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Topic C:
The bivalent suffix -ku
Other functions

/-nu/ may be attached to adjectives with a future or inchoative sense:

(18) ku-pulmil pana-ka wumak-nu wa</p>

NC: meat-fish that-TOPICALISER rotten-FUT 'now' 'That fish is becoming rotten.'

Also, with what appears to be an inchoative sense, /-nu/ may be attached to adverbs:

(19) laongga manda-nu nata-ka na-f-wal-nu wallaby close-up-NU CONDITIONAL-TOpic 1sg-3sg-speak-FUT 'If there is a wallaby close up I will spear it.'

(20) nakul-nu tipistwe pa-pi-kadu-nu later-NU tomorrow 1sg-2sg-see-FUTURE 'I’ll see you tomorrow.'

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59. Nunggubuyu and Rithargu

Jeffrey Heath

Part 1: Nunggubuyu (eastern Arnhem Land)

C-1. Forms

Allative -way, becoming -guy after nasals and stops. Purposive -yunguyuy, becoming -yunguyuy after nasals and stops. The proposed etymological segmentation is *yunguyuy. An element -yunguyuy (with assorted allomorphs) shows up in nominal morphology in numerous functions, sometimes fused to another element (with -yunguyuy sometimes first, other times second).

Although /w/ and /y/ alternations synchronically have the nonstop as underlying form, there is no doubt that in many cases the stop is historically primary, and the nonstop results from conditioned lenition. The synchronic primacy of the nonstop reflects reinterpretation and asserted consequent re-adjustments. Therefore there is no reason why the -wuy in -way cannot be correlated with the -gu- in -yunguyuy.

C-2. Functions

Allative -way is most commonly used with noun stems. It can be used with pronouns, but not in its usual form with deictics (cf. below). It refers primarily to direction, as in (1):

(1) nadjardjirri ama-nadala-yunguyuy (base-form /ama-nadala-wuy/)
1 go IV beach All
'I am going to the beach.'

In real life there are many situations where an NP is both the goal of an activity and the terminus (actual or intended) of motion. In such cases English chooses to use the purposive preposition for rather than allative to, as in 'He went for firewood'. Such ambivalent situations are treated differently in Nunggubuyu, where allative -way is used instead of purposive -yunguyuy:

(2) nivangi a -uru - way
he went III fire(wood) All
'He went to (i.e. for) firewood.'

Occasionally -way can be added to a potential verb in a temporal adverbial clause. Most commonly these clauses are of the following type:

(3) anuluagad - guy pangunumbi:na he get up (Pot) All I will talk to him
'I will talk to him when he gets up.'

Such expressions do not occur often in my corpus. Usually there is a simple conjunction of two unsubordinated clauses: 'He will get up, I will talk to him'. Expressions like (3) were readily obtained only in elicitation sessions of the 'How do you say _____' type.

Deictics cannot take -way except for a few instances. There are four deictic stems: ya-, da-, yuyu-, and be-. The first two can take -way, but only in irregular and special forms based on the class III (neuter) forms ya-nti and da-nti. The allative forms are: ya-nti-way 'this way, in this direction', and da-nti-way 'that way, in that direction (immediate vicinity)'. The change of -nti to -nu- can be disregarded.

The expected forms *yuyu-nti-way (distant) and *da-nti-way (nonproximate anaphoric) are not found. Instead, we find thoroughly irregular forms yungun and buquun. It is better to translate these as 'to there' than 'in that direction', since yungun and buquun generally imply attainment of the intended terminus, while ya-nti-way and da-nti-way do not.

Presumably we should segment yungun and buquun into *-gu- (allative), *-ni (class III marker in neuter function here), and distorted forms of the deictic stems yuyu- and be-. Obviously such segmentation is synchronically unrevealing since the combinations are thoroughly frozen.

