also from Aly). One Alyawarr speaker gave a different sign for *alerey* 'man's or brother's child': flicking the lightly closed hand as if to get snot off.

Alyawarr also has a word *ahentyepenh* 'the one you really want, the beloved' (Green 1992:3) Other words similar in form and meaning but not based on body parts are *lyatyepwenh* / *lyatyipenh* 'promised wife' (from *lyaty* 'very young baby') and, with the same meaning, *akwerrkepwenh* / *akwerrkipenh*, from *akwerrk* 'young'. (See also 10 re *urtnekurtnek*.)

Other handsigns from Alyawarr (my data; Green 1998 has less detail and a couple of differences) include:

amey 'mother' and *apmarley* 'mother's brother' — touch breast;
akey 'elder brother', *angkwerey* 'elder sister', *altyeley* 'female cross-cousin', *ankeley* 'male cross-cousin' — tap thigh with back of hand (but some gave cousin the same sign as woman's child);
arrangey 'father's father and reciprocal' — touch underside of chin with tips of fingers, or run the tip of the index finger down from the point of the chin to the throat;
aperley 'father's mother and reciprocal', *anewaty* 'spouse', *mpwerney* 'brother-in-law', *arnteney* 'sister-in-law' — clap back of one hand with front of other;
anyany and *aypmenh* 'mother's mother and reciprocal, cousin's spouse' — touch above eyebrow with outside of index finger, hand lightly closed
artartey 'mother's father and reciprocal' — tap knee with cupped hand
mwerey 'man's mother-in-law, woman's son-in-law' and *anherrey* 'woman's mother-in-law, woman's daughter-in-law' — hand straight, touch cheek with end of (third and fourth) fingers.

One Arrernte speaker gave a fairly full set of signs that were almost completely different from what others gave. I won't believe these without more evidence.

Details:

WAR: GA+ don't know any hand signs, "all died out," but know the word *lemipenh*. ER said that *lemipenh* (or *ketyey lemipenh* 'child liver-from') might be used by mother or uncle. He said a father would say *alhwipenh* 'blood-from' of his children. He used *untyelinekal*, literally 'the one carried on the back of the neck', for 'ySb'.

WANm: LP: Mo, MoBr — tap above right breast with knuckles of half-closed right fist

arranepenh (on tape: *arrernepenh*); Fa, So — tap chin with outside of right forefinger, other fingers curled up (accepted)

lyweperepenh; eBr, eSi — tap front of right thigh with knuckles of open right hand

(accepted) *pwertepepenh*; "granny," yBr, ySi — tap front of right shoulder with fingertips of right hand

alemepenh; fCh, SiCh — touch stomach with fingers

Co — tap front of right thigh with palm of right hand

SEAr: EJ gave *alemekenh* (after being asked about *alemipenh*) for SiHu. He accepted (and repeated) *untyipenh* for 'ySb' -*artw atyeyaty* 'my yBr' and *marl atyeyaty* 'my ySi'. He translated *lyatyipenh* as "son's kids."

NAR: DL gave *untyipenh* for 'yBr' and *untyepwenh* 'SiCh'; also *alempwenh* for the latter. He accepted *akwerrkepwenh* for 'promised wife' and said *lyatyepwenh* is "promised from birth — as soon as they know it's a girl." RF and AR knew *untyepenh* and said that *alemepenh* ~ *alemiperr* is used by a man or a woman, of a [woman's?] child.

MT gave the following handsigns:

Mo — touch breast

alemepwenh; fCh, Mo — tap stomach

Fa — hand with forefinger crooked [and otherwise clenched?] turned back and forth

eSb — hold hand up and turn a bit back and forth

untyelinek; ySb — tap top of stomach with fingertips; ST accepted this sign, tapped on both sides

irmvepenh; also *atnertiperr* and *alemepwenh*; fCh — tap stomach

mCh — move open hand as in strumming a guitar

FaFa — tap elbow

MoMo — lift left hand, facing out, index finger up, rest lightly closed

Co — hold hand up as with a little crystal ball

Sp — tap back of wrist

WiMo — hold hand in front of face, palm out [signifying that you can't look]

WiMo — brush back of fingers across side of chin, from back to front

BrL — tap back of hand

ST and MT also gave *untyipenh* for ySb and said that *lyatyepwenh* is *irmwepenh*.

