

KAITITJ NOMINAL INFLECTION: SOME COMPARATIVE NOTES

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1. INTRODUCTION

The Kaititj language is spoken by some 200 people resident in the area around Barrow Creek, Northern Territory. The main community lives at Neutral Junction Station, and others live at the Warrabri Aboriginal Settlement and at Murray Downs Station and Stirling Station.

Kaititj is classified genetically as a member of the Arandic language family, along with Aranda in its numerous dialects (Hale, 1962; O'Grady et al., 1966:41). Kaititj is bordered on two sides by dialects of Aranda, Alyawarra on the east and Anmatjarra on the south. Its other linguistic neighbours are Walbiri to the West and Warramunga to the north.

The aim of this study¹ is to present some of the main features of the inflectional morphology of the Kaititj nominal system. It will include a discussion of the categories marked by inflection and a presentation of the formants used to express various categories. Where these have more than one shape, the distribution of the variants will be indicated. Etymologies will be attempted for the affixes which seem most amenable to historical analysis.

A few remarks on the phonology are in order. The phonological analysis of the language is only tentative at this stage and may be revised in the near future.² Morphemes as cited here end in a consonant or the vowel *u*; however, a vowel *i* appears morpheme-finally after a consonant, but not after *u*, when the following morpheme begins with a consonant. Thus '*dog*' will be written *alik* but '*dog-DU*', *aliki-gir*, while '*water*' and its locative are written as *aṇṭu* and *aṇṭu-ŋ* respectively. A predictable vowel is added word-finally after consonants and

u: it is realised as [a] if stressed (see (18) below for stress), otherwise as [ə] or nothing. Thus the absolutive and locative forms of 'water' and 'mouth' are phonetically [aŋdʷá], [aŋdúŋ(ə)] and [ará], [aréŋ(ə)] (for ar, ariŋ). The phoneme i is usually realised as a mid-to-high central vowel.

Two further particularities of the language should be mentioned. Kaititj has a back unrounded glide phoneme, symbolised by ɣ as in aɣir 'kangaroo'. There is also a series of 'pre-stopped nasals', or nasals with delayed velic opening. These are indicated here by the use of a capital letter, as in aNuŋ 'child', and aMu 'snake'.

2. INFLECTIONAL CATEGORIES

The nominal system includes substantives, or 'nouns' in the narrow sense, adjectives, demonstratives, interrogatives, and personal pronouns. All nominals can be inflected for number and case. In addition, kinship nouns can be inflected for person of possessor.³ Thus we have aMa|i-y 'my mother's brother', ŋk-aMa! 'your MoBr', and ku-aMa! 'his/her MoBr'. Finally, non-singular personal pronouns are inflected for kinship relations.

There are three series of non-singular pronouns whose usage is determined by the mutual relations of the referents within the kinship system. Although there are eight named subsections in the kinship system, the pronoun system only presupposes a classification of the population into four sections. In order to use the pronouns correctly, the speaker needs to know whether the referents are in the same moiety or in opposite moieties, and if they are in the same moiety, whether they belong to the same generation (or more accurately, to the same set of alternate generation levels) or to opposite generations. Thus if all of the persons referred to by the pronoun belong to the same section, i.e., to the same moiety and the same generation, this will be indicated by a suffix -aŋk (added to plural pronouns) or by the absence of a suffix on the pronoun (in the case of duals). If the referents all belong to the same moiety but include members of opposite generations, the pronoun will contain the suffix -ak. Finally, if the set of people referred to includes members of opposite moieties, the pronoun will have a suffix -aŋɿ.

A similar kin-based inflectional system is found in Eastern and Southern Aranda⁴ and in Alyawarra⁵. The language immediately to the south of Arandic, Arabana-Waŋkaŋuru has essentially the same system, even to the point of using similar morphemes -akia and -aŋɿa, although the moieties referred to are matri-moieties rather than patri-moieties

as in Arandic (Hercus and White, 1973:63-4).

