

**Grammatical**  
and  
**Semantic**  
**Aspects**  
of  
**Fitzroy Valley Kriol**

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by

*Joyce Hudson*



# WORK PAPERS OF SIL-AAB

Series A Volume 8

**GRAMMATICAL**

**AND SEMANTIC ASPECTS**

**OF FITZROY VALLEY KRIOL**

by Joyce Hudson

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## PREFACE

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## INTRODUCTION TO SERIES A VOLUME 8

This monograph was first written as a thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts from the Australian National University. It is published here after minor revision.

Joyce Hudson brings to this monograph 13 years study of Walmajarri, a traditional Aboriginal language, and observation of the increased use of Kriol in the Fitzroy Valley Area. With this background she has been able to give an informed view of the sociolinguistic aspects of Kriol as well as the linguistic analysis.

The author begins by giving us a general overview of pidgins and creoles. She gives the historical beginnings of Kriol in the Fitzroy Valley and a brief look at the sociolinguistic situation there. She then goes on to present the analysis of some grammatical features of Kriol and compares them with traditional Australian languages. The final section of this monograph is looking at lexemes and discussing etymology. The author points out some of the problems involved in assigning etymons to Kriol words. This section highlights the contrast of meaning between Kriol lexemes and the English words normally equated with them, noting that it is in this area that we find the cause of so many miscommunications between Kriol and English speakers.

I believe this monograph is a significant contribution to the study of pidgins and creoles and we are glad for the opportunity to present it in our Work Papers.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

ABL	ablative
ACC	accessory
ASSOC ~ A	associative
att	attain
AUX	auxiliary
COL	collective
COMIT	comitative
COP	copula
DAT ~ D	dative
DIR	direction
DU	dual
E	English'
EM	emphasis
EQ	equational
ERG	ergative
EX	exclusive
EXCL	exclamation
FUT	future
HES	hesitative
IN	inclusive
INCHO	inchoative
IND	indefinite
intr	intransitive
ITER	iterative
K	Kriol
Lit	literally
LOC ~ L	locative
NEG	negative
NOM	nominal
NP	noun phrase

O	object
ONOM	onomatopoeic form
P	possessive
PL	plural
POT	potential
pred	predicate
PROG	progressive
PST	past
PURP	purposive
REDUP	reduplicated form
REFL	reflexive/reciprocal
REL	relator
S	subject
SG	singular
TAG	tag
TOP	topic
tr	transitive
TR	transitive marker
W	Walmarjarri
1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person
∅	used where the absence of a morpheme is significant
---	stands in for the morpheme <i>ting</i> in English translation (see Appendix 1)
...	some text omitted

GRAMMATICAL AND SEMANTIC ASPECTS OF FITZROY VALLEY  
KRIOL

Joyce Hudson

0. INTRODUCTION

The choice of topic for this monograph has come after many years of residence in Fitzroy Crossing and prolonged firsthand observation of the changes taking place in the language of the children in the area. There have been changes of many kinds in the life of this small town since I arrived in 1967. The most notable linguistically has been a continuing takeover by the English-based creole (Kriol) which has displaced the traditional languages,<sup>1</sup> first for those who attended school and subsequently for all youth ranging from toddlers to young adults. During this time the focus of my linguistic activities has been a depth study of Walmajarri, one of the traditional Australian languages of the town. My exposure to Kriol has been incidental (before 1981) but over the years a very strong, though subjective impression has been formed in my mind that I was hearing the same concepts and grammatical structures in Kriol as in Walmajarri. So I welcomed the opportunity to study Kriol in depth, in order to check out my impressions with empirical evidence. Comments in the literature have encouraged me to follow this line. Dixon in his volume on Australian languages says: 'There is need for intensive study of Aboriginal English, by linguists familiar with the structure of native Australian languages; none has yet been undertaken' (1980:75). Creolists have made similar remarks such as the one by Bickerton: 'Another largely unfilled need is that for comparisons between pidgin or creole languages and related non-European languages.... Studies which attempt to embrace a wide variety of grammatical phenomena, such as Camden's comparison of South Santo with New Hebrides Bislama ..., are all too rare' (1976:174).

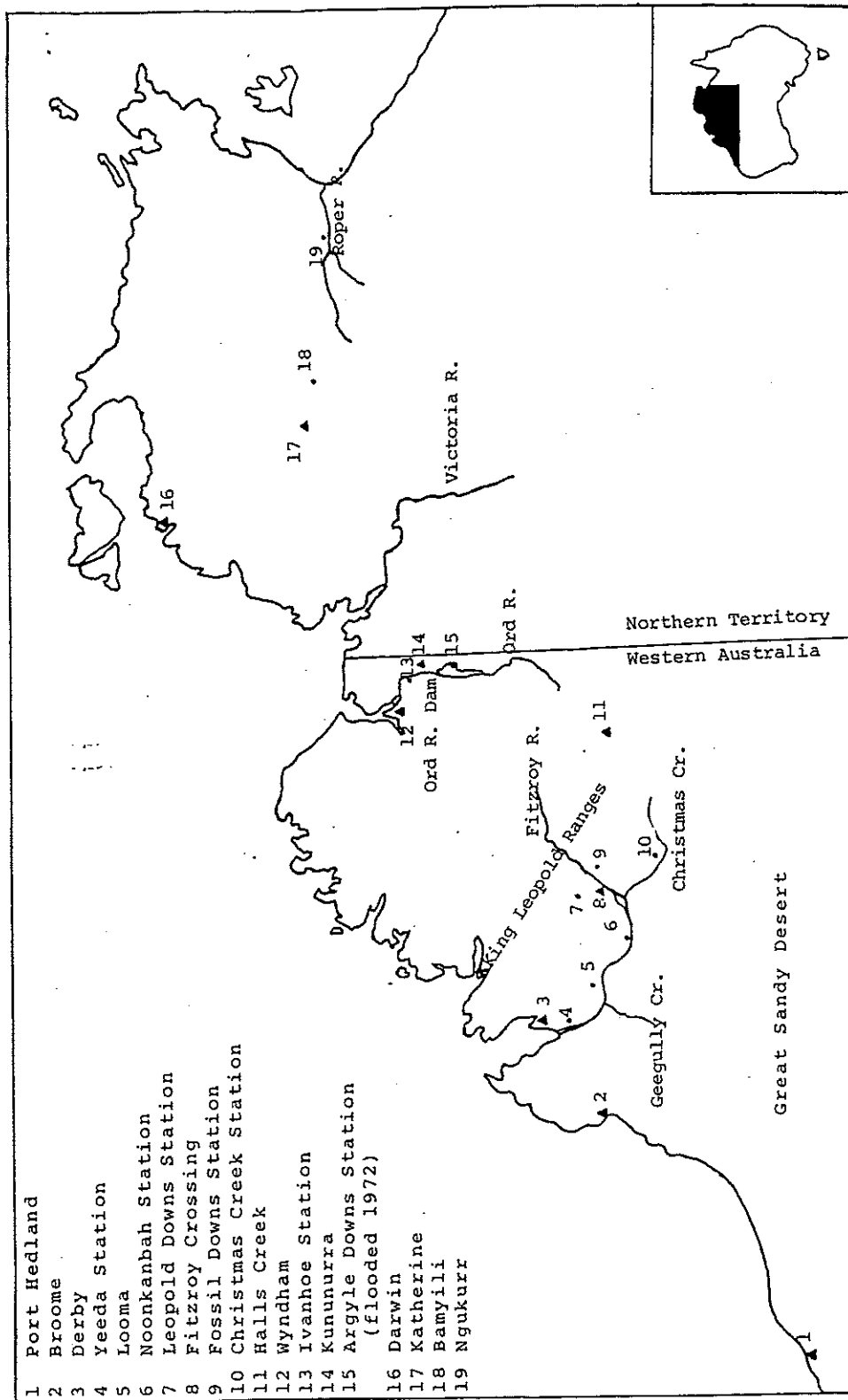
As most descriptions of English based creoles have been from the perspective of English and in terms of deviations from it, I have preferred to treat Kriol as a separate language and draw on my knowledge of traditional Australian languages, especially Walmajarri, wherever it provides parallel features. These are presented, not as evidence of genetic relationship, but to draw attention to them and provide data for those whose interest is in this area. My approach has been to analyse Kriol as an independent system and not to draw on the analysis of English. It is vital for a correct interpretation of all that follows that this be understood. Although English is referred to when it seems useful for ease of description, it is not considered the standard against which the grammar of Kriol is to be measured.