EAR: LM knew *alempwenh* 'Ch', called by man or woman. He did not know handsigns or other relevant words.

LC gave *kwerrkepwenh* (*akwerrkipenh* in SEAr) for 'promised wife' and *alemepwenh* for 'fCh', used just by a woman.

NEAr: M gave *alemiperr* for 'fCh' and accepted *untyiperr* 'ySb'. She knew *lyaty* but it is not completely clear that she accepted *lyatyiperr* for 'promised wife'. MM gave *untypwenh* for 'ySb'. She did not know *alemepwenh* or *lyatyepwenh*, but gave a word *antypwenh* which she said was *mpwernenheng* 'BrL-GETHER' and translated as "brother-in-law and sister." She also used the phrase *mpwernenheng altyatherr*, translating the second word as "two relations" (see 4.5 and note that *-atherr* is 'DU'). Two younger people from the same community gave the word *ahentyperr* 'throat-from' as meaning *anewart* 'married couple'; they accepted that it could also be used for *mpwernenheng*, and said it can be used for two men or two women.

EAnm: Ag gave the following handsigns:

Mo — hand points down with index and little fingers straight

Fa, FaSi — touch outside of index finger under bottom lip

eSb — back of hand taps thigh

anertepenh 'fCh' lit. 'from stomach' — touch stomach with fingertips

mSo — as for Fa, but touching under chin

FaFa — tap forehead with front of fingers of open hand (either hand)

Sp, FaMo, BrL — tap back of hand with fingers of other hand

Co, MoFa — tap knees with knuckles

MoMo — hold hand up with index and little fingers pointing up and turn back and forth

arrayliperr 'fSoSp, SpMo' lit. 'from cheek' — touch cheek

A puzzling entry in the field notes is: *atyeng irntwepenh* — touch either shoulder. *Irntwepenh* looks like *irmwepenh* misspelt but that is another name for 'fCh'

Something [not fully understood] about the hairs going round the lump at the top of the spine; this means you've got a young brother coming (to be born)

Aly: Green 1998: parts of body involved with handsigns for kin in Aly:

anyany/ipmenh 'MoMo'- *rlwa* 'forehead'; *arreg* 'FaFa' — *ahenty* 'throat'; *atyemey/artartey* 'MoFa' — *ampweth* 'knee'; *aperl*, *mpwern*, *arnteng*, *anew* — *ilty* '(back of) hand'; *anherr*, *mwer*, *rtwalty* — *arreyl* 'cheek'; *akngey*, *awenh*, *aler* — *arrwert* 'beard, chin'; *kamern*, *apmarl*, *amey* — *aylpaty* 'breast'; *ampatyampaty*, *maly*, *ahenterr*, *amp* — *atnert* 'stomach'; *kak*, *angkwer*, *yay* — *iyelper* 'thigh'; *atyey* — *pwerlep* 'shoulder'; *ankel*, *altyel* — *alem* 'liver, stomach'

BM+ gave *arlengarriperr antheK* as 'promised [as wife to somebody]' (see 10).

EH: Mo, MoBr — touch chest

Fa, FaSi — touch chin with outside of index finger

eBr, eSi, FCo, MCo — tap thigh with back of hand

nthekepenh, ySb "been growem up, carryem round all the time." Anyone can say it. Anyone you look after.