3. NUMBER

Three numbers are distinguished: singular, dual, and plural. The singular is formally unmarked. The dual is marked with a suffix *-ḡir* (e.g. *aliki-ḡir* 'dog-DU'). This suffix, which occurs in Aranda as well, is obviously related to the independent word for 'two', namely *aḡir*. Both forms are descended from a Proto-Australian **kuḷara* 'two' where *ḷ* indicates a laminal stop (Dixon, 1970:90). Compare the cognate dual suffix *-tʷara* in Walbiri. The plural suffix is *-amin* (e.g. *aliki-amin* 'dog-PL') for which I can suggest no etymology. The Aranda dialects use completely different forms to express the plural.⁶

There is another suffix *-ḡin* in Kaititj, which bears some resemblance to a number suffix. This suffix is used to designate a 'kinship pair', i.e., a pair of individuals who are in a relation of converseness (in the sense of Lyons, 1968:467-69) to each other. The suffix *-ḡin* is added to the kinship term which denotes the older member of the relationship. Thus 'father and his child' is indicated by *aḷuyi-ḡin*, derived from *aḷuy* 'father'. Similarly the word for 'brothers', *alkiri-ḡin* is based on *alkir*, the term for 'older brother'.⁷ The suffix *-ḡin* is to be regarded, however, as a derivational formant rather than a dual number inflection. Note that the suffixed word may actually designate more than two individuals; for example, *aḷuyi-ḡin* may refer to a father and more than one of his children. The number of individuals actually referred to can be further specified by adding a dual or plural suffix to the whole stem. Thus *aḷuyi-ḡini-ḡir* explicitly indicates a father and one child, or, in Aboriginal English "two father'gethers" while *aḷuyi-ḡin-amin* indicates a father and two or more children or a person and two or more of his fathers. The same suffix occurs in Aranda, where however it has been analysed as an archaic dual (Strehlow 1944:61).

4. ORGANISATION OF CASES

We have seen above that personal pronouns, that is, non-singular personal pronouns, differ from other nominals in being inflected for the section relations of their referents. Personal pronouns also differ from other nominals in their organisation of cases. In the first place, no formal distinction is made between the direct and indirect object cases. In other words, pronouns have no accusative form distinct from the dative. These unitary 'objective' forms are historically datives. Partially for this reason, I will refer to the case as dative. Another reason for preferring the term dative is the fact that there are

adnominal uses of this case. Within their paradigms, the dative serves as the base for the other oblique cases of the pronoun. Thus for the third person singular we have dative *kuɾ*, locative *kuɾi-ɭ*, allative *kuɾi-waɭ*, ablative *kuɾi-ɣiy*, possessive *kuri-yiŋ*, etc.

Another difference between personal pronouns and other nominals is that in the former the intransitive subject always has a different form from the object of transitive verbs. That is to say, objects are always distinguished from subjects. Most personal pronouns use the same form for intransitive subjects and for transitive subjects or agents.

For these pronouns there is no separate ergative form marking transitive subjects. But the first and second singular pronouns do have a separate ergative form for transitive subjects, which is distinct from the intransitive subject form. The forms of the singular pronouns are given in Table 1 (the 3sg being present for the sake of contrast).

TABLE 1

	1sg	2sg	3sg
transitive subject (A)	at ^y	nt	ɾ
intransitive subject (S)	ayiŋ	ŋ	
object	at ^y iŋ	ŋkiŋ	kuɾ

Aranda distinguishes A and S only in the first person singular. For the 2sg, the western dialects have *unt(a)* for both functions, while the eastern dialects have *ŋ(a)* for both functions (Strehlow 1944:92). This distribution can be accounted for if we assume that Proto-Aranda had *unt(a)* for A and *ŋ(a)* for S, as in Kaititj, and that the western and eastern dialects have each extended a different form to cover both functions. Alyawarra still uses both *unt(a)* and *ŋ(a)*.

The Kaititj organisation of the major syntactic cases is set out in Table 2. The functions indicated are, in order, transitive subject (A), intransitive subject (S), direct object (O), and dative (D). Two functions enclosed together share the same formal means of expression.

TABLE 2

{Non-sg} pronouns 3sg	1, 2sg pronouns	other nominals
A	A	A
S	S	S
O	O	O
D	D	D

Note the absence of a separate O form.⁸ Pronouns formally identify O with D, and other nominals identify it with S, in the absolutive case.