The variety of Kriol described here is referred to in the title as Fitzroy Valley Kriol. This has been used to distinguish it from a general Kimberley Kriol. Such specification of the dialect has been necessary because data from other areas of the Kimberleys was not included in the corpus. On the other hand, to refer to the Fitzroy Crossing dialect would be too restrictive. By Fitzroy Valley is meant the area along the Fitzroy River south of the King Leopold Ranges west to Geegully Creek as well as east along the Christmas Creek. It includes communities as far west as Looma, as far east and south as Christmas Creek Station and north to Leopold Downs Station. The town of Fitzroy Crossing is the largest population centre of the area.

Languages which were spoken by Australian Aborigines before European settlement are usually referred to in the literature as Australian Languages (Dixon and Blake 1979). In most situations this term serves very well, yet there are three categories of languages which today could be considered 'Australian': Aboriginal languages, local varieties of English and languages spoken by immigrants. This is demonstrated in Michael Clyne's volume *Australia Talks*. In describing Kriol the question arises whether it is to be considered an Aboriginal language or a dialect of English, for one can argue that a language spoken by Aborigines is an Aboriginal language. Throughout this monograph reference will be made to the non-English-based languages spoken by Aborigines. To distinguish them from the English-based Kriol and from other languages now spoken in Australia, I will refer to them as traditional Australian languages and use the abbreviation TA languages.

The first two chapters are of an introductory nature and the rest are divided into two main parts of three chapters each. Part One includes an analysis of some grammatical features and in each chapter features from TA languages are presented and compared with the Kriol analysis. Part Two is presented, not as a detailed semantic analysis, but as an attempt to highlight the contrast of meaning between Kriol lexemes and the English words normally equated with them. It is in this area of





the lexicon that the cause of many miscommunications between Kriol and English speakers is to be found.

Chapter 1 provides introductory information about pidgins and creoles generally, the historical setting and arrival of Kriol at Fitzroy Crossing, and a brief view of the sociolinguistic situation there. In Chapter 2 the spelling conventions used here and a few grammatical features are included as background for the interpretation of examples and glosses. In Chapter 3 I present the prepositions of Kriol and show how they function in a system which reflects the case systems of TA languages. In Chapter 4 these prepositions are shown as they function in clause types without a verb. When tense or aspect needs to be specified, transformation to a clause with a verb is necessary and the small group of verbs involved are described also. A single lexeme is used to signal both reflexive and reciprocal actions and this is described in Chapter 5. The similarities between Kriol and TA languages, particularly Walmajarri, are noted at the end of each main section in Part One. Chapter 6 introduces the study of lexemes with a discussion on etymology and some of the problems involved in assigning etymons to Kriol words. Chapter 7 focuses on semantic change which can be explained through concepts relating to the cultures of Walmajarri and English. Those changes which are most easily seen in terms of grammar are described finally in Chapter 8. Two appendices are included: the first is a selection of Kriol texts and the second some excerpts from Adult Pidgin texts.

Examples are given interlinear glosses where grammar is in focus, i.e. Chapter 2 and the whole of Part One; but in Part Two such glosses are not included unless it is necessary for an understanding of the sentence. Examples are numbered for ease of reference and in sections where Walmajarri and Kriol examples are both given, the languages are distinguished by the letter W or K respectively following the example number.

The data were collected in the first six months of 1981 in the Fitzroy Crossing area, mainly in the town itself. Although only one station, Noonkanbah was visited for formal research, population movement between stations and town is such that contact was not restricted to people living in those two communities.

## CHAPTER 1

### THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS

#### 1.1 PIDGINS AND CREOLES

For definitions of the terms pidgin and creole we can safely follow DeCamp, a recognised authority in this field since the first Conference on Creole Language Studies in 1959. DeCamp (1971a:15) defines *pidgin* as 'a contact vernacular, normally not the native language of any of its speakers. It is used in trading or in any situation requiring communication between persons who do not speak each other's native languages'. A *creole*, by contrast, 'is the native language of most of its speakers'. Pidgins and creoles have been classed according to the language with which they share vocabulary and described mainly in terms of deviation from that standard language (Labov 1972:10f, Malcolm 1979: 85). Most that have been studied are based on, or share vocabulary with, one of the European languages: English, Spanish, French, Portuguese or Dutch.

Terminology has been developed to describe pidgins and creoles and some which may need explaining here are superstratum, substratum and the continuum. *Superstratum* is the dominant language from which the vocabulary of a pidgin/creole is taken and which is considered a target language of those who speak the pidgin/creole (Whinnom 1971:106). *Substratum* refers to the subordinate languages. In North Australian creoles the superstratum language is English and the substratum languages are those spoken traditionally by Aborigines. Because of the influence from substratum and superstratum languages, variation is greater in creoles than in standard languages and DeCamp developed the concept of a scalable *continuum* of variation to describe this. Labov took a different approach in his work on 'Black English' of the northern cities of U.S.A. He

concluded that there were clearly two separate but closely related systems rather than variation within a single system (1971:448). In the same article (p.416) he rejects the concept of the continuum as providing an adequate description of variation. 'The variants can be assigned to separate, co-existent systems as Tsuzaki and Reisman have done. But the actual work of separating such systems can only be done on a body of vernacular conversation, and this step Creolists have not yet taken.'