— touch front of shoulder with hand (either hand, either shoulder)
atnertepenh 'fCh'; only a woman says it or uses the equivalent handsign — touching stomach with fingertips
 mCh — flick lightly closed hand as if to get snot off
 FaFa — touch (soft) under chin with tips of fingers
 FaMo, Sp, BrL, SiL — clap back of one hand with front of other
 MoFa — tap knee with cupped hand
 MoMo — touch above eyebrow with outside of index finger, hand lightly closed
 WiMo, fDaHu, HuMo, fSoWi — hand straight, touch cheek with end of (third and fourth) fingers.
 K: *anertepenh* 'Ch'; can say for own kids. *Anertel anyenew* '[mother] had baby in womb'
nthekepenh for 'yBr', also *nthekiperr*
 B+: Mo, MoBr — tap breast with fingertips
 Fa, FaSi, mCh — outside of index finger taps front of chin
 eBr, eSi — tap back of hand on thigh
 yBr, ySi — tap fingertips on top of same shoulder
 fCh, Co, WiFa, HuFa — pat stomach
 FaFa — tip of index finger strokes from point of chin down throat
 Hu, Wi, FaMo — pat back of hand with fingers of other (either)
 MoFa — tap knee
 MoMo, CoSp, SpCo — tap forehead with outside of index finger
 MoL — stroke cheek half inch or so with tips of second and third fingers
 [Note differences from EH's signs: EH has separate sign for mCh, EH's eBr, eSi sign is also for Co]
 JB+: hand signs not all known: Fa: tap chin with index finger of open right hand
 Mo — touch breast
 eBr — tap thigh
 ySb — tap shoulder with same hand, fingertips
 fCh — touch or tap stomach
 MoFa — tap forehead with front of fingers
 BrL — tap back of hand

15. Case studies

A couple of case studies based on elicited terms used by certain people for certain other people, and some fragments of genealogies, show the difficulty (or impossibility) of predicting what any particular person will call any other person.⁶⁹

We start with M, whose skin name is *Kemarre*. E and G are two cousin-brothers whose skin is *Peltharre*; both of them have *Kngwarraye* fathers and *Ngale* mothers. One would expect M to call each of these *mpwerney* 'brother-in-law' and to be called *mpwerney* by them. However, he calls them *atnyaty* 'cousin-uncle' and they call him *ankel* 'cousin'. This is apparently something that people laugh about, but I have not been able to find out the story behind this. I have been told that M's father is elder brother to E's and G's fathers. This does not seem to be correct because M's father was *Perrurle*, but he must have been closely related (or at least with the same dreaming) because of the use of *atnyaty*, which fits in with them addressing one another as cousins, not brothers-in-law. I don't know what skin M's mother was; she would have to be *Perrurle*, the same as her husband, to justify M calling E and G cousin. E's wife A is *Kemarre* and is called *atyey* 'younger sister' by M; this fits with E being his brother-in-law. G's wife J also is *Kemarre*, but is called *arreng* 'son's child' by M. M calls both E and A's and G and J's children *maty* and *apmarlaty*, the correct terms for male cousin's children.

C gives her skin name as *Penangke*, although an unpublished genealogy compiled in her community says she is *Kngwarraye*. She calls M *ampaty-ampaty* 'father-in-law' (= *ampaty* 'child') and he calls her *mey* 'daughter-in-law' (= 'mother'), which is consistent with her being *Penangke*. However, she calls S, who is *Kngwarraye*, *kak* 'elder brother', which is consistent with her being *Kngwarraye*. She calls L, S's wife not *arnteney* 'sister-in-law' but *atyemey* 'mother's father's sister', because L's mother was her *aleraler* 'mother's father's father's sister'. This is consistent with her being *Penangke*. She calls S and L's son T *aler* 'brother's son' and his wife N *mey* which can mean 'brother's daughter-in-law' but in this case means 'mother' because her mother was *ipmenh* 'mother's mother' to C (or as C put it, N is "*atyeng ipmenhekenh*" 'for me

⁶⁹ Initials in this section are not related to those used elsewhere; normally they are one or other of the initials of the person concerned.

belonging to mother's mother'). She calls T and N's children *atyey* because, as she put it:
 (89) "*Amp ikwerenh map atyeng atyey map*. If I follow [T] way they'd be *atyeng*
 child 3sg:GEN mob lsg:DAT ySb mob lsg:DAT
arreg map, but I follow [N]."
 BrSoCh mob

'Her children are younger siblings to me. If I calculate the relationship through T they'd be brother's son's children, but I calculate it through N.'

M calls S *ampaty*, in this case 'father-in-law' since S is his actual father-in-law's brother, and S calls him *apmarl* 'son-in-law'. However, he calls L not 'mother-in-law' but *awenhaty* 'auntie', and she calls him *aler* 'nephew'.