The occurrence of purposive -yunguyuy with nouns, pronouns, and deictics is circumscribed by two factors. Firstly, we have already noted that whenever possible the allative is used instead of the purposive, as in (1). Therefore the purposive is used only when the allative is inappropriate, as in (4):

(4) nivadjugumbi:na ya-majafa-yaunguyuy
he fishes II groper Purp
'He is fishing (with line) for groper (rock cod).'</n
Furthermore, the use of -yunguyuy is limited by the fact that contextually redundant case suffixes are often omitted. Sentence (4) would be perfectly comprehensible without -yunguyuy, and so this suffix is freely deletable (when it is deleted, the noun class prefix is frequently also deleted):

(5) nivadjugumbi:na maja
He is fishing for groper,
This deletability applies also to allative -way, though to a lesser extent.

Purposive -yunguyuy may be added to potential verbs to form purposive complements. Again, however, if the logical relationship among the clauses
is fairly straightforward in context the purposive suffix is usually omitted and a simple potential verb is used:
6. (a) niva:ri: anu - r:yi: he goes he/him spear(Pot)
(b) niya:ri: anu - r:yi:ya:yu:ya: Purp

He's going (there) to see him.'

Part 2: Rithargu (northeast Arnhem Land)

Rithargu is spoken just north and east of Nunggubuyu, but is not close to it genetically. It belongs to the Yuwelangu group, which covers all of the north-eastern part of Arnhem Land. In the matters discussed in this paper, Rithargu is generally typical of Yuwelangu languages except in minor points. However, in relative-clause formation Rithargu differs radically from the others.

C-1. Forms

Dative-genitive -gu after noun stems, -ku or -gu after pronouns. -gu optionally becomes -wu after vowels and non-nasal sonorants by low-level elision, hence *darru:nu or *darru:wu 'of, for the man'. The difference between -k- (Schebeck's -k-) and -g- (Schebeck's -g-) is phonemic in the environment X-v-X, where V is a vowel and X is a vowel or non-nasal sonorant. Hence the opposition is neutralised initially, syllable-finally, and after a nasal, stop, or glottal stop, I write the neutralised stem as -k- syllable-finally, and as -g- syllable-initially. Deictic stems take an augment -n-j, just before the dative-genitive suffix, so we cannot tell whether the resulting combination -n-ju has underlying /-ku/ or /-gu/, as in *ya:yu:n-ju 'for this'.

The following are the dative-genitive pronouns: 15g para:ku, 25g gy:nu, 35g ya:n-ju, 3Dyu ma:na:ju, 3P1 yal-ju. All nonsingular first and second person pronouns take an oblique augment -yu, which is added either zero -gu or -wu in the dative-genitive: for example, first plural exclusive yanapuru:nu or yanapuru:nu-ju. Since -wu here follows a nasal we cannot tell whether it is underlying -kuu or -guu, but since only -ku occurs in the singular pronoun system it might be best to take -ku as basic for all pronouns which do not have -wu. Interrogatives ya:' what?' and para: 'who?' are treated like pronouns and so take -ku instead of -gu: ya:ku 'why?', para:ku 'of, for whom?'

Class 6 verbs (in my system) have a related suffix added directly to the stem in the potential form (which can be future or imperative, among other things). The forms are: -ku after ya:' to hear', -wu after the other two Ca- stems (ya:' to see', ga:' to carry'), and after all class 6 stems ending in -u except *durku:' to cut down (tree)', which takes -phi: *durku:phi, perhaps from *durku:gu via *durku:wu; and -wu (from *guu) after multisyllabic stems in -a- like mara:' to grab, get'.

Infinitive *parari, *nu:nu, etc., contains -wu from -gu.

The relative-clause suffix is -yu.

My view is that the difference between -gu and -ku is historically secondary, so that a single prototype *gu can be posited at an early stage of Proto-Yuvelangu. It is notable that -ku shows up very frequently after stems of the shape CV:, while -gu:wu turns up after longer stems (I know of no relevant

C-2. Functions

I will not go into great detail regarding case-frames of individual verbs, since I intend to make this information available in more specialised future publications on this language. Briefly, the dative-genitive is used for possessives, benefactive objects, indirect objects with verbs of saying and telling,
and complements of certain emotive or cognitive verbs and adjectives (for example 'to fear', 'to be familiar with', 'to be desirous of', etc.). One example will do for now:

(1) jarriri-ra yajara-wu
    want I food Dat
    'I want food.'