In 1975 Bickerton further defined the continuum in his analysis of Guyanese Creole and described the continuum in terms of *lects*. The *basilect* is the 'pure' creole furthest removed from the superstratum language and the *acrolect* is the speech closest to the superstratum language. These two are at the extreme ends of the continuum of speech linked by a series of *mesolects*. By this method he was able to describe the creole as a single, though not homogeneous, unit and not a number of different systems as had been proposed by Labov. Bickerton showed that the speakers of Guyanese Creole can all be located on the continuum and change within it according to factors such as their social aspirations and educational level in relation to the standard (superstratum) language.

By 1977 DeCamp concluded, 'Most linguists now concede that variation must be accounted for in any adequate theory, but there is still no agreement on how to describe the variable speech behaviour of even one speaker, let alone an entire community of speakers. Labov's variable rules have been very successful in describing statistically the mass speech behaviour of groups of speakers, but they do not account well for the interrelationships between variables or for what goes on in the mind of the speaker.' (p.16) He goes on to point out that the continuum concept had not yet been adequately tested on empirical data.

In this monograph I have taken the Ngukurr-Bamyili speakers' recognition of 'light' and 'heavy' varieties of Kriol and make reference to these as end points on a continuum but, while acknowledging the need for it, have not attempted any more ambitious work on variation. At the same time I do not claim to have described any one sub-system which may be postulated along the continuum. Rather I have selected features of interest which are typical of Kriol as a whole and described them giving variant forms but not statistical social correlates.

DeCamp used the term *post-creole speech continuum* to refer to the speech of a community in which creole is in the process of merging with a standard language. This has provided terminology to deal with one of the possible alternative final stages in the life cycle of a creole. DeCamp says, 'A pidgin may develop, often rapidly, from a mere auxiliary vehicle for minimal interlingual communication into the native language

of most of its speakers.' He goes on to give four basic alternatives for the final stages. 'A creole can continue indefinitely without substantial change ... it may become extinct ... it may further evolve into a 'normal' language ... finally it may gradually merge with the corresponding standard language' (DeCamp 1971a:349). Whinnom uses the term *decreolisation* for the process of merger where a creole is, in time, transformed to be a dialect of the standard language (1971:111).

Though not always using these terms, some investigators have considered the Australian creole (Kriol) to be in the process of merging with the standard language, English, i.e. it is in the process of decreolising, best described as a post-creole continuum (Sharpe and Sandefur 1977, Steffensen 1979, Kaldor and Malcolm 1979). From my observations at Fitzroy Crossing, however, it would seem that Kriol is an ongoing language with many young people fluent in both Kriol and English. Those who consider Kriol to be merging with the standard have no doubt observed the increased use of English by children as they learn it in school. Naturally once they have acquired English they will use it with English speakers but it is wrong to assume that this implies an accompanying loss of Kriol. In everyday social interaction with members of his own community the bilingual will continue to use Kriol, switching to English when appropriate. This recognition of bilingualism assists us in separating the two languages but does not remove the need to study Kriol itself as a continuum. Recently Sandefur has changed his view and written an article (1982b) refuting his claim of 1977. He says that the criteria set down by DeCamp for decreolisation are not being met for Kriol and that any apparent decreolisation could be represented as a continuum similar to that in the speech of any individual learning a second language.

The origin of pidgin and creole languages has been much debated because of the similarities found in them regardless of substratum influences which have nothing in common. Hall was one who considered that each pidgin/creole arose independently and developed along parallel lines. This became known as the polygenetic theory. In the 1960's an alternative theory was introduced.

Whinnom, Taylor and others claimed that all Indo-European based pidgins/creoles have come from a common proto-pidgin, a Mediterranean Lingua Franca. Known as the monogenetic theory, it includes the notion that relexification from this proto-pidgin took place whenever the language came in contact with another Indo-European language, i.e. the vocabulary of the proto-pidgin was replaced by the vocabulary from the dominant Indo-European language in each area while the structure of the pidgin remained the same. In the 1970's the universalist theory was introduced into the debate (Kay and Sankoff). This theory purports that the reason for the similarities found throughout the world's pidgins and creoles is due to the presence of linguistic universals and implies that simil-

arities (except for vocabulary) would be found also in non-Indo-European based pidgin/creoles. Articles continue to appear debating each of these origin theories.

In Chapter 1.2 and 1.3 I will try to show that Kriol at Fitzroy Crossing did not develop there through a pidgin stage but was introduced from outside as an already developed creole. Development since has been independent of the main language with considerable influence from English and local traditional Aboriginal languages. This is supported by the loss of some vocabulary items listed in the dictionary of the Ngukurr-Bamyili dialects (Sandefur and Sandefur 1979). I believe they are used in Halls Creek also but are unknown to speakers of Kriol at Fitzroy Crossing (those under 35 years). Mature adults are familiar with them though I have not heard them used. A few such words are given below.<sup>2</sup>

<i>geman</i>	'falsehood, lie'
<i>biginini</i>	'child'
<i>binji</i>	'stomach, belly, intestine'
<i>sabi</i>	'know, understand'
<i>kraingki</i>	'mad, insane, foolish'
<i>gajolaim</i>	'grab, hold, embrace'

The question of universal pidgin features, though of interest, would lead to a very different project from this one so has not been attempted here in any detail. A brief study of works on other pidgin/creoles reveals immediately areas of difference from and similarity with Kriol.<sup>3</sup>

## 1.2 THE LANGUAGES AT FITZROY CROSSING

The English-based language spoken by Aborigines in the Kimberley area of Western Australia has been mentioned in the literature by several writers from at least as far back as the 1930's. It has been referred to as Pidgin or Pidgin English (Kaberry 1939, Fraser and Richards 1975, Hudson and Richards 1976, Fraser 1977 and Vaszolyi 1979), 'so-called Pidgin English' (Douglas 1976:14), close to a 'true creole' (Kaldor and Malcolm 1979:412), creole (Sandefur and Sandefur 1980) and Kriol (Sandefur 1982). In a recent report of a survey of pidgin and creoles in the Kimberleys, the Sandefurs conclude that it is 'the same creole language as that spoken in the Roper River and Bamyili areas of Northern Territory, i.e. Kriol' (1980:35).<sup>4</sup> From my own study I conclude that there are two different English-based varieties spoken in the Fitzroy Crossing area, one basically the same as Kriol spoken in the Northern Territory and

the other a pidgin of uncertain origin. I have attempted to isolate the Fitzroy Valley dialect of Kriol and in later chapters describe features of that dialect only, thus excluding both the pidgin of the same area and Kriol spoken elsewhere.

In order to identify Kriol in the Fitzroy Valley, I first present details of the rather complex language situation of the area. There are many languages spoken in the town of Fitzroy Crossing including several traditional languages, two varieties of a pidgin/creole type and several varieties of English. The last mentioned are spoken by the Europeans, many of whom have recently arrived and have come from a wide variety of different social and educational backgrounds, as well as the old timers who have been around for many years and who speak a colloquial outback variety of Australian English. These English varieties will not be referred to again but deserve mention at this point as they are an essential part of the linguistic picture in the town.