I will use the label nominative to refer to either a unique S form or a combined S/A form. Thus personal pronouns, except for 1, 2 sg, have a nominative-dative system of inflection; first and second singular pronouns have an ergative-nominative-dative system; and other nominals have an ergative-absolutive (-dative) system.

5. CASE SUFFIXES

Table 3 gives the actual case suffixes that are used in ordinary nominal (as opposed to pronominal) inflection. The forms are illustrated with some paradigms of demonstratives.

TABLE 3

		'this-SG'	'that-DU'	'that-PL'
ABSolutive	∅	n ^y -aṭ	ni-ṭir-aṭ	ni-amiṇ-aṭ
ERGative- INSTrumental- LOCative	-l ~ -ŋ ⁹	t ^y i-l-aṭ	ni-li-ṭir-aṭ	ni-li-amiṇ-aṭ
DATIVE	-w	t ^y i-w-aṭ	ni-ṭiri-w-aṭ	ni-amiṇi-w-aṭ
ALLative	-wa!	t ^y i-wa!-aṭ	ni-ṭiri-wa!-aṭ	ni-amiṇi-wa!-aṭ
ABLative	-ṭiy	t ^y i-ṭiy-aṭ		
COMITative	-la!iŋ -ŋa!iŋ	t ^y i-la!iŋ-aṭ		
'danger'	-kit ^y	t ^y i-kit ^y -aṭ	ni-ṭiri-kit ^y -aṭ	
'after'	-piṇ	t ^y i-piṇ-aṭ		

Certain suffixes call for special comment. The suffix that I have provisionally glossed as 'danger' resembles the ablative, in that it may denote movement away from something. However, there is always present the notion of seeking protection from some danger.¹⁰ Thus, for example, aMu-kit^y 'snake - danger' may occur in the context 'be afraid of the snake' or 'run away from the snake'. In combination with the noun ayirk 'sun' we have 'build a shelter from the sun'. This suffix is homophonous with a suffix (or enclitic) that occurs following a verb in sentence that express warning, such as (1).

- (1) aMu-ŋ ŋkiŋ aNi-mi-kit^y
 snake-ERG 2SG DAT bite-may-danger
 'Look out, the snake may bite you!'

A noun bearing the suffix -kit^y can be used by itself with much the same sense of warning: aMu-kit^y 'look out for the snake!'

In some respects -kit^y can be seen as a causal suffix. But causality is also expressed by the suffix -piṇ, as the following uses show:

ŋkwa!i-piṇ '(stagger) from grog', 'after (drinking) grog'; warki-piṇ '(receive money) for working, after working'. The basic sense must be

'after', however, since no causal notion is present in another usage, awuri-piŋ '(become a man, i.e. be initiated) after (having been) a boy'.

6. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES

In addition to the suffixes given on Table 3 there are a number of suffixes which are commonly used but which are not to be regarded as case suffixes, but rather as derivational morphemes. Their function is to convert the base nominal into an adjective. This derived adjective can then be further inflected for case. First there is the possessive (or genitive) suffix, which results in a derivative with the sense '*belonging to N*', where N indicates the base nominal. The possessive suffix has two forms, -yiŋ after personal pronominal stems, and -aŋiŋ following other stems. Examples are given in (2) to (5).

The proprietive suffix -akak conveys the sense '*having N*'. This suffix is not to be confused with the comitative case, which expresses accompaniment, but not physical possession. For a similar distinction in Aranda see Strehlow 1944:200. The proprietive suffix is illustrated in (6). The privative function ('*without N*') is indicated by the suffix -wanin^y. This is illustrated in (7).

- (2) t^y-aŋiŋi-l-aŋ 'this-POSS-ERG-aŋ'
- (3) aMaŋi-y-aŋiŋi-l 'MoBr-my-POSS-INST'
- (4) at^yi-yi i-l 'I-POSS-ERG'
- (5) mpuw-aki-yiŋi-w 'you DU-{same moiety
opp. gen.}-POSS-DAT'
- (6) waŋ-akaki-l 'fire-PROP-ERG'
- (7) irt^yaŋi-wanin^yi-l 'spear-PRIV-LOC'

7. ORDER OF CASE AND NUMBER SUFFIXES

A question arises as to the relative order of case and number suffixes in the circumstance where both occur in the same word. The normal situation is for the case inflection to follow the number marker. This can be seen in the demonstrative paradigms given in Table 3 and is further illustrated in (8) and (9). In contrast to this normal pattern, however, the ERG-INST-LOC suffix always precedes the number affix, as the examples in (10) to (14) show.

- (8) aMaŋi-ŋiŋ-amiŋi-waŋ 'MoBr-kin pair-PL-ALL'
- (9) pinanŋki-tiri-w 'Panangka (subsection name)-DU-DAT'
- (10) aŋuyi-li-tir 'man-ERG-DU'
- (11) aMaŋi-ŋiŋi-l-amiŋ 'MoBr-kin pair-ERG-PL'
- (12) awiyawi-l-amiŋ 'dead person-LOC-PL'
- (13) ilt^yi-ŋi-tir 'hand-INST-DU'
- (14) aMu-ŋ-amiŋ 'snake-ERG-PL'

The combination of case plus dual marker is sometimes avoided by the use of a noun phrase including the numeral 'two'. Thus (15) may be used in place of (13). Another variation that has been recorded involves a double marking for case, as in (16).

(15) aḡiri-! ilt^yi-ŋ 'two-INST hand-INST'

(16) aMu-ŋi-ḡiri-! 'snake-ERG-DU-ERG'

The difference in the relative order of case and number suffixes probably reflects an earlier situation where the dual and plural affixes were independent words, and where the case of the noun phrase could be marked either on the head noun (or pronoun) or on the quantifier, or possibly on both. It is still possible in Kaititj to mark case on more than one word in a noun phrase. The facts of Aranda, as presented by Strehlow (1944:78-99), are somewhat similar to those of Kaititj, but more involved. Although in nominals case normally follows number, in demonstratives and interrogatives it may either precede or follow the number marker. This statement requires further qualification: case precedes number in the dual of the interrogative (the same holds for the dual of third person pronouns), and the ablative suffix always follows the number affix. It is possible that at an earlier stage Kaititj case suffixes enjoyed a similar variability in position but that the position has since become fixed, although in a different manner for different cases. It is not clear, however, why it should have been the ERG-INST-LOC marker alone which was fixed in the pre-number slot in Kaititj.

We might consider whether the number markers of modern Kaititj should perhaps be analysed synchronically as independent words rather than as suffixes. There are two pieces of evidence that support the suffixal analysis. Demonstratives in Kaititj always end with a suffix -aḡ, which seems to indicate deictic function. In non-singular demonstratives the dual and plural markers always precede this word-final morpheme (see again Table 3). These number markers also precede derivational suffixes, as can be seen in ḡi-ḡir-aḡi-aḡ 'belonging to these two' and alik-amiḡ-akak 'having a number of dogs'. Since there is no reason to analyse either -aḡ or the derivational suffixes as independent words, it follows that the morphemes which precede them are also affixes.

8. ERGATIVE-INSTRUMENTAL-LOCATIVE

We turn now to a consideration of the case suffixes one at a time. The ergative-instrumental-locative suffix has two shapes, -l and -ŋ, which are distributed in an interesting manner. The allomorph -l is by far the more common. It occurs after any stem consisting of three or

more syllables (see Table 4, column 1). The alternant -ŋ is confined to disyllabic stems (Table 4, column 3). But there are some disyllabic stems that require the choice of -l (Table 4, column 2).

TABLE 4

1		2		3	
aliki-l	'dog'	ŋkit ^y i-l	'foot'	aki-ŋ	'head'
aɣiri-l	'kangaroo'	ɾari-l	'wind'	ilt ^y i-ŋ	'hand'
aɬuyi-l	'man'	ŋuɣi-l	'elbow'	aŋmi-ŋ	'red ochre'
aɣirki-l	'sun'	kayti-l	'grub'	aynpi-ŋ	'pouch'
!uNpiri-l	'forehead'	wirki-l	'scrub'	aMu-ŋ	'snake'
		wupi-l	'spider'	an ^y t ^y u-ŋ	'humpy'

Closer inspection of the disyllabic stems reveals that -l occurs only after stems of the structure CVCV-, where C stands for a consonant or a consonant cluster. I will describe these stems as stems containing two consonant positions. The allomorph -ŋ, on the other hand, follows stems containing only one consonant position, i.e. stems of the structure VCV-. Thus the choice of suffix is determined by the rule given in (17).

- (17) Choose -ŋ if the stem has only one consonant position, otherwise choose -l.

The conditioning of allomorphs by the number of consonant positions in the stem is not common in the Australian languages. Nevertheless, reference to the number of consonant positions must be made elsewhere in the grammar of Kaititj as well. The stress rule, formalised in (18), assigns stress to the vowel that follows the first consonant position in a word.

- (18) $V \rightarrow \text{stressed} / \# (V) C _$

This means that a word beginning with a consonant (cluster) is stressed on the first syllable, e.g. ŋkít^yi! or káyti!, while vowel-initial words receive stress on the second syllable, e.g. alíki! or akíŋ.

Now the Arandic languages in their historical development have lost initial consonants and in some cases the first CV (Capell, 1956:100). Thus Kaititj alik corresponds to Walbiri maliki 'dog' and Kaititj aɣir to Walbiri wawiri. Therefore words which now begin with a vowel would earlier have been preceded by a consonant, and words beginning with a consonant (cluster) would have been preceded in an earlier stage of the language by a consonant-plus-vowel sequence. Thus what is now the first C continues what was formerly the second C. Consequently the stems of column 3 in Table 4 continue earlier stems of the shape CVCV-, while those of column 2 reflect an original structure CVCVCV-. Note that the difference is now one of number of syllables. It becomes clear that

the choice of ergative-locative allomorph was previously determined by the number of syllables of the stem, -ŋ being selected after disyllabic stems and -l elsewhere. This principle governing the distribution of alternants which we have reconstructed for Pre-Kaititj is virtually identical to that found in Walbiri, the western neighbour of Kaititj. In Walbiri the ergative suffix is -ŋku and the locative -ŋka after disyllabic stems but -!u and -!a respectively after stems of more than two syllables.

A number of exceptions to the general rule (17) merit discussion. At least two words show variation in their suffix: some older speakers use -ŋ in a word containing two consonant positions, where other speakers, in accordance with the rule of (17), employ the allomorph -l. Thus the locative of 'fire' and 'meat' may be waŋi-ŋ and wiŋi-ŋ respectively, besides the regular waŋi-l and wiŋi-l. The cognates of these words indicate, however, that the initial consonant w does not continue an earlier second consonant position but is the result of a secondary development.

Kaititj waŋ is related to Aranda uŋ(a) 'fire'. Capell (1956:100) has derived the Arandic words from a Common Australian ŋura 'camp', which in some languages (primarily in the eastern Arnhem Land area) denotes 'fire' (op.cit. 90). It is equally plausible, in my opinion, that they are related rather to Dieri ɟuru 'fire'.¹¹ The other word in question, wiŋ, is apparently cognate to Walbiri kuyu 'meat'. Therefore our two Kaititj exceptions continue an earlier uŋ (still attested in Aranda) and *uŋa, with subsequent diphthongisation of u in initial position. At this earlier stage the allomorph -ŋ was regular since there was only one consonant position in the stem. However, after the words were restructured with initial w, there were two consonant positions and -l is the alternant required by the rule. This restructuring has apparently taken place in the fairly recent past, since its morphological consequences have not yet been carried out in the speech of some of the older members of the community.

Another type of exception to (17) is found in the Kaititj demonstratives. The ergative-locative suffix is -l in tʷi-l-aŋ 'this' and ŋɬi-l-aŋ 'that', although we would expect -ŋ because there is only one consonant position in the stem. If we look again at Walbiri, where the choice of allomorph is governed by the same principle as in Pre-Kaititj, we find that disyllabic demonstratives are also exceptional in that they take the alternant -!u/-!a, which is normally reserved for stems of three or more syllables (Hale, 1973:327, fn. 18). The Kaititj demonstratives would also have been disyllabic at an earlier stage. Thus we see that the rule governing the selection of ergative-locative allomorphs in an earlier stage of the Kaititj language is the same, even in its

exceptions, as the rule that applies in present-day Walbiri.

There seems to be no reason not to consider the actual forms, as well as the condition for their alternation, as reflexes of proto-types identical to the suffixes found in Walbiri (and in many other Australian languages). We can then derive -ŋ from -ŋku or -ŋka and -l from -lu or -la, where the suffixes containing the vowel u are ergative and those with a represent the locative. The instrumental function would have been expressed either by the ergative or by the locative form, as in many other Australian languages. The formal distinction between the ergative and locative was lost in the Arandic languages through the neutralisation or loss of final vowels. In addition, the stop was dropped out of -ŋku and -ŋka, possibly after the loss of final vowels.

9. ABLATIVE

These phonological changes would have had a further effect, beyond the merger of ergative and locative case forms. An original ablative case suffix -ŋu, widely attested in the Australian languages, would regularly have developed into -ŋ(a) by the neutralisation (or loss) of final vowels. This form of the ablative suffix is found in Aranda. Kaititj, however, has a totally different form -ɬiy.¹² Assuming that -ŋ was the inherited ablative suffix, why, we might ask, has Kaititj replaced it?

Notice, in the first place, that -ŋ would have signalled the function of ablative and, after stems of a certain structure, of ergative, instrumental, and locative as well. Such a situation apparently involved more case syncretism than the language was willing to tolerate. This functional overloading of -ŋ was remedied by means of different strategies in Kaititj and Aranda. Aranda simply eliminated -ŋ as an alternant of the ergative-instrumental-locative morpheme and generalised -l to all stems. In Kaititj, on the other hand, it was the ablative -ŋ that was replaced. Its place was taken by a suffix -ɬiy, whose earlier function within the language (if any) is unknown. Formally, -ɬiy can be analysed into -ɬi-yV. The first part, -ɬi, may be related to a suffix -ɬi which is found quite commonly as a marker of ablative function in the languages of north-western New South Wales, such as Ngilyambaa, Wiradjuri, and Gamilaraay (see the contribution of Austin, Williams and Wurm to the present volume).

The presumed original ablative suffix -ŋ may nevertheless have left some traces in certain Kaititj adverbs. A comparison of uruɬiŋ 'on top of' with uruɬ 'high up' and of kuniŋ 'underneath' with kun 'down/inside' suggests that the former member of each pair can be analysed (diachronically) as containing a suffix -ŋ. This -ŋ cannot be a locative suffix,

since the preceding stem contains more than one consonant position. It may then continue an older ablative inflection. Some support for interpreting these adverbs as earlier ablatives comes from a third adverb, 'behind', which I have recorded as *anantiŋ* and *(ana)ntiŋtiy*. The longer version of the latter form appears to consist of the first cited form followed by the productive ablative suffix *-tiy*. (Note incidentally that if *anantiŋ* itself contains an earlier ablative suffix *-ŋ*, the longer form *anantiŋtiy* is, diachronically speaking, doubly marked for the ablative.) This example indicates that at least some adverbs expressing position may receive an ablative inflection. It is therefore reasonable to posit that other positional adverbs were inflected ablatives at an earlier stage of the language, especially when the suffix yielded by such an analysis is identical to the productive ablative suffix of the most closely related language.

10. COMITATIVE AND ALLATIVE

The comitative suffix has two forms, whose distribution is conditioned in the same manner as that of the ergative-locative allomorphs. The alternant *-ŋaŋiŋ* occurs after stems containing only one consonant position, with the exception of demonstratives, while *-laŋiŋ* occurs elsewhere. For examples see Table 5.

TABLE 5

<i>aŋuyi-laŋiŋ</i>	'man'	<i>aŋtu-ŋaŋiŋ</i>	'water'
<i>aŋuŋi-laŋiŋ</i>	'child'	<i>aŋu-ŋaŋiŋ</i>	'deaf/mad'
<i>ŋuŋi-laŋiŋ</i>	'other'	<i>ilku-ŋaŋiŋ</i>	'old man'
<i>tʸi-laŋiŋ</i>	'this'	<i>aŋti-ŋaŋiŋ</i>	'rock'

The comitative suffix can therefore be analysed formally into locative plus *-aŋiŋ*.¹³ It is conceivable that *-aŋiŋ* was an independent word at some earlier stage of the language. From a formal point of view, it could be the locative or the ablative of a stem *-aŋ*. A phrasal origin for the comitative appears attractive when we compare the comitative with other formally similar constructions, as in (19) and (20), where N represents a noun.

(19) N - LOC *-aŋiŋ* 'with N'

(20) N - LOC *kuniŋ* 'under N'

Here the only difference is that *kuniŋ*, unlike *-aŋiŋ*, is an independent word. Thus *-aŋ* may have once been an independent stem as well, although I have no suggestion as to what its original meaning may have been.

The allative suffix *-waŋ* can similarly be analysed into *-w* plus *-aŋ*. The first part is identical to the dative suffix. The second part may

be the same stem that we find in inflected form in -a!iŋ. Compare the forms of the allative and comitative in (21) and (22).

(21) ALL = DAT + a!

(22) COM = LOC + a!iŋ

11. DATIVE

The dative suffix is -w, e.g. aŋuŋi-w 'child-DAT'. This I propose to derive from the Common Australian data suffix -ku, with loss (or neutralisation) of the final vowel and lenition of the stop.¹⁴ Several pieces of evidence point to -ku as the source of -w. In the first place, the purposive (or infinitive) of verbs has the suffix -wiŋ, as in api-wiŋ 'go-PURP'. Now the purposive inflection of verbs in Australian languages is often identical to the dative of nominals. If we derive Kaititj -w from -ku and -wiŋ from -ku + -ŋV, Kaititj continues a familiar pattern, except that the purposive has been extended by the addition of the increment -ŋV.

Further support for regarding an earlier -ku as the source of -w is the fact that in Aranda the dative suffix is -k(a). A suffix -k is found in Kaititj as well, in the dative of the first person dual and plural exclusive pronouns, where it contrasts with the normal -w of the corresponding inclusive forms. See the examples given in (23) and (24).¹⁵

(23) ayli-k-ak '1DU-DAT+EXCL-(same moiety),
(opp. gen.)

(24) ayli-w-ak '1DU-DAT+INCL-(same moiety),
(opp. gen.)

The full form of the earlier dative suffix -ku is actually preserved in Kaititj in one pronominal form. To show this, it will be necessary to make a brief digression into the marking of possession. The possessor of a noun is indicated by the preposing or prefixation of the dative of the corresponding pronoun. (I will omit any discussion of the first and second person singular possessor, for which see Section 2 above.) The system is illustrated on Table 6.

TABLE 6

Person	NOM	DAT	Poss. + 'father'
2 DU	mpul	mpu-w	mpuw-a!uy
3 PL	at-aŋki-r	ati-w-aŋki-r	atiwaŋk-a!uy
3 SG	ŋ	kuŋ	ku-a!uy

Plural pronouns contain an optional final increment -r, which is never present in the preposed form. Note that the prefixed form of the 3sg lacks the final ŋ of the independent form of the dative. This suggests that this -ŋ was also an optional increment at an earlier stage. Now,

bearing in mind that Kaititj in its historical development has lost initial C(V), we can reconstruct the 3sg dative as *CVku(r). The nominative would then continue an earlier *CVr, or, assuming that the final -r was an optional increment here as well, *CV(r). If this is correct, the whole stem of the original pronoun has been lost, leaving as the present-day nominative stem of the pronoun what was once only an optional increment. Now if we compare the reconstructed dative *CVku (omitting the optional r) with the nominative *CV, we can isolate -ku as the marker of the dative function. This same original dative suffix -ku is preserved as the prefix marking third person singular possessor.

It is thus pretty clear that Pre-Kaititj knew the dative -ku. It is reasonable to derive the modern dative suffix -w from the same source. Whatever the exact conditions for the change from k to w, it did not affect the 3sg pronoun.

12. CONCLUSION

According to our reconstruction, which should be regarded as tentative, Kaititj contains reflexes of a number of case suffixes that are familiar to us from other Australian languages. These correspondences are set out on Table 7.

TABLE 7

Case	Common Australian	Kaititj
ERG	-ŋku ~ -lu	-ŋ ~ -l
LOC	-ŋka ~ -la	
DAT	-ku	-w
ABL	-ŋu	(-ŋ)

The Kaititj allative has been built on the dative and the comitative on the locative. The ablative has been replaced by a suffix -ŋiy, although there are traces of the original suffix in some adverbs. The alternation of allomorphs in the ergative and locative cases is governed by the (original) number of syllables in the stem, the first alternant occurring only after disyllabic non-demonstrative stems, exactly as in Walbiri. I have no proposals at this point for the origin of the suffixes -kit^y and -piŋ or the derivational suffixes mentioned in Section 6.

The dual number suffix -ŋir has a fairly typical form while the suffix indicating plural is unique. Possession is expressed by means of prefixes for 2sg and 3sg possessor, but with a suffix for the 1sg. Plural possessors require further study, especially to determine whether the possessor morpheme is to be analysed as a prefix or a preposed dative of the personal pronoun.

The kinship relation markers of the non-singular pronouns are a

distinctive feature of Kaititj (and other parts of Arandic). This feature is shared with many of the languages of South Australia, some of which have even more complex kinship reflections in the pronominal system (Schebeck 1973; Hercus and White 1973). The system of kin-based pronouns, along with the phenomenon of pre-stopped nasals (Hercus 1972), link Kaititj and the other Arandic languages to the languages to the south. On the other hand, the ergative-locative allomorphy links Kaititj with its western neighbour Walbiri. Both of these facts will be important in the working out of the areal and more distinct genetic relations of the Kaititj language.

N O T E S

1. The data on which this study is based was collected on two field trips undertaken in December-January of 1974-75 and of 1975-76, the second of which was supported by a grant from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. I have also benefited by having access to a copy of the field notes of Kenneth Hale, who did some work on Kaititj in 1959.
2. I now (1980) prefer a phonological analysis that differs in the following ways from that given in the paper: 1) In place of the vowel *i* I would write *ə*, which can be represented orthographically by *e*. 2) There is no round vowel *u*; instead there are rounded consonants. A phonetic round vowel is a realisation of *ə* when it is adjacent to a rounded consonant. 3) All morphemes, and hence all words, end in the vowel *ə*. This vowel disappears before a vowel-initial suffix. Word-finally when stressed, *ə* is lowered almost to [a]. The words cited in this paragraph would then be represented as follows: *aleke*, *aleke-tere*; *aŋt^we*, *aŋt^we-ne*; *are*, *are-ne*.
3. This applies to singular possessor only.
4. See Hale 1966:323-4, for an earlier discussion of this system in the Arandic languages. He uses the terms *harmonic* and *disharmonic* to refer to same vs. opposite generation, and *agnate* and *non-agnate* to refer to same vs. opposite moiety.
5. Yallop 1977:5f, 92ff.
6. Alyawarra has a non-singular marker *-inim*, which would appear to be related in some way to Kaititj *-amin*.

7. This suffix can also be added to reciprocal kinship terms, as in *mpuŋi-ŋiŋ* 'brother-in-law pair', where neither member of the relationship is necessary senior to the other.

8. In this respect Kaititj differs from Aranda, which has a separate accusative form which appears to be built on the stem of the nominative by means of a suffix *-ŋ(a)*.

9. The *l* of the ERG-INST-LOC case automatically becomes *!* when the preceding consonant is apical, as in examples 15 and 16.

10. The label AVERSIVE has been proposed for such a case in Dixon 1980.

11. In either case the word was originally disyllabic. Other possible cognates are Western Desert *waɾu*, Walbiri *wa!u*.

12. An ablative *-ɬiy* also occurs in Alyawarra.

13. Further support for this analysis comes from *ilku-ŋ-amiŋ-a!iŋ* 'with the old men', where *-a!iŋ* is separated from the locative marker *-ŋ* by the plural affix *-amiŋ*. Note incidentally that this form provides another example of the locative suffix preceding the number affix. Another form, *ilku-ŋi-ɬiri-!-a!iŋ* 'with two old men', shows the same phenomenon of double case marking with the dual that was mentioned in Section 7.

14. A sound change *k > w* is needed to account for the apparent correspondence between Kaititj *aŋiwit^y* and Walbiri *maŋikit^yi* 'conkerberry'.

15. Observe that the exclusive datives of Kaititj thus resemble the inclusives of Alyawarra, the only Aranda dialect for which an inclusive/exclusive distinction has been reported.

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