It is generally possible to distinguish the genitive and dative uses on syntactic grounds. We will omit details here.

The potential form of class 6 verbs is used exactly like potential forms of other verb-classes, which do not contain reflexes of *gu, *ju, or related suffixes. In main clauses potentials can be future, imperative, or true potential. However, potential clauses are frequently adjoined to other clauses, forming constructions which would be translatable in English as sequences of main clauses plus subordinated purposive clauses:

(2) wan-mu+yay nymbala+y, pani-ha+yay
goes now he there see Pot him he
    'He is going there to see him.'

(3) wan-mu+yay nymbala+y, pani-garawu pani-wu
goes now he there see Infin he Gen
    'He is going there to see him.'

Infinitive clauses are more expressly subordinated to the main clause than are potential clauses, but the infinitive can be set off from the main clause by a pause, as indicated by the comma in (3). Potential and infinitive clauses can also function as sentential complements. In (1), jarriri 'to want' has a nominal complement; the following examples show sentential complements:

(4) jarriri-ra wanini-garawu
    want I go Infin
    'I want to go.'

(5) jarriri-ra wani-tha-ra
    want I go Pot I
    'I want to go.'

These constructions show clearly that infinitive and potential clauses can fulfill the same syntactic roles as dative-genitive NPs, like yajara-wu in (1).

The relative-clause forming suffix is -yu, and to my knowledge such a suffix is not used in this fashion in any other Yuungabu language. A suffix of this form is found in a number of these languages as an adjectival suffix, but is not added to verbs. It must be emphasised that this -yu is distinct from the potential allomorph -yu of some class 6 verbs in Rithargnu.

Without going into great detail, I will merely observe that Rithargnu relatives in -yu show some of the wide-ranging functions of 'adjointed relatives' described by K. Hale in Paper 4 above. That is, Rithargnu relatives are found corresponding not only to English relative clauses, but also to certain types of English adverbial clauses. Basically, I would say that Rithargnu relatives are clauses which set the stage for the main predicate. I would compare them to English -ing clauses of the following type:

6. He having done it, I came back.

In Rithargnu this would be (7):

(7) wa:mi-na-yu+yay, bangul-*yu-na+yay
got he-relatives Rel he returned

However, Rithargnu does not add -yu to virtually any subordinated clause, as do certain Australian languages with their corresponding relativers. It is not the case, for example, that all clauses describing events or states anterior to those predicated by following clauses must go into the -yu form. It is entirely possible to form a grammatical sentence (7) by deleting the -yu from (7). However, there is a subtle change in sense when the -yu is deleted. (7) could be interpretable as a loose conjunction of two logically unrelated predications. (7), on the other hand explicitly indicates that the initial clause is logically (here, causally) related to the predication of the second clause.

At this stage I suppose we must presume that Rithargnu relatives in -yu represent an innovation subsequent to the splitting-up of the Yuungabu group. If so, -yu has expanded from its use as an adjectival suffix to become a marker of clausal 'adjectives'.

Notes

1. Adverbial clauses with ablative -walai-gala, here translatable 'after', are not uncommon.

2. This is because there are special completive allative forms for 'here' (also loosely employable for immediate 'there') which contrast with ya-mu:-way and da-mu:-way and so confine the latter to incomplete or directional allative uses. Interestingly, the complective allatives are not based on the stems ya:- and da:-, but rather on distant yarawu- and proximate anaphoric ba-, and the suffixes used with them include j-ala-, which is related to the ablative suffix -walai-gala. In other words, instead of saying 'He came here' one says literally 'He came from there' ('come' and 'go' are not usually distinguished). Thus English overtly indicates the terminus but disregards the point of departure; Nunggubuyu, on the other hand, overtly indicates only the point of departure. However, English 'He went there' is translated more or less literally into Nunggubuyu, with yuguni 'to there' or the like instead of a word meaning 'from here' or 'from there'. Since the addressee knows that Nunggubuyu 'from there' is normally used only when the terminus is 'here', the length. In Rithargnu, 'from there' can usually be specified more precisely in context as 'from there to here'.