The valleys of the Fitzroy River and Christmas Creek form a natural boundary between the Great Sandy Desert and the Kimberley area. The Aborigines who lived in these areas before European contact belonged to different language families. Those who lived in the desert immediately south of the Fitzroy River and Christmas Creek spoke languages of the Pama-Nyungan family, Walmajarri and Mangarla; and those of the river country were speakers of non-Pama-Nyungan languages, Bunaba, Gunian, and Nyigina.<sup>5</sup> There was probably very little, if any, peaceful contact between the desert and the river country people at that time. This is reflected today in a continuing rivalry and at times animosity among the youth and children of the Fitzroy Crossing area who have divided into two opposing groups. Those descendants of the northern tribes, Bunaba and Gunian, are sometimes referred to as the *Gramagrama* (from 'man' in Bunaba) and those from the desert tribes and Nyigina are known by the somewhat unexpected name of *Riversidemob*. Among the residents of Fitzroy Crossing today, one can find speakers of each of the languages mentioned above. Bilingualism and multilingualism is common among adults though those from the desert have rarely learned the language of the river people and the river people rarely are bilingual in a desert language. The exception to this is in cases of intermarriage.

The two varieties of pidgin/creole-type were noted also by Fraser who describes their distribution as 'one used by adults without formal schooling and with an Aboriginal first language; and the other as the first language of the children' (p.145). The children she refers to and who provided her with data in 1974 have since become adults so that the dialect she described is the one now spoken by young adults as well as children. For ease of reference I will call the speech analysed by Fraser *Kriol* and the other variety *Adult Pidgin*, reserving the unqualified terms creole and pidgin for more general reference.

In Figure 1.2 I have attempted to present the situation graphically. The size of the circles indicates very approximately the proportion of speakers in the community who speak the languages indicated. The numbers represent linguistic groupings as defined in the list below the diagram. Overlapping of circles represents the amount of bidirectional bilingualism between the groups. English is separated because bilingualism is unidirectional, i.e. many Kriol speakers have learned English but the number of English speakers who have learned one of the others is so small as to not show up on a scale such as this. The shaded area represents the Adult Pidgin which is a second language to almost all. Its overlap with Kriol is unspecifiable from present knowledge as indicated by the dotted line at the edge of the shaded area.

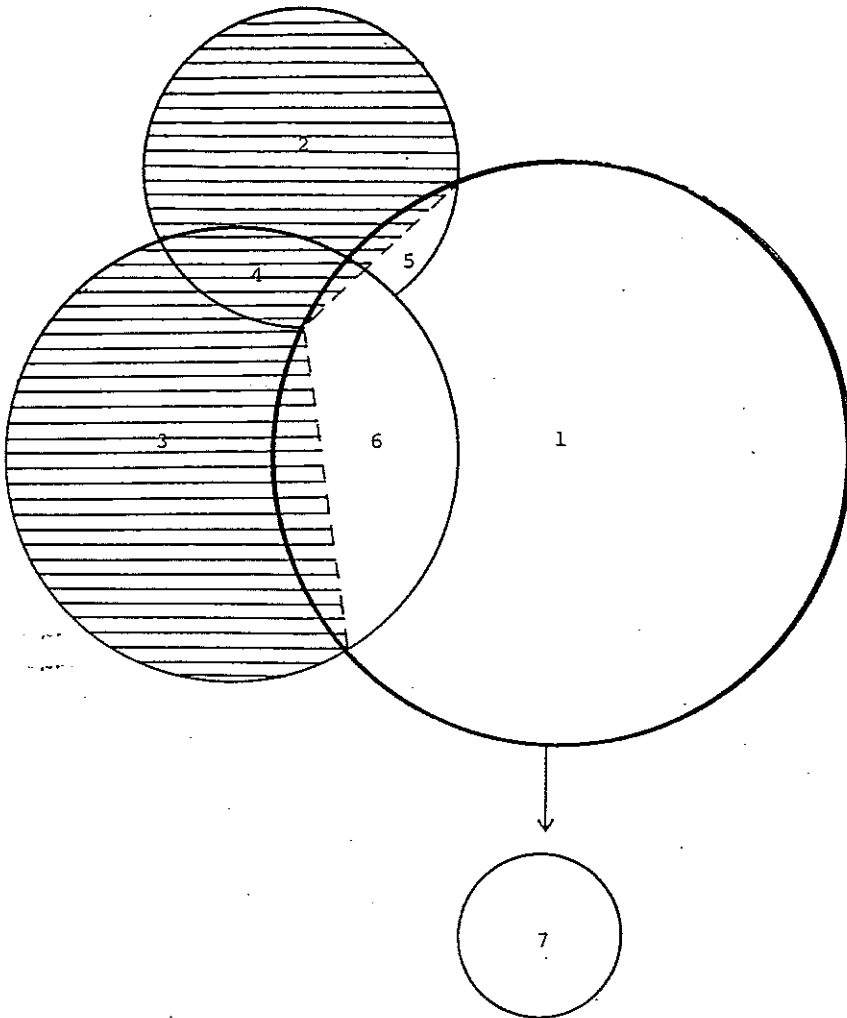
### 1.3 HISTORICAL SKETCH OF ADULT PIDGIN

Historical evidence of Adult Pidgin is insufficient to prove exactly how or when it arrived in the Kimberleys, but the facts support my hypothesis that the two English-based languages have come into the Fitzroy Valley at different times and possibly from different sources. The Kimberley district was settled from two different directions. Areas in the east, present day towns of Wyndham, Kununurra and Halls Creek were settled by Europeans coming from the east of the continent in the 1880's. The leaders in this were the Durack family who brought cattle and set up the Argyle and Ivanhoe stations on the Ord River and soon after them others came to look for gold around Halls Creek. The West Kimberley was opened up for settlement after the explorations of Alexander Forrest in 1879 and settled by people coming from the south (Perth). They brought sheep and the first station established was Yeeda belonging to the Murray Squatting Company. The Earl of Kimberley was Secretary of State for the Colonies at the time. The towns of Broome and Derby were gazetted in 1883. Charles MacDonald, who came from the east, explored further south and west than others had done and set up the Fossil Downs Station not far from the present town of Fitzroy Crossing, midway between Derby and Halls Creek. The settlement at Fitzroy Crossing was apparently declared a town about 1904 but not gazetted for some years after.<sup>6</sup>

It could have been these early settlers and their workers who brought pidgin into the Kimberleys. Another possibility is that it was brought in later by groups of Aborigines who migrated west in circumstances such as those described by Shaw (1979:265). After two generations of contact between Aboriginal civilisation and European settlement there was much conflict around the Victoria River area of the Northern Territory. Aborigines began moving away from this unhappy situation, mainly to the east but some moved to the west and the relative peace of the Durack stations in the East Kimberley. The presence of an English-based language is not mentioned by Shaw.