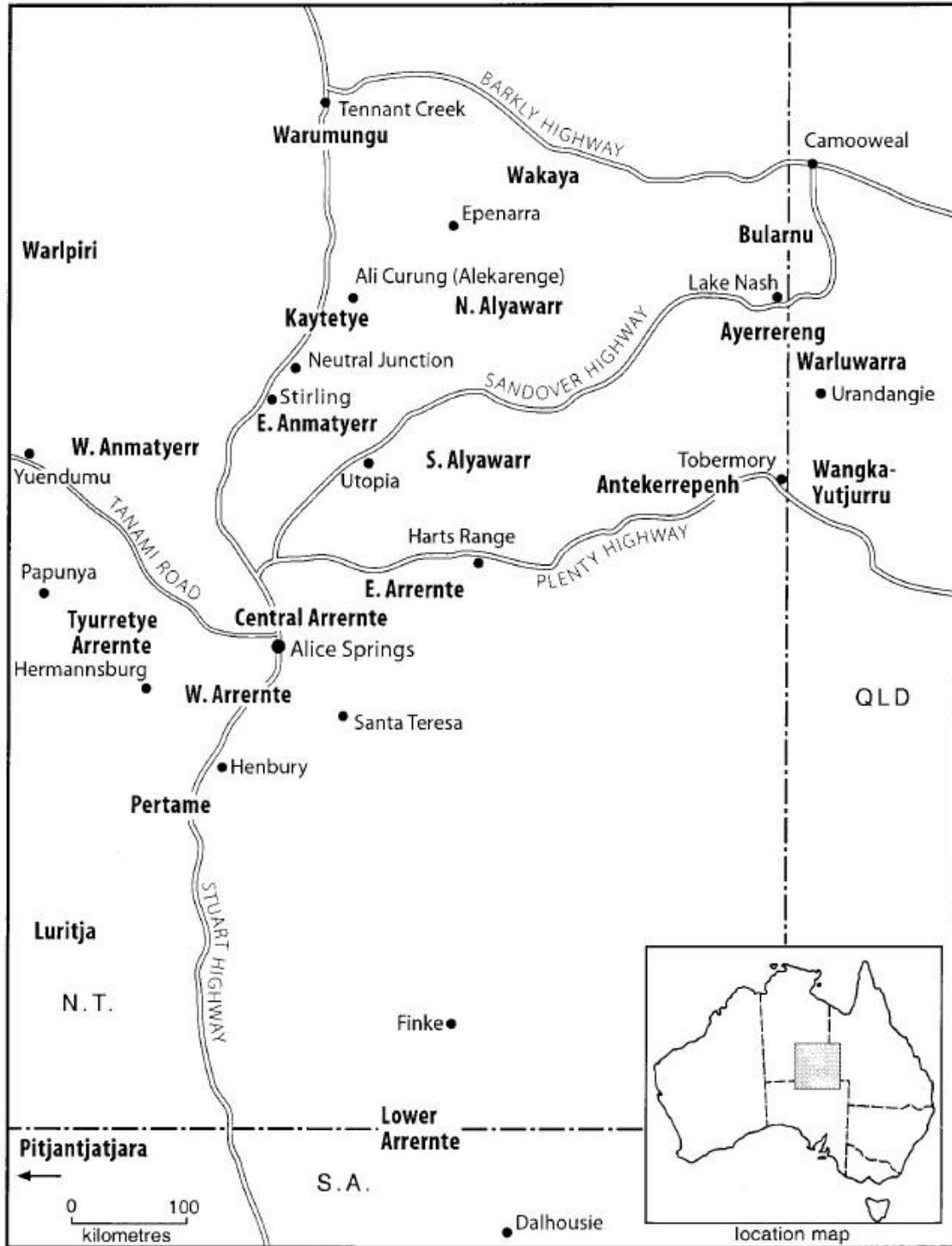
R and C are sisters-in-law, *arnteng*, and so C calls R's daughter W *aler* (*Kak atyinhekenh. Kak akngerrepeatekenh* 'belonging to my elder brother. Belonging to my eldest brother.') R is *aler* to L and so he would be expected to call W *atyemey*; the age difference makes this logical, but in fact he calls her *altyelaty* 'female cousin' and she calls him *ankeley* 'male cousin'.

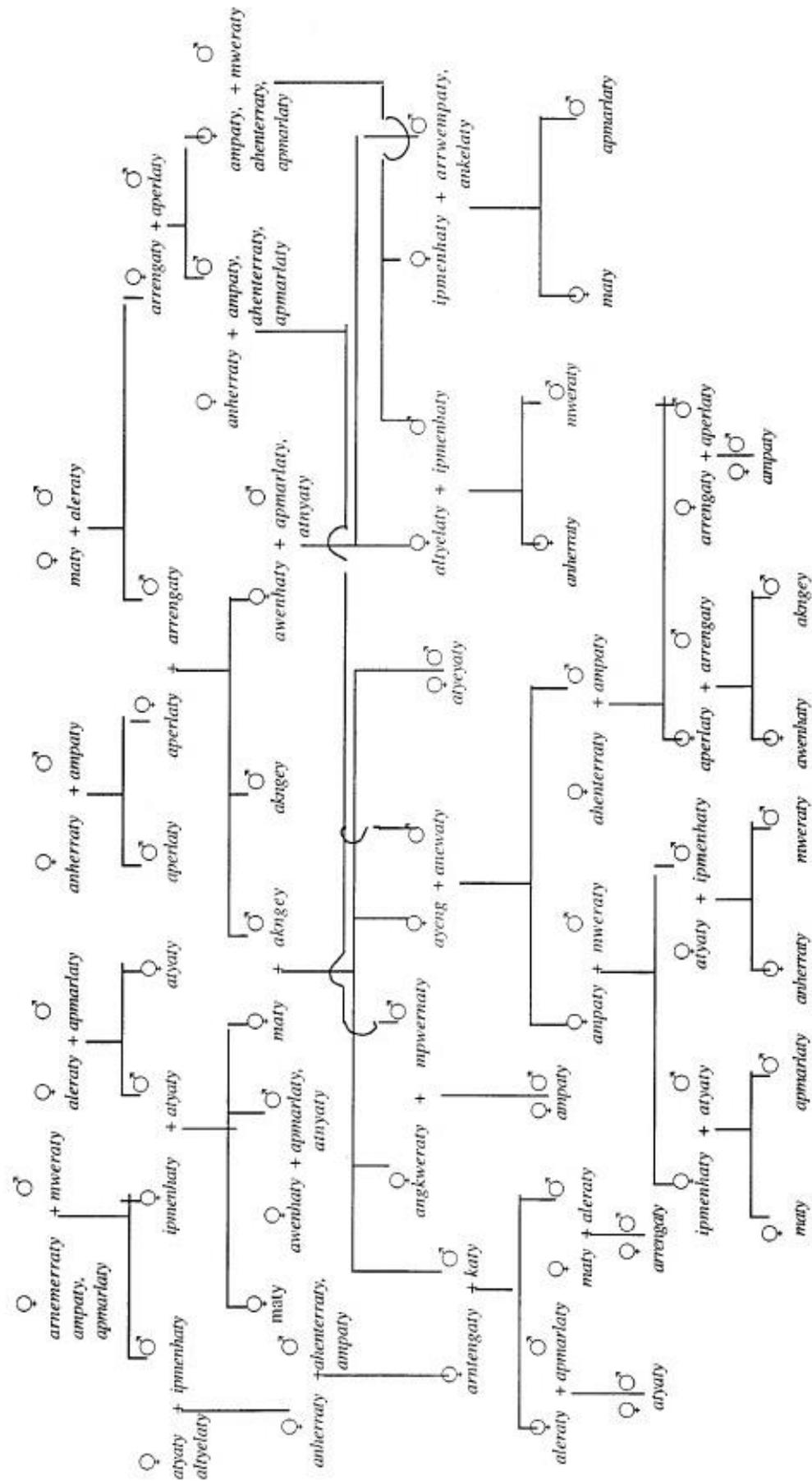
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EASTERN ARRERENTE (Santa Teresa)
female EGO (ayeng)

Chart 1

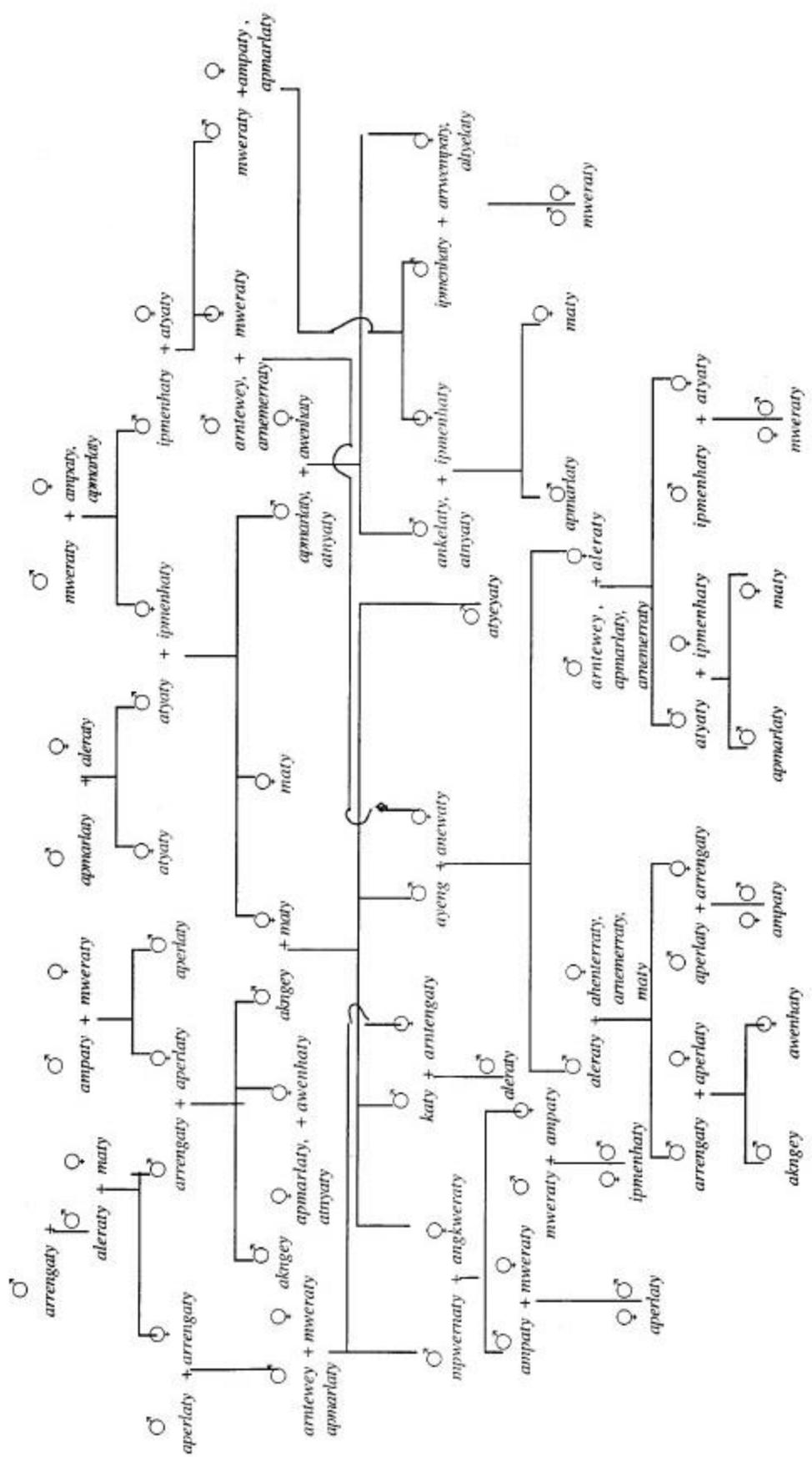


Chart 2

EASTERN ARRENTE (Santa Teresa)
male EGO (ayeng)