Incidentally, I should point out that the vowel-length patterns of yuguni and buguni are not certain. Vowel length is notoriously difficult to hear in Nunggubuyu, and this difficulty is compounded in the case of these adverbs by the fact that they are often either mumbled or pronounced with artificially exaggerated vowel length.

3. It may be best to try to account for this hypothetical original distribution of *kw and *yu in terms of vowel length. Therefore, instead of saying that *kw occurred after *CV- and *gu after longer stems, we could say that *kw occurred after long vowels and *yu after short ones. Even in modern Rithargnu, stops after long vowels are predominantly fortis, though there
are a dozen or so exceptions with lenis stop after long vowels. If we can account for these exceptions as borrowed, analogical, or of recent creation, we can envisage a situation where only fortis stops could follow long vowels, so that the change of */ku* to */ku* after long vowels would have been automatic.

4. This interesting suffix may be historically segmentable into */gu*-plus */ju*. It indicates the source of something, especially a human or animate provider. Hence expressions like 'I eat turtle meat *dali-y-gu* (provided by them).

60. Kuuku Ya’u

D. A. Thompson

Kuuku Ya’u is a dialect spoken at the Lockhart River Aboriginal Community on the east coast of Cape York Peninsula, Queensland.

C-1. Form

*/ku* occurs without variation except that an alternative form */namu* can be used for possessive.

C-2. Functions

*/ku* is used to mark purpose, benefactive, possessive and allative.

C-2.1. Complements

A. Complements expressing purpose, as in:

(1) *yangi waa-taŋka ptiwaku*
   1 go-PRES.CONT wallaby-PURP
   'I am going for wallaby.'

but not in:

(2) *yangi waa-taŋka pitiwaŋa ta’ika*
   1 go-PRES.CONT wallaby-1 kill-FUT
   'I am going to kill wallaby.'

(3) *yuku pana’ta m-Ta al yikan muŋgalmaŋka’a*
   tree GEN exel-ERG that-LOC yikan type cut-PRES.HAB
   yikanaku
   long spear-PURP
   'We always cut that yikan tree to make long spears.'

B. Complements expressing benefactive:

(4) *yangi kwalatu Managerku maaŋpuŋku maaŋjulu*
   1 speak-NONE Manager-MF me-PSS girl-MF
   'I spoke to the Manager for my daughter.'

(5) *yangi maaŋŋal ppiŋku*
   fish give-IMP father-MF
   'Give the fish to father.'

C. Complements containing a nominalised verb expressing abilitative purpose:

(6) *Jerry pitaŋøtiŋŋiaŋkalana wunjaŋjuna ta’iŋjulu*
   Jerry know-CAUS.vbl-pres.HAB-them boys dance-NOM-PURP
   'Jerry is teaching the boys dancing.'

(7) *yangi pitaŋøti tukuŋ maŋjulu*
   1 know turtle catch-NOM-PURP
   'I know how to catch turtles.'

Optional complements marked by */ku* occur with the verbs:

*waŋgi* 'go'
*waŋka* 'cry'
*ptiwa* 'wait'
*ŋaatja* 'laugh'
*wunja* 'look around'

and with the transitive verbs:

*ŋaŋkara* 'give'
*ŋiŋka* 'show'
*waŋaŋa* 'explain'
*pitaŋøti* 'know'
*pitaŋøtjuma* 'learn'
*pitaŋøtjula* 'teach'

Complements of *manjula* 'tell' and *yanjuna* 'hear/listen to' are unmarked, but when *yanjuna* has the meaning 'listen for' then the complement is marked.

C-2.2. Possessive

*/ku* is used to mark the possessor and also to form possessive pronouns from the objective form of the personal pronoun. An alternate form */namu* is frequently used especially with persons.

(8) *ku’alaku namu pa’don*
   dog-PSS head
   'The dog's head.'

The possessive predicative is indicated simply by placing the topic before the comment. A demonstrative word usually occurs.

(9) *kalka niki kaalaŋku*
   spear this uncle-PSS
   'This spear belongs to uncle.'

C-2.3. Allative

*/ku* also marks the allative but must be distinguished from a directional or motional aspect which is marked by */ma*.

(10) *yangi nili pitaŋja*
    1 return-FUT home-ALL
    'I will return home.'