FIGURE 1.2



1. Kriol speakers
2. non-Pama-Nyungan language speakers bilingual in Adult Pidgin
3. Pama-Nyungan language speakers bilingual in Adult Pidgin
4. Bilinguals in non-Pama-Nyungan and Pama-Nyungan languages
5. Bilinguals in non-Pama-Nyungan languages and Kriol
6. Bilinguals in Pama-Nyungan languages and Kriol
7. English

The most specific early references to the English in use by Kimberley Aborigines are in Kaberry's writings of the 1930's. She wrote about the languages in use around Halls Creek, and in the Fitzroy River and Christmas Creek area. In 1937 she said that the majority of Aborigines on cattle stations at that time spoke good idiomatic English although elsewhere in the article she gives a quote which reads more like pidgin. In 1939 she said, 'The natives have been in contact with the whites for over forty years; they are remarkably fluent in a pidgin-English which differs from that current in New Guinea, and approximates much more closely to spoken English' (1939:x). Although she gives no hint as to the source of the pidgin she does imply that it had been in the area for some time before her arrival there in 1935. Another author who makes passing reference to the presence of pidgin early in the century is Biskup who gives an anecdote about the lack of communication between police and Aborigines (1973:33). I have been unable to find any reference in the literature to the language brought by those who came from Perth, but some of the old people who grew up in the Fitzroy Valley claim that they learned 'proper' English from the whites then. They contrast it sharply with Kriol spoken today.

The historical facts above suggest that pidgin came into the Kimberleys from the east. On the other hand, Vaszolyi presents a very different picture. He supports the view that Aborigines in the Fitzroy River area learned English from the settlers rather than pidgin and at the same time suggests that a pidgin came to the Kimberleys through the port towns. Describing the origins of Pidgin English in Australia, he says that it probably spread 'in and from North Australian coastal settlements' but in reference to the Kimberleys specifically he implies that instead of spreading inland it remained in use only in the coastal towns. He says, 'Inland-bound people who spent most of their time on stations with cattle as stockmen or farmhands would not normally speak much Pidgin: apparently, they acquired some sort of an English from the colonial masters rather than Pidgin. It gives one the impression that the presence of Asian ethnic minorities and European seafarers in North Australian settlements contributed greatly to the spread of Pidgin' (1976:52f). It seems that Vaszolyi is describing a coastal Kimberley pidgin rather than a general Kimberley pidgin. I find no indication that he is aware of the situation in Fitzroy Crossing today for again in 1979 he writes about pidgin in the Kimberleys with reference only to the coastal towns. He also comments that there are now very few Aborigines who could not speak some English with or without an Aboriginal accent (1979:254f). Yet another possible influence which needs to be considered is that of the Macassans who are reported to have visited the Kimberleys in the 19th Century (Urry and Walsh 1979:22).

Although the origins of pidgin in the Kimberleys are uncertain, we can establish from Kaberry that one was in use in the Fitzroy Crossing area

in the 1930's. This must have been the same as the Adult Pidgin spoken today and would have been learned by the desert dwellers who began moving in the 1940's from the Great Sandy Desert in the south. The Walmajarri people had made contact with those on stations south of the Fitzroy River and along Christmas Creek and began moving north to them during the Second World War. They were followed some years later by another group, the Yulbaridja or Wangkatjunga who came from further south and moved in beside the Walmajarri people. The friendly contact between these two groups is obvious from the high degree of inter-marriage and bilingualism among them. One of these desert men, who made his first white contacts as a boy of about 12 in the 1940's and who is now fluent in both Kriol and English, told me that they had to learn pidgin in order to talk to the whites. (This would seem to be the case since they had no need of it among their own communities on the stations.)

As contact between the station Aborigines in the south and those north of Fitzroy Crossing (at that time Bunaba and Gunian) became more frequent, the pidgin would have become needful among Aborigines as well as with whites. However there is little doubt that, except for a few families living in the town, the traditional languages still predominated in the camp situation of all tribal groups until the 1950's. It appears that this was not the case in Halls Creek where Kriol had become an established language by the 1940's for most of the Aboriginal community.

#### 1.4 ENTRANCE OF KRIOL

In the 1950's several changes occurred which had far reaching effects on the languages of the area. In 1952 the United Aborigines Mission was established at Fitzroy Crossing. Soon after they set up a hostel for Aboriginal children from the surrounding stations who would attend school in the town (then run by the Mission). The first Government school in the area was established at nearby Gogo station in 1957. These two schools set out to teach English and the hostel management, according to reports from some who were children there, established a rule that children were forbidden to speak their TA language while at the hostel (see Appendix 1-Text E). At this stage probably all but the town children spoke their parents' language and knew a little Adult Pidgin. These town children, whose parents worked for whites at one of the few establishments in the town—Post Office, Police Station, Hospital, Hotel or Mission—had by this time apparently lost any traditional language and were speaking only Adult Pidgin, though their parents retained fluency in other languages. Evidence of this different behaviour of town children is seen in a small number of people in their later 30's who claim to have never learned a TA language and who all grew up in the town.

And so the stage was set for the children of the area to develop as bilinguals, learning English at school and hostel and continuing to use and develop their skills in the TA languages during holiday times. Alternatively, as they were from a variety of language backgrounds, they could have developed a new lingua franca among themselves which would be acceptable to the English-speaking staff. Before there was time for either of these to develop, a truckload of Aborigines arrived from Halls Creek whose common language was Kriol.

The hostel children were in immediate and direct contact with these new arrivals so learned Kriol from them. The history of the migration (except for reference to language) has been documented by Biskup (pp.100-106). In 1910 the Government established a cattle station which served as an Aboriginal ration station at Moola Bulla near Halls Creek and the next year another at Violet Valley. These were set up to provide a regular supply of meat to Aborigines and so stop them spearing the settlers' cattle. When Moola Bulla passed out of the hands of the Government into private ownership in 1955, the large number of Aborigines was not desirable on the station so many were put on a truck and sent to Fitzroy Crossing to the ration station there which was administered on behalf of the Government by United Aborigines Mission. Testimony from both groups, those resident at Fitzroy Crossing at the time and those who arrived in the truck and have since returned to the east, are in agreement that this was the means of introducing Kriol to Fitzroy Crossing. Because the children were in the hostel and school it was they who were most influenced by this new language/dialect rather than their parents on the stations who already spoke Adult Pidgin.

The language spoken by adults today varies with the individual. Based on the above information, we can ascertain that those who speak Kriol should be in the age group of 40 years or less, i.e. those who were under 14 years and so at primary school in 1955 or since that time. As many older children in those early years did not attend school at all, I believe 35 is a more realistic upper limit of those who speak Kriol. It is, of course, not a clear-cut issue as there are those over 35 who speak it and those under 35 who barely control it. Most of those over 35, who came from south of the river and whose contact with station life has been recent (since 1930's), speak the Adult Pidgin often believing it to be English. Those of longer contact, mainly from Bunaba, Gunian and Nyigina tribes, are able to speak a variety much closer to English. Kriol, the product of the hostel and school environment, has no doubt had an influence on the Adult Pidgin but such details have been beyond the scope of this work. Excerpts from three Adult Pidgin texts are given in Appendix 2.

For the purpose of this description I define the Fitzroy Valley dialect of Kriol as the language of Aborigines born since 1945 who live in the town of Fitzroy Crossing and its satellite station communities. For many it is a *primary* language and for others a *secondary* language. In using these terms I am following Mühlhäusler (1974:13). The primary language is the one best mastered by a bilingual in contrast to other languages which are secondary. Because Kriol was the second language learned by many, yet is now the one they control best, terms such as first language or mother tongue would only lead to confusion.

Since Kriol arrived at Fitzroy Crossing, there has been limited contact with the Kriol speakers in the Halls Creek area because medical and other services are linked westward with the port town of Derby rather than with Halls Creek which is further inland. For the last decade a sealed road has also encouraged contact with Derby. One of the effects of this has been that Kriol in Fitzroy Crossing has developed somewhat independently under constant influence of English through the schools and traditional languages in the camps.

I have no formal evidence that Kriol has extended west of Fitzroy Crossing area except as it is used in Derby by those who visit there from the east. Vaszolyi's references (1976, 1979) to a coastal Pidgin indicate that Kriol had not then reached Derby or Broome. The work done by Kaldor and Malcolm also suggests that it has not moved further west. Their data is from the whole State and they say, 'A speech variety which comes closest to a 'true creole': is spoken in the central and east Kimberleys' (1979:412). Several features are noted by them as being typical of the Kimberleys and examples given are all from the central and eastern Kimberley towns. Among these creole features are the prepositions *la* and *gotta* (their spelling), transitive verbal suffix *-im* as well as the pronoun system. Unfortunately, because of the limited scope of this monograph and the time available, I was not able to include any comparison with speech in use today at Halls Creek, Derby or Broome.

## 1.5 ATTITUDES TO KRIOL

Until recently the attitude of almost all in the Kimberleys was that Kriol was a form of English to be despised. Various adjectives have been used to describe it—rubbish, broken, bastardised, corrupt—all with negative connotations. The situation is by no means limited to Kriol: indeed similar terms have been used of pidgins and creoles the world over (Hancock 1977:277). Those who speak Kriol as their primary language have apparently shared this view, and as soon as they mastered English in school they quickly learned to code-switch, using English with English speakers and Kriol among themselves. The result of this

was that whites generally only heard natural Kriol from the children who were still too young to know the difference between it and English.

During my 14 years in the area I have witnessed attitudes of both white and black and have seen the very fast changes that have taken place in language attitudes and use. While sifting through old data recently I was able to construct a linguistic history sketch of two sisters. M... was born in 1968 and P... in 1971 so that I have known them all their lives. Their parents speak several traditional languages as well as Adult Pidgin. In the early 1970's when M... was in the early grades of school both these girls spoke mainly Kriol with some Walmajarri, and were probably not aware of the Kriol/English distinction. By 1978 M... at 10 years had been at school for several years and was beginning to speak some English. Her language sensitivity had been aroused and she realised that English was different from what she spoke and that English was held up as the desirable goal. In a conversation with both girls recorded on tape in 1978, M... tried her best to speak English, while P... at 7 years was speaking uninhibited Kriol. Later, this year (1981), M... had reached reasonable proficiency in English through her formal education while P... was now at the stage of knowing enough English to reach for it as her goal in speech with whites. Recorded stories from them both this year revealed that P... is now striving for English while M..., now reasonably secure in both languages, was easily able to switch from English to Kriol and did so quite consciously. When P... realised that I not only approved of Kriol but actually was trying to speak it, she soon lost her reservations with me and spoke in Kriol too.

#### 1.5.1 AN IDENTITY LANGUAGE

Knowledge of Kriol is a sign of identity with the community and it is expected that Aborigines will speak Kriol with each other and English with whites if they can. Several young men have married women from the south of W.A. where there is no Kriol spoken. These women speak English but have learned Kriol since moving north and were able and willing to give Kriol stories on tape. One of their husbands who has an excellent command of English said to me, 'When my wife first came she used to make me really ashamed. She could only talk like a 'whitefella'. Now she's learning to talk like a 'blackfella'.' A young woman confirmed the attitude of not using English among themselves saying that, 'It's not okay for blacks to speak English to each other.' She recounted an experience where she was speaking to a white woman using English and her friends nearby were laughing at her, making fun of her for speaking 'high' English, a sign of snobbery. On the other hand, there seems to be no objection to accepted whites speaking Kriol. Among those adults who belong to the under 35 year age group and who speak Kriol as their primary language, I found none who disapprove of it being studied or written.

The conscious awareness of the difference between Kriol and English showed up in some stories recorded during fieldwork. Several times after I had requested a story in Kriol from someone who didn't know me well, they started speaking in English. Those standing nearby, seeing that the wrong variety was being used, would call out corrections. Here are some examples taken from transcribed texts. The first two involved girls of 12 and 9 years respectively.

2 x 12 year old girls:

A. One day when we saw a snake -

B. *Tok diskainwan, 'Mela bin siyim sneik.'* *Laik wotkain wilat tokin.*

'Say it like this, "... " the way we all talk.'

2 x 9 year old girls:

A. We went to -

B. *Na. Nat laiyet. 'Mipala bin go -'*

'No. Not like that. "... "'

These are in contrast to a 'light' variety of Kriol which is quite acceptable to all. The main features that identified these speakers as using English were the form of the verb and intonation: monotone with a slight pause between words and with even stress on each word. In editing one text for inclusion in Appendix 1 my informant removed the English element by changing all occurrences of 'with' to *garra* 'didn' to *neba*. The next example is a mother correcting her son who is 9 years old.

Son. *Wi bin go la Debi en Denyul en mi bin hev a heyakat.*

'We went to Derby and Daniel and me had a haircut.'

Mo. *Mi en Denyul bin abam heyakat.*

The next example is not a correction but illustrates that some 8 year olds (A) are able to clearly differentiate between the two languages. The comments were addressed to me (B) in an informal situation.

A. *Wen i bin kam from Nosmin, i bin tokin, 'Come on girls let's go to the store,' en wen is sista bin kraying, 'Come on Roslyn let's get some more stuff.' Nat tudei.*

'When she came from Norseman, she used to talk like this; "... " and when her sister would cry she would say, "... " But not now.'

B. *Tudei wot i sei?*

'How does she talk now?'

A. *I tok blekfelawei.*

'She talks Kriol.'

B. *Det gudwei blekfelawei?*

'Is Kriol a good way to talk?'

A. *Ya. Bat samting sweya ting laika rud ting.*

'Yes, but there are rude swear words.'

Those whose primary language is a traditional one also switch codes between Adult Pidgin and their TA language. I was able to document an example of this when out hunting one day with a group of women and children. The women are all Walmajarri speakers who are able to use Adult Pidgin (or Kriol). During the day, the talk between them was all in Walmajarri but if addressing children they used Adult Pidgin provided the conversation was controlled. If a reprimand was needed or a command had to be shouted Walmajarri took over for all three; and the children, who speak only Kriol, all understood. In flowing Walmajarri speech sometimes a clause in Adult Pidgin would be used to paraphrase one in Walmajarri—possibly a means of emphasis.

### 1.5.2 A REJECTED LANGUAGE

Kriol continues to be rejected by most for whom it is not their primary language. Some older Aborigines reject it. When offered a copy of a story written in Kriol, one man indignantly remarked, 'We don't talk that language, we talk English like the whites do. You have to go to New Guinea for that. We don't say *langa* all the time.' In all honesty it must be said that this man does not speak Kriol but his own approximation of English as he strives to learn it as a second language. Aborigines generally were influenced toward greater acceptance of Kriol by the Sandefurs when they visited the area in 1979. They alerted



people to the fact that Kriol is spoken in distant places, by adults as well as children. They also brought the news that Kriol is approved of in the Northern Territory enough, not only to write it, but to use it in the school at Bamyili.

The strongest criticisms of writing Kriol (which implies giving it status as a 'true' language) have come from monolingual whites, or from Aborigines who speak English and for whom Kriol is not their primary language. Many of these make reference to 'teaching the people another language when they should be learning English'. The comment reveals that they consider Kriol and English to be mutually exclusive and have failed to realise the possibility of bilingualism. These critics would no doubt be displeased to hear that in the eyes of some older Aborigines, Kriol is taught at school. Such attitudes are by no means restricted to Australians; similar situations are described in many countries where creoles are spoken. DeCamp says of creoles that 'if the equivalent European language is also the standard language of the community, the creole is especially unlikely to be granted status as a real language' (1971a:26). Labov, writing about black children in the U.S.A., speaks of the poor understanding educationists have of the nature of language when they treat children who speak non-standard dialects as if they have 'no language of their own' (1972:202).

It is of interest to note that the recently formed Aboriginal Languages Association at its inaugural meeting in Alice Springs in February 1981, made the following statement about Kriol (quoted from their Newsletter): 'There are many Aboriginal languages. As well as the ancient languages, there are new Aboriginal languages such as Kriol and Torres Strait Broken which has been spoken in some areas for up to four generations and various forms of Aboriginal English which are vigorous. They are languages in their own right.'

### 1.5.3 SOCIOLINGUISTIC SUMMARY

The situation, so briefly described above, indicates the need for a full sociolinguistic study in the Fitzroy Crossing area. It has not been included here being outside the scope of the project and because of the lack of time and finance. From my observations it appears that bilingualism, code-switching and the so-called post-creole continuum relate directly to the degree of English education of individuals. Those who have been right through the primary and high school systems have a good command of English and Kriol and are confidently bilingual. (Many also control a TA language.) Those still at Primary School and those who are adults but were unable to complete their schooling for some reason, as well as adults over 35 years generally do not control English and their English-based speech varies part-way along a continuum between

Kriol and English. They adjust their speech as close to the standard as they are able when talking to whites and back towards Kriol (or switch into a TA language) when with their own countrymen. There is a group monolingual in Kriol also. These are the pre-school children and those in the lower grades of school who have not yet learned the difference between Kriol and English. C. Young, in an unpublished thesis, finds similar divisions in the Belize Creole community. There they are based not on education alone but also on occupation: school teachers and second generation civil servants are confidently bilingual in Creole and English, manual labourers are monolingual in Creole and first generation civil servants, who are in between, are partially bilingual with a continuum between their Creole and English.

## CHAPTER 2

### PRELIMINARY NOTES

Before detailed analysis and data is presented, this chapter is given to introduce the spelling system used in the examples and some of the commonly occurring grammatical features which are not described elsewhere. This section is not intended to be a full analysis of these features but rather an introductory look at the morphemes and the glosses assigned to them to enable better understanding of examples in which they occur. The orthography is described first followed by notes on tense, mood and aspect; the morphology of the verb; pronouns; and finally two features of discourse analysis, topicalisation and tagging.

#### 2.1 ORTHOGRAPHY

Writing pidgins and creoles presents more problems than writing other languages. Variation of pronunciation along the continuum causes difficulty if a phonemic orthography is used and, although the well established spelling system of the standard (superstratum) language could be used, to do so is to make the pidgin/creole look like a confused mixture of the standard rather than a separate system. Both these alternatives have been used in the literature. Mihalic, writing about Tok Pisin in 1957 (then called Neo-Melanesian), listed nine different orthographies in use for that language, three of which used English spelling, three used some phonemic representation and the others used a combination of these two. In Australian literature the pidgin/creole of Aboriginal speech has been represented by both methods. English spelling is used as in Durack's *All-About* where the title represents the 3rd person plural pronoun. Another example is from Gunn's *The Little Black Princess of the Never-Never* (p.66) 'Me tired fellow alright,

Missus'. Adjustments were made to many words to indicate the basilectal pronunciation especially in grammatical functor words such as *bin* and *longa* in 'Me bin knock up longa trousa' (Gunn p.14). Others attempted a more phonetic representation but continued to include some English spelling as in 'You puttem medichin in heye?' (De Grys p.181). For a work such as this monograph which involves linguistic analysis, there can be little value in using any system based on English spelling though it has been done by researchers such as Kaldor and Malcolm who avoided using phonetic transcription for the sake of readers untrained in linguistics (1979:415).

The concept of a continuum described earlier can assist in the linguistic description of the phonology of pidgins and creoles but it provides little help for spelling. Kriol forms a continuum with the phonological contrasts of TA languages in the basilect and the standard Australian English system in the acrolect. Speech of any individual at any given time can be placed at some point along the continuum between these two systems. For an analysis of the phonology of the Ngukurr-Bamyili dialects see Sandefur 1979. In writing Kriol one is faced with the choice of spelling each utterance as it is pronounced or using some form of standardisation and disregarding variation.

In the Northern Territory two ends of the continuum are recognised by Kriol speakers and identified by the terms 'light' (acrolect) and 'heavy' (basilect). I have found no evidence in Fitzroy Crossing of the use of terms equivalent to 'heavy' and 'light' for reference to speech styles within Kriol. Speakers tend more to distinguish between 'high' English which is standard English and 'blackfella' English which includes Kriol and Adult Pidgin. However both 'light' and 'heavy' pronunciations are certainly used. Although my main language teachers tended to speak a 'light' variety with me, reference to correct pronunciation or spelling would usually result in a switch to 'heavy' with a comment, 'You can say it both ways'. The 'heavy' pronunciation then seems to identify it as Kriol.

With the beginning of literature production for Kriol in the Northern Territory in the early 1970's decisions as to the spelling had to be made. In 1976 a group of Kriol speakers who participated in a Kriol Writers Course selected an orthography based on phonemic principles. This orthography as it is given in Sandefur (1979:61f) is quoted in Figures 2.1 and 2.2. Along with these symbols five spelling conventions were adopted. The first allows for words to be spelt the way the writer speaks regardless of dialect, idiolect or range on the continuum, so that 'sleep' can be written in any of its four pronunciations: *jilib*, *jilip*, *silip*, or *slip*. Another requires standardisation of spelling for morphemes which commonly occur in compounds and the other three deal with proper names, punctuation and reduplication.

FIGURE 2.1 CONSONANTS IN KRIOL (N.T.) ORTHOGRAPHY

	Bi-labial	Labio-dental	Inter-dental	Alveolar	Retroflexed	Alveo-palatal	Lamino-palatal	Velar	Glottal
vcls	p			t	rt		tj	k	
Stops									
vcd	b			d	rd		j	g	
vcls						tj			
Affricates									
vcd						j			
vcls		f	th	s		sh			h
Fricatives									
vcd		b	th	s		s			
Nasals	m			n	rn	ny		ng	
Laterals				l	rl	ly			
Rhotic				rr	r				
Semi-									
Consonants	w				r	y			

FIGURE 2.2

VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS IN KRIOL (N.T.) ORTHOGRAPHY

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e	e:	o
Low	e/a	a	o:

ai low central to high front

oi mid back to high front

ei mid front to high front

au low central to high back

The spelling system used in this monograph is basically the same as the Northern Territory orthography but with slight differences in representation of vowels. A five-way distinction has proved adequate, i, e, a, o, u, but three diphthongs have been added, ui, ou, oa. I have also attempted to standardise spelling rather than write each example according to the specific pronunciation used by the language teacher. To gain some degree of regularity in this process I have followed the general principle used for Bislama, the *lingua franca* of Vanuatu as given by Camden: '...for those phonemes where there is no generally accepted realisation, ... the form of the cognate in the language from which the Bislama root was derived is followed' (1977:ix). Adapted here for Fitzroy Valley Kriol this means that where there is a pronunciation in general use by speakers from all levels of the continuum, this will be used. It applies usually to words from the closed classes, e.g. *dis* 'this', *dijan* 'this one', *det* 'that', *tharran* 'that one', *dupala* 'two'. Where there is no predominant pronunciation, the phoneme from the assumed English etymon will be used. In the case of Walmarjarri loan words, the Walmarjarri spelling will be used as in Hudson 1978. These loans will be identified in examples by the letter (W) following the interlinear gloss. Where 'heavy' Kriol avoids consonant clusters by addition of vowels or deletion of a consonant, these forms will be used unless there is strong evidence from the data that a cluster ('light' Kriol) is used by most speakers.

Stress is not written either in the Northern Territory orthography or in this monograph. The general tendency is that Kriol follows the traditional languages and stresses the first syllable in words of two or more syllables as in:

<i>kápardí</i>	'drink of tea, mid-work break'
<i>núgudwan</i>	'bad, useless'
<i>búrluman</i>	'cattle (singular)'

Some words retain the stress pattern of the English etymon particularly those which in English begin with a consonant cluster.

blanket	>	<i>bilángkirr</i>
sleep	>	<i>silíp</i>

Others vary according to the speaker and the 'light' versus 'heavy' varieties.

<i>purdeita</i>	~	<i>púrdeita</i>	'potatoe'
<i>banána</i>	~	<i>bánana</i>	'banana'

A phonological analysis of the Fitzroy Crossing dialect of Kriol was published in 1977 by Fraser who calls it Fitzroy Crossing Children's Pidgin. She makes reference to the continuum but attempts to isolate the basilect and present it in a Pikean-type analysis. Her basilectal consonant inventory includes consonants typical of TA languages but with three notable differences. She includes the phoneme /s/ which would appear to have been absorbed into the basilect from English and she does not find the full series of inter-dental or laminal phonemes. Figure 2.3 shows the basilect consonants from Fraser's analysis (1977:151) using orthographic symbols from my Figure 2.1. (Note that voicing is not contrastive here.) In my own data, the same set of phonemes has been found in 'heavy' speech. The consonant phonemes which occur in 'heavy' Kriol of the Fitzroy Valley but not in standard Australian English are found in the following words.

<i>ny</i>	<i>nyubrij</i>	'new bridge' - refers to the recently constructed bridge over the Fitzroy River
	<i>minyu</i>	'we (dual inclusive)'
	<i>anyin</i>	'onion'
<i>rn</i>	<i>lernam</i>	'teach (tr)'
	<i>bernam</i>	'burn (tr)'
<i>rd</i>	<i>yard</i>	'yard'
	<i>kard</i>	'card'
	<i>kardam</i>	'cart (tr)'
	<i>purdeita</i>	'potato'
	<i>kapardi</i>	'drink of tea, mid-work break'
<i>rl</i>	<i>orla</i>	(plura) particle)
	<i>orlataim</i>	'frequently, all the time'
	<i>maburl</i>	'marble'
	<i>burluman</i>	'cattle (singular)'
<i>rr</i>	<i>tharran</i>	'that one'
	<i>bagarrap</i>	'become useless (intr)'
	<i>tarra</i>	'tata - goodbye'



FIGURE 2.3

## BASILECT CONSONANTS

	Bi- labial	Inter- dental	Alve- olar	Retro- flexed	Lamino- palatal	Velar
Stop	p	th	t	rt	tj	k
Nasal	m		n	rn	ny	ng
Fricative			s			
Lateral			l	rl		
Rhotic			rr			
Semi-consonant	w			r	y	

## 2.2 TENSE, MOOD AND ASPECT

Tense, mood and aspect are important categories in any language, yet they provide a very complex area for analysis. Kriol is no exception to this as many morphemes cannot be defined in terms of any one of the three systems. For example, tense and aspect is combined in some, while others indicate both mood and tense. For purposes of this sketch I will divide the morphemes according to their more obvious meaning.

### 2.2.1 TENSE

Events can be described in Kriol in relation to the time of speaking. If it is desired to specify that an event took place before the moment of speaking, the verbal auxiliary *bin* is used before the verb with no change in the verb form.

- (2-1) *Ai bin go Debi*  
1:SG:S PST go Derby  
'I went to Derby.'

In some verbless clauses *bin* can be used.

- (2-2) *Mela bin anggri*  
1:PL:EX PST hungry  
'We were hungry.'

Where past habitual or customary events are being described, *bin* is not obligatory with every verb but can be omitted after the first verb or first paragraph when the time orientation has been established.

- (2-3) *Longtaim wen ai bin lidil, ai siyim sneik, ