CHAPTER 11

REMO (BONDA)

Gregory D. S. Anderson and K. David Harrison

0 Introduction

Remo, also known as Bonda, Bondo, and Bondo/Nanga Poroja (in Remo remosam), has several thousand speakers. Remo is known mostly from a few sources, Fernandez (1968), some of which is published as (1983) from the Hill Remo (Munḍlipaḍa) dialect, Ramachandra Rao’s phonological materials, Swain’s study and Bhattacharya’s (1968) brief text and more extensive lexical materials, which are mostly of the Plains Remo variety. In the following discussion, Remo is used to mean either Hill Remo alone or the Hill and Plains dialects together. The data presented in this chapter are drawn from Fernandez (1968), Bhattacharya (1968) and from field work carried out by the authors in 2005 and 2007, which included digital video and audio of Remo speakers (attributed as [SDM] in the chapter, representing our primary consultant Sukra Dangada-Majhi).

Remo is unwritten. Its only closest relative in South Munda is Gutob, with which it forms the Gutob-Remo branch. This latter may form a larger unit jointly with Gta? in a Gutob-Remo- Gta? node as has been suggested by Zide (1965) or may have several shared innovations that included Gta?, but not form an actual genetic unit as suggested by Anderson (2001). Remo and Gutob also share certain structural/typological (genetic?) features with Kharia as well; this enigmatic situation remains an open research question for the future.

The Remo-speaking Bonda occupy the Jeypore Hills in southern Orissa, west of the Machkund river in Malkangiri district, centered around Mundlipada (Parkin 1991: 32). The Plains Remo are found primarily in 35 villages in Khairpat block of Malkangiri district. While the total number of Plains Remo grew from 2565 to 4764 from 1941 to 1971, the total number of speakers of the language did not increase accordingly. Gradual attrition to Desia has been occurring in some parts of the Remo (Bonda) area, and Remo is likely endangered.

Hill Bonda (Remo) are one of the tribal groups in India that are most known for being different than ‘civilized’ Indian citizens, and have a reputation for ferocity of character (Elwin 1950). They are organized into exogamous patrilineal clans typically named for villages, and, at a superordinate level, into two moieties, tiger (ontal) and cobra (killo or kukusa) (Elwin1950:28-9). Boys and girls resided in segregated village dormitories, marriage was by mutual consent, not arranged, and it was not uncommon for older women to marry young boys (von Furer-Haimendorff 1943). The women traditionally
shaved their heads and wore only a cloth girdle and elaborate ornaments, enormous metal necklaces and earrings and bead strands that came down to the upper thigh. The men wore loincloths, carried bows and arrows and reportedly would shoot each other (and outsiders) without qualm. Material culture still practiced includes fibre extraction and weaving, construction and use of ploughs, hoes, hatchets, mortars, pestles, nets, fish traps, baskets, bird snares, looms, stringed instruments and drums. They erect and venerate stone megaliths with offerings of rice, mangoes and sacrificed fowl (Elwin 1950). The Bondo remain popular attractions in the Indian ethno-tourist industry, at a weekly market they attend when they come down from their hill villages.

1 Phonology
1.1 Vowel Inventory

The vowel inventory of Remo is relatively straightforward within the South Munda context. It is a typical five-vowel system. It may have schwa phonetically, but this is weakly motivated as a phoneme by Fernandez (1968).

(1) Remo Vowels (Fernandez 1968:7)

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{i} & \text{u} & \text{(ə)} \\
\text{a} & \text{o/ɔ} & \\
\end{array}
\]

Diphthongs of various types are also attested: (Fernandez 1968:66) leaŋ ‘tongue’, bois ‘age’, guidag ‘to wash’, mbainu ‘2 people’, otoi ‘not to be’, kencua ‘earthworm’, dau ‘small’.

In Plains Remo, various laxing and weakening processes typical of different vowels in a range of contexts are seen (Fernandez 1968:40-42).

(2)

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c|c|c|c}
\text{/i/} > [i] & \text{mirr} & \text{‘why’} \\
\text{/e/} > [ɛ] & \text{knenda} & \text{‘branch’, sellari ‘scolopendra’} \\
\text{/o/} > [ɔ] & \text{dɔb} & \text{‘white’, aʔdɔg} & \text{‘fish’} \\
\text{/a/} > [ə] & \text{əmas} & \text{‘new moon day’, kəsa ‘astringent’} \\
\end{array}
\]

Some Plains Remo forms showing vowel oppositions include the following: biri ‘field on hill’ vs. bire ‘stone’; kesu ‘bed sheet’ vs. kasu ‘coin’ vs. kasa ‘astringent’ vs. kosa ‘joint part of metal point and the wooden part of an arrow’; bund ‘tree trunk’ vs. bond ‘tank’.

1.2 Suprasegmental Phenomena

Remo makes limited use of phonemic nasalized vowels. Thus, one finds oppositions like the following in Hill Remo (Fernandez 1968:14).
(3)

nkwâ ‘father-in-law’
onykwâ ‘husband’s brother’s wife’
busâ ‘grandfather’
ฎger-sû ‘boy’s dormitory’
batu?gō ‘twins’

Note that contrastive nasalization is also seen in diphthongs in Hill Remo (Fernandez 1968:14).

(4)

orôy ‘sickle’
ọrōndây ‘baby’
ฎumâw ‘little’

There are at least six words of Hill Remo where a nasalized vowel alternates with an oral vowel followed by a nasal consonant (Fernandez 1968:13).

(5)

ãyun ~ aŋun ‘common fly’
kiyar ~ kînar ‘wife’s sister’
ṇôda? ~ /lists/monja? ‘honey’
sôk ~ sonk ‘throat’
orôy ~ oroyn ‘sickle’
ฎger-sû ~ ฎger-suŋ ‘boy’s dormitory’

Note that while diphthongs are not overly common generally, ey is noted in only two words in Hill Remo and its nasalized counterpart e in one: têyô ‘anthill’, geyn-o? ‘chewed it’, teympay ‘waist’ (Fernandez 1968:13).

The sequence âo is found in a small number of stems, e.g., bâôsi ‘flute’, seserâô ‘newborn baby’, but *ao only occurs across morpheme boundaries, for example a-om ‘do not keep in hand’. Also, *oa is always broken up by a -w- phonetically, e.g. ow-al-o?-pe ‘you caused to thatch’ ow-am-o?-niy ‘I caused to pick’.

Some Plains Remo pairs with nasal and oral vowels include the following.

(6)

烨kuy ‘younger sister’
ěrkuy ‘wife’s father’
er ‘winnow’
ěr ‘endosperm of a mango seed’
1.3 Consonant Inventory

The consonant system of Hill Remo is typical South Munda, it has a five-way place-contrast at nasal and voiced stops. Glottal stop is found frequently.

(7) Hill Remo (Fernandez 1968:7)

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
  p & t & t & k & ? \\
  b & d & d_{3} & j & g \\
  m & n & \eta & \eta & y \\
  s & z & l & r \\
  w & y
\end{array}
\]

Plains Remo presents a slightly different picture. Here, a voiceless palatal is found, no retroflex \( \eta \) or \( z \); Hill Remo \( w \) is realized as Plains Remo \( v \).

(8) Plains Remo (Ramachandra Rao 1981: 10)

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
  p & t & t & k & ? \\
  b & d & d_{3} & g \\
  m & n & \eta & \eta & y \\
  s & z & l & r \\
  v & y
\end{array}
\]

In a small number of stems, Hill Remo (HR) has lost a final consonant that Plains Remo (PR) preserves:

(9)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HR</th>
<th>PR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( su?u )</td>
<td>( su?ug )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
At one point in the history of Remo there were, and for speakers of certain varieties there remain, instances of word-initial syllabic nasals. This is realized in the form of a lexicalized prefix or 'prebase' in a number of Remo words. Remo speakers vary between treating these as syllabic or as prenasalization on the following consonant. Thus, a word like HR nsu ‘knife’ or PR nsaŋ ‘refuse’ may be treated as either one or two syllables for different speakers.

In Plains Remo, aspirates in loans are often deaspirated, e.g., gʰoqə ~ goqə ‘horse’ tʰal ~ tal ‘leafy fan’ (Ramachandra Rao 1981:28-9). Both voiced and voiceless stops can occur word-finally bop ‘head’ kub ‘many’ kot ‘manure’ bond ‘tank’ soŋŋ ‘castrated bull’.

Note that the palatal affricate is realized as alveolar before round vowels: tson̥i ‘beak’ tsolţa ‘wick’ cali ‘skin’ kanc ‘bottle’ cinta ‘worry’ dzudzu ‘sight’ dzodţi ‘field canal’ dzokoŋ ‘under’ jamali ‘check’ pajraŋa ‘spring season’ (Ramachandra Rao 1981:35).

Some examples of contrastive words demonstrating the phonemic inventory of Plains Remo are offered below:

(10)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pali</td>
<td>‘river bank’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tati</td>
<td>‘leafy plate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭaku</td>
<td>‘mango seed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parak</td>
<td>‘river’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kubu</td>
<td>‘node’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruţo</td>
<td>‘chill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ranţi</td>
<td>‘widower’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>may</td>
<td>‘pull’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṇom</td>
<td>‘eggplant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rot</td>
<td>‘charriot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mat</td>
<td>‘curry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miri</td>
<td>‘how’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bali</td>
<td>‘sand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dadi</td>
<td>‘maternal grandfather’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qaku</td>
<td>‘girl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parag</td>
<td>‘spring pond’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gubu</td>
<td>‘pig’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>supo</td>
<td>‘fire’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>landi</td>
<td>‘a month [May-June]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nay</td>
<td>‘cobra’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṇom</td>
<td>‘village’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rot</td>
<td>‘fat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mag</td>
<td>‘a month’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piri</td>
<td>‘bird’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biri</td>
<td>‘field on hill’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that word-finally the sequence –oŋ# may be realized as a nasalized vowel + glottal combination, ōʔ# in Remo.

(11)

gutumōŋ ‘forehead’ = gutumɔŋ

[SDM]
1.4 Syllable Structure and Phonotactics

The following comments can be made about the phonotactics of Plains Remo: Most consonants can be found word-initial except ?, while final –l and -c are found only in loans, e.g., jal ‘fish net’. In addition -n, -v, and -c are all lacking word-finally (Ramachandra Rao 1981: 19). In terms of the phonotactics of vowels, these are generally less restricted except that nasalized –i is only found finally, e.g. sî ‘sun’, and nasalized e is never found initially: mē ‘younger brother’ (Ramachandra Rao 1981:23). In contrast to Rao’s analysis, the consonant inventory of Plains Remo as given in Bhattacharya (1968) reports v as a phoneme, but gives no examples in his lexicon. He finds w only in a few Desiya loanwords (e.g., terwa ‘eunuch’, parwa ‘pigeon’) and likewise c and h only in loanwords.

The following medial, heterosyllabic clusters are found in the Plains Remo given in Bhattacharya (1968).

(12)

|   | p | b | m | t | l | d | q | n | η | n | y | s | r | θ | k | g | η | ? |
| p | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| b | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| m | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| t | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| l | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| d | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| q | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| n | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| η | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| n | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| y | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| j | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| s | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| r | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| θ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| k | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| g | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| η | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| ? | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |

Key: (✓) attested only in loanwords, ✓* attested only in proper nouns, ✓ geminate.
The following lexemes (simplex or complex) exemplify consonant clusters. (Note: In Bhattacharya’s transcription, a final consonant followed by an apostrophe, e.g. $k'$, $p'$, indicates a pre-glottalized, unreleased stop, e.g., $\hat{p}'$, $\hat{k}'$. We have retained this convention in the wordlist presented here.)

(13)

- $p$ supreț suprintendent of police
  - upkar aid (Desiya loanword)
- $b$ bõbsiʔ headache
  - bõbhyā a toothless person
  - bõbgari front side
  - bõbkker head (i.e., ear) of paddy
  - tiribḏak' cloud
  - dabla the white one (Desiya loan)
- $m$ limbi catapult
  - sɔṃdi son’s wife’s father
  - sɔṃpuʔ muskrat
  - rimbkur quarrelsome person
  - kammi deity, spirit
  - ʁəmri fig (Desiya loanword)
  - ʁɔṃdi ʁiɔ inner part of house
  - ʁumtari prostrate
- $d$ buḍdi intelligence (Desiya loanword)
  - dadya bad (Desiya loanword)
  - ḍadrai murderer
- $η$ saŋɡo- to stop
  - səŋra a kind of rat
  - səŋbo- to be sold out
  - buŋte buffalo (male)
  - raŋlak' glutton
  - juŋɡak'- to sink
  - juŋŋlu earring (upper) for male
  - baŋsa until, henceforth

1350
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>word</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>əɾurupeʔ</code></td>
<td>funnel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>g</code></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>laqlak</code></td>
<td>cave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>laqlək</code>-</td>
<td>to calve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>snagsagrak</code></td>
<td>(Hill Bonda) window</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>sinigbiŋ</code></td>
<td>a worm which emits bad smell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>muqsiŋ</code></td>
<td>smoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>bunúqdiŋ</code></td>
<td>a drum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>dáqrak</code>-</td>
<td>to be wet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>bitig-na</code></td>
<td>salt-LOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>diqdag</code></td>
<td>flash of lightning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>əʔqəfuk</code>-</td>
<td>to send</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>t</code></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>sitgur</code></td>
<td>restlessness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>mətri</code></td>
<td>minister (Desiya loanword)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>titti denta</code></td>
<td>to bury a dead body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>t</code></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>matpəʔ</code></td>
<td>a wrapper, a blanket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>puṭbəl</code></td>
<td>football (English loanword)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>əkoʔkətte-</code></td>
<td>to have something tightened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>l</code></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>sǐgal-bai</code></td>
<td>the head of a horned deer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>s</code></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>lọsna</code></td>
<td>also</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>ləktap</code></td>
<td>dew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>siksaŋ</code></td>
<td>bone, skeleton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>mesreŋ</code></td>
<td>magistrate (English loanword)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>miste ɖiɔn</code></td>
<td>neighbor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>uskp</code></td>
<td>hiccup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>n</code></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>ontal</code></td>
<td>cobra moiety</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>pətənlak</code></td>
<td>a kind of necklace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>punni</code></td>
<td>lotus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>punqəy-</code></td>
<td>to stop another</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>banji ~ banjala</code></td>
<td>a childless couple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>ndə</code></td>
<td>bring (2\textsuperscript{nd} person imperative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>mində</code></td>
<td>one alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>dinke</code></td>
<td>daily, always (Desiya loanword)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
dinsu  article (Desiya loanword)

η  mengam-sam  a festival held in the month of Pus’
manjal  very much

y  buyri-  to play on a flute
pusaypa  pitmāri tree*
bayg  luck (Desiya loanword)
ɔyjak-  to make ready

j  bejri  tomato (Desiya loanword)

r  sɔrlāi  cucumber
sɔrkup’  snail
sɔrni  a female thief
sɔrmoʔ-  to awake from sleep
urkuri  mad
orpa  the last of the death rites
mɔrtɔk’  star
mɔrɔsiŋ  chilli
burbuy  a kind of wild fruit

k  kakka  father’s younger brother
makra  spider (loanword)
əkɔra  man, male
ɔkser  horizontal pole on which clothes are dried

?  reʔgi  wooden necklace
saʔye  ancestor spirit
sanɔʔsiŋ  egg shell
liʔtap  a small basket
seʔma  bug
meʔder  a kind of bean
meʔtɛr  a kind of worm
bəˈle  relatives on the father’s side
bɔʔre-sa  swearing by a brother
naʔpɔʔ  cloth worn by Bonda women
In Plains Remo, the combination of /gg/ is realized as [g]. *og-o?-t-iŋ ‘I have carried a child’ vs. *o?-goŋ-t-iŋ ‘I can carry a child’.

(14)

\[ nsuk \text{ ‘knife’} > nsug-e \text{ ‘knives’} \\
> nsug-beroŋ ‘with the knife’ \\
> nsug-e-beroŋ ‘with the knives’ \]

(Ramachandra Rao 1981: 83)

Regarding possible syllable types, the following are permitted (Ramachandra Rao 1981: 24).

(15)

\[ V \\
VC \\
CV \\
CVC, CVVC \\
CVCC (only in loans) \\
CCV, CCCV \]

One important distributional fact about Remo consonantism is that initial CC clusters are virtually exclusively homo-organic (syllabic) nasal + obstruent clusters. There are a few loans that are an exception to this: *drika ‘chita’ and *gyapo ‘bastard’ (Ramachandra Rao 1981:48-9, 63-4). As mentioned above, word-initially these are (often) not clusters or unit phonemes (i.e. prenasalized stops) but rather the initial nasal forms the nucleus of its own syllable.

(16)

\[ mp \quad mpo \quad ‘saree’ \quad mpor \quad ‘husband’ \\
mb \quad mbar \quad ‘2’ \\
ns \quad nsap \quad ‘waist’ \quad nsuga \quad ‘banana’ \\
nt \quad ntopsiŋ ‘egg’ \quad ntuŋ ‘near’ \\
nnd \quad ndeŋa ‘tree species’ \\
ŋk \quad ŋkuk ‘rice’ \\
ŋg \quad ŋgo ‘crab’ \quad ŋgorgaŋ ‘black scorpion’ \\
ŋŋ \quad ŋŋur ‘dawn’ \]

As for possible three-term initial clusters #CCCV, only the following with initial, homo-organic nasals (Ramachandra Rao 1981:64) are permitted.
(17)

ntra  ‘morning liquid meal, gruel’
nllo  ‘that day’
ndrokaŋbiye  ‘big black ant’
ntni  ‘mushroom’

Three-term medial clusters VCCCV invariably involve a pre-nasalized cluster (Ramachandra Rao 1981:66). These vary between bi- and tri-syllabic pronunciation.

(18)

gornqi  ‘rag’
panqka  ‘pigeon’

In final position, a similar observation can be made: two-term final clusters CC# are mostly homorganic nasal + obstruent clusters as well (Ramachandra Rao 1981:66).

(19)

kond  ‘arm’
bond  ‘tank’

Possibly, Plains Remo has prenasalized stops appearing in coda position functioning as unitary elements phonologically. Were this suggestion taken to be true, then Plains Remo syllable structure might be reducible to the following:

(20)

V VC CV CVC CVVC CRVC

where C₁ is either a simplex consonant or a prenasalized stop or a prenasalized stop + liquid cluster. Syllabification phenomena support this hypothesis (Ramachandra Rao 1981:78).

(21)

unqdi  ‘temple’
ndro  ‘bambro hat’

Note that vowel + n + consonant (or prenasalized), i.e. onC (or o₅C) and ðC contrast word-finally in Hill Remo ons ‘duck, swan’ vs. sök ‘throat’.

1.5 Intonation/Stress

In Plains Remo stress is always on the second syllable. That is, it is in final position in disyllable words, otherwise second syllables get primary stress, and every subsequent
even numbered syllable gets secondary stress. This suggests that the first syllable is marked as extra-metrical and stress is assigned by forming iambic (left-headed) binary feet, with left-headed prominent word structure:

(22)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{otyo?niy} & \quad \text{bobádenkiniy} \\
(o)\text{.i.yo?.niy} & \quad (ba)\text{.bá.qen.ki.niy} \\
(Ø)\text{S W S} & \quad (Ø)\text{S W S W} \\
(* ) (* ) & \quad (* ) (* ) \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{baqó?suysùqdenkəga} & \quad \text{gaysùqsùqdenkiniy} \\
(ba)\text{.qó?.suq.śın.qen.kə.gə} & \quad (gay)\text{.śuq.śèn.ki.niy} \\
(Ø)\text{ S W S W S} & \quad (Ø)\text{ S W S W S} \\
(* ) (* ) (* ) & \quad (* ) (* ) (* )
\end{align*}
\]

1.6 Morphophonology

Both dialects of Remo exhibit a range of morphologically triggered alternations. For example, in some stems ending in –aj, this monophthongizes and become –e before the non-past marker in Hill Remo (Fernandez 1968:16).

(23)

\[
\text{bosaj-o?-niy} \quad \rightarrow \text{bose-t-iy} \quad \text{‘I set aside (offer)’}
\]

With the stem –ij/i ‘return’ on the other hand, iy becomes i before consonant-initial affixes (Fernandez 1968:16).

(24)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{o-iy-o?-niy} & \quad \text{‘I caused to return’} \\
\text{i-t-iy} & \quad \text{‘I return’} \\
\text{i–g-ni} & \quad \text{‘I returned’}
\end{align*}
\]

Assimilation to place with nasal + consonant combinations can occur across morpheme boundaries in Hill Remo (Fernandez 1968:17).

(25)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ta?mi-baŋ-gə-ta} & \quad \text{‘he has sneezed’} \quad \text{< ta?mi-bam} \\
\text{qem} & \quad \text{‘do’} \quad \text{> qìn-qem REDPL}
\end{align*}
\]

With a small number of nasal final stems, in the first person singular past tense (conjugation-II), there is a coalescence between the final nasal, regardless of place and the velar consonant of the PAST.II suffix to yield η (Fernandez 1968:17).
(26)

bam ‘get’ \( \rightarrow \) baŋ-ŋiŋ ‘I got’ \( \rightarrow /\text{bam-g-ŋiŋ}/\)
ton-ŋiŋ \( \rightarrow \) ton-g-ŋiŋ ‘I stood up’
sənsayŋ-ŋiŋ \( \rightarrow jn-ŋiŋ \) ‘I was ahead’

In Hill Remo, stem-final \( d, s, l \rightarrow \emptyset \) before a consonant-initial suffix or word-boundary/hiatus. Note that in Plains Remo, \( s \) and \( l \) show the same behavior while in this same environment, \( d \rightarrow ? \).

(27)

Hill Remo

baŋ-oʔ-ŋiŋ ‘I slapped’ \( \rightarrow \) ba-t-ŋiŋ ‘I slap’ \( \rightarrow \) ba ‘slap!’
balaŋ-oʔ-ŋiŋ ‘I burned’ \( \rightarrow \) ba-t-ŋiŋ ‘I burn’ \( \rightarrow \) ba ‘burn!’
sayks-oʔ-ŋiŋ ‘I sifted’ \( \rightarrow \) sayk-t-ŋiŋ ‘I sift’ \( \rightarrow \) sayk ‘sift!’

(Fernandez 1968:18)

(28)

Plains Remo

ruyŋ-oŋ-ŋiŋ ‘I milked (cow)’ \( \rightarrow \) ruy-t-ŋiŋ ‘I milk’ \( \rightarrow \) no-ruy ‘milk!’
juŋ-oʔ-pa ‘you 2 saw’ \( \rightarrow \) ju-t-pa ‘you 2 see’ \( \rightarrow \) no-ju ‘see/look!’
bed-oʔ-naŋ ‘we 2 gave’ \( \rightarrow \) beʔ-to-naŋ ‘we 2 give’ \( \rightarrow \) no-beʔ ‘give!’

(Ramachandra Rao 1981:101)

Note that the restriction on final clusters mentioned above in Hill Remo operates on the word-level (as seen in the form ‘sift!’ above), not on the stem-level, where clusters like –ks are permitted.

In Plains Remo, the combination of /gg/ is realized as [ŋg]. og-oʔ-t-ŋiŋ ‘I have carried a child’ vs. oʔ-gonŋ-t-ŋiŋ ‘I can carry a child’.

In Plains Remo, stem-final voiceless consonants may be voiced when adding vowel- or voiced-consonant initial suffixes (Ramachandra Rao 1981: 83).

(29)

nsuk ‘knife’ \( \rightarrow \) nsug-ŋe ‘knives’
> nsug-berŋ ‘with the knife’
> nsug-e-berŋ ‘with the knives’

Plains Remo shows a range of consonant assimilations:

(30)
According to data in Fernandez (1968:18), with a small number of stems ending in –b, there is a curious change in first person singular past forms. Both of the stems below belong to conjugation-II. Rather than *lob-g(i)-ni and *lob-ga as might expected, one finds lok-ni ‘I cured’ lo-ga ‘he cured’ instead. Similarly, one finds sab > sak-ni, ‘I came’ and sa-ga ‘he came’. Note that non-past shows regular voicing assimilation, e.g. lop-t-i ‘I cure’.

The causative prefix o- is realized as ow- before stems beginning with –a. This is due to the restriction on surface sequences of *oa in Remo: ow-al-o?-pe ‘you caused to thatch’ ow-am-o?-ni, ‘I caused to pick’.

As discussed in the section below on verb morphology, reduplication plays a significant role in Remo; for example, the reduplicated verb stem allomorph must be used with the suffixes -den, -goy, and -duso?. Optimally, the reduplication takes the shape of CVC-. Certain vocalic changes are typically found in Remo reduplicated forms. With high and mid vowels, the reduplicant vowel is always high. With rounded syllable nuclei, the reduplicant has an rounded vowel [u], with unrounded base nuclei, the reduplicant vowel is unrounded [i]; otherwise, the vowel is ə. This can be summarized as follows:

\[(31)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
Ci / Ce / Cey & > Ci- \\
Coy / Cwi / Cwo & > Cu- \\
Ca(y) & > Cə
\end{align*}
\]

As alluded to above, not every stem copies the second consonant in the reduplicated form. Generally nasals are preserved, but -b, -d, -l, and -s are deleted, e.g., dąb ‘pound’ > də-ąap-. CVr stems also mainly lose the final –r, i.e., they are realized as CV- reduplication except tur-tur ‘search for’ (Fernandez 1968:20).

A handful of stems show idiosyncratic behavior in reduplicated forms. For example, stem-final consonants in targets as well as copies may be lost, unexpected devoicing of
stem final consonants in the base and the reduplicant may occur, or the reduplicant appears with unexpected vocalism, etc. (Fernandez 1968:20-1).

(32)

leq > la-le ‘squeeze’
lag / tag > lak-lak / tak-tak, ‘smoothe’ / ‘strip’
log / tog / zog > lok-lok / tok-tok / zok-zok ‘fall’ / ‘pick up’ / ‘trample’
bam > bum-bam ~ bɔm-bam

As in Hill Remo, the reduplicated stem in Plains Remo is used with mono-syllabic verbs with the following suffixes: PROG -dəŋ CAP -goŋ and DESID -dusu?. All result from fused auxiliary verb constructions (see section 2.2.12 below). As with Hill Remo, there are a number of lexically restricted idiosyncracies in the reduplicated forms themselves. However, the systems also differ not insignificantly.

In Plains Remo, the only time one finds full CVC- reduplication is if in the stem, $C_2 = \text{-g/-n}$. Otherwise, there is CV- reduplication. Note that the reduplicated vowel is a faithful copy of stem V$_1$. The vowel in the reduplicant is not restricted to high vowels and schwa as in Hill Remo.

(33)

ki-kib ‘pour’ lu-lud ‘borrow’
ga-gar ‘rip’ jo-jor ‘descend’
qe-qem ‘do’ ru-ruis ‘milk’
sug-sug ‘sweep’ qon-qon ‘carry on shoulders’

Note that with stems of the shape VC, reduplication copies only the vowel, not the coda, thus yielding a long vowel. This is true even if the coda consonant is $\text{-n}$ or $\text{-g}$, for example, u-un ‘transplant’, o-og ‘carry child in sling’.

The PAST.II morpheme can have a zero-allomorph when used with a first or second person subject, and is realized as -ga when in word-final position with a third person subject.

The plural suffix –le may be realized as –ne particularly following stems that have a nasal consonant in the final syllable.

(34)

i. remo-ne gulay-la remo-ne banți-țiṇti urinj[w]-o[f]?-ta
person-PL! all-PL person-PL crookedly-ECHO walk-CV-[AUX]-NPST.II
‘all people are walking crookedly’
[SDM]

ii. remo-le banți-țiṇti urinj-o-ta
person-PL crookedly-ECHO walk-CV-[AUX]-NPST.II
‘the people are walking crookedly’
[SDM]

2 Morphology
2.1 Nominal Morphology

The system of nominal morphology in Remo is relatively straightforward. Both
inflectional prefixes and suffixes are found, but only a relatively small total number. The
derivational system appears to have been much richer at one point, with a wide range of
lexicalized derivational elements attested.

2.1.1 Number

The plural morpheme is -(l)e, with numerous allomorphs. Its use is not obligatory but it
appears with both animates and inanimates: remo-le ‘men’ (< remo), kutom-e ‘mallets’,

(35)
i. sayb-le joman-jimin qay-ga-aluq
sahib-PL policeman-ECHO climb-PST.II-SUB
‘the sahib policemen climbed beneath’ (Fernandez 1968:98)

ii. gitin biri-bɔ same su-sum-sa
that.CLOSE forest-LOC mandeya.corn REDPL eat-PURP
kubete piri? kukum gisa’k sa-sap tɔ
many bird peacock monkey REDPL.come NARR.PRTCL
‘many birds, peacocks, and monkeys used to come to that forest to eat the corn’
(Bhattacharya 1968:147)

iii. gisa?g-e semuq bagbɔ qa-ga
monkey-PL tree on.top.of climb-PST.II.3
‘the monkeys climbed on the top of a tree’
(Bhattacharya 1968:147)

Note that stem final -ɔ > ɠ and ɠ > ɠ before the plural morpheme, e.g. mo? ‘eye’ > mog-
e’e ‘eyes’, gisak’ [gisɔˈk] ‘monkey’ > gisa?ge ‘monkeys’.

(36)
mɔmɔrɔ?ge  tina-ga
star-PL be.seen-PST.II
‘stars were visible’
The plural allomorph -le appears after final vowels (all data in this section from Bhattacharya 1968):

(37)
\[ \etaeri\text{-}le \quad \text{‘bodies’} \quad j\text{ori}\text{-}le \quad \text{‘streams’} \]
\[ gisi\text{-}le \quad \text{‘lice’} \quad g\text{ine}\text{-}le \quad \text{‘teeth’} \]
\[ gu\text{-}le \quad \text{‘boys’} \quad y\text{g\text{\textcircled{e}}\text{-}le} \quad \text{‘crabs’} \]

Some vowel final forms take the -e suffix, inserting a glide.

(38)
\[ tati\text{-}ye \quad \text{‘leaf-plates’} \]

Some forms ending in consonants show optional or regionally varying deletion of -l.

(39)
\[ d\text{eru\text{\textbar{}}}e \sim -le \quad \text{‘horns’} \]
\[ g\text{usu\text{\textbar{}}}e \sim -le \quad \text{‘men of the Dora community’} \]
\[ g\text{isi\text{\textbar{}}}e \sim -le \quad \text{‘cocks’} \]
\[ g\text{irem\text{\textbar{}}}e \sim -le \quad \text{‘cats’} \]
\[ k\text{\textbar{}}\text{n\text{\textbar{}}}e \sim -le \quad \text{‘these ones’} \]
\[ k\text{\textbar{}}\text{\textbar{}}e \sim -le \quad \text{‘cots’} \]
\[ m\text{e\textbar{}}d\text{er\textbar{}}}e \sim -le \quad \text{‘kind of beans’} \]
\[ m\text{bur\textbar{}}}e \sim -le \quad \text{‘crowbars’} \]
\[ b\text{ail\textbar{}}\text{g\text{\textbar{}}}e \sim -le \quad \text{‘friends’} (< b\text{ail\textbar{}}}k) \]

Other consonant final forms are not reported as allowing -l deletion.

(40)
\[ b\text{arik\textbar{}}}le \quad \text{‘village guard of the Dom caste’} \]
\[ d\text{alait\textbar{}}}le \quad \text{‘office peon, chaprasi’} \]
\[ j\text{oil\textbar{}}}le \quad \text{‘jail’} \]
\[ k\text{es\textbar{}}}le \quad \text{‘cock’s combs’} \]
\[ k\text{\textbar{}}}i\text{\textbar{}}}le \quad \text{‘wells’} \]
\[ i\text{g\textbar{}}}le \quad \text{‘excrements’} (< i\text{\textbar{}}}k) \]

while a few are only listed as taking –e alone.

(41)
Plains Remo also shows allomorphy -le ~ -ře / ?__

(42)
derudeře?-ře ~ -le ‘funnels’
guluře-ře ~ -le ‘hare’
gubuře-ře ~ -le ‘pig’
bubuře-ře ~ -le ‘snake’
nsa?”miře-ře ~ -ře ‘eyelashes’
p”miře-ře ~ -ře ‘leaf cups’
gieře-ře ~ -le ‘rope’

Some apparent lexical exceptions are not reported to take -ře, despite a final glottal stop.

(43)
tumoře-ře ‘mouths’
nse?”miře-ře ‘noses’
suře-ře ‘oil’

while a few forms appear to take only -ře.

(44)
kurmeře-ře ‘goat hooves’
bileře-ře ‘feathers’

Finally, some expanded allomorphy -le ~ -ře ~ -đe may be found:

(45)
bieře-ře ~ -ře ~ -đe ‘ants’
gusře-ře ~ -ře ~ -đe ‘dogs’

and a few irregular forms:

(46)
kunnui-le ~ -se ‘wives’
jañarbob-se ‘Hill Bonda women’
tuna-le ~ -ne ‘younger sister’
Irregular plural formants or pluralia tantum may be found to a limited degree as well: *o'lon-∅ay* ‘son, daughter’ > *o'lon-∅ay-e* ‘daughters, sons (someone else’s)’, or *sela-n-o-γger-o* ‘girls and boys’ (Fernandez 1968:65).

Note that a plural marked noun is still morphosyntactically singular in terms of verb agreement (see also 2.2.1).

(47)

*bondagada-na remo-le uli sum-to*

B-GEN person-PL mango eat-NPST.1

‘the people of B eat mango[es]’

[SDM]

### 2.1.2 Case

The most characteristic and typologically unusual feature of the Remo nominal inflectional system is its use of the objective case *a*- . It is nearly obligatory with pronouns and in a number of contexts with nouns as well (Fernandez 1968:66ff.). Note that the semantic role of the element varies considerably.

One area where the use of the objective *a*- is found is when two overt non-subject NPs are present (even if one is indexed pronominally). The *a*- appears on the element not fulfilling the patient/theme role in these constructions. It thus appears to function as a kind of oblique object element. In addition, it most commonly occurs on definite animate noun phrases so its function is partially deictic.

(48)

i. *niŋ a-remo kiyā bi-be-∅en-t-in*  
   *I OBJ-man rice REDPL-give-PROG-NPST-I*  
   ‘I am giving the man rice’

(Fernandez 1968:66)

cf.

iii. *niŋ nsuŋa? sum-t-ŋ*  
   *I banana eat-NPST-1*  
   ‘I eat bananas’

[SDM]

iv. *niŋ nsuŋa? a-sum-t-ŋ*  
   *I banana NEG-eat-NPST-1*  
   ‘I am not eating a banana’

[SDM]

v. *a-ŋio wi-ya*  
   *OBJ-house go-IMP*  
   ‘go home!’

(Fernandez 1968: 112)
vii. *niŋ a-guso? kiyau su-sum be-t-iŋ*
I OBJ-dog rice REDPL-eat AUX-NPST-1
‘I am feeding the dog the rice’
(Fernandez 1968: 120)

viii. *gitin remo a-mona?bay selane kiyau beq-o?*
that.CLOSE man OBJ-fat girl rice give-PST.1
‘that man gave rice to the fat girl’
(Fernandez 1968: 119)

If there is no non-patient present, *a-* may occur on the patient. Note that this applies to reflexive pronouns as well. All of these verbs could be considered special transitive subtypes in Remo, which subcategorize for a subject and an oblique, not a patient, and that triggers the use of *a-*.

(49)
i. *niŋ a-remo kiyau nyau o-mak-t-iŋ*
I OBJ-man rice cook CAUS-learn-NPST-1
‘I teach the man to cook rice’
(Fernandez 1968:66)

iii. *remo a-gisiŋ ju-to*
man OBJ-chicken see-NPST.1
‘the man sees the chicken’
(Fernandez 1968: 124)

vi. *niŋ a-niŋu ju-u-ŋ*
I OBJ-I see-NPST-1
‘I see myself’ (made me see me)
(Fernandez 1968: 125)

vii. *niŋ tuwela a-mənda remo jul-o?-niŋ*
I yesterday OBJ-one man see-PST.1-1
‘I saw that one man yesterday’
[SDM]

viii. *remo a-niŋu jul-o?-ta*
man OBJ-I see-PST.1-NPST-II
‘the man sees me’ (lit. has seen)
(Fernandez 1968:67)

ix. *a-remo jul-o?-no-ki*
OBJ-man see-PST.1-2-Q
‘did you see the man’
(Fernandez 1968:67)

Experiencers are also marked with the objective *a-*, and occur with third person verb agreement.
(50)

\[ a-ni\; lu-lor-\text{uso\textsuperscript{-g\textendash\textsuperscript{ta}}} \quad a-o\; \text{peri\; si-ta} \]

OBJ-I\; REDPL-vomit-DESID-PST.II-NPST.II\; OBJ-baby\; body\; hurt-NPST.II

‘I wish to vomit’\quad ‘the baby hurts’

(Fernandez 1968:67)

(51)

\[ a-kon\; bire\; kur \quad a-kon\; soka\; oyja\; dabu\; q\text{\textsuperscript{-ta}} \]

OBJ-that\; stone\; roll\quad OBJ-that\; shirt\; how.much\; money\; COP-NPST.II

‘roll down that stone’\quad ‘how much does that shirt cost’

(Fernandez 1968:67)

\[ n\text{\textsuperscript{i}}\; a-ni\; \text{\textsuperscript{-}}\; a \; q\text{\textsuperscript{io\; uri\textsuperscript{-\textsuperscript{i}}}} \quad a-nay\; \text{\textsuperscript{-}}\; q\text{\textsuperscript{i-ki-\textsuperscript{-\textsuperscript{n}}} \; sum-nay} \]

OBJ-I-GEN\; house\; walk-NPST-I\quad OBJ-we-GEN\; house\; COP-PRF-COND\; eat-1PL

‘I will walk to my house’\quad ‘if we’d gone to our house, we would’ve eaten’

(Fernandez 1968:67)

\[ g\text{\textsuperscript{itin\; remo\; a-mo\textsuperscript{na\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{-}}}}\; bay\; selane\; k\text{\textsuperscript{iy\textsuperscript{a}}} \; bed\textsuperscript{-\textsuperscript{o}}} \]

that.CLOSE\; man\; OBJ-fat\; girl\; rice\; give-PST.I

‘that man gave rice to the fat girl’

(Fernandez 1968:119)

The objective marker also appears on the comparandum in comparative and superlative formations in Hill Remo.

(52)

\[ a-sela-ne\; upre\; may\; tiur-bay \quad may\; a-gulay-q\text{\textsuperscript{do\textsuperscript{-\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{-}}}}\; upre\; oli-\text{\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{-\textsuperscript{n}}} \; remo\; a-mo\textsuperscript{na\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{-}}}}\; bay\; selane\; k\text{\textsuperscript{iy\textsuperscript{a}}} \; bed\textsuperscript{-\textsuperscript{o}}} \]

OBJ-girl-GEN\; over\; he\; tall-ADJ\quad s/he\; OBJ-all-HUM-GEN\; over\; bad

‘he is taller than the girl’\quad ‘he is the worst of all’

(Fernandez 1968:67-8)
But in Plains Remo, comparative constructions without the objective marker may be found.

(53)
\[ ni\!_nande \quad no \quad muna? \]
I in.comparison.with you big
You are older than me.
(Bhattacharya 1968:79)

While the use of the objective \(a-\) is (largely) obligatory in the domains outlined above, there are a number of constructions where it may appear in certain instances. Possessive constructions, possibly derived from an existential locative copular formation historically, represent one such formation. These are frequently, but not invariably, found where the possessor is marked with the objective \(a-\) (and for human nouns, the possessive suffix) \(n/a\), followed by a copular verb.

(54)
i. \(a\)-semu? \(su?u\)-\(qay\) \(qi\)-ta
OBJ-tree raw-fruit COP-NPST.II
‘there is raw fruit on the tree’
(Fernandez 1968:67)

ii. \((a-)guso?\) \(gisi\) \(q\)-ta
OBJ-dog lice COP-NPST.II
‘there are lice on the dog’

iii. \((a-)remo-\eta\) \(bop\) \(gisi\) \(q\)-ta
OBJ-man GEN head lice COP-NPST.II
‘there are lice on the man’s head’
(Fernandez 1968:68)

Straight locative readings are also possible with certain nouns in certain uses of the \(a-\) ‘objective’ marker.

(55)
\[ selane \ u\?\(\text{nda}\) \(a-\text{k}\\(\text{nda}\)? \(kuma-\text{den}\)-ta \]
girl HUM OBJ-river bathe-PROG-NPST.II
‘four girls are bathing in the river’
(Fernandez 1968: 117)

Fascinatingly, there are instances where \(a-\) alternates with a variety of other case suffixes or fused adpositional elements (see below). Variants of the following type are therefore attested:

(56)
i. \(ni\!\) \(q\)-bo? \(gay\)-\(i\) vs. ii. \(ni\!\) \(a\)-\(q\) \(gay\)-\(i\)
I house-LOC/DIR enter-NPST-1 I OBJ-house enter-NPST-1
‘I enter the house’
(Fernandez 1968:68)

iii. *niŋ korji-bagbo*? *layk-t-iŋ* vs. iv. *niŋ a-korji* *layk-t-iŋ*
I chair-SUPERESS/LAT sit-NPST-I
‘I sit on the chair’
(Fernandez 1968:68)

v. *o?om guso?-bitre qli-ta* vs. vi. *o?om a-guso? qli-ta*
arrow dog-INESS COP-NPST.II
‘the arrow is in the dog’
(Fernandez 1968:68)

vii. *umpor-ãy bire-ʊŋer layk-ɡə-ta* vs. viii. *umpor-ãy a-bire layk-ɡə-ta*
husband-KIN stone-AGAINST sit-PST.II-NPST.II
‘the husband sat against the stone’
(Fernandez 1968:68)

ix. *nen.-ŋgom-bo ne-ŋgom-a? ne-ŋgom-na? qli*
1PL:GEN-village-LOC 1PL:GEN-village-[GEN] 1PL:GEN-village-GEN house
‘the houses in …of our village’

In a small number of instances, *a-* is never used. For example, *a-* is never found with the noun *gige ‘festival’*.

(57)

i. *niŋ gige wi-t-iŋ* vs. ii. *niŋ a-muŋlipaŋa wi-t-iŋ*
I festival go-NPST-I
‘I will go to the festival’
(Fernandez 1968:68)

Further, neither quantified nouns nor coordinate nouns may take *a-*.

(58)

i. *remo ṣɔŋọ muy luk-to* ii. *samba zunuŋlu tuŋ-oʔ-ta*
man hoe one dig-NPST.I armband earring wear-PST.I-NPST.II
‘the man digs with one hoe’ ‘he has worn an armband and an earring’
(Fernandez 1968:69)

The possessive or genitive formant is *-ŋ(a)* in Hill Remo -*n(a)* in Plains Remo. It appears after the plural suffix: *sik-sa* ‘the bone’s’, *remo-le-*ŋa ‘the men’s’, *datipada-*ŋa *remo-le* ‘the men of Dattipada’ (Fernandez 1968:65). It occurs in the shortened or altered form
—n- in a range of adnominal attributive and non-finite verb forms as well (see 2.1.10, 2.1.11, and 2.2.8 below).

(59)

i. remo qio oroy-qa-ta
   man house build-PROG-NPST.II
‘the man is building a house’

ii. niŋ remo-ŋ tumo?     on-t-iŋ
   man-GEN mouth hear-NPST-1
‘I hear the man’s voice’
(Fernandez 1968: 126)

iii. kon mona?bay selane-ŋ qio
   this fat girl-GEN house
‘this fat girl’s house’
(Fernandez 1968: 127)

The genitive case (which is identical to what Fernandez calls the possessive) is usually —na in Plains Remo. It occurs on a possessor noun that precedes the possessum. Some examples of its use are offered below.

(60)

i. niŋ nej-na ṭjom malkangiri distrikt-boq-qa-ta
   I we-GEN village M. D. LOC COP-NPST.II
‘my..our village is (a place) in Malkangiri District’
[SDM]

ii. omdi-le-na gusungger-e-na ninden, gusu?ge kɔ?ne kirsani remɔ-le
   Omdi-PL-GEN Gusungger-PL-GEN primary.clan Gusu’ge DEIC-EMPHEM Kirsani person-PL
‘The original clan for the Omdi and Gusungger is Gusu’ge; these are Kirsāni people’
(Bhattacharya 1968:79)

   bull-GEN nose bicycle-GEN leg/foot
‘the bull’s nose’     ‘bicycle wheel’
[SDM]    [SDM]

v. bondagada-na remo-le uli sum-to
   B-GEN person-PL mango eat-NPST.1
‘the people of B eat mango’es’
[SDM]

It can be used in lexical[ized] ‘compounds’ as well.

(61)

i. titi-n kirime     ii. tiksuy-na kirime
hand-GEN nail  
foot-GEN nail

‘fingernail’  
‘toenail’

[SDM]

One of the uses of the genitive case is to distinguish indefinite generic possessive compounds ‘an elephant leg’ from definite, referential possessors, e.g. ‘elephant’s leg’. As the English glosses represent, such a patterning is far from unusual.

(62)

i. ati-na tiskuγ certa
ii. ati-na mō?: mba?ar

elephant-GEN leg four’  
elephant-GEN eye two

‘the elephant’s four legs’  
‘the elephant’s two eyes’

[SDM]

iii. ati-na luntur mba?ar
iv. ati-na .... qaro?

elephant-GEN ear two  
elephant-GEN tusk

‘the elephant’s two ears’  
‘the elephant’s tusk’

[SDM]

v. ati-na luntur mba?ar munatwe

elephant-GEN ear two  
big

‘the elephant’s two big ears’

[SDM]

Compare the above ‘definite referential’possessor with the genitive case with the indefinite/generic compounds found below.

(63)

i. ati bo?b
ii. ati mō?:?i
iii. ati sunqo?
iv. ati tiskuγ

elephant head  
elephant eye  
elephant trunk  
elephant leg

‘elephant head’  
‘elephant eye’  
‘elephant trunk’  
‘elephant leg’

[SDM]

Finally, although the evidence is scant, the genitive case may also function as the subject (at least of a pronominal subject) of a dependent clause in Remo as well.

(64)

q̃okra jul-γ  jul-γ  a-gōγ-se?ta
man see-PST.I  see-PST.I  NEG-CAP-SS

mayn kiyāŋ-ntra-ma?
he\GEN cooked.rice-gruel-curry

buŋo-ki-n-ho  ui-ga
put-PLUP-DEP-LOC/DIR go-PST.II
‘The man waited there for some time, but then unable to wait more he returned to the place where rice, gruel and vegetables were laid by him.’
(Bhattacharya 1968: 149)

Other case forms are often called postpositional elements, though many appear in a bound form, so are well on their way to being actual morphological cases. Fernandez lists 19 of these, three (actually four, probably more) of which can be used with non-finite verbs to mark dependent clauses of various sources (see also 3.2 below). Some of these are clearly borrowings, such as the originally Indo-Aryan \( p\alpha l\alpha y \), one variant of the benefactive or purposive postposition/case clitic. With verbs, it takes a reduplicated stem. With pronominals, it takes the \( a\)-form in Hill Remo and the genitive in Plains Remo. A nearly functionally identical element is \( \text{-}sa \) with nearly identical formal patterning (e.g. it also occurs with purposive clauses with a reduplicated non-finite verb to mean ‘in order to X’ or ‘for X-ing’).

\[(65)\]
\[
susum-p\alpha l\alpha y \quad \text{vs.} \quad a-ni\text{-}p\alpha l\alpha y
\]
\text{REDPL:eat-FOR} \quad \text{OBJ-I-FOR}
\text{‘for eating’} \quad \text{‘for me’}
(Fernandez 1968: 110)

Plains Remo
\[
ni\text{\textbar-}na \ p\alpha l\alpha y ‘\text{for me, for my sake’} \quad ma \ p\alpha l\alpha y ‘\text{for what’}
\]
(Bhattacharya 1968)

Another common case or adpositional clitic is the locative/illative in \( -bo \), also found in other South Munda languages.

\[(66)\]
\[
i. \ ni\text{\textbar} \ nej-\text{na} \ \text{\textbar-}malkangiri \ distrikt-\text{bo} \ \text{\textbar-}di-ta
\]
\text{I we-GEN village Malkangiri District-LOC COP-NPST.II}
‘my..our village is (a place) in Malkangiri District’
[SDM]

\[
ii. \ mari \ \text{\textbar-}k\text{\textbar}y\text{\textbar-}t\text{\textbar-}\text{tipn}i-\text{bo} \ \text{\textbar-}\text{\textbar-kib-\textbar}\text{\textbar-}?
\]
\text{then cooked.rice EMPH small.basket-LOC/DIR pour-PST.I}
‘then he poured the rice into a small basket’
(Bhattacharya 1968: 148)

\[
iii. \ n\text{\textbar}tra \ \text{\textbar-patli-\textbar\textbar-kib-\textbar-}\text{\textbar-}?
\]
\text{gruel small.pot-LOC/DIR pour-PST.I}
‘he put the gruel in small pot’
(Bhattacharya 1968: 149)
iv. maʔ mundyi:bɔ sɔb-ga
vegetable.curry earthen.pot-LOC hold-PST.II
‘the veggy curry was held in an earthen pot’
(Bhattacharya 1968: 149)

Note that in its attributive function, the ‘genitive’ may attach to for example a locative/directional case marked noun, which then serves to modify another noun, e.g. –bo-n[a]. Attributive use of a genitive in a wide range of formations may be found in other Munda languages as well, e.g. Gorum (Anderson and Rau, this volume).

(67)
\[
dį;kra bisar-ɔ skoʔna biri-bɔ-na taas dįʔ-ta
\]
man think-PST.I so.much forest-LOC-DEP field.work be-NPST.I
\[
a-dį;kri cucare bug-ɛ-ber-qaʔ-niŋ
\]
OBJ-woman in.vain beat-CV-AUX-PST.I

‘The man then thought (in his mind), “There is so much work in the field; I beat her for nothing”’
(Bhattacharya 1968: 149)

2.1.3 Person

Person as an inflectional category of nouns in Remo is highly restricted and perhaps attested only in rapid speech. In our corpus, there is only possible form of this type attested in the spontaneous utterance directed from one Remo speaker to another.

(68)
\[
pe-mba-na ma-ymi
\]
2-father-GEN what=name
‘what is your father’s name?”’

Such a formation is not overly uncommon with a restricted set of largely kin-terms across the South Munda languages (e.g. Gtaʔ). Indeed the form peomba is also a possible form in Gtaʔ with the same meaning and the speakers so recorded may well have been influenced by this sister language spoken in the same region. Such forms are not attested otherwise in the admittedly small corpus of recorded Remo data. However, they may simply be of low frequency and therefore have not yet (other than this form) been identified in the corpus.

2.1.4 Definiteness
Definiteness per se is not a morphological category of Remo and the topic has not received a special investigation yet to date. However, note that in Remo, as in Sora, third person pronounal forms can be used attributively before a noun to serve as a marker of definiteness.

(69)
\[ \text{ma} \text{me remo-le i-ta} \]
they Remo/person-PL go-NPST.II
‘the Remo people go’

2.1.5 Class/Gender

Generally speaking nouns are not distinguishable by gender. Some words, mostly loans (including personal names) from Indo-Aryan have characteristic –a (masculine) or –i (feminine) and thereby distinguish gender.

(70)
Buda ‘Masculine name’
Budi ‘Feminine name’
banza ‘younger brother’s son’
baji ‘younger brother’s daughter’
(Fernandez 1968:78).

A small number of adjective stems are similarly marked in this fashion

(71)
sut-i-bay sut-a-bay ‘lame (f, m)’
kunq-i-bay kunq-a-bay ‘mute (f, m)’ (also konq)
(Fernandez 1968:88)

Also (and only) bojr- ‘deaf’ kah- ‘blind’ and panq-‘fair complected’ (Fernandez 1968: 88). The most common way of indicating gender in Remo nouns is with the prefixes (or 1\textsuperscript{st} compound elements) lay?- ‘male’ vs. jou- ‘female’, e.g. lay?-bu ‘boar’ vs. jou-bu ‘sow’ (Fernandez 1968:78). There are suffixal or N\textsubscript{2} compound elements (see 2.1.10 below) that encode gender and are used to distinguish human male and female referents, e.g. –boy ‘woman’ and –rem ‘man’, e.g. gor-boy ‘Dom woman’ gor-rem ‘Dom man’.

A human/non-human distinction also appears to be relevant in the numeral system of Remo, see below.

2.1.6 Pronouns

The system of Remo personal pronouns includes three persons (first, second, third) and three numbers (singular, dual, plural) to form a nine-way opposition. The forms of the pronouns are as follows. Note that while dual is recognized in the pronominal system, and
for first and second persons at least is encoded morphologically in the verb, it is not an activated inflectional category for nouns in Remo.

(72)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>DL</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>niṣ</td>
<td>naṣ</td>
<td>nay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>pe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>may</td>
<td>may-pa</td>
<td>may-ʔe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Fernandez 1968:81)

Subject forms of both nouns and pronouns are unmarked in Remo, but inflected ‘objective’ forms as well as genitive/possessive forms of pronouns are found. Some examples of illustrating their use are offered below.

(73)

i. niṣ niṣja-na ŋgōm bondaγa
'I self-GEN village Bondagā/Bondaγa' [SDM]

ii. niṣ-na ugbọ? iii. no-na ugbọ? iv. may-na ugbọ?
I-I-GEN hair you-I-I-GEN hair she-I-GEN hair
‘my hair’ ‘your hair’ ‘her hair’ [SDM] [SDM] [SDM]

v. niṣ lay-t-iṣ vi. naṣ ⟨m⟩bayo ton-te-no
I sit-NPST-1 we.2pl. 2.people stand-NPST.II-1DL
‘I am sitting’ ‘we (2) are standing’ [SDM]

vii. nāj gelo tonjẹ-te-naj
we.PL. all stand-NPST-1PL
‘we all are standing’ [SDM]

viii. niṣ tugola tonkẹniṣ ix. niṣ tún/gela lay-ki-niṣ
I yesterday stand-T/A-1 I yesterday sit-T/A-1
‘yesterday I was standing’ ‘I was sitting yesterday’ [SDM]

x. a-niṣ kiyaŋ be
OBJ-I rice give
‘give me rice’
(Fernandez 1968: 112)

xi. māʔē njuru muraʔ-ta? ... ...a-maʔ biri-bo biri biri wi-ta
they morning rise-NPST.II OBJ-they-[GEN] highland.field-LOC highland.field go-NPST
‘they get up in the morning and go to (work) in their highland fields’

Note that the human numeral/quantifier forms mbayyo ‘2/pair of’ and gulay-ʔo ‘all of’ may be used with 1st and 2nd person dual and plural, but the former element never and the latter only rarely appears with 3rd person dual and plural.

(74)
i. nay (mbayyo) a-Munγlipaʔa wi-ta-nay
we.2 pair.of OBJ-M go-NPST.II-IDL
‘the pair of us go to M’
(Fernandez 1968:69-70)

iii. may-ʔe iskul- boʔ sa-ga
s/he-PL school-LOC/DIR come-PST.II.3
‘they came to school’
(Fernandez 1968:70)

2.1.7 Demonstratives

The demonstrative system of Remo is decidedly complex in terms of deictic space. There is a neutral or proximal element kon and four distal elements distinguished by the degree of closeness to the speaker or deictic space. These are gitin (close but most commonly used distal), gusu (mid-1), ro (mid-2), and geta (~ gəta) (distant or far).

(75)
i. kon gisin niŋ-ŋa
this chicken l-GEN
‘this chicken is mine’
(Fernandez 1968:82)

iv. gitin gusoʔ?
that.CLOSE dog
‘that nearby dog’
(Fernandez 1968:82)
that. MID.1 bear honey REDPL-eat-PROG-NPST.II
‘that somewhat close bear is eating honey’
(Fernandez 1968:82)

vii. no-ŋa tanja ro
you-GEN axe that.MID.2
‘that axe (some distance away) is yours’
(Fernandez 1968:82)

viii. geta remo kon remo anŋa
that.DIST man this man NEG
‘that man, not this man’
(Fernandez 1968:82)

ix. om Modi-le-na gusumgere-na ninden gusu?ge kɔ?-ne kirsani
Omdi-PL-GEN Guszungger-PL-GEN primary.clan Gusu’ge DEIC-EMPH Kirsani

remo-le
person-PL
‘the original clan for the Omdi and Guszunger is Gusu’ge; these are Kirsani people’

Certain ones of these demonstrative elements may be used pronomially without an accompanying noun and then be marked for number. These number-marked demonstrative pronouns include kon-e ‘these’ gitin-a ‘those [2] (close)’ or kon-oŋ-pa ‘these 2’ (Fernandez 1968:83).

The Hill Remo interrogative pronouns include the following: arn ‘what/which’ ma ‘what’ ja ‘who’ ja-ŋ[a] ‘whose’:

(76)
i. arn ŋgomo remo sa-ga
what village man come-PST.II.3
‘what village does the man come from’
(Fernandez 1968:83)

iii. gitin remo ja
that.CLOSE man who
‘who is that man?’
(Fernandez 1968:83)

v. kon ja-ŋ tanja
this who-GEN axe
‘whose axe is this?’
(Fernandez 1968:83)
vii. no-ŋi |i-|ma
you-GEN |name|what
‘what’s your name’
(Fernandez 1968:83)

viii. oho koʔn ma kakurti indɔ mpɔʔ d̪iŋ d̪iŋ-ʔɔm
EXCL |this|what |trouble| alas |cloth|in|spite|of
Oh! What is this trouble, in spite of there being a cloth.
(Bhattacharya 1968:64)

For some speakers ‘why’ is combinatorial ma-sa, literally ‘on account of what, for what’.

When functioning as subjects and referring to people, various kinds of indefinite and quantifier pronouns formally marked by the suffix -do are found in Hill Remo. This set of elements consists of the following: gulay-do ‘all’, tate-do ‘all’ (loan), soman-do ‘everyone, rapte-do ‘many’, and una-do ‘few’. This element also appears with numeral stems (see 2.1.8).

(77)
i. gulay-do d̪ay-ɡa
all climb-PST.II.3
‘all climbed’
(Fernandez 1968:85)

iii. rapte-do i-ɗen-ta
many return-PROG-NPST.II.3
‘many are returning’

iv. una-do a-Mun̪diŋliŋaɡa wi-ɡa
few OBJ-M go-PST.II.3
‘few went to Mundlipada’

v. soman-do a-ɗiŋ wi-ɡa
everyone OBJ-house go-PST.II.3
‘everyone went home’
(Fernandez 1968:85)

vi. tɔŋre ɔ tɔŋɾɔ there vii. d̪ɔkɾe there
(Bhattacharya 1968:75-9,82)

2.1.8 Numerals

The numbers ‘one’ through ‘six’ showed Munda features, mixed with Indo-Aryan features in Fernandez’s materials from the 1960s. Above ‘six’ and the numeral system increasingly converges with local Indo-Aryan models. For younger speakers now, the
restriction has extended largely down to the number ‘three’ with numbers over ‘four’ obviously loaned from Desia.

(78) Bondagada Remo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Human Form</th>
<th>Non-Human Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>muñí</td>
<td>‘one’</td>
<td>atí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mba?ar</td>
<td>‘two’</td>
<td>no:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gí?</td>
<td>‘three’</td>
<td>dos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>catta</td>
<td>‘four’</td>
<td>e:garo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pā[n]tra</td>
<td>‘five’</td>
<td>kū?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>codá</td>
<td>‘six’</td>
<td>ekusi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa:d[rə]</td>
<td>‘seven’</td>
<td>baisi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[SDM]

Numbers ‘one’ to ‘five’ show idiosyncratic marked forms which explicitly refer to humans. Generally these appear to be derived from corresponding non-human forms by the addition of some element. These elements are called the ‘human classifier suffixes’ by Fernandez (1968:88). They include the following: -da found in minɡa ‘one’, -yo in mbayyo ‘two’, -o in wiţo ‘few’ (and the adjective somano ‘straight’), -do which occurs with moloydo ‘five’, ūgenɡo ‘three’ ukiydo ‘four’ and the indefinite pronouns. Finally numbers for ‘six’ and higher take the element –lok of Indic origin.

(79)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numerical Form</th>
<th>Human Form</th>
<th>Non-Human Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>minɡa</td>
<td>‘one man’</td>
<td>muy gisí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbayyo selane</td>
<td>‘two girls’</td>
<td>mbayyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūgenɡo</td>
<td>‘three boys’</td>
<td>gí?i guso?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti?iri-lok remo</td>
<td>‘six men’</td>
<td>ti?iri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>witi-o</td>
<td>‘few boys’</td>
<td>witi gisí</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that nouns following numerals usually remain in a singular form in Remo, but may optionally appear in the plural (e.g. ti?iri-lok remo ‘six men’ vs. ūgenɡo ūger-e ‘three boys’).

While numerals (adjectives) often precede the noun they govern, they may also follow them as well in Remo. This is true whether the numeral is an original Munda root or a loan element.

(80)

i. ati-na tiskuŋ certa  ii. ati-na mō? mba?ar
elephant-GEN leg four elephant-GEN eye two
‘the elephant’s four legs’ ‘the elephant’s two eyes’

Lower numerals in Remo also show variation with numerals borrowed from Indo-Aryan.

(81)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Human</th>
<th>Non-Human</th>
<th>Indic-Origin Alternate/ Higher Number Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>miŋəta</td>
<td>muy</td>
<td>‘1’ ~ ek</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

e.g. kore otəro ‘38’ or kore solo ‘36’ (Fernandez 1968:92). No information is currently available on the formation of ordinal, distributive, collective, or fractional numerals in Remo.

(82)

i. naŋbay ton-te-no  ii. naŋ bajo ton-te-no
we.2DL=2.people stand-NPST.II-1DL we.2DL 2.people stand-NPST.II-1DL
‘we (2) are standing’ ‘we (2) are standing’

[SDM]

iii. ati-na luntur mba?ar iv. remo-na luntur mba?ar[a] dəve
elephant-GEN ear two man-GEN ear two small
‘the elephant’s two ears’ ‘the man’s two small ears’

2.1.9 Adpositions

Remo makes extensive use of bound/enclitic postpositional or case elements. These express both a range of local or directional semantic categories as well as benefactive, prupose, etc. As mentioned above, in many instances a noun may either appear in one of these postpositional or case forms or in the general objective form in a-. Such case/fused adpositional forms include the locative/illative –bo[?] ‘in(to)’ the subessive -aluŋ ‘under’ and the adessive –boroŋtəre ‘near’.
(83)
i. niŋ djo-bo? gay-t-iŋ
I house-LOC/DIR enter-NPST-1
‘I enter the house’
(Fernandez 1968:68)

ii. niŋ korji-bagbo? layk-t-iŋ
I chair-SUPERESS/LAT sit-NPST-1
‘I sit on the chair’
(Fernandez 1968:68)

iii. o?om guso?-bitre dji-ta
arrow dog-INESS COP-NPST.II
‘the arrow is in the dog’
(Fernandez 1968:68)

iv. umporāy bire-ŋder layk-gō-ta
husband:KIN stone-AGAINST sit-PST.II-NPST.II
‘the husband sat against the stone’
(Fernandez 1968:68)

v. gitin remo semu?-aluŋ layk-gō-ta
that.CLOSE man tree-SUB sit-PST.II-NPST.II
‘that man is sitting/has sat under the tree’
(Fernandez 1968:98)

vi. may guso?-boroŋere layk-gō-ta
s/he dog-NEAR sit-PST.II-NPST.II
‘he has sat/is sitting near the dog’
(Fernandez 1968:98)

vii. tōnqynt-nande kukusa gay-ga
fence-THROUGH tiger enter-PST.III
‘the tiger entered through the fence’

In a small number of instances, a noun may appear with both the objective a- and a case or bound postpositional element:

(84)
selane a-remo-bagbo? layk-gō-ta
girl OBJ-man-SUPER sit-PST.II-NPST.III
‘the girl has sat upon the man’
(Fernandez 1968:98)

According to Fernandez (1968:97), there are 19 bound postpositional or case elements in Remo which appear with nouns and pronouns. Three (actually four if one includes –sa) of these may be found with verbs as well, viz. -aluŋ ‘under, beneath’ –bagbo? ‘on, upon’ and –pəlay ‘for’. In the case of the first of these, it appears to function like an incorporated adverb. In the last instance, this forms a purposive subordinate clause (see section 3 below).

Note that one basic way of conjoining nouns belongs to this sub-class of nominal elements in Remo is with the comitative or connective b[o]ronŋ ‘with, and’.

(85)
selane bronŋ ḋgere
maiden:PL with young.man-PL
‘the young men and women together’

[SDM]

2.1.10 Derivation

Derivation in Remo as a productive process is relatively weakly developed, although there is evidence that a more elaborate machinery for deriving nouns was available in a previous stage of the language. Specifically, a large number of unproductive elements appear to have been used to derive the free forms of Remo nouns from their corresponding roots. Such a system is commonly found in South Munda languages.

Nouns occur as monosyllabic or bisyllabic and monomorphic, e.g. mo? ‘eye’ biçe ‘stone’ ola? ‘leaf, paper’ redi ‘spine’ naram ‘vein, nerve’ suii? ‘clitoris’ (Fernandez 1968:71). Nouns may also be bi- or poly-morphemic. This includes composite and compound nouns consisting of N₁ and N₂ (and N₃) components like tiksuŋ ‘leg’ or dinja-buruŋ ‘house fence’ (Fernandez 1968:72) or derived. The processes of derivation include prefixing, infixing, and suffixing, reduplication, etc.

Sometimes the meaning of one element or another is opaque in Remo, e.g. leym-puŋ ‘waist’ siy-e ‘colored thread’ su-i-a ‘needle’ (Fernandez 1968:72). Another common (historical) derivational process seen in Remo nouns is reduplication lə-lap ‘butterfly’ si-ser ‘song’ titi ‘hand, arm’ (Fernandez 1968:72).

Remo makes extensive use of the pan-Munda (and pan-Austroasiatic) nominal infix –Vn- to derive nouns from verb stems. Many of these have instrumental meanings.

(86)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sug} & \quad \text{‘sweep’} & \rightarrow & \text{sũŋ} & \quad \text{‘broom’} \\
\text{dɔŋaj} & \quad \text{‘ghat’} & < & \text{dəiks} & \quad \text{‘climb’} \\
\text{sinia} & \quad \text{‘fish hook’} & < & \text{siaŋ} & \quad \text{‘to fish’} \\
\text{sin} & \quad \text{‘bird trap’} & < & \text{síd} & \quad \text{‘snare birds’} \\
\text{pine} & \quad \text{‘flute’} & < & \text{ped} & \quad \text{‘play m.i.’} \\
\text{gine} & \quad \text{‘tooth’} & < & \text{gej} & \quad \text{‘chew’} \\
\text{gunu} & \quad \text{‘spindle’} & < & \text{guruŋ} & \quad \text{‘spin’} \\
\text{dɔnaraŋ} & \quad \text{‘metal lid’} & < & \text{dɔraŋ} & \quad \text{‘cover a pot’} \\
\text{tənab} & \quad \text{‘thatched roof’} & < & \text{tab} & \quad \text{‘remove’}
\end{align*}
\]

(Fernandez 1968:79)
Such nouns can be derived from verbs that themselves have incorporated nouns in them, e.g. sugsugbo? ‘to comb’ > s/un/uqbo? ‘hair comb’, with the incorporated noun –bo? ‘head’.

One unusual and restricted use of an –n- infix is to form duals with certain nominals. Rather than the –n- quasi-instrumental nominalizing infix this element is perhaps more likely to reflect a semantic extension of the reciprocal prefix –n- (see 2.2.7 below).

(87)
\[
biyają (younger) brother \quad \text{> biniyają} \quad \text{‘two brothers’}
\]
(Bhattacharya 1968:94)

A curious feature of Remo is that a small number of nouns historically are inflected verb forms, like rim-o?-ta ‘quarrel’ which appears to be a present perfect third singular verb form of ‘fight’ (Fernandez 1968:72).

Fernandez divides the structure of Hill Remo nouns into prebases (i.e. prefixes) roots and postbases (= suffixes). One type of noun consists of a Root and an opaque suffixal element. [Root+Suffix] o?on-day ‘someone else’s daughter/son’ kunda?i ‘buttock, rectum’ (Fernandez 1968:72). Some roots are always bound to a suffix or N\textsubscript{2} compounding element, e.g. sik-saŋ ‘bone, skeleton’. Prefix + Root is the most common combination.

(88)
\[
\begin{align*}
gi-siŋ & \text{‘chicken’} & gu-so? & \text{‘dog’} \\
ŋ-gom & \text{‘village’} & ŋ-kuswī & \text{‘jackfruit’} \\
so-ma & \text{‘curry’} & ka-gilas & \text{‘glass’ (loan)}
\end{align*}
\]
(Fernandez 1968:73)

Complex forms are also attested to a limited degree. The patterns attested include Root+Gen+Root hum-na-so? ‘dog’s snout’ (Fernandez 1968:73).

(89)
\[
\begin{align*}
titi-n & \text{ kirime} & tiksųŋ-na & \text{ kirime} \\
\text{hand-GEN} & \text{ nail} & \text{foot-GEN} & \text{ nail} \\
\text{‘fingernail’} & \text{‘toenail’}
\end{align*}
\]

(Prefix+Root)+Root is the most common complex pattern gisųŋmo? ‘eyeglasses’ (chicken+eye) n-se?-mi ‘nose’ gi-be-so? ‘bear’ n-sak-pi ‘bird’s nest’ ŋ-ger-sū ‘boy’s dormitory’ (Fernandez 1968:73). In one anomalous form, the combination Root+(Prefix+Root) is found. This is bayʔ-ŋ-gre ‘cradle’ (Fernandez 1968:73).
Compound nouns are also found in Remo. Formally these show a range of types. The most common type is Root+Root, for example *suku-baṭi* ‘heart’ *taŋgi-mali* ‘brass necklace’ (Fernandez 1968:73); Prebase+Root+Root, e.g. *ŋ-ger-sela* ‘unmarried female’ *n-toʔ-siŋ* ‘egg’ (Fernandez 1968:73). On rare occasion three roots may be combined: *e-tay-goy* ‘cow’s rope halter’ (Fernandez 1968:73) A Root may also appear with a participle in Remo compounds, *susum-ti* ‘right hand’ (cf. *sum* ‘eat’). Note that the same element may appear as the first or second part of a compound, e.g. *tiksuŋ* ‘leg’ vs. *suyom* ‘arrow shaft’ (Fernandez 1968:72).

Most of the prefixes occur infrequently, perhaps in a very small number or even a single form. Others occur relatively commonly or in quasi-definable semantic groups of words. For example the ‘animal’ classifier *gV-* is attested in a number of words with allomorphy conditioned as follows

\[(90)\]
\[
gV- \\
> gi- / _Ci/e \\
> gu- / _Cu/o \\
> ga/ _Ca
\]

Examples of this prefix are to be found in such common words as *gisiŋ* ‘chicken’ *gise* ‘grasshopper’ *gəga* ‘crow’ *gəlayʔ* ‘castrated bull’ *gu-boo* ‘pig’ *gu-soʔ* ‘dog’ (Fernandez 1968:74).

Another common prefix found in Remo is the historical syllabic *N-* which assimilated to the place of the following consonant (*m,n,ŋ,y*). This is found in a wide range of words *mbur* ‘iron bar’ *nsu* ‘knife’ *ŋɗirem* ‘bird wing’ *ŋgom* ‘village’ (Fernandez 1968:74). A small number of words suggest that perhaps *ŋ* is being generalized or that there is a separate nominal formant that is *ŋ* (Fernandez 1968:75). Such a non-homo-organic *ŋ*- is found in such words as *ŋber* ‘slingshot’, *ŋsom* ‘spade’, and *ŋraŋgay* ‘rib’.

Opaque or unique initial elements may be found in Remo *so-ma* ‘curry’ *ka-gilas* ‘cup, glass’ *su-tubu* ‘earth, soil’ *bayʔ-ŋgre* ‘cradle’ *laʔ-gomar* ‘scorpion sp.’ *oli-ŋçu-rem* ‘bad man’ (Fernandez 1968:75).

Some noun roots appear commonly in combination with other roots. These include *-rem* ‘man’, *-ti* ‘hand’, and *-daʔ* ‘water’. They serve almost as semantic classifiers in some forms. Examples with these elements include *e-rem* ‘evil magician’ (*<el-* *buso-rem* ‘adult’ *sio-rem* ‘human testicles’ *sakar-rem* ‘rich man’ (Fernandez 1968:76). *seserrem* ‘songster’ = (Ramachandra Rao 1981: 85) *buso-rem* ‘adult’ *sakar-rem* ‘rich man’ *bol-rem*

More rare second elements include -siŋ `chicken`, -bun `buffalo`, -bo? `feminine`, -də'?-də'y `kinship reference`, and -mo? `eye, face, mouth`, etc. (Fernandez 1968:77). A sample of the forms that occur with these include kurlak-siŋ `chicken wattles` jop-siŋ `hen` o?on-siŋ `chick` gupa-siŋ `ceremony type with chicken featured prominently` ru?/uk-siŋ `courtyard`; n-to?-siŋ `egg`; bunte `buffalo`, se-bun `marriage feast where buffalo is slaughtered`, joŋbuŋ `buffalo cow` lay?-buŋ `buffalo bull`; salag-boy `marriageable girl` gor-boy `Dom female` lu-boy-də? `woman`s bead necklace` n-boy-bu `adolescent female pig` liy-boy `husband`s younger sibling`; o?on-də? `daughter, son` (when speaking of someone else`s child) kuni-də'y `wife` (when husband speaks) umpor-də'y `husband` (wife speaking); nsa?-mo? `eyelash` də?i-mo? `tears` sar-mo? `face` tu-mo? `mouth, beak`. Highly restricted suffixes include -ne which is found in two forms only sela-ne `girl, woman` and gula-ne `boy`.

Some examples of basic vocabulary showing different kinds of compounding and other derivational processes include the following:

(91)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Remo Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sunukuti <code>elbow</code></td>
<td>gula-titi <code>arm</code> [all hand]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o?onti <code>finger</code></td>
<td>jomti <code>finger</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o?o[n]suŋ <code>toe</code></td>
<td>jomsuŋ <code>toe</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tənarm <code>shoulder</code></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The possessive element -ŋa straddles the border between derivation and inflection. Functionally it appears inflectional, appearing in genitive formations. However it appears to also have derivational functions as well, e.g. it may combine with a participial verb form to create a noun formally: su-sup-ŋa `round pot handle` tu-ŋa-so? `dog`s snout` tu-ŋa-goy `cow`s snout` (Fernandez 1968:77). Note also the following morphophonological changes in compounding (participle + noun) and reduplication, respectively oy-rig `ripe Sua millet` < oys `harvest`, mi-me[?] `dance` < med (Fernandez 1968:79). Note that variation in noun formation can be seen in individual instances, e.g. rim-o?-ta `quarrel` (Fernandez 1968:72) vs. nrim `quarrel` < rim `to quarrel` (Fernandez 1968:79). As alluded to above, Remo finite verbs may sometimes be lexicalized as nouns (Fernandez 1968:79).
(92)
re ‘cut’ > regata ‘wound’
sil ‘be sick’ > sita ‘pain, sickness’
jur ‘be chilled’ > jurgata ‘chill’
ay ‘be taboo’ > ayto ‘taboo’
sungol ‘greet’ > sungo-i-y ‘Hello’

(93)
i. nāj glero tonga-te-naj
we.PL all stand-NPST.I-1PL ‘we all are standing, have all stood up’

ii. ati-na luntur mba?ar muna?we
man-GEN ear two big ‘the elephant’s two big ears’

[iii.. remo-na luntur mba?ar dowe
man-GEN ear two small ‘the man’s two small ears’

[SDM]

[90x747]REMO (BONDA)
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(92)re ‘cut’ > regata ‘wound’
sil ‘be sick’ > sita ‘pain, sickness’
jur ‘be chilled’ > jurgata ‘chill’
ay ‘be taboo’ > ayto ‘taboo’
sungol ‘greet’ > sungo-i-y ‘Hello’

2.1.11 Adjectives

Adjectives as a word class is perhaps more justifiable in Remo than it is in many other Munda languages. Adjectives may precede (most commonly) or follow nouns that they modify. When used attributively they remain uninflected (except the clitic objective prefix which then appears on the leftmost word in the phrase which may be an adjective), but an adjective may undergo zero-derivation and form nouns and then, like demonstratives or numerals, may take for example, number inflection. Adjective-Noun case and/or number concord is not known in Remo grammar.

(94)
m-ba?ar ‘two’ ŋ-gi?i ‘three’
buso-bay ‘adult’ sakar-bay ‘rich’

[90x767]buso-bay ‘adult’ sakar-bay ‘rich’ bol-bay ‘good’

saŋ-say-bay ‘yellow’ bubay ‘multicolored’
tali-rosuno ‘garlic’ > tuluy-bay ‘white’

Adjectives may be morphologically marked by the modifier suffix –bay, a syllabic nasal prefix, N-, or both. Note that this includes numeral stems as well.
monaŋ ‘grow big’  > monaŋ?-bay ‘big, fat’  > monaŋ?-ŋgom ‘town’
n-teraŋ?-bay ‘green, blue’

Note that –baj may attach to reduplicated verbal forms as well:

(95) gigeb-bay ‘hot’ < geb ‘be hot’ zuzubay ‘weak’ < jur ‘be chilled’
(Fernandez 1968:80)

Note also the idiosyncratic and unique formant –lu- in goy-lu-bay ‘dead’.

Some adjective stems must occur with a suffix in Remo, although these are often loans and copy with them some of the gender/number morphology from their Indo-Aryan source, as well as often taking the adjectival suffix- bay. Such adjective stems include kan- ‘blind’, ur- ‘smart’, benŋ- ‘young’, dŋŋ- ‘tall’, sero?- ‘dirty’, and rentem- ‘lean’.

(96) kan-a-bay remo
blind-MASC-ADJ man
‘the blind man’

As mentioned above, the objective marker also appears on the comparandum in comparative and superlative formations in Hill Remo. In Plains Remo, comparative constructions without the objective marker may be found. Comparatives in Hill Remo use upre ‘over’ and superlatives add gulay[ðo] ‘all’ to this.

(97) i. a-sela-neŋ upre may ‘miŋ-bay OBJ-girl-GEN over he tall-ADJ ‘he is taller than the girl’
(fernandez 1968:67-8)

ii. may a-gulay-ŋoŋ upre oli-aŋra s/he OBJ-all-HUM-GEN over bad
‘he is the worst of all’

iii. niŋ manŋe no muna?
I in.comparison.with you big
You are older than me.
(Bhattacharya 1968:79)

2.1.12 Adverb(ial)s

Reduplication is not infrequently found in adverbials. This kind of reduplication may belong historically to a subsystem of expressive discourse, a common feature of Munda and Austroasiatic languages generally. Examples include baŋŋ-baŋŋ ‘well’ rumaru ‘etc.’ sorosoro ‘loosely’ toyrotnŋ ‘crookedly’.
i. gulayne o?om ba?i-ba?i twin-to
boy arrow well
‘the boy shoots the arrow well’

ii. may sapu? uq-o? rumaru
s/he wine take-PST.1 etc
‘he took wine and what-not’

iii. ni? a-ta?ja sorosoro sog-o?-t-i?j
I OBJ-axe loosely hold-PST.1-NPST.1
‘I have held the axe loosely’

remo to?yrote? u?i?-to
man crookedly walk-NPST.1
‘the man walks crookedly’

Other adverbials may be uninflected nouns functioning adverbially

i. ni? min?djip di-o-g?i a-wi-t-i?j
I evening house-ABL NEG-go-NPST.1
‘I do not go from the house in the evening’

ii. ?a?yjur a-biri wi-t-i?j
morning OBJ-forest go-NPST.1
‘in the morning I go the forest’

NB  ‘dawn’

(Fernandez 1968:104)

Munda numeral stems may be found in frozen form in a range of temporal adverbs referring to days: misin ‘one day’ < muy ‘one’ barsi ‘2 days’ er?i ‘3 days’ bartoga ‘day before yesterday’ baurtoga ‘2 days before yesterday’ inlo ‘5th day before yesterday; 5th day after tomorrow’ (Fernandez 1968:104). Some examples of temporal adverbs in use include the following.

i. ni? tugola to?k?-nij
I yesterday stand-T/A-1
‘yesterday I was standing’

[SDM]

ii. ni? tuwela lay-ki-nij
I yesterday sit-T/A-1
‘I was sitting yesterday’

[SDM]

iii. ni? ope?ga to?g-ed-i
we.PL right.now:EMPH stand-AUX:T/A-1PL
‘we are standing now’

[SDM]

Adverbs referring to years include the noun boros ‘year’ seen in borsek ‘one year’ diboros ‘2 years’ and the combining forms CF’=mo seen in oymo ‘this year’ and ndimo ‘last year’ (Fernandez 1968:105).

(101)
i. masa remo wi-ɖen-ta-ki  \[ \text{why man go-PROG-NPST.II-Q} \]
ii. goytaŋ tor wi-ɖen-ta  \[ \text{‘why is the man going’} \]
\[ \text{‘(to) where is the cow going’} \]
(Fernandez 1968:107)

iii. no miri wi-to-no  \[ \text{‘how will you go’} \]
iv. no-ŋa soka oyja dabu-ɖen-ta  \[ \text{‘how much did your shirt cost’} \]
(Fernandez 1968:107-8)

v. no oıyabele lem-o?  \[ \text{‘when will you go to sleep’} \]
vi. remo ari dɪ-ta  \[ \text{‘where is the man’} \]
(Fernandez 1968:108)

Lastly, anfra is used to mean ‘no’ and ‘not’: anfa also means ‘no’. o?on is ‘yes’.
(Fernandez 1968:107-8)

2.2 Verbal Morphology

Like the other Munda languages, the verbal morphology of Remo is where the greatest complexity is expressed, although the Remo verb is in some senses among the ones that are least morphologically developed of the Munda languages. Categories such as the person/number of the subject, a variety of TAM formations, and negation are to be included in the make-up of the Remo verb form. In addition, like other South Munda languages, a limited degree of mainly lexicalized noun incorporation in evident in its structure. Lastly, Remo makes extensive use of a diverse functional and formal array of auxiliary verb constructions (many fused into large univerbated complexes).

Verb as a formal word category in such North Munda languages as Mundari has generated a small body of literature (see Evans and Osada 2005 for a recent discussion). Largely, nominal stems may simply be used verbally by making them predicates and adding finite verbal morphology to them. Whether one can justify the word class per se in Remo has yet to be fully investigated.

(102)
maɑpru ns5-ga  \[ \text{god spade/hoe-PST.II} \]
God became a spade.
(Bhattacharya 1968:83)

2.2.1 Subject
As in Gutob (and Kharia), Remo uses a series of subject enclitics (103). In the case of the first singular marker, there are two allomorphs, with the vowel-initial allomorph used after consonantal TAM forms like the non-past in –\(t(V)\)-. The past tense uses a third singular allomorph in –\(ga\) for third person subjects (in the “second” conjugation). Elsewhere, third person subject (of any number) has no formal realization

(103)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1(^{st})</th>
<th>2(^{nd})</th>
<th>3(^{rd})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>-niŋ, -ŋŋ</td>
<td>-no</td>
<td>-Ø, -ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL</td>
<td>-naŋ</td>
<td>-pa</td>
<td>-Ø, -ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>-nay</td>
<td>-pe</td>
<td>-Ø, -ga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, there is a singular: dual: plural opposition in the first and second persons but not in the third. Examples of some sample inflected forms showing the use of the various subject enclitics (or suffixes) may be seen in (104).

(104)

i. *ju-tɔ-n|ŋŋ* see-NPST.II-1DL.
ii. *wi-g-no* go-PST.II-2
iii. *ju-to* see-NPST.I
‘we 2 see’ ‘you went’ ‘s/he sees’
(Fernandez 1968: 25)

iv. *sap-gɔ-tɔ-n|ŋŋ* come-PST.II-NPST.II-1PL
v. *sum-oʔ-ke-pe* eat-PST.I-PREF-2PL.
‘we all have come’ ‘y’all had eaten’
(Fernandez 1968: 26, 22)

vi. *sap-kɔ-pa* come-PLUP-2PL
vii. *may-pa wi-ga* they.2 come-PST.II.
‘you 2 had come’ ‘they 2 went’
(Fernandez 1968: 26, 25)

viii. *niŋ laj-tiŋ* sit-NPST-1
ix. *niŋ tugola toŋ-kɔ-niŋ* yesterday stand-T/A-1
‘I am sitting’ ‘yesterday I was standing’ [SDM]

x. *naŋ [m]bajo ton-te-no[ŋ]*
we.2DL 2.people stand-NPST.II-1DL
‘we (2) are standing’ [SDM]

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xi. bondagada-na remo-le uli sum-to
B-GEN person-PL mango eat-NPST.1
‘the people of B eat mango[es]’

[SDM]

xii. mái?ē njuru mura?-ta? ..a-maj biri-bo biri biri wi-ta
they morning rise-NPST.II OBJ-they-[GEN] highland.field-LOC highland.field go-NPST.II
‘they get up in the morning and go to (work) in their highland fields’

[SDM]

xiii. nāj glero tongọ-te-naj
we.PL all stand-NPST-IPL
‘we all are standing’

[SDM]

Note that the third person past allomorph is used in the pluperfect forms with the perfect in –kọ- suggesting that this was a second conjugation verb when it still functioned as an auxiliary, before becoming the tense/aspect marker that it currently is.

(105)
i. sum-o?-kọ-ga
eat-PST.I-PRF-PST.I.3
‘they 2 had eaten’

ii. sap-kọ-ga
come-PLUP-PST.II.3
‘they had come’

2.2.2 Object Types

Unlike South Munda languages such as Gorum, Juang, or Sora, Remo makes no use of morphologically encoded object categories within the verb.

2.2.3 Tense

Tense(aspect) marking shows a moderately complex system in Remo, with verbs dividing into two rough conjugational classes, at least as far as the past tense is concerned. Originally the distinction may have been one of transitive (class/conjugation I) vs. intransitive (class/conjugation II) or ‘active’ vs. ‘middle’. However, Plains Remo appears to be generalizing conjugation I and many intransitive verbs are now part of this class. The seventeen class-II verbs in Plains Remo all are class-II in Hill Remo except rag- ‘tear (cloth or paper)’ which is class-I.

The two sets of inflections in Remo are offered in (106)

(106) | Plains Remo | Hill Remo | Plains Remo | Hill Remo
The system in Gutob, the language most closely related to Remo, has a similar tense-marking system, where the PST-II is –gu (called middle past by Griffiths, this volume) and the PST-I –o? (called active past by Griffiths, this volume). There is a potentially cognate element in Gutob relating to the NPST-I, but in Gutob it appears to have a customary or habitual aspect meaning, at least in some contexts. It is possible that the –o vocalism in the NPST-I is a secondary development in Remo, spread from the o-/ɔ vocalism of the past form in the conjugation. The NPST-II form seems to be the older one from a comparative Munda perspective (Anderson 2001, 2004, 2007).

Some examples of the various tense markers in Remo are offered in (107).

(107)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Tense Markers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>lar-o?-nay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lar-to-pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lar-o?-dij-niy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lar-o?-dij-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>la-lar-djen-iy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>la-lar-djen-no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>la-lar-gon-diy-niy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Fernandez 1968: 92)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class (Ø-past)</th>
<th>Tense Markers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>nsay-no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nsay-t-iy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nsay-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nsay-dij-nin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nsay-dij-pe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nsay-djen-t-nay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nsay-gon-t-no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Fernandez 1968: 92)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that in non-third person subject contexts, the past tense form of Class-II appears as –gi, and does so for all persons with certain verbs.

Some more examples demonstrating the use of various Remo tense morphemes are offered below.
(108)
i. remo soka oluʔa-ta
man shirt wear-NPST.II
‘the man is wearing the shirt’
[SDM]

ii. remo tuyboʔa-da
man tie.turban- NPST.II
‘the man is wearing a head-wrap’
[SDM]

iii. gusoʔ tuwɔgbo ɖiw-yi-da
dog ground-LOC lie- NPST.II
‘the dog is lying on the ground’
[SDM]

iv. gusoʔ roŋbo laʔi[i]-da
dog road-LOC sit-NPST.II
‘the dog is sitting on the street’
[SDM]

v. ŋgere toyo-da
young.man stand-NPST.II
‘the young man/bachelor is standing’
[SDM]

vi. niŋ laŋ-t-iiŋ
I sit- NPST.II-1
‘I am sitting’
[SDM]

vii. niŋ toʔo]n-t-iiŋ
I stand- NPST.II-1
‘I stand up’
[SDM]

viii. naŋbaj ton-te-no[ŋ]
we.2DL=2.people stand-NPST.II-1DL
‘we (2) are standing’
[SDM]

ix. naŋ bajo ton-te-no[ŋ]
we.2DL 2.people stand-NPST.II-1DL
‘we (2) are standing’
[SDM]

x. nāj glero tonga-te-naj
we.PL all stand-NPST.II-1PL
‘we all are standing’
[SDM]

xi. niŋ nsuʔaʔ sum-t-iiŋ
I banana eat-NPST.II-1
‘I eat bananas’
[SDM]

xii. bondagada-na remo-le uli sum-to
B-GEN person-PL mango eat-NPST.I
‘the people of B eat mango[es]’
[SDM]

xiii. bondagada-na remo-le… k[i]jaŋ sum-to nd[ə]rā yʔu-to
B-GEN person-PL cooked.rice eat- NPST.I morning.gruel drink-NPST.I
‘the people of Bondagada eat cooked rice’ ‘(they) drink the rice gruel’

xiv. niŋ tugola ton-k-iiŋ
I yesterday stand-T/A-1
‘yesterday I was standing’

xv. niŋ tuwela lay-ki-iiŋ
I yesterday sit-T/A-1
‘I was sitting yesterday’
Note that the second conjugation past may in certain instances be used with the final vowel.

(109)

i. muna?-bai gisag sun-ɔ? ki ko?n qɔ̄kra sag
big-DET monkey say-PST.I QUOT DEIC man come:PST.II
‘The big monkey said: "This one is not the wife, the man has come’
(Bhattacharya 1968: 148)

ii. qɔ̄kra a-qɔ̄kri sun-ɔ? ɔy sa?mele sɔrlaye
man OBJ-woman say-PST.I DISC mandeyacorn cucumber

boda-le gaʔay gulay bulu-g diʔ-ta
boda.grain-PL beans all/many ripen-PST.II AUX-NPST

‘The man said to his wife: " Dear, the mandeya, cucumbers, boda grains and jurunga beans, all have matured (in our field)’
(Bhattacharya 1968: 149)

Regarding the distribution of stems into the conjugations Hill Remo, based on their English meanings, which is of course not necessarily indicative of anything per se about the semantics of the Remo forms themselves, there does not appear to be anything semantically coherent about them. The Plains Remo class-II forms don’t share that much, except that almost all of them are canonical one-argument verbs, which is not that surprising given that it is assumed here that class-II was originally intransitive (or ‘inactive, middle, stative, etc.).

In Hill Remo, there is no obvious connection among all the single argument forms in class-I, but there are some clear groups within the relatively large set. For example, a large number of bodily functions are class-I: ‘cough’, ‘hiccough’, ‘vomit’, ‘fart’, ‘piss’, ‘shit’, ‘belch’, ‘have wrinkles’; verbs of oral action: ‘say’, ‘chirp’ ‘whistle’ ‘chat’ ‘bark’, ‘blow on fire’, ‘suck blood’ ‘palm-read’. All of these might be subsumed under some kind of ‘active’ or agentively initiated or involved action.

A number of class-I stems of Plains Remo are class-II in Hill Remo. This set includes both ‘expected’ intransitives and various unexpected semantic transitives. Frustratingly, there doesn’t appear to be any systematicity per se across the group of ‘unexpected’ class-II forms, that is, those that are semantically transitive in Hill Remo. There are a number of verbs of aggressive or vigorous physical action: ‘fight’, ‘beat’, ‘rub’, ‘beat on breast’, ‘jump across’, ‘jump over’, ‘climb’, ‘give birth’, ‘scratch’, ‘wash’, ‘bathe’, ‘dig’, ‘wrap with cloth’; other verbs include: ‘get’, ‘know’, ‘love’ ‘fear’, ‘desire’, ‘win’, ‘heat’, ‘fish with trap’, ‘recognize’, ‘hide’, ‘wear on head’, ‘marry’, ‘wear’, and ‘threaten’. Some might be reconcilable with original notions of ‘middleness’ (as argued for Gutob and Kharia), but it is clear that no such categorization is operative synchronically in Remo. In addition, a small number of Hill Remo roots may be used in this labile manner with either conjugation (110). Exactly one, perhaps two appear to be used so in Plain Remo (111).

For a list of verbs falling into these two inflectional classes in the two different attested Remo dialects, see 5.3 below.

(110) “Labile” roots in Hill Remo

\[ \text{Jul (I) ‘see, look’} \quad \text{Jul (II) ‘hang up’} \]
\[ \text{Lug (I) ‘dig’} \quad \text{Lug (II) ‘set (of sun)’} \]
\[ \text{Ru (I) ‘bring’} \quad \text{Ru (II) ‘take’} \]
\[ \text{Tul (I) ‘throw’; ‘fix in ground’} \quad \text{Tul (II) ‘hang, tie’} \]
\[ \text{Tur (I) ‘search for’} \quad \text{Tur (II) ‘sprout’} \]

(111) Plains Remo

\[ \text{Wai (I) ‘call’} \quad \text{Wai (II) ‘marry’} \]

NB: \[ \text{Raj (I) ‘cook’} \quad \text{Ranjal ‘cook’ (II)} \]

Without a doubt it is pure coincidence that all such roots in Hill Remo are monosyllabic and have the vowel \(-u\). Some stems may be used variably or differently by different speakers, for example \(n\)saj is listed as class-II on by (Fernandez 1968: 92) but as class-I on (Fernandez 1968: 134), where it has an unmarked past allomorph (or \(\emptyset\)-past) anyway.

Also, a number of stems show a kind of mixed inflection in Plains Remo -o? < I / -ta < II, which suggests that these are being generalized. Note that the multiple tense-marked
forms show -o?ta and -g?ta not *-o?to, so this may have something to do with the cause of this change.

Although the extent to which this an active process has not been investigated, there appears to be in Remo the possiblity to make a passive off of a first conjugation verb by inflecting it in the second conjugation. There is but one, albeit clear, example of this in our corpus.

(112)

ma? mundji-bo s?b-ga
vegetable.curry earthen.pot-LOC hold-PST.II
‘the veggy curry was held in an earthen pot’
(Bhattacharya 1968: 148)

Morphophonologically speaking, the tense markers show a limited degree of assimilation or ‘harmony’ processes. These can be archiphonemically abstracted:

(113)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NPST</td>
<td>-tO</td>
<td>-tA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST</td>
<td>(-o?)</td>
<td>-gI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRF</td>
<td>-ki</td>
<td>-ki</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Fernandez 1968: 28)

Note that the perfect (see 2.2.3) form is undifferentiated for the two classes, and probably represents a more recent grammaticalization of an auxiliary verb construction (Anderson 2006). The processes of assimilation or harmony operative are listed below.

(114)

O/A  >  Ø/___-V
c/___-Ce
o/___-Co
a/___-Ca

O  >  o /___#

A  >  a/___#

-gI  >  Ø/___1st/2nd marker(+V??)
a/___# (= Ø-3rd ending (= -a probably)
i/___-tO [npst]-V
c/___-Ce
o/___-Co
a/___-Ca
-kI > identical to following vowel (i/e/o/ə)

-tV = NPST –gV PAST and -kI

Importantly, the vowel qualities can show a rightward as well as a leftward spread, as in *gaj-go-to-no*, where the -o- vocalism in the two tense markers is determined by the -o in the subject marker.

In terms of relative positionality of the tense (T), aspect (A), quasi-fused modal auxiliaries (M) and subject markers (S), the following Verb Templates in Remo are found (in non-negative conjugations; on negatives, see 2.2.9 below).

(115)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V-M-A</td>
<td>V-M-T-A-S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of these include those in (116)

(116)

**Conjugation-I**
- *bad-o?-no* ‘you slapped’
- *ba-te-pe* ‘you all slap’
- *bad-o?-to-pa* ‘you 2 have slapped’
- *bad-o?-ki-niŋ* ‘I had slapped’
- *bə-ba-gon-ə-nay* ‘we can slap’

(Fernandez 1968: 52-3)

**Conjugation-II**
- *gay-g-no* ‘you entered’
- *gay-to-naŋ* ‘we 2 enter’
- *gay-to* ‘s/he, they enter’
- *gay-gi-tiŋ* ‘I have entered’
- *gay-go-to-no* ‘you have entered’
- *gay-go-ə* ‘s/he has, they’ve entered’
- *gay-ko-no* ‘you had entered’
- *gay-ki-go* ‘s/he has, they had entered’

(Fernandez 1968: 52-3)

As for the inflectional pattern of the ‘completive’ and other auxiliary verb constructions, see 2.2.12 below.

2.2.4 Aspect
Remo has two or three morphologically inflectionally encoded aspectual (or tense/aspect combined) categories, the perfect and the pluperfect, as well as the progressive. The perfect or present perfect consists of the conjugationally appropriate past tense marker followed by the non-past marker, followed by a person marker if relevant, i.e. –gay-gi-ti/ga-ti; note that the third past form precedes the non-past marker in the perfect but follows it in the pluperfect. Remo is typologically unusual in having a unitary, unanalyzable pluperfect (or past perfect) suffix but a transparent, componential (present) perfect element –ki- for second conjugation verbs. First conjugation verbs on the other hand also have the past tense marker preceding the pluperfect marker, viz. –o?-ki (to which is added the third person past marker –gal with third person subjects). Compare the forms in the following examples.

(117)

i. gay-gi-ti
   enter-PST.II-NPST-1
   ‘I have entered’

ii. gay-go-to
   enter-PST.II-NPST-2
   ‘you have entered’

iii. gay-go-ta
    enter-PST.II-NPST.II
    ‘s/he has, they have entered’

(Fernandez 1968: 52-3)

iv. gay-ko
   enter-PLUP-2
   ‘you had entered’

v. gay-ke-pa
   enter-PLUP-2PL
   ‘you all had entered’

vi. gay-ki-ga
    enter-PLUP-PST.II.3
    ‘s/he has, they had entered’

(Fernandez 1968: 52-3)

vii. ba-ô-ta-nay
    slap-PST.1-NPST-1DL
    ‘we 2 have slapped’

viii. ba-ô-ta
     slap-PST.1-NPST.II
     ‘he has slapped’

(Fernandez 1968: 52-3)

ix. ba-ô-ki-ni
    slap-PST.1-PLUP-1
    ‘I had slapped’

x. ba-ô-ki-ga
   slap-PST.1-PLUP-PST.II.3
   ‘he had slapped’

(Fernandez 1968: 52-3)

Progressive forms in Remo are encoded by the suffix –de-, originally an auxiliary verb fused into a morphological complex. The verb stem, if monosyllabic, appears in the reduplicated form. Note that the progressive in Remo is inherently unmarked for tense and takes the second conjugation non-past marker –ta to make a present progressive and importantly, the –ki- and –k- pluperfect marker (for both conjugations) to mark past progressives or imperfects.

The degree of bondedness between the progressive auxiliary and the lexical verb, i.e. whether this remains a synchronically bi-partite auxiliary verb construction or has been
univerbated into a larger morphological complex, remains a subject to be resolved by future research.¹

(118)

i. ba-ba=den-ki-niŋ
RDPL-slap-PROG-PRF-1
‗I was slapping‘
(Fernandez 1968: 54)

ii. ga-gay=den-ki-niŋ
RDPL-die-PROG-PRF-1
‗I was dying‘
(Fernandez 1968: 54)

iii. bə-bə=den-ko-ga
RDPL-slap-PROG-PRF-PST.II.3
‗s/he was slapping‘
(Fernandez 1968: 54)

iv. ga-gay=den-ko-ga
RDPL-die-PROG-PRF-PST.II.3
‗s/he was slapping‘
(Fernandez 1968: 54)

v. bə-ba=den-gi-tiŋ
RDPL-slap-PROG-PST.II-NPST-1
‗I have been slapping‘
(Fernandez 1968: 54)

vi. ga-gay=den-gi-tiŋ
RDPL-die-PROG-PST.II-NPST-1
‗I have been dying‘
(Fernandez 1968: 54)

vii. niŋ weka nsuŋa? sū-sum [d]em-t-iŋ
I now banana REDPL.eat AUX-NPST-1
‗I am eating a banana now‘
[SDM]

It is possible for the progressive auxilliary to appear without a tense marker but with a subject marker in non-past formations with.

(119)

dókrí jul-ə-seʔta ma de̞men de̞n-əc dókrá d̥e̞ seʔta sün-ə?
woman see-PST.II-SS what_ REDPL.do AUX-2 man QUOT SS say-PST.I
‗Seeing (him) the wife (said), “What were you doing, husband?”‘
(Bhattacharya 1968: 148)

A reduplicated (or unmarked?) verb stem alone can also function as a finite verb form in Remo, marking a kind of past habitual tense/aspect form.

(120)

i. gitin d̥ókrá biri-bə piri? kukum gisak’ gubu? ḵn-ɬn-ɬ-sa isa
that.CLOSE old.man forest-LOC bird peacock monkey pig COPY.chase-PURP daily

¹ For example, unlike other AVCs in Remo, the negative and the causative elements occur on the lexical verb not the auxiliary, which in the case of the negative is usually what the scope of the negative operator is over, i.e. the action is not ongoing.
There is one more progressive formation in Plains Remo that bears mention here. This is the aspectual clitic –ni borrowed from Desia. Bizarrely, it seems to function as a postinflectional clitic which attaches to a fully finite (tense- and subject-marked) past tense (appropriate to the inflectional class of the Remo stem) past tense form of a verb.

Some examples of this bizarre mixed construction are offered in (121). Similar formations are found in Gorum (Anderson and Rau, this volume).

(121)

i. ūi-ga-niō
go-PST.II.3-PROG
‘He is going’

ii. sum-ō?-niŋ-ni
eat-PST.I-1-PROG
‘I am eating’

iii. tɔ?-ga-ni
become.loose-PST.II.3-PROG
‘it is becoming loose’

(1397)

2 Curiously, because Remo has lost object morphology in the verb, the first conjugation or ‘transitive/active’ second singular imperative forms in Hill Remo are the only ones which appear in a mono-morphemic, mono-moraic form, a restriction against which, it has been argued (Anderson and Zide 2002, Anderson 2004) may have triggered the need for an intransitive imperative suffix in Proto-(South)-Munda in the first place. Note that Plains Remo allows no such forms, see below.
eat-1 | eat-1DL | eat-1PL
--- | --- | ---
‘let me eat’ | ‘let us 2 eat’ | ‘let us all eat’

eat | eat-3 | eat-2DL | eat-2PL
‘eat’ | ‘let him/her eat’ | ‘eat you 2’ | ‘eat(PL)’

(Fernandez 1968: 59)

(123) **Hill Remo**
i. *daɪks-a-pa* | ii. *daɪks-a-pe* | iii. *daɪks-a-niŋ* | iv. *daɪks-a-naŋ*
climb-IMP-2DL | climb-IMP-2PL | climb-IMP-1 | climb-IMP-1DL
climb you 2’ | ‘climb(PL)’ | ‘let me climb’ | ‘let us 2 climb’

v. *daɪks-a-naj* | vi. *daɪks-a* | vii. *daɪks-aj*
climb-1PL | climb-IMP | climb-3IMP
‘let’s all climb’ | ‘climb’ | ‘let him/her climb’

(Fernandez 1968: 59)

Plains Remo on the other hand has an imperative suffix in –*le* that is used in both conjugations. Sometimes this appears as –*la* as in Gta? or as –*a* as in Gutob. Note that in Plains Remo, first person imperative forms may have a deontic modal nuance.

(124) **Plains Remo**
i. *baŋa dɛm-naŋ* | ii. *la-le*
divide AUX-1DL | go-IMP
‘we 2 should divide’ | ‘go!’

iii. *sum-le* | iv. *sum-naŋ*
eat-IMP | eat-1DL
‘eat!’ | ‘we should eat’

(Fernandez 1968:59)

Another modal form in Remo is the subjunctive in –*(l)ai* which is probably cognate with both Gutob –*e* and Gta? –*le*?

(125)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gutob</th>
<th>Plains Remo</th>
<th>Hill Remo</th>
<th>Plains Gta?</th>
<th>Hill Gta?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subjunctive</td>
<td>-<em>e</em></td>
<td>-(l)ai</td>
<td>-(l)ai</td>
<td>-le?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The conditional in Remo is marked by the clitic -*na* which generally allows for no person/number indexing. This attaches to the past form of first conjugation stems or to the bare stem form instead of the conjugation II stems (or the Ø-allomorph of the past); a similar pattern is seen with the completive auxiliary as well. This also serves to mark
different subject structures within the system of switch reference active in narrative genres.

(126)

i. \textit{ui-na} \hspace{0.5cm} ii. \textit{ṣem-ɔ-na}

\textit{go-COND} \hspace{0.5cm} \textit{do-PST.1-COND}

‘if I go’ \hspace{0.5cm} ‘if you do’

iii. \textit{nɔ raja ṣem-na niŋ nɔm mɔntri ṣem-a-niŋ}

you king COP-COND I you:GEN minister COP-IMP-1

When you will be a king let me be your minster.

(Bhattacharya 1968:63)


stir.with.ladle -AUX-NPST cooked.rice NEG-stir.with.ladle-PST.1-COND

\textit{geb-ɔ? suŋ-tɔ?}

burn-CV AUX-NPST?

‘if you do not stir, the rice will be fully burnt’

(Bhattacharya 1968:126)

2.2.6 Orientation/Directionality

Outside of auxiliary structures where such categories are expressed to a minor degree, directionality or orientation plays a quite limited role in Remo. The one exception is the stem \textit{ruŋ} ‘carry’ which when inflected in the first conjugation (\textit{ruŋ-o?} ‘s/he brought’) has a cislocative/ventive speaker-deictic meaning of ‘bring’ and in the second conjugation (\textit{ruŋ-ga} ‘s/he took away’) has a deictic hearer orientation or translocative meaning. A similar system is found in Gutob.

The auxiliary \textit{ui} ‘go’ has numerous functions in Remo. One such function is in combination with other verbs of motion to form a translocative/itive formation. Note that the lexical verb in such formations occurs in the converb form that is the same as the past tense.

(127)

\textit{a-dɔkra gisa?g-e jul-ɔ?-se?ta saray-bar-sa}

OBJ-man monkey-PL see-PST.1-SS scatter-AUGM=PURP

\textit{ur-ɔ? ui-ga tɔ}

run-CV go-PST.2 NARR.PRTCL
‘the monkeys saw the man and ran off to scatter his food’
(Bhattacharya 1968:148)

2.2.7 Voice

Like many Munda languages, Remo has two morphologically encodable voice categories involved in stem formation. The first is the archaic Munda causative prefix, realized in Remo as o- (or ø-). A very small number of verb stems appear in a reduplicated form with the causative prefix. Note that the causative curiously appears with modal auxiliaries rather than the lexical verb it has semantic scope over in certain AVCs (see 2.2.12 below), suggesting it has some kind of phrasal clitic status morphophonologically. The causative is highly productive in Remo and can be added to practically any verb stem.

(128)
\[ o\text{-}gi\text{-}geb \text{ ‘caus-REDPL:heat’ vs. } o\text{-}log \text{ ‘pluck’} \]
(Fernandez 1968: 40)

The reciprocal on the other hand appears as an infixed –n- and appears in a small number of lexical items. It seems likely that the Remo reciprocal is cognate with the infix part of the prefix-cum-infix reciprocal found in Gta?, but whether this is in fact cognate with the Kherwarian infixed –p- reciprocal (via *m-) remains a subject for future research. Note that both the causative and the reciprocal can appear together in a single stem (cf. ‘cause to fight’).

(129)
i. \textit{asu-n-ob} ‘caus to embrace each other’ <=> \textit{sob} ‘catch’
(Fernandez 1968: 40)

ii. \textit{o-bu-n-ug} < \textit{bug} ‘cause to fight’ > \textit{bunug} ‘fight’
(Fernandez 1968: 40)

iii. \textit{na} \textit{ā-s/ān/obman}
\text{we.DL CAUS-hold/RECIP/-1DL}
‘we 2 held each other’
(Bhattacharya 1968: 25)

2.2.8 Finiteness

Verb phrases can be made into modifiers by adding the adjectival suffix –baj and preposing the verb phrase before the noun that it modifies, forming a relative-clause type structure. For more on this, see the Syntax section below. At least four and probably more types of non-finite or non-final forms are found in Remo. Some of these have other functions in the grammar of the language. Thus, reduplicated verb stems are found in a number of contexts in Remo. One area where they constitute an obligatory non-finite verb
form is with monosyllabic stems of lexical verb in certain auxiliary verb constructions, e.g. the progressive formation.

(130)

i. niŋ [n]sura? su-sum [d]em-t-iŋ
   I banana REDPL:eat AUX-NPST-I
   ‘I am eating a banana’

ii. niŋ nsuŋa? su-sum qen-t-iŋ
   I banana REDPL:eat AUX-NPST-I
   ‘I am eating a banana’

Note that with loan stems in constructions licensing a reduplicated stem allomorph, instead of reduplication, a stem augment –bar- is added.

(131)

gis-a?g-e dqg-gy-bar a-gŋ-ŋ-ga
monkey-PL jump-AUGM NEG-CAP-PST.II
‘the monkeys were unable to jump out’
(Bhattacharya 1968:148)

Another non-finite form is the past tense converb or participle form that is used in various auxiliary structures as well as quasi-serialized formations (see 2.2.12). Originally this was restricted to first conjugation verbs, but this has been extending into all verbs over the past forty years or so.

(132)

i. remo dire dire uri[n]-o[?] wi-en-ta
   man slowly walk-CV go-AUX-NPST.II
   ‘the man is slowly walking’
   [SDM]

ii. remo suri? suri? uri-o?-jen-ta
    man quickly walk-CV-AUX-NPST.II man quickly walk-CV AUX-AUX-NPST.I
    ‘the man is walking quickly’
    ‘the man is walking quickly’
    [SDM]

iv. saʔkur renta kiyŋ a-saʔkur-ŋ-na geb-ŋ? suŋ-ŋ?
    stir.with.ladle-AUX-NPST cooked.rice NEG-stir.with.ladle-PST-COND burn-CV AUX-NPST?
    ‘if you do not stir, the rice will be fully burnt’
    (Bhattacharya 1968:126)

There are two kinds of conjunctive elements in Remo as well, one of which also functions as a conditional marker but is found in mainly complex sentences which do not share subjects across the clauses, and the other of which just seems to string together predicates.
across a complex sentence, albeit with a strong tendency to patterning with same subject structures. Thus, these are largely addressed in section 3.2.3 below.

However, there are some uses of –ηα which neither seem to be different subject coordinative forms or conditional subordinate clauses, here functioning as a kind of purposive marker, but the details of its use in this construction remain to be worked out.

(133)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sunu?bo?} & \quad \text{tug-o?-ta} \quad \text{susugbo?-ηα} \\
\text{comb:head} & \quad \text{tie-PST.1-NPST} & \quad \text{comb:head-DEP}
\end{align*}
\]

‘he has tied a comb (to his waist) for hair-combing’

(Fernandez 1968: 61)

Finally, a bare stem form of a verb (in conjugation-II) may serve as a non-finite form in certain complex predicate structures (see 2.2.12 for examples).

2.2.9 Negation

Negative verb forms in Remo are mainly formed by adding the negative prefix a[η]- to the verb template. This is true of most past tense forms (some with Ø-past allomorphs), non-past, perfect, pluperfect, and progressive. Remo stands apart from its close sister language Gutob in this way which has among the world’s most unusual systems of negation (Anderson 2007). Note that that second conjugation past tense negative has a zero-allomorph of the past with first singular subjects with certain stems.

(134)

i. \text{guso?} \quad \text{ro?-bo} \quad \text{dri?} \quad \text{ar-iyi-da} \quad \text{[SDM]}
\quad \text{dog} \quad \text{road-LOC} \quad \text{lie} \quad \text{NEG=AUX-NPST} \quad \text{[SDM]}
‘the dog is not lying on the street’

\begin{align*}
\text{ii.} & \quad \text{ni?} \quad \text{qa?} \quad \text{a-u?-t-iη} \\
& \quad \text{I water NEG=drink-NPST-1} \\
\text{[SDM]} & \\
\text{iii.} & \quad \text{a-sum-o} \\
& \quad \text{NEG=eat-PST.1} \\
\text{‘s/he didn’t eat’} & \\
\text{(Fernandez 1968: 56)} & \\
\text{iv.} & \quad \text{a-sum-t-iη} \\
& \quad \text{NEG=eat-NPST-1} \\
\text{‘I don’t eat’} & \\
\text{(Fernandez 1968: 56)} & \\
\text{v.} & \quad \text{a-sum-to} \\
& \quad \text{NEG=eat-NPST.1} \\
\text{vi.} & \quad \text{a-sap-ta} \\
& \quad \text{NEG=come-NPST.I} \\
\text{‘he doesn’t come’} & \\
\text{‘I didn’t come’} & \\
\text{‘s/he doesn’t eat’} & \\
\text{‘s/he didn’t come’} & \\
\text{‘I didn’t come’} &
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{vii.} & \quad \text{a-sum-o?-t-iη} \\
& \quad \text{NEG=eat-PST.1-NPST-1} \\
\text{‘s/he doesn’t eat’} & \\
\text{‘he doesn’t come’} &
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{viii.} & \quad \text{a-sab-o?-ta} \\
& \quad \text{NEG=come-PST.1-NPST.II} \\
\text{‘he doesn’t come’} &
\end{align*}
‘I have not eaten’ ‘he has not come’
(Fernandez 1968: 56)

ix. a-sum- o? -k-ga x. a-sap-ki-niŋ
NEG-eat-PST.1-PLUP-PST.3 NEG-come-PLUP-1
‘s/he had not eaten’ ‘I had not come’
(Fernandez 1968: 57)

xi. a-sum-ŋen-t-iŋ xii. a-sap-ŋen-ta
NEG-eat-PROG-NPST-1 NEG-come-PROG-NPST
‘I am not eating’ ‘I am not coming’
(Fernandez 1968: 57)

xiii. a-sum-ŋen-ka-ga xiv. a-sap-ŋen-ki-niŋ
NEG-eat-PROG-PLUP-PST.3 NEG-come-PROG-PLUP-1
‘s/he was not eating’ ‘I was not coming’
(Fernandez 1968: 57)

xv. nɔ-na pɔrsɔlbai bɔb-le gisi a-iŋem-ɔ-na
you-GEN clean:ADJ head-EMPH louse NEG-appear-PST.1-COND
Lice would not have appeared if your head was clean.
(Bhattacharya 1968:63)

xvi. niŋ nsura? a-sum-t-iŋ xvii. niŋ tugola da? a-y-[o ]? -t-iŋ
I banana NEG-eat-NPST-1 I yesterday water NEG-drink-PST.1-NPST-1
‘I am not eating a banana’ ‘yesterday I was not drinking water’
[SDM] [SDM]

With modal auxiliary formations, the negative appears on the modal auxiliary that it has
semantic scope over. The lexical verb appears in a reduplicated form, as is required by
these particular auxiliary verb constructions (see below 2.2.12).

(135)

i. susum a-goy- ta ii. sɔsɔp a-goy- ta
REDPL:eat NEG-CAP-NPST.II REDPL:come NEG-CAP-NPST.II
s/he can’t eat’ ‘I can’t come’
(Fernandez 1968: 57)

iii. susum a-goy-ki-niŋ iv. sɔsɔp a-goy-ka-ga
‘I couldn’t eat’ ‘he couldn’t come’
(Fernandez 1968: 57)
The most curious aspect of negative marking in the Remo verbal system is the formation of negative imperatives or prohibitives. This system is in part shared by Gutob where the system is infinitely more complex (but may have triggered the shift in the system attested in this language), and also in Gta?.

(136)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Gutob</th>
<th>Plains Remo</th>
<th>Hill Remo</th>
<th>Plains Gta?</th>
<th>Hill Gta?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PST-I</td>
<td>ar-X-ṭ</td>
<td>a-X-tV-ō?</td>
<td>a-X-ō?</td>
<td>a-X-ke</td>
<td>a-X-ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST-II</td>
<td>ar-X-ṭ</td>
<td>a-X-ga/gi-Ø</td>
<td>a-X-ga/gi/Ø</td>
<td>a-X-ke</td>
<td>a-X-ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROHIB-I</td>
<td>ar-X-ɡu</td>
<td>a-X-ō?</td>
<td>a-X-ō?</td>
<td>a-X-ge</td>
<td>a-X-gi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROHIB-II</td>
<td>ar-X-ō?</td>
<td>a-X-ga/ɡi</td>
<td>a-X-ga/ɡi</td>
<td>a-X-ge</td>
<td>a-X-gi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

That is, prohibitives in Remo have the formal structure of negative past forms, with which they are in fact ambiguous. Note that both conjugation I and conjugation II verbs take the appropriate respective past tense forms. Compare the forms in (137) with those in (134) above. For more on this, see Anderson (2007).

(137)

i. a-sum-ōʔ-niŋ
NEG-eat-PST.1-1 ‘don’t let me eat’

ii. a-sum-ōʔ
NEG-eat-PST.1 ‘don’t eat’

iii. a-ḍajk-gi-niŋ
NEG-climb-PST.2-1 ‘don’t let me climb’

iv. a-ḍajk-ɡa
NEG-climb-PST.2 ‘don’t climb’

(Fernandez 1968: 59)

2.2.10 Derivation

Derivation is not an extensively used process in the Remo verbal system. Causative and reciprocal formations, as well as noun incorporation are semi-productive or lexicalized means of deriving verb stems, each discussed in relevant sections above and below. There are also lexicalized instances of what appears to be deverbal nominal forms functioning as verb stems in Remo as well, e.g. note sinig can be verb ‘to fart’ < ʃ sig (Fernandez 1968: 40), where a reciprocal meaning seems unlikely. In addition, a small number of verb stems are historically complex, consisting of compounding or lexicalized combinations of serial (in some instances having become auxiliary) verb forms. Generally these have two stems in combination historically forming a complex verb stem synchronically, e.g. kukup-bam ‘have a cough’ where bam means ‘get’. Sometimes the second element is opaque, gugu-sur ‘level ground (for planting)’ -?? (Fernandez 1968: 35). Forms with lexicalized serialized or auxiliary (or ‘light’) verbs include bulo-suy ‘boil over’, where the
second element means ‘throw’ (Fernandez 1968: 35) or bana-wi[y] ‘forget’ and goy-iy ‘die, be dead’ (Fernandez 1968: 36) where the second element means ‘go’.

(138)
i. gojtaq goj-i-da
bull die-AUX-NPST.II
‘the bull died, is dead’

ii. gojtaq kalevaj goj-i-da
bull black die-AUX-NPST.II
‘the black bull died, is dead’

Note also lubgä?-goy ‘drown’ (Fernandez 1968: 36), with an incorporated noun qa? ‘water’ (see 2.2.11) and a second verb meaning ‘die’. There appears to be only one tripartite complex of this type in Remo, viz biba-djem-jinl ‘to perform marriage ceremony’, literally, ‘marry-do-win’ (Fernandez 1968: 37). There may be other such formations as well of course.

Reduplication is also an important process in the Remo verbal system as it is in the majority of at least South Munda languages. This may not be a productive stem deriving process per se, but elucidating this issue requires further analysis. In general, Remo ‘regular’ roots take either CV- or CVC- reduplication, the longer copy appearing when C₂ is _MACHINE for example in Remo, e.g. sum > susum ‘eat’, sap > səsap ‘come’, suŋ > susuŋ ‘finish’/’throw’. Many Remo verbs are transparently derived by reduplicating monosyllabic roots (Bhattachraya 1968). The semantics associated with such verb roots are those not infrequently encountered in verb-stem reduplication cross-linguistically, e.g, iterative, frequentative, repeated action, augmented action, etc. For a number of such stems however, the semantics behind the reduplication remain opaque.

(139)
suŋsugbɔʔ- to comb
kɔtkɔtɛn- to cackle (of a hen)
gagaʔtom- to open mouth, gape
susu ɖɛnta to massage oil on oneself
suŋsuŋ ɖɛnta to sell
tuŋtuŋ ɖɛnta to wear (shoe, hat, bangle, finger-ring or ear-ring)
tiŋtiŋ ɖɛnta to pierce; to card cotton; to shoot with arrow
tåktåq ɖɛnta to peel off, crack, flay
ɖuŋduŋ ɖɛnta to flee
ɖɔɖɔ̃ ɖɛnta (fire) to be kindled
sɔsɔb- to hold, catch, buy
ɖɔɖɔ̃ ɖɛnta to laugh
tɔrtɔr- to tremble
There are, however, a large number of ‘irregular’ roots in Remo that either show an somewhat unexpected or unusual copy or change in the root itself, or add dummy morphs rather than some phonologically relatable copied sequence when appearing in formations that require the reduplicated stem allomorph. Examples include $on > o?on ‘hear’, $ay > $ray ‘cook; pull’, un > unker ‘transplant seedlings’ (< ker = keron ‘rice’), yon > $joyon ‘chase away’, led > lile ‘squeeze’, bad > baba ‘slap’.

### 2.2.11 Noun Incorporation and Combining Forms

A small number of verb stems in Remo historically consist of a verb stem together with a so-called combining form of a noun to form a verb stem. Many South Munda languages make use of an opposition between bi-moraic or bi-syllabic free forms of nouns which contrast with monosyllabic combining forms of these same stems. Note that verb stems with incorporation can be either in conjugation I or conjugation II in Remo. Often the root of the noun is the same as the combining form, and the free form is derived through one of a range of non-productive lexical means (see 2.1.10). Thus, the combining form of the noun is lexically determined, but as elsewhere in Munda, tends to be the basic root of the noun involved (canonically but not obligatorily of the shape CVC, less commonly CV). Sometimes (as in the second example in (140) below), the combining form and the free form stand in a suppletive relation to one another (at least synchronically). Older incorporated forms, as in other South Munda languages, show the earlier syntactic structure of VN in the incorporative complexes (140).

(140) old VN compounds

- ale-$dag ‘squeeze water’
- buk-tad ‘pound fibre’ (= CF of suta ‘thread’)
- susug-bog ‘comb’ (sweep-head)
(Fernandez 1968: 39)

New compounds or the other hand reflect the more recent syntactic structure of the language, with NV order: $jorak-jul ‘palm read’ (Fernandez 1968: 38), which belongs to conjugation I inflectionally. Note that verbs and nouns with the same incorporated element can be used in the same sentence in Remo.

(141)

comb tie-PST,1-NPST,II comb:head-COND
‘he has tied a comb (to his waist) for hair-combing’
(Fernandez 1968: 61)

### 2.2.12 Auxiliary Verb Constructions and Other Complex Predicate Types
Like many Munda languages, Remo makes extensive use of auxiliary verb constructions and other complex predicate structures (see Anderson 2006 for a general theoretical perspective on this). The range of functions expressed by such constructions are generally typical of areal and cross-linguistic norms, as are, for the most part, the semantic origins of the particular auxiliaries involved and the paths of grammaticalization and functional specialization that they have undergone. From an inflectional perspective, Remo shows a Munda-typical system of AUX-headed auxiliary verb constructions, with the lexical verb in various formations obligatorily appearing either in a non-finite reduplicated form, in a basic stem form (or Ø-marked dependent form), or in a past tense form (called the ‘general converb’ form by Griffiths (this volume) in his discussion of similar structures in the closely related GutoB).

In Remo, the completive aspect form is marked by an auxiliary verb construction using suŋ-. First conjugation verbs appear in a past tense (‘converb’) form, while intransitive forms appear in an unmarked form. As an etymologically transitive/conjugation-I verb (meaning ‘throw’), the verb itself takes this past form as well, when it is inflected in the past, as well as the subject markers, both of which are expected as this is embedded within an AUX-headed auxiliary verb construction (Anderson 2006). Therefore, transitive stems exhibit a pseudo-split-doubled pattern with past tense marking seemingly on both—however one tense suffix is licensed by the actual tense specification of the event, viz. the one on the auxiliary verb itself, while the other is licensed by the larger constructional parameters, i.e. it is necessitated by the use of a conjugation-I verb with this particular auxiliary in this function, and with subject encoded on the auxiliary, while conjugation II stems rather show the basic pattern and an unmarked stem form of the lexical verb, with all inflectional categories realized on the auxiliary verb. Compare the following forms in this regard.

(142)

i. baq{*}-o? suŋ-o?-niŋ
slap-CV-COMPL-PST.1-1
‘I finished slapping’

(Fernandez 1968: 55)

ii. gay suŋ-o?-niŋ
die-COMPL-PST.1-1
‘I finished dying’

iii. baq{*}-o? suŋ-o?
slap-CV-COMPL-PST.1
‘s/he finished slapping’

(Fernandez 1968: 55)

iv. gay suŋ-o?
die-COMPL-PST.1
‘s/he finished dying’

The progressive formation, as mentioned above, in Remo consists of CV(C) reduplication of the lexical stem, followed by tense and person marked auxiliary verb qen-. This AVC shows the basic inflectional pattern in Remo in the positive, with tense and subject appearing on the lexical verb.

(143)
REMOL (BONDA)

i. $b\bar{b}a=$d\text{-}n\text{-}k\text{-}n\text{i}= \\
REDPL:\text{slap}=\text{PROG-PRF-1} \\
‘I was slapping’ \\
(Fernandez 1968: 54)

ii. g\text{\textcircled{}}g\text{\textcircled{}}gay=d\text{-}n\text{-}k\text{-}n\text{i}= \\
REDPL:die=\text{PROG-PRF-1} \\
‘I was dying’ \\
(Fernandez 1968: 54)

iii. $b\bar{b}a=$d\text{-}n\text{-}k\text{-}\text{\textcircled{}}\text{\textcircled{}}-\text{ga} \\
REDPL:\text{slap}=\text{PROG-PRF-PST.II.3} \\
‘s/he was slapping’ \\
(Fernandez 1968: 54)

iv. g\text{\textcircled{}}g\text{\textcircled{}}gay=d\text{-}n\text{-}k\text{-}n\text{i}= \\
REDPL:die=\text{PROG-PRF-PST.II.3} \\
‘s/he was slapping’ \\
(Fernandez 1968: 54)

v. $b\bar{b}a=$d\text{-}n\text{-}g\text{-}i-t\text{-}\text{i}= \\
REDPL:\text{slap}=\text{PROG-PST.II-NPST-1} \\
‘I have been slapping’ \\
(Fernandez 1968: 54)

vi. g\text{\textcircled{}}g\text{\textcircled{}}gay=d\text{-}n\text{-}g\text{-}i-t\text{-}\text{i}= \\
REDPL:die=\text{PROG-PST.II-NPST-1} \\
‘I have been dying’ \\
(Fernandez 1968: 54)

vii. n\text{\textcircled{}}g [n]sur\text{\textcircled{}}\text{\textcircled{}} susum [d]em-t\text{-}\text{i}= \\
I banana REDPL:eat AUX-NPST-1 \\
‘I am eating a banana’ \\
[SDM]

viii. n\text{\textcircled{}}g nsu\text{\textcircled{}}\text{\textcircled{}} susum d\text{-}n\text{-}t\text{-}\text{i}= \\
I banana REDPL:eat AUX-NPST-1 \\
‘I am eating a banana’ \\
[SDM]

ix. remo suri\text{\textcircled{}}\text{\textcircled{}} uri-o\text{\textcircled{}}\text{\textcircled{}}-jen-ta \\
man quickly walk-CV-AUX-NPST.II \\
‘the man is walking quickly’ \\
[SDM]

In the negative however, a split pattern is seen with tense and subject on the auxiliary and negative on the lexical verb. This is a relatively common split inflectional pattern in auxiliary verb constructions among the world’s languages (Anderson 2006).

(144)

i. a-sum-d\text{-}n\text{-}t\text{-}\text{i}= \\
NEG-eat-PROG-NPST-1 \\
‘I am not eating’ \\
(Fernandez 1968: 57)

ii. a-sap-d\text{-}n\text{-}t\text{-}\text{\textcircled{}} \\
NEG-come-PROG-NPST.II \\
‘he is not coming’ \\
(Fernandez 1968: 57)

iii. a-sum-d\text{-}n\text{-}k\text{-}\text{\textcircled{}}\text{\textcircled{}}-\text{ga} \\
NEG-eat-PROG-NEG.PST-PST.II.3 \\
‘s/he was not eating’ \\
(Fernandez 1968: 57)

iv. a-sap-d\text{-}n\text{-}k\text{-}n\text{i}= \\
NEG-come-PROG-NEG.PST-1 \\
‘I was not coming’ \\
(Fernandez 1968: 57)

The capabilitive formation in Remo is structurally similar to the progressive, i.e. the lexical stem appears in a reduplicated form and the construction exhibits the basic inflectional pattern.
The desiderative formation in Remo is also formally similar to the capabilitive and the progressive, that is the lexical stem is reduplicated and the construction exhibits the basic inflectional pattern.

(146)

i. \(b\dot{\text{\textcircled{b}}}=\text{goy}\cdot-t-i\text{\textendash}\text{iy}\)  
\hspace{1cm} \text{REDPL:slap-CAP-NPST-II}  
\hspace{1cm} ‘wants to slap’  
\hspace{1cm} (Fernandez 1968: 55)

ii. \(\text{gag}=\text{goy}\cdot-t-i\text{\textendash}\text{iy}\)  
\hspace{1cm} \text{REDPL:die-CAP-NPST-II}  
\hspace{1cm} ‘wants to die’  
\hspace{1cm} (Fernandez 1968: 55)

iii. \(b\dot{\text{\textcircled{b}}}=\text{goy}\cdot-ta\)  
\hspace{1cm} \text{REDPL:slap-CAP-NPST-II}  
\hspace{1cm} ‘s/he wants to slap’  
\hspace{1cm} (Fernandez 1968: 54)

iv. \(\text{gag}=\text{goy}\cdot-ta\)  
\hspace{1cm} \text{REDPL:die-CAP-NPST-II}  
\hspace{1cm} ‘s/he wants to die’  
\hspace{1cm} (Fernandez 1968: 54)

v. \(b\dot{\text{\textcircled{b}}}=\text{goy}\cdot-ki-ni\text{\textendash}\text{iy}\)  
\hspace{1cm} \text{REDPL:slap-CAP-NPST-II.3}  
\hspace{1cm} ‘s/he could slap/ have slapped’  
\hspace{1cm} (Fernandez 1968: 54)

vi. \(\text{gag}=\text{goy}\cdot-ki-ni\text{\textendash}\text{iy}\)  
\hspace{1cm} \text{REDPL:die-CAP-NPST-II.3}  
\hspace{1cm} ‘s/he could die/ have died’  
\hspace{1cm} (Fernandez 1968: 54)

vii. \(b\dot{\text{\textcircled{b}}}=\text{goy}\cdot-k\text{\textendash}ga\)  
\hspace{1cm} \text{REDPL:slap-CAP-NPST-II.3}  
\hspace{1cm} ‘s/he wanted to slap’  
\hspace{1cm} (Fernandez 1968: 54)

viii. \(\text{gag}=\text{goy}\cdot-k\text{\textendash}ga\)  
\hspace{1cm} \text{REDPL:die-CAP-NPST-II.3}  
\hspace{1cm} ‘s/he wanted to die’  
\hspace{1cm} (Fernandez 1968: 54)

Note that there is some considerable idiolectal, regional, or dialectal variation in the selection of certain functional operators/auxiliaries in Remo. Thus the desiderative in -\text{quso}? is in variation with -\text{luq}a\text{-den} (< ? \text{luq}'borrow, beg, want’) and the progressive in -\text{den} is in variation with -\text{nen} and –\text{e} (Fernandez 1968: 41-42).
Causative forms of capabilitive marked verbs show an unusual pattern. Here, the causative attaches to the auxiliary verb, rather than lexical verb, despite the fact that the causative scope is over the lexical verb, i.e. ‘able to make X’ not ‘make able to X’.

(147)
i.  su-sum=o-goŋ-t-iŋ
   REDPL:eat-CAUS-CAP-NPST-I
   ‘I can cause to eat’
(Fernandez 1968: 57)

   REDPL:come-CAUS-CAP-NPST-I
   ‘I can cause to come’

   REDPL:eat-CAUS-CAP-NPST-II
   ‘s/he can cause to eat’
(Fernandez 1968: 57)

   REDPL:come-CAUS-CAP-NPST-II
   ‘s/he can cause to come’

   REDPL:eat-CAUS-CAP-PRF.PST.II.3
   ‘I could cause to eat’
(Fernandez 1968: 57)

   REDPL:come-CAUS-CAP-PRF.PST.II.3
   ‘I could cause to come’

   REDPL:eat-CAUS-CAP-PRF.PST.II.3
   ‘s/he could cause to eat’
(Fernandez 1968: 57)

   REDPL:come-CAUS-CAP-PRF.PST.II.3
   ‘s/he could cause to come’

Note that as mentioned above, negative stems are not reduplicated in the progressive construction in Remo and the negative attaches to the lexical stem. Note also that the past tense is always the second conjugation form, as the auxiliary verb historically belonged to this class.

(148)
i.  a-sum=ɖen-gɔ-ta
   NEG-eat-PROG-PST.II-NPST.II
   ‘s/he has not been eating’
(Fernandez 1968: 58)

   NEG-come-PROG-PST.II-NPST.II
   ‘s/he has not been coming’

Conversely, the lexical stems are reduplicated in the negative capabilitive, but the negative prefix, like the causative attaches to the auxiliary verb

(149)
i.  susum=a-goŋ-t-iŋ
   REDPL:eat-NEG-CAP-NPST-I
   ‘I cannot eat’

   REDPL:come-NEG-CAP-NPST-I
   ‘I cannot come’
Further complex auxiliary verb constructions may be created from the completive construction. For example, the auxiliary verb is reduplicated when used in a progressive formation, rather than the lexical stem. However, the form that the lexical stem appears in remains the same as in the past completive, i.e. the past for conjugation I stems and the unmarked form for conjugation II stems. In other words, each auxiliary requires its complement to the right, whether it is a lexical verb or another auxiliary, to be in the appropriate form of the construction. This is true of recursively embedded auxiliary structures in English as well, e.g. *I will have been seeing her*, where will triggers a stem form, *have* the past participle and be the -ing form in its progressive meaning.

(150)

i. *baq-o?=suŋ-suŋ=ṭen-t-iŋ*  
slap-CV-REDPL-COMPLT-PROG-NPST-II

‘I am finishing slapping’

(Fernandez 1968: 55)

ii. *gə=suŋ-suŋ=ṭen-t-iŋ*  
die-REDPL-COMPLT-PROG-NPST-II

‘I am finishing dying’

(Fernandez 1968: 55)

iii. *baq-o?=suŋ-suŋ=ṭen-ta*  
slap-CV-REDPL-COMPLT-PROG-NPST-II

‘s/he is finishing slapping’

(Fernandez 1968: 55)

iv. *gə=suŋ-suŋ=ṭen-ta*  
die-REDPL-COMPLT-PROG-NPST-II

‘s/he is finishing dying’

(Fernandez 1968: 55)

v. *baq-o?=suŋ-suŋ=ṭen-ki-niŋ*  
slap-CV-REDPL-COMPLT-PRF-1

‘I was finishing slapping’

(Fernandez 1968: 56)

vi. *gə=suŋ-suŋ=ṭen-ki-niŋ*  
die-REDPL-COMPLT-PRF-1

‘I was finishing dying’

(Fernandez 1968: 56)

The above phenomena may be summarized as follows:

(151)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verb Form</td>
<td>+Rdpl</td>
<td>+Rdpl ***</td>
<td>–suŋ after past</td>
<td>+Rdpl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>–suŋsuŋ after past</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Remo makes limited but definite use of structures that are commonly known as ‘light’ verbs in the literature. This consists of an uninflectable lexical stem, often a borrowed or onomatopoeic/sound symbolic element in its base form followed by an inflectable stem, often ‘go’.
The word for ‘twenty’ in Remo is *kore*. This serves as the basis for the Remo vigesimal numeral system. Generally speaking only ‘21’, ‘31’, etc. show the Munda lower numeral stem, while all other higher numbers utilize the Indic forms: *kore muy* ‘21’ but *kore dwi* ‘22’, *kore tin* ‘23’, etc. Higher numbers are derived from twenty, thus one finds *kore dos* ‘30’, *kore sol* ‘36’, *kore onis* ‘39’. Then from *dikori* ‘40’ comes *dikori dos* ‘50’, *dikori sol* ‘56’, etc. On occasion, certain speakers will use compound forms of higher numbers where the tens uses the Indic word but the ‘1’-‘5’ shows the Munda stem: *kore u?u* ‘24’ *dikori moloy* ‘45’ (Fernandez 1968:94). Sometimes a final –*o* is found in higher numerals, “The wife replied, “But you saw, how have I taken more? Have your eyes burst, O husband?”” (Bhattacharya 1968: 149)

As mentioned above, although not the developed system seen its is sister language Gta?, Remo, something akin to a serialized (semantically) structure is found in Remo in which the first verb appears in a the converb form, followed by the appropriately inflected verb form of the second verb (including an uniflected imperative)
2.3 Expressives

Expressive forms with reduplication are characteristic of virtually all modern Munda languages, where such systems may reach advanced levels of development. Mono and disyllabic nouns frequently undergo suffixing echo reduplication with overwriting of $V_1$ (and $V_2$, if present) (Bhattachraya 1968).

(154)
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{ŋger ŋgar} \quad young man
  \item \textit{sa?me si?mi} \quad a type of corn (mandeya)
  \item \textit{titi tata} \quad hand
  \item \textit{kekep kakap’} \quad (animal name)
  \item \textit{kerto kurat} \quad paddy
  \item \textit{gire? garat?} \quad frog
  \item \textit{piri? para?} \quad bird
  \item \textit{salup salap’} \quad four-horned antelope
  \item \textit{semug sumak’} \quad tree (< \textit{semuk’})
  \item \textit{gabu? gaba?} \quad pig
  \item \textit{gulu? gala?} \quad hare
  \item \textit{gusa? gasa?} \quad dog
  \item \textit{gisig gasaŋ} \quad cock
\end{itemize}

Echo reduplication can also occur with overwriting of $V_2$ only (Bhattachraya 1968):

(155)
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{goytāng goytīŋ} \quad cow
  \item \textit{burtauŋ burtīŋ} \quad animal (in Desiya ‘goil’)
  \item \textit{senla senli} \quad mat
  \item \textit{siram sirim} \quad sambar
  \item \textit{musri musra} \quad lentil
  \item \textit{rigdar rigdīr} \quad sua corn
\end{itemize}
While such forms are relatively easy to find attested, the expressive and pragmatic meaning of this type of reduplication has not at all been investigated and unfortunately awaits further study.

3 Syntax

The syntax of Remo remains largely unstudied. Only the briefest of comments will be addressed here. This is especially true of complex sentence structures which have not been widely attested in extant literature on the language. Our consultant did not produce such formations in his spontaneous utterances, and the texts that exist also have only extremely limited instantiations of complex syntactic structures.

3.1 Syntax of the Simple Sentence

The simple sentence in Remo is largely similar to that of many other Munda languages. In terms of clausal constituent order, Remo is strongly SOV—almost no utterances or text examples in the corpus do not end in a verb, and speakers often outright reject such formations under elicitation conditions. Not only verbs but nouns and adjectives may occupy the clause-final slot licensed for predicates. In some instances, no copula is necessary.

(156)

i. niŋ remo  ii. niŋ-na-jni sukra dangaŋa maji
I Remo  I-GEN-name S. D. M.
‘I am a Remo’  ‘my name is Sukra Dangada Maji’
[SDM]

iii. remo baŋi (qi-ta)  iv. djo serō? (qi-ta)
man good COP-NPST.II  house dirty COP-NPST.II
‘the man is good’  ‘the house is dirty’
(Fernandez 1968: 112)

v. nuŋia? baŋbe[ŋ]  vi. gojtaŋ kalevaj
coconut round  bull black
‘the coconut is round’ or ‘the round coconut’ ‘the bull is black’ or ‘the black bull’
[SDM]

vii. majn peri kalevaj
3:GEN body black
‘its body’ color is black’
[SDM]

viii. omdi-le-na gusungger-e-na ninden gusuŋge koŋne kirsani remo-le
Omdi-PL-GEN Gusungger-PL-GEN primary.clan Gusu’ge DEIC-EMPH Kirsani person-PL
‘the original clan for the Omdi and Gusungger is Gusu’ge; these are Kirsa*ni people’
(Bhattacharya 1968:79)

Note that this lack of copula is also possible with possessive structures in the present. Thus, such formations are of the structure Noun-gen Noun [Copula].

(157)
$maj'ina ... gojaq gubu[?] gisiga gime?$
they-GEN ... cattle pig chicken goat
‘they have cattle, pigs, chickens, goats’
[SDM]

Negative possessive structures on the other hand in the present use the negative copula form. Possessors may be omitted contextually as well.

(158)
$nigi$ ob-a-gog-i$y$ gine an$ra$
I bite-NEG-CAP-NPST-I tooth NEG.COP
‘I can’t bite it, I have no teeth’
(Fernandez 1968: 114)

Locational copular structures often use the copula form $di$- in Remo.

(159)
$nigi nej-na ngom malkangiri distrikhi bo di$-la
I we-GEN village M. D. LOC COP-NPST.II
‘my..our village is (a place) in Malkangiri District’
[SDM]

In more marked TAM forms, e.g. conditional or imperative, the copula $dem$ may be used in Remo.

(160)
$no$ raja den-na nigi non $m$ontri dem-a-nigi
you king COP-COND I you'GEN minister COP-IMP-I
‘when you will be a king let me be your minster’
(Bhattacharya 1968:63)

As mentioned above, like the other Munda languages, the basic clausal constituent order of Remo is $S$[subject] $O$[object] $V$[verb]. Other permutations are permitted under certain discourse conditions, but the textually unmarked order is SOV, as it is in most, if not all, modern Munda languages.
(161)
i. remo nuŋja?  saʔgo-ʔa  man coconut holding-PROG/PRES the man is holding the coconut’  [SDM]
ii. remo a-gisja  ju-to  man OBJ-chicken see-NPST.1 ‘the man sees the chicken’  (Fernandez 1968: 124)

iii. niŋ a-niŋ  ju-tiŋ  I OBJ-I see-NPST-1 ‘I see myself’  (Fernandez 1968: 125)  [SDM]
iv. niŋ  nsuʔa?  sum-tiŋ  I banana eat-NPST-1 ‘I eat bananas’

v. remo  diŋ  oroy-ʔen-ta  man house build-PROG-NPST.II ‘the man is building a house’
(Fernandez 1968: 126)
vi. niŋ  remo-ʔ  tumo?  on-tiŋ  I man-GEN mouth hear-NPST-1 ‘I hear the man’s voice’

vii. a-niŋ  mabisom  ruŋoʔ-gota  OBJ-I very cold-PRF ‘I feel very cold’
(Fernandez 1968: 112)
viii. a-niŋ  kuru-ʔota  a-may  taʔmibaj-ʔota  OBJ-I hungry-PRF OBJ-s/he sneeze-PRF ‘I am hungry’ ‘he is sneezing’

ix. no eroʔga  kiyaj  sum-to-no-ki  you tomorrow rice eat-NPST.1-2-Q ‘will you eat rice tomorrow’
(Fernandez 1968: 112)
x. arn  ʔəjóm  remo  sa-ga  which village man come-PST.II.3 ‘from which village does the man come’

The OV order is maintained in imperative formations as well in Remo

(162)
i. a-diŋ  wi-ya  OBJ-house go-IMP ‘go home!’
ii. a-niŋ  kiyaj  be  OBJ-I rice give ‘give me rice’
(Fernandez 1968: 112)

Within the noun phrase or verb phrase, there is some variability permitted but the order of modifiers and heads are generally set. Thus, deverbal ‘participial’ adjectives almost always precede the noun in NPs in Remo.

(163)
surisuri  uritybaj  remo  fast  walk-ADJ man  ‘the fast walking man’
(Fernandez 1968: 117)

1416
3.1.1 Typological Features

The relative order of numeral and noun is variable in Remo with both Num N and N Num order attested. Note that suffixed or enclitic classifiers, similar to those found in various other South Asian languages can appear on the numeral, encoding for example human vs. non-human oppositions. Note that this syntactic variability of the relative position of Numeral and Noun is not dependent on categories of humanness or animacy, but may be subject to as of yet undiscovered discourse/pragmatic, rather than strict semantic (either functional or lexical) features, of the elements involved.

(164) Num N ~ N Num

i. minqala remo ŋkwusi-aluŋ ɗi-ta
   one.HUM man jackfruit-SUB COP-NPST.II
   ‘one man is beneath the jackfruit tree’
   (Fernandez 1968: 117)

ii. bire muy gari-bo? ɗi-ta
    stone one.NONHUM path-LOC/DIR COP-NPST.II
    ‘one stone is on the path’

iii. ŋ giɗi gisiŋ aka ɗi-ta
    three.NONHUM chicken here COP-NPST.II
    ‘three chickens are here’
    (Fernandez 1968: 117)

iv. selane u?ŋqilo a-kiŋqala? kuma-dən-ta
    girl four.HUM OBJ-river bathe-PROG-NPST.II
    ‘four girls are bathing in the river’

Other order based restrictions within the Remo noun phrase include the predominance of the following structural types: Gen N, Dem N, and Adj N. That is, the noun phrase of Remo shows a typical head-final patterning that is common in Eurasian SOV languages generally speaking and in South Asian languages in particular (e.g. Gen N; Dem N; Adj N), with notable exceptions. More expanded phrases regularly follow this pattern as well, e.g. Num Adj N.

(165)

mbayyo mona?-bəy selane-le er-dən-ta
two.HUM fat-ADJ girl-PL thresh-PROG-NPST.II
‘2 fat girls are threshing’
(Fernandez 1968: 117)

However, post-nominal adjectival modifiers are also possible (i.e., in an N Adj structure), even those bearing the adjectival or modifier suffix -bay (but not genitives or demonstratives(?)) in Remo. Thus, like numerals, adjectives in Remo may appear postnominally or in internally-headed structures like the second example below, with Num N Adj order possible. Variation to this effect is common; what, if any, semantic difference exists between these variants requires further research to elucidate. Whether these postnominal structures are archaic artifacts of an earlier SVO or VSO structure, an older order that is suggested by both internal-Munda and external-Austroasiatic
comparative evidence, is unknown at present, but is at least plausible (unless these variants can be proven to be used only in particular discourse/pragmatic contexts and/or of very recent origin). Thus utterances of the following type are also grammatical.

(166)

i. *remo mona?bay*  
man fat

ii. *muy gisiq kaylabay ~ muy kaylabay gisiq*

one.NONHUMAN chicken black

‘fat man’  
‘one black chicken’

(Fernandez 1968: 127)

iii. *kaŋabay remo diredire uriŋ-o?*

blind.MASC:ADJ man slowly

iv. *mona?bay selane sum-o?*

fat girl eat-PST.1

‘the blind man walked slowly’  
‘the fat girl ate’

(Fernandez 1968: 116)

v. *gojta kalevaj goj-i-da*

bull black

die-AUX-NPST.1

‘the black bull died. is dead’

[SDM]

vi. *ati-na luntur mba?ar muna?we*

elephant-GEN ear two big

‘the elephant’s two big ears’ or ‘the elephant has two big ears’

[SDM]

vii. *remo-na luntur mba?ar[a] dove*

man-GEN ear two small

‘the man’s two small ears’ or ‘the man has two small ears’

[SDM]

A four-term noun-phrase without a numeral expression also usually follows the head-final structure that seems characteristic of Remo, as in example (167) with Dem Adj Gen N order.

(167)

*kon mona?bay selane-ŋ dío*

this fat-ADJ girl-GEN house

‘this fat girl’s house’

(Fernandez 1968: 127)

Adverbs generally precede verbs in Remo, which as mentioned above, are usually the final element of a clause (whether this is a simplex lexical verb or complex predicate with a light or auxiliary verb).
However, the placement of adverbs is relatively free, and they can appear clause-initially, in second position, etc.

Further, within the verb phrase, the relative order of ‘indirect’ (i.e. semantic recipients, beneficiaries, goals, etc.) and ‘direct’ (i.e. semantic patients or themes), usually sees the indirect/human/animate object preceding the direct/inanimate object. Note that in terms of case-marking (which as mentioned in 2.1.2 above is a phrasal proclitic, appearing on the leftmost element of the noun phrase designated as ‘object’ (but not encoded in the verb, as Remo has lost morphological encoding of object properties in the verb that was characteristic of both Proto-South Munda and Proto-Munda (Anderson 2001, 2004, 2007)), it is the ‘indirect’ object that is case-marked (as this is the most likely argument to be animate/human/definite), and thus Remo shows the pattern something akin to that typically known as the ‘primary object’ pattern (Dryer 1986) in the literature, albeit it represents a system in marked on the dependent noun not on the verb in Remo (as it is in Juang, Gorum or Sora).

Interrogative sentences without ‘Wh-words’ in Remo are formed with the post-inflectional clitic –ki. This, like the post-inflectional progressive (see 2.2.4) is likely a loan from Indo-Aryan.
There appears to be two elements used as quotatives in Remo, one native and the other borrowed. Generally they have different syntax. The native element is \textit{d\textasciicircum} which functions as a kind of defective verb meaning ‘say’. It usually follows the quote and precedes the finite verb meaning ‘say’.

(171)
i. \textit{d\textasciicircum}kri jul-\textasciitilde se\textasciitilde ta
\texttt{woman see-PST.1 SS}

\texttt{ma d\textasciicircum}dem \texttt{denn\textasciitilde d\textasciicircum}kra \texttt{d\textasciicircum}se\textasciitilde ta sun-\textasciitilde?
\texttt{what REDPL:do AUX-2 man QUOT SS say-PST.1}

‘the wife saw him and said “What are you doing, husband?”’

ii. \textit{su\textasciitilde} gais-\textasciitilde \textit{d\textasciicircum}k\textasciitilde \textasciitilde se\textasciitilde ta sun-\textasciitilde?
\texttt{fire kindle.fire.by.blowing-PST.1 stay-EMPH QUOT SS say-PST.1}

‘Stay here kindling fire’

iii. \textit{d\textasciicircum}kra sun-\textasciitilde? \texttt{man say-PST.1 you distribute-person very.much hold/catch}

\texttt{q\textasciitilde}it-n\textasciitilde \textasciitilde se\textasciitilde ta \textit{d\textasciicircum}kra sun-\textasciitilde?
\texttt{AUX:N PST-2 QUOT SS man say-PST.1}

‘The man said, “You, who did the distribution, have taken more (meat)”’

In other uses it appears to convey the meaning ‘say’ alone with no additional verb, or with it deleted.

(172)
i. \textit{gisa}\textasciitilde g-e jul-\textasciitilde se\textasciitilde ta \textit{d\textasciicircum}kra ui-ga-ni \textasciitilde
\texttt{monkey-PL see-PST.1=SS man go-PST.1.PROG QUOT/say-PST.1}

‘the moneys saw (her) and said ‘there goes the man’

ii. \textit{sum-ti}\textasciitilde q-d\textasciitilde se\textasciitilde ta titi bor\textasciitilde s\textasciitilde b-\textasciitilde se\textasciitilde jikl-\textasciitilde
\texttt{eat-N PST-1 QUOT SS hand with hold-PST.1=SS pull-PST.1}

‘Saying “I will eat” they held the beans with their hands and pulled.’

iii. \textit{cih m\textasciitilde}r \textit{qem-ti}\textasciitilde be \textasciitilde se\textasciitilde ta
\texttt{ifie how do-N PST-1 DISC QUOT SS}

\texttt{gitin gisag-na siksa\textasciitilde mui d\textasciitilde?-ga}
“Fie upon me! What will I do now?” At that time a piece of bone of one of the monkeys was lying there.

The other quotative is *ki* which likely derives from an Indo-Aryan loan source. This often precedes the quote that is sets off in the sentence.

(173)

i. ṃ*kri* sun-ɔ? ki anda ṃ*kra* no-na kiaŋ gisaŋ-e
woman say-PST.1 COMP no man, you-GEN cooked.rice monkey-PL.

*saɾay-ɔ?* sun-ɔ?
scatter-PST.1 eat-PST.1
‘the woman said “no, husband, monkeys scattered and ate your food’
(Bhattacharya 1968: 148)

ii. ṃ*kra* sun-ɔ? ki niŋ mui buḍdi ḍem-t-iŋ
Man say-PST.1 COMP I one trick do-NPST-1
‘the man said ‘let me do a trick’
(Bhattacharya 1968: 148)

iii. munaʔ-bai gisaŋ sun-ɔ? ki kɔʔn ṃ*kra* saŋ
big-ADJ monkey say-PST.1 QUOT DEIC man come:PST
‘the big monkey said: “This one is not the wife, the man has come’

Note that the use of a quotative is not obligatory (although quite common) in Remo narrative discourse.

(174)

ṃ*kra* sun-ɔ? ma palay bug-ɔ-ber-ɔ?-niŋ ṃ*kri* gɔy-ga
man say-PST.1 what for beat-CV-AUX-PST.1-1 woman die-NPST.1-1
‘the husband said, “why did I strike? The wife is dead’”
(Bhattacharya 1968: 149)

3.2 Complex Sentence Structure

As mentioned above, while the investigation of most features of Remo grammar need more and better data so we can advance our understanding of its structure, one area of Remo grammar that stands out as in particular need of further intensive investigation is the formation and structure of complex sentences. Indeed, virtually no data on complement clauses are available at all for the language. An object complement clause may appear in reduplicated form. Note that this is exactly the structure that typifies many
auxiliary verb constructions in Remo and it is from such complement structures that many such auxiliary verb constructions probably have arisen.

(175)
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\eta \eta \quad \text{tutu} \quad \text{mak-t-i} \\
I \quad \text{REDPL: throw/tie} \quad \text{know-NPST-1}
\end{array}
\]
‘I know how to throw’
(Fernandez 968: 122)

3.2.1 Relative-type Clauses

Like complement clauses, relative clauses are mainly lacking in our corpus. A verbal element can be turned into a participle with relative-type functions by adding –bay to the basic stem for bisyllabic verbs and a reduplicated stem for monosyllabic ones.

(176)
\[
\begin{array}{l}
surisuri \quad urin-bay \quad \text{remo} \quad \text{dio-bo?} \quad \text{wi-ga} \\
\text{fast} \quad \text{walk-ADJ} \quad \text{man} \quad \text{home-LOC/DIR go-PST.II.3}
\end{array}
\]
‘the fast walking man goes home’ (i.e. the man who walks fast…’)
(Fernandez 1968: 117)

3.2.2 Other Subordinate Clauses (time, manner, cause, purpose, etc.)

Remo does appear to have a range of means of creating subordinate clauses of various functional subtypes. Unfortunately the extent of their use, and how seemingly synonymous constructions differ from each other either in meaning, contexts of appropriateness and connotation remains uninvestigated.

Like many other languages of the world, Munda languages included, clitic postpositional elements (or case forms) may be attached to non-finite verbs to form subordinate clauses of various types in Remo. These may attach to a reduplicated form if the stem is monosyllabic. They may also attach to a copular form.

(177)
\[
\begin{array}{l}
badol \quad anq-sa \quad \text{pa?r-\textcircled{c}} \quad \text{momort?g-e} \quad \text{tina-ga} \\
?cloudy \ COP.NEG-DEP \ sky.to.clear-PST.1 \ star-PL \ be.seen-PST.II.3
\end{array}
\]
‘because there was no cloud, the sky has cleared up, stars are visible’
(Bhattacharya 1968:85)

Some postposing of subordinate structures is found Remo. Nominalized or case-marked complements may be found in a post-verbal position, which therefore appears sentence medially.

(178)
i. sunu?bo? tug-o?-ta su-sugbo?-ŋa
comb:head tie-PST.I-NPST.II REDPL.combing:head-DEP
‘he has tied a comb (to his waist) for hair-combing’
(Fernandez 1968: 61)

ii. gor-boy suta ruŋ-o?-ta kɔja-pɔlay bodobel-bo?
Dom.FEM thread bring-PST.I-NPST.II barter-FOR Bodobel-LOC/DIR
‘a Dom woman has brought thread for bartering at Bodoballe’
(Fernandez 1968: 61)

iii. gurume-ŋ ygom remo bire duŋ-o?-ta gunom jukjuk-pɔlay
Andrahal-GEN village man stone carry-PST.I-NPST.II memorial building-FOR
‘the men of Andrahal village have carried a stone for building a memorial’
(Fernandez 1968: 61)

Some elements may attach to what appears to otherwise be a finite verb form in the language.

(179)
ruŋ-duŋ-kɔ-ga-sa?
bring-PROG-PERF-PST.II.3-SS
‘while they were taking him in’
(Fernandez 1968: 100)

Conditional forms, already mentioned in 2.2.5 are also properly speaking a subtype of complex sentence and therefore should be included herein as well.

(180)
i. a-nay-ŋ diŋ di-ki-ŋa ma losuna sum-ŋiŋ
OBJ-we-GEN house COP-PRF-COND what ADD eat-1
‘if we had food in our house, I would also have eaten something’
(Fernandez 1968: 101)

ii. gulayne kiŋŋ a-sum-o?-ŋa goy-g-wi-ta
boy rice NEG-eat-PST.I-COND die-PST-AUX-NPST.II
‘if the boy does not eat, he will die’
(Fernandez 1968: 101)

An accompaniment converb or dependent form in Remo is also found in -lo. Cognate elements are found in Sora for example as well.

(181)
niŋ wi-lo gisiŋ goy-wi-ga
I go-WHILE chicken die-AUX-PST.II.3
‘while I was gone, the chicken died’
(Fernandez 1968: 101)

As mentioned above, it may be the case that the genitive case of a pronominal may also function as the subject of a dependent clause in Remo.

(182)
\[ \text{dɔkrə jʊl-ɔ} \quad \text{jʊl-ɔ} \quad \text{aqɔŋ-se?ta} \quad \text{mayn} \quad \text{kɪyaŋ-ntra-ma?} \]
man see-PST.1 see-PST.1 NEG-CAP-SS -he\GEN\cooked.rice-gruel-curry

\[ \text{buŋ-ɔ-ki-n-bɔ} \quad \text{ui-ga} \]
put-PST.1-PRF-DEP-PLACE go-PST.II.3

‘The man waited there for some time, but then unable to wait more he returned to the place where he lay the rice, gruel and vegetables’
(Bhattacharya 1968: 149)

In this sentence the subordinate clause verb has the dependent/attributive suffix –n- to which the locative/directional case or adposition has attached. Here the meaning created reflects the origin of the element ‘place’ and makes a relative-type subordinate clause meaning ‘the place where ….’

Examples of other verb forms functioning as complements of postpositions, appearing in the dependent –n- form include the following in Remo:

(183)
\[ \text{dɔkrə dɔkri i?-ki-n} \quad \text{tʊŋκət} \quad \text{biri-bɔ} \quad \text{ɡisɑʔ-e} \quad \text{saʔme} \]
man woman go-PLUP-DEP afterwards forest-LOC monkey mandeya.corn

\[ \text{su-sum-sa} \quad \text{iʔ-ga} \]
REDPL-eat-PURP go-PST.II.3

‘the husband and wife being gone the monkeys went to the field to eat mandeya’
(Bhattacharya 1968: 149)

This dependent verb form in –n- can operate itself to mark a temporally subordinate clause in Remo in at least certain instances.

(184)
\[ \text{ɡɪtɪn} \quad \text{kata} \quad \text{sun-ɔʔ-ki-n} \quad \text{dapre} \quad \text{dɔkrə maʔ} \]
that.CLOSE utterance say-PST.1-PRF-DEP suddenly man vegetable.curry

\[ \text{dɔŋy-ɔ-ki-n} \quad \text{ŋkuĩ} \quad \text{brɔŋ} \quad \text{a-dɔkri} \quad \text{bug-ɔ-ber-ɔʔ} \]
‘When this was uttered the man suddenly struck his wife with the pot in which the curry was cooked’
(Bhattacharya 1968: 149)

3.2.3 Coordination, Co-subordination and Switch Reference

In the Remo texts in Bhattacharya (1968), there are certain non-finite elements that appear to function as a coordinating ‘conjunction’ but which have an predominant patterning in sentences where the two clauses share or do not share a subject argument. Such a pattern led Anderson and Boyle (2002) to suggest that at least for certain narrative genres, such a distribution seems to represent a switch reference system. The Remo switch reference markers are seʔ(\textit{ta}) for same subject and –na for different subject.\textsuperscript{3} See examples in (185) for same subject and (186) for different subject.

(185) Same Subject

i. ɨqkir ɨqkran-bo ui-seʔta mayn lokedex \textit{tong-c}.
    Woman man-LOC go-SS s/he:GEN side stand-PST.I
    ‘the woman went up to and stood by her husband’

ii. no goseig-seʔta biri-bo i-ya
    you wear.cloth(by.men)-SS forest-LOC go-IMP
    ‘dress like a man and go to the forest’

iii. kukusag gine giq]</q>-seʔta kirime otur-\textit{\textsf{c}}? atin
tiger teeth gnash-while-SS claw take.out-PST.I that.far.off

    gu naylimi? sugo \textit{dem-\textsf{c}}? sa, koʔ n gu-\textit{bna kirime}
    boy embracing like do-PST.I and.then this boy-also nail

\textit{otur-\textsf{c}}?=seʔta giq]-seʔta a-kkusag naylimi? sugo \textit{dem-\textsf{c}}?

\textsuperscript{3} The –\textit{ta} element in Remo is probably some kind of emphatic. It may be cognate with Gta? -\textit{ka} (see below) usually glossed ‘only’. The shorter variant seʔ occurs in the three texts in Bhattacharya (1968) only with a plural (same) subject. Whether this apparent distribution is meaningful and non-random requires further research. Note also the possible relation of the same subject marker to the clausal connective –sa ‘and then’ in Remo.
take.out-PST.I-SS gnash-WHILE-SS OBJ -tiger emb.  like do-PST.I

‘the tiger then grated his teeth and bringing out his claws moved as if to embrace the boy, at which the boy also exposed his fingernails ground his teeth and moved as if to embrace the tiger’

(186) Different Subject
i. a-niŋ qaʔːtor a-beʔ-ʔa-nɔ-ki ɗɔʔ-na nɔn baʔagari
OBJ-I milk NEG-give-FUT.II-2-Q say-DS you:GEN distributed.property

ɗaktɔr ʁuis-ɔ  sum
milk milk-cv drink(eat)
‘(I say), “will you give me milk or not” and he says ‘milk your side of the partitioned property and drink (it)’
(Bhattacharya 1968: 150)

ii.  porɔk’ ɖɔkri saq-na  kiaŋ  saɾay-ɔ  sum-nay
Next.time woman come-DS cooked.rice scatter-PST.I eat-1PL
‘next time the woman comes, let’s scatter the food and eat it’

Usually same subject coordinate constructions are not simply a juxtaposed finite clause sequence, but this structure does occur in Remo.

(187)

i. niŋ sa-g-niŋ a-remo jul-oʔ-niŋ cf. ii. niŋ sak-seta a-remo jul-oʔ-niŋ
I come-PST.II-1 OBJ-man see-PST.I-1 I come-ss OBJ-man see-PST.I-1
‘I came and saw the man’  ‘I came and saw the man’
(Fernandez 1968: 113)

iii. gulayne  sum-oʔ  sa-ga
boy eat-PST.I come-PST.II.3
‘the boy ate and came’
(Fernandez 1968: 113)

iv. mαʔe njuru muraʔ-ʔa ... ...amaŋ biri-bo biri biri wi-ta
they morning rise-NPST.II OBJ-they-[GEN] highland.field-LOC highland.field go-npst.II
‘they get up in the morning and go to (work) in their highland fields’

[SDM]

4 Note that in the examples in this sentence, the switch reference marker attaches not to a stem marked with a past tense (or ‘participle’) marker, but rather with the simultaneous action marker –lɔ glossed ‘while’ in the interlinear analysis.
Quasi-serialized structures with the first verb in a (past tense/participle or) converb form are also found to a certain extent in Remo clause structure. Since the first verb appears in semi-dependent form, these are not classic serial structures of the type found in Gta? (Anderson this volume).

(188)
\[ \text{daktor quis-} \omega \text{ sum} \]
‘milk milk-cv drink(eat)’
‘milk (it) and drink its milk!’
(Bhattacharya 1968: 150)

4 Semantics/Discourse
4.1 Semantics

This has not been extensively examined in Remo to any degree.

4.2 Discourse

Nor too has discourse been examined in Remo and little will be offered here. There are of course discourse sensitive particles, e.g. –le, the use of which remain obscure.

(189)
\[ \text{n} \omega \text{-na por} \text{rshai b} \text{b} \text{-le gisi a} \text{-dem-} \omega \text{-na} \]
you-GEN clean:ADJ head-EMPH louse NEG-appear-PST-COND
Lice would not have appeared if your head was clean.
(Bhattacharya 1968:63)

Another such element is the particle \( t \\omega \) which is not infrequently found in singular imperative forms and adds a sense of heightened urgency to the command

(190)
\[ \text{i. su} \omega \text{ quis-} \omega \text{ dik-} \omega \text{ q} \omega \text{ se} \text{?ta sun-} \omega \text{?} \]
fire kindle.fire.by.blowing-PST.I stay-EMPH QUOT SS say-PST.I
‘Stay here kindling fire’
(Bhattacharya 1968: 149)

\[ \text{ii. } \omega \text{ d} \text{kri siri} \text{-} \omega \text{?} \]
DISC woman quickly-EMPH
‘O wife, come quickly, come quickly’
(Bhattacharya 1968: 149)

Other discourse sensitive elements, possibly restricted to particular genres (e.g. narrative style) are also commonly found in Remo. One such element is the narrative particle \( t \omega \).
Another is the particle be which seems to be more typical of conversational genres or in conversation in narratives.

(192)

As in many South Asian languages, e.g. Burushashi or Gta?, there is a structure that is used to string along sentences in narrative discourse. Commonly known as ‘head-to-tail linkage’, this structure consists of a copy of the finite verb in clause-final position from the preceding sentence as a non-finite verb form in clause-initial position in the following sentence. In Remo, this structure is not as common as it is in the above mentioned two languages (one of which, Gta?, is Remo’s sister language). Formally speaking the verb often takes what appears to be the purposive subordinator –sa or in the dependent form –n- (193-194) while in others (195) it appears to be embedded within the switch reference system (see Anderson this volume for more on this latter structure in Gta?).

(193) i. gitin n-su?g burɔŋ aten muna?-bai gisak pug-ɔ ber-ɔ?
that.CLOSE knife with that.one big-ADJ monkey gore-PST.1 AUX-PST.1
‘the man gored the big monkey with that knife’
As is clear from the glosses in these sentences, it is often best to leave the head-to-tail linkage part out of the translation into English, as this is not a part of English narrative structure and the result is odd sounding in translation, and in the case of different subject structures like (193) hard to fit into the translation at all.

5 Lexicon
5.1 Austroasiatic/Munda Components

Remo has a large amount of its basic vocabulary inherited from its Proto-Munda and Proto-Austroasiatic ancestral languages. Some examples of basic vocabulary items of an indigenous origin include the following:
(196)
seed-eye  ‘eye pupil’  ‘eyebrow’  ‘nose’
[SDM]

nsu?rā?  nsu?gra?  ‘banana’
ḍa?  ḍa?  ‘water’
guso?  ‘dog’
tikṣuḥ  ‘leg’  ‘foot’
luntur  ‘ear’
gine  ‘tooth’
mō?  ‘eye’
bo?[b]  ‘head’
gutumō?  ‘forehead’  =gutuməŋ
buli  ‘thigh’
gire  ‘chest’
suloy  ‘belly’
gurəŋ  ‘back’
tumo?  ‘mouth’
kurtəm  ‘moustache’
leʔay  ‘tongue’
tonəɾəm  ‘shoulder’
sunūkuti  ‘elbow’
titi  ‘hand’
ōʔonti  ‘finger’
ōʔō[n]suŋ  ‘toe’
jomsuŋ  ‘toe’
kundəq  ‘butt’
[SDM]

5.2  Loan Strata

Naturally a wide-range of loan words have entered the Remo lexicon from a range of sources, mainly local Indo-Aryan ones, but also including English via Indo-Aryan. See Bhattacharya (1968) for an excellent Remo lexicon and still the best source on Remo vocabulary.

(197)
gari  ‘truck’
cini:  ‘sugar’

5.3.1 Hill Remo verb Lexicon

In the following two sections, we briefly offer a list of verb stems and their inflectional classes in both the Hill Remo and Plains Remo varieties.

(198)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unexpected (?) Class-I</th>
<th>Sample maybe unexpected Class-II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kub  ‘cough’</td>
<td>kirol  ‘shout’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kosto-bedo  ‘hurt’</td>
<td>kukwi  ‘wrap, cover with cloth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurob  ‘belch’</td>
<td>kumal  ‘bathe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lor  ‘vomit’</td>
<td>lobl  ‘love’ (loan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mag  ‘know’</td>
<td>loklog  ‘give birth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nana-di  ‘be naked’</td>
<td>lugbar  ‘dig’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nassto-deṃ  ‘spoil’</td>
<td>obunug  ‘fight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḃiṃ  ‘cut paper’</td>
<td>olug  ‘put on’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
og  ‘carry child in sling’  orig  ‘wear, wrap’
ograg  ‘wind yarn on frame’  oʔadɨj  ‘fight’
olaq  ‘spread (of cobra’s hood)’  pwoq  ‘(jump) across’
om  ‘hatch eggs’  pod  ‘jump over’; ‘threaten’
oys  ‘harvest paddy’  ruqboq  ‘wear/put on head’
per  ‘be spicy’  sog  ‘hold’
puglaj  ‘bend wood’  somo  ‘know’
ried  ‘have wrinkles’  somodjo  ‘know/recognize s.o.’
roŋjug  ‘dam stream’  ton  ‘wash’; ‘stand’; ‘offer’
sambuq  ‘suck blood’  sul  ‘crow’; ‘rub’
sinig  ‘far’  sunroq  ‘greet’
turag  ‘piss’  tipaq  ‘hide’
umpar  ‘blow fire’  tugor  ‘beat’
ur  ‘run’  aborl  ‘fight’
uskob  ‘hiccough’  bagor  ‘beat one’s breast’
sun  ‘speak, ask, answer’  bam  ‘get’
tun  ‘wear on upper arm’  bibal  ‘marry’
aledaq  ‘squeeze out water’  butaq  ‘fear’
ay  ‘be taboo’  ḍayks  ‘climb’
arj  ‘shave’  ḍusog  ‘wish, desire’
wagbog  ‘cut off head’  gwidag  ‘wash’
bartug  ‘cut wood’  gel  ‘offer’
batur  ‘spin fibre against thigh’  giqeb  ‘heat’
besag  ‘spread cloth’; ‘go to bed’  giqeq  ‘scratch’
bibeq  ‘place yarn on loom warp’  jinl  ‘win’
bokor  ‘chat’  jirai  ‘fish w/trap’
bubob  ‘bark’
buktadj  ‘pound fibre’
bulaq  ‘ball yarn’
dwiq  ‘cook’
dwoynqar  ‘cook smthg bought’
del  ‘arrive’
derakjul  ‘palm-read’
egb  ‘burn’
gid  ‘be sticky’
goswi  ‘chirp, whistle’
gub  ‘graze’; ‘tie (wood)’
gur  ‘rain’
guraŋarjul  ‘look back’
igsam ‘defecate’
jagl ‘keep watch’
karabδem ‘spoil’

(199) “Labile” roots

jul (I) ‘see, look’
lug (I) ‘dig’
ruy (I) ‘bring’
tul (I) ‘throw’; ‘fix in ground’
tur (I) ‘search for’

Note also: ray (I) ‘cook’ rąŋəl ‘cook’ (II)

5.3.2. Plains Remo verb list

(200)

I

arlim ‘scratch’
al ‘breathe’
ikiṣam ‘shit’
ukseŋ ‘cry’
ur ‘run’
urły ‘walk’
uskobam ‘hiccough’
entur ‘spin yarn against thigh’
oroi ‘not to be’
kaba ḍeq ‘get surprise’
kirol ‘shout’
kukub ‘cough’
kurob ‘belch’
gid ‘stick to smthg’
girəl ‘fish w/trap’
guidsag ‘wash’
gundləy ‘roll down’
gupað ‘celebrate 1st birthday’
gur ‘rain’
gurag ‘spin thread’
gegeb ‘heat’
gebig ‘wear’
gosig ‘whistle’
gosil ‘wear loin cloth’

guisuy ‘wash feet’
guimog ‘wash face’
gay ‘enter’

kumab ‘bathe’
kumbog ‘wash head’
cokoti 'mix w/hand'
jagl 'keep watch'
jin 'win'
jojor 'descend'
jor 'descend'
dais 'climb'
dur 'drizzle'
dakumag 'give birth' (hum)
dur 'be cloudy'
dit 'be' ‘live’
dih 'go, run away'
dusug 'want'
dem 'be(come)’ ‘do'
degug 'be hanged'
del 'cross by jumping'
den 'cook curry'
dengag 'cook by mixing all vegetables'
doqol 'laugh'
drig 'lie down'
tamil 'sneeze'
tar 'become white'
tugor 'beat'
tudag 'piss'
tubog 'tie/put on head'
turgog 'be behind'
togdag 'get up'
tog 'pound'	nsag 'refuse'
pisel 'slip'
pitog 'snap fingers'
per 'be hot'
babl 'think'
bibe 'get drowned'
batuq 'fear'
burat 'swell'
bekor 'chat'
bobob 'bark'
murag 'wake up'
rakt 'be startled'

lare  'drown'
les  'sit'
lakar 'tire'
rag  'tear (cloth/paper)'
mel  'dance'
6 Brief Annotated Sample Text

The Monkey Tragedy

From Bhattacharya 1968:147-8, original line numbering retained. Note: In Bhattacharya’s transcription, a final consonant followed by an apostrophe, e.g. $k'$, $p'$, indicates a pre-glottalized, unreleased stop, e.g., $p'$, $k'$. We have retained this convention in the following text. The influence of Indo-Aryan syntactically is pronounced in this text, e.g. the complementizer/quotative/subordinator $ki$ used before direct quotes.

1. $dpōkra$ $dikri$ $dī-ga$? $tō$
   old.man old.woman stay-PST.II.3 NARR.PRTCL
   ‘there was an (old) man and woman’

2. $biri$ $gōi-goi$ $gōy-3i$? $tō$
   forest REDPL-cut cut-PST.1 NARR.PRTCL
   ‘they cleared a forest (to cultivate it)’

3. $gitin$ $biri-bo$ $sa?me$ $kubete$ $bulu-ga$ $tō$
   that.CLOSE forest-LOC mandeya.corn a lot ripen-PST.II.3 NARR.PRTCL
   ‘a lot of mandeya corn ripened in the forest-field’
4. *gitin biri-ho sa?me su-sum-sa*
   that.CLOSE forest-LOC mandeya.corn REDPL.eat-PURP

   *kubete piri? kukum gisak’ sa-sap to*
   many bird peacock monkey REDPL.come NARR.PRTCL
   ‘many birds, peacocks, and monkeys used to come to that forest to eat the corn’

   that.CLOSE old.man forest-LOC bird peacock monkey pig REDPL.chase-PURP daily

   *jag-bar ui.*
   watch-AUGM go
   ‘the man would go there daily to watch and drive away the birds, peacocks, monkeys, and pigs’

6. *gitin dpkri mai dpkra-palay kiaŋ isa ruŋ bebe?*
   that.CLOSE old.woman 3sg man-FOR cooked.rice daily bring REDPL.give
   ‘the woman used to bring food for her husband daily’

7. *ruŋ-be-be?-sa atin gisa?-ge gari-bo jagl-ə-se?ta*
   bring-REDPL.give-PURP that.far.one monkey-PL path-LOC watch-PST.1-SS

   *a-dpkri kiaŋ saray-ə su-sum*
   OBJ-woman cooked.rice scatter-PST.1 REDPL.eat

   ‘(she went in order to bring and give (him food)), some monkeys on the path watched her and scattered the food (in order) to eat it’

8. *dpkri dpkran-ho ui-se?ta mayn ləge təŋ-ə*
   Woman man-LOC/DIR go-SS 3sg-GEN ?side? stand-PST.1
   ‘the woman went up to and stood by her husband’

   Man say-PST.1 cooked.rice where bring-PST.1-2
   ‘the man said “where is the food you brought?”’

10. *dpkri sun-ə? ki anɖa dpkra no-na kiaŋ gisa?g-e*
    woman say-PST.1 COMP no man, you-GEN cooked.rice monkey-PL

    *saray-ə? sum-ə?*
    scatter-PST.1 eat-PST.1
the woman said ‘no, husband, monkeys scattered and ate your food’

11. ni ʝ dɔkr-i-rem ma dɛm-t-iiŋ
   I woman-person what do-NPST-1
   ‘I am (just) a woman, what am I to do’

12. dɔkra sʊn-ɔ? ki ni ʝ mui buddi dɛm-t-iiŋ
    Man say-PST.1 COMP I one trick do-NPST-1
    ‘the man said ‘let me do a trick’

13. mar misiŋ ɲjʊr a-dɔkri sʊn-ɔ?
    Again/another one.day morning OBJ-woman say-PST.1
    no ɡɔsɨɡ-ʃe?ta  biri-bɔ i-ya
    you wear.cloth(by.men):PST.1-SS forest-LOC go-IMP
    ‘the next morning he told his wife ‘dress like a man and go to the forest’

14. mar misiŋ ɲjʊr dɔkri ɔ mui kədi ɡɔsi-ga
    again morning woman EMPH one dhoti wear-PST.1
    mui ɲəŋɡiŋya mui kənd-bɔ ɡkser-ga
    one axe one shoulder*-LOC/DIR hang.up-PST.1.3
    ‘(Bhattacharya glosses as ‘shoulder’ but the word does not appear in his lexicon; the usual word tonarom)

15. mari dɔkri  biri-bɔ ui-sa gari-gari ui-ga
    then woman forest-LOC go-PURP path-path go-PST.1.3
    ‘the woman went by the path to go to the forest’

16. ɡisaiɡ-ɛ jul-ɔ?-se?ta dɔkra ui-ga-ni  dɔ
    monkey-PL see-PST.1=SS man go-PST.1-PROG QUOT
    the moneys saw (her) and said ‘there goes the man’

17. pɔrɔk’ dɔkri saŋ-na kiaŋ saɾaŋ-ɔ sum-nay
    Next.time woman come-DS cooked.rice scatter-PST.1 eat-1PL
    ‘next time the woman comes, let’s scatter the food and eat it’

18. dɔkra tɔ kiaŋ raŋ-ɔ? ma? dɔɡy-ɔ
    Man EMPH cooked.rice cook-PST.1 veg.curry cook-PST.1
    ‘the man cooked rice and veggy curry’
ntra  bbur-\(\sim\)
gruel  prepare-PST.1
  ‘he prepared the gruel’

mari  kiyag  to  tipni-\(\sim\)  kib-\(\sim\)
then  cooked.rice  EMPH  small.basket-LOC/DIR  pour-PST.1
  ‘then he poured the rice into a small basket’

ntra  patli-\(\sim\)  kib-\(\sim\)
gruel  small.pot-LOC/DIR  pour-PST.1
  ‘he put the gruel in small pot’

ma?  mundi-\(\sim\)  s\(\sim\)-ga
vegetable.curry  earthen.pot-LOC  hold-PST.1.3
  ‘the veggy curry was held in an earthen pot’

mari  mui  damuq-\(\sim\)  j\(\sim\)ga\(\sim\)-\(\sim\)  mari  d\(\sim\)kri  sugo
then  one  large.basket-LOC  collect-PST.1  then  woman  like

t\(\sim\)y-\(\sim\)=se\(\sim\)ta  gari  gari  ui-ga-\(\sim\)
carry.on.head-PST.1=SS  path  path  go-PST.11-PROG
  ‘then he put them in a large basket on his head like a woman and went down the path’

19. a-d\(\sim\)kra  gisa?g-e  jul-\(\sim\)?-se\(\sim\)ta  saray-bar-sa
   OBJ-man  monkey-PL  see-PST.1-SS  scatter-AUGM=PURP

ur-\(\sim\)  t\(\sim\)ega  to
run-CV  go-PST.1.3  NARR.PRTCL
  ‘the monkeys saw the man and ran off to scatter his food’

20. gitin-a  muna?-bai  sensenu\(\sim\)
    that.CLOSE-ATTR  big-ADJ  at.first

   a-d\(\sim\)kra  s\(\sim\)b-\(\sim\)
   OBJ-man  seize-PST.1  later  REDPL-small-ADJ  monkey  seize-PST.1
   ‘the bigger one among them went first and caught hold of the man, and then the younger ones seized him.’

21. gitin  d\(\sim\)kra  nsap-\(\sim\)  nsu?g  mui  p\(\sim\)rig  di-ga?.
    that.CLOSE  man  waist-LOC  knife  one  be.tucked.in  AUX-PST.11:3?
‘There was a big knife concealed in the man’s waist’

22. gitin nsu?g burɔŋ aten muna?-bai gisak pug-ɔ beŋ-ɔ?
that.CLOSE knife with that.one big-DET monkey gore-PST.1 AUX-PST.1
‘the man gored the big monkey with that knife’

23. pug-ɔ beŋ-ɔ?-sa ɗau-ɗau gisa?q-e
gore-PST.1 AUX-PST.1-DEP REDPL-big monkey-PL
a-muna?-bai gisag jul-ɔ
OBJ-big-ADJ monkey see-PST.1
‘he was stabbed and the younger ones looked at the big monkey’

24. muna?-bai gisag sun-ɔ? ki kɔ?n ɗɔkra sag
big-ADJ monkey say-PST.1 QUOT DEIC man come:PST
‘The big monkey said: “This one is not the wife, the man has come”’

25. mari ɗau-ɗau-bai gisa?q-e ɗɔŋy-se?ta ɗuŋ-ɡa
again small-COPY-ADJ monkey-PL jump-SS flee-PST.11.3
‘Then the younger monkeys jumped and ran away’

26. ɗɔkra kiyam ma? ntra ɔntur-ɔ-se?ta
man cooked.rice curry gruel leave-PST.1-SS

‘the man leaving the rice, vegetable and the gruel chased them’

27. gisa?q-e semug bagbɔ ɗai-ɡa
monkey-PL tree on.top.of climb-PST.11.3
‘the monkeys climbed on the top of a tree’

28. ɗɔkra semug aluŋ ui-se?ta a-gisa?q-ge bagbɔ jul-ɔ?-se?ta
man tree down go-SS OBJ-monkey-PL on.top.of look-PST.1-SS

‘The man going below the tree looked up at the monkeys (and said), “You wretched creatures, will you escape eating my mandeya?”’
29. ḵokra jul-ǝ jul-ǝ a-gʷəŋ-seʔta mayn kiyag-ntra-ma?
    man see-PST.I see-PST.I NEG-CAP-SS he:GEN cooked.rice-gruel-curry

    buŋ-ǝ-ki-n-bɔ uŋ-ga
    put-PST.I-PRF-DEP-LOC/DIR go-PST.I.3

    ‘The man waited there for some time, but then unable to wait more he returned to the place where rice, gruel and vegetables were laid by him.’

30. kiyag ntra mari tey-ǝ-seʔta biri-bɔ uŋ-ga
    cooked.rice gruel again carry.on.head-PST.I-SS field-LOC go-PST.I.3

    ‘He then returned to the field carrying the rice, gruel, on his head.’

31. ḵokri jul-ǝ seʔta
    woman see-PST.I SS

    ma ḵedem ḵennο ḵokra ḵo seʔta sun-ɔ?
    what REDPL:do AUX-2 man QUOT SS say-PST.I

    ‘Seeing (him) the wife (said), “What were you doing, husband?”’

32. sa ḵokra sun-ɔ?
    then man say-PST.I no scatter-AUGM-DEP monkey-PL

    a-mui ḵokra gisaʔg buł-bɔ ber-ɔʔ-niŋ
    OBJ-one.NONHUMAN man monkey stab-EMPH AUX-PST.I-I

    ‘Then the man said: “Nay, I stabbed the male one of the monkeys who came to scatter (the cooked rice)”’

    (NB: -AUGM –bar functions like reduplication with loan verb stems)

33. gə-y-ta rə buɾɔ-ta rə
die-NPST.II or live-NPST.II or

    ‘Whether he will die or survive (no one can say).’

34. turgu gitin kiaŋ ntra ma?
    afterwards that.CLOSE cooked.ricegruel vegetable.curry two.persons

    ḵokra ḵokri baŋ-g-seʔ?
    man woman distribute.food.after.cooking-PST.II-SS eat-PST.I

    ‘After that the husband and wife shared the rice, gruel and vegetable and ate.’

35. ḵokra a-ځkri sun-ɔ?

man OBJ-woman say-PST.I DISC mandeya.corn cucumber

*boda-le ga?ay gulay bulu-g di?-ta*
boda,grain-PL beans all/many ripen-PST.II AUX-NPST.II
‘The man said to his wife: " Dear, the mandeya, cucumbers, boda grains and jurunga beans, all have matured (in our field)’

36. *mui ɖɔnɔk’ ɖɔg-này*
one trap make-1DL
‘Let us make a trap.’

37. *tebe ɖɔkra ɖɔkri mbayɔŋ ɖɔnɔk’ tiyar ðeŋem tandɔm-ɔ*
then man woman two.persons trap ready REDPL:do begin-PST.I
‘Then both husband and wife began to make a trap.’

38. *ɖɔnɔk’ tiyar ðeŋ-ga*
trap ready become-PST.II.3
‘The trap was ready.’

field-LOC-DEP beans ?? like bring-PST.I-SS trap-LOC tie-CV AUX-PST.I
‘They brought a bunch of jurunga beans (like punek) from the field and tied it inside the trap.’

tie-CV tie-PST.I ss man and woman house-path go-PST.II.3
‘After that the husband and wife went home’

41. *ɖɔkra ɖɔkri i?-kì-n turgu biri-bɔ ɡisa?-ge sa?me*
man woma mango-PLUP-DEP afterwards forest-LOC monkey mandeya.corn

*su-sum-sa i?-ga*
REDPL-eat-PURP go-PST.II.3
‘The husband and wife being gone the monkeys went to the field to eat mandeya.’

42. [missing from text]
‘All of them saw the mandeya crop, but were not attracted to it.’

43. [missing from text]
‘They went to eat the mandeya inside the trap.’

44. sum-ti-ŋ do se?ta titi hɔrɔŋ ṣəb-ɔ-se? jikl-ɔ
   eat-NPST-1 QUOT ss hand with hold-PST.1-ss pull-PST.1
   ‘Saying "I will eat" they held the beans with their hands and pulled.’

45. kɔl pit iʔ-ga
   mechanism break go-PST.II.3
   ‘The mechanism broke.’

46. gisaʔ-g-e ɗɔŋy-ɓar a-ɡɔŋ-ga
   monkey-PL jump-AUGM NEG-CAP-PST.II.3
   ‘The monkeys were unable to jump out.’

47. gulay gisaʔ-g-e ɡɔŋ-ga
    all monkey-PL die-PST.II.3
    ‘All of them died.’

48. mar misiŋ ɲjur ɗɔkra ɗɔkri rɐybiŋ’ ɗem-ɔ? se?ta
    that morning morning gruel man woman cooking food do-PST.1 ss
    biri-ɓɔ ui-ga
    forest-LOC go-PST.II.3
    ‘Next morning the man and his wife went to the field after taking their morning meals.’

49. gulay biri-ɓɔ bul-ɔ-se?ta ɗɔkra a-ɗɔkri sun-ɔ?
    all forest/field-LOC roam-PST.1-ss man OBJ-woman say-PST.1
    ‘The man going round the whole field said to his wife’

50. suŋ quis-ɔ ɗik-ɔ ɗɔ se?ta sun-ɔ?
    fire kindle.ﬁre.by.blowing-PST.1 stay-EMPH QUOT ss say-PST.1
    ‘Stay here kindling fire’

51. ɗɔkra ɗɔnɔŋ-ɓɔ ui-ga
    man trap-LOC go-PST.II.3
    ‘Then he went to the trap.’

52. gulay gisaʔ-g-e sapay-ɔta
    all monkey-PL be.pressed-PST.1:NPST.II
    ‘All the monkeys have been pressed underneath’
53. ọ Ọkri siri?-lo
   DISC woman quickly-EMPH
   ‘O wife, come quickly, come quickly’

54. niŋ-na sa?me sum-ọta gisa?g-e kiril-ọta
   I-GEN mandeya.corn eat-PST.I:NPST.II monkey-PL.become.fat-PST.I:NPST.II
   ‘They have eaten my mandeya and grown fat’

55. ruŋ-se?ta sur-nay mari ma? ọfọy-ọ-se?ta sum-nay
   bring-SS scorch-1DL.then curry cook-PST.I-SS eat-1DL
   ‘Let’s take them and scorch them, and then let’s cook curry and eat’

56. Ọkra mar Ọkri mui mui
   man and woman one

   ọfọn-ọ se?ta ruŋ-ọga
   carry.on.shoulder-PST.1 SS take-PST.II.3
   ‘The man and his wife took them one by one on their shoulders’

57. suŋ-ho ruŋ-se?ta sur-ọ?
   fire-LOC/DIR take-SS scorch-PST.1
   ‘and taking them to the fire scorched them’

58. Ọkra sela ọfọy-ọ?
   man meat cut-PST.1
   ‘The man cut the meat (with axe)’

59. Ọkri ma? ọfọy-ọ?
   woman curry cook-PST.1
   ‘The woman cooked curry’

60. Ọkra sela tọgtọg-ọ?
   man meat REDPL:separate -PST.1
   ‘The man separated the meat (from the bones)’

61. Ọkri sela baṭal-ọ
   woman meat distribute-PST.1
   ‘the wife distributed the meat (between the two)’
62. *baṭal-⁸-seʔta mbayow Ḍıkra Ḍıkri tireleg-seʔta sun-⁹*

Distribute-PST.I-SS two.persons man woman together-SS eat-PST.I

‘When it was distributed both husband and wife (sat) together (and) began to eat’

63. *Ḍıkra sun-⁹ no baṭa-rem kub səb*

man say-PST.I you distribute-person very.much hold/catch

*Transpose-⁸ no seʔta Ḍıkra sun-⁹*

AUX:N PST-2 QUOT SS man say-PST.I

‘The man said, “You, who did the distribution, have taken more (meat)”’

64. *Ḍıkri sun-⁹ no to jul-⁹ no niy məri kubetek*

woman say-PST.I you NARR.PART see-PST.I-2 I how very.much

*Ruŋ-niy no mə? wag iʔ-ga ki Ḍıkra*

take-I you:GEN eye crack AUX PST.I-3 VOC man

‘The wife replied, “But you saw, how have I taken more? Have your eyes burst, O husband?”’

65. *gitin kata sun-⁹ ki-n dapre Ḍıkra ma?*

that.CLOSE utterance say-PST.I-PRF-DEP suddenly man vegetable.curry

*Ḍy-⁹-ki-n ḳuʔi bɾuŋ a-Ḍıkri buŋ-⁹-beŋ-⁹?

cook-PST.I-PRF-DEP earthen.pot INS OBJ-woman beat-CV-AUX-PST.I

‘When this was uttered the man suddenly struck his wife with the pot in which the curry was cooked’

66. *Ḍıkri gɔi-ga*

woman die-PST.I-3

‘The woman died’

67. *Ḍıkra sun-⁹ ma palay buŋ-⁹-beŋ-⁹-niŋ Ḍıkri gɔv-ga*

man say-PST.I what for beat-CV-AUX-PST.I-1 woman die-PST.I-3

‘The husband said, “why did I strike? The wife is dead”’

68. *Ḍıkra bisar-⁹ ṣkɔʔna biri-ha-na taas ḋiʔ-ta*

man think-PST.I so.much forest-LOC-GEN/DEP field.work be-N PST.I

*a-Ḍıkri cucare buŋ-⁹-beŋ-⁹-niŋ*

OBJ-woman in.vain beat-CV-AUX-PST.I-1
'The man then thought (in his mind), “There is so much work in the field; I beat her for nothing”'

69. cih mør qem-ti-ŋ be ḍo seʔta
fie how do-NPST-1 DISC QUOT SS

gitin gisag-na siksay mui ɖiʔ-ga
that.CLOSE monkey-GEN bone one be-PST.II.3

“Fie upon me! What will I do now?” At that time a piece of bone of one of the monkeys was lying there’

70. koʔn gisag seʔsa to a-daʔkri ɕ-gəys-ɕ-niŋ
DEIC monkey for.the.sake.of NARR.PARTCL OBJ-woman CAUS-die-PST.I-1

də̥-seʔta a-siksaj goye lat buq-ə-her-ə?
QUOT-SS OBJ-bone ?? kick hit-CV-AUX-PST.1

“It was for these monkeys that I killed the woman,” having said this he gave a kick to the bone’

71. gitin siksay teksaj ło gai-ga
that.CLOSE bone leg-LOC enter-PST.II.3

‘The bone (i.e. its poison) ascended through his leg

72. a-daʔkra bisan daś-ja
OBJ-man poison to.spread(poison)-PST.II.3

‘The poison spread through the man (i.e. his whole body)’

73. tebe daʔkra iŋa go ʊi-ga
then man also die go-PST.II.3

‘The man also died’

7 References and Bibliography

References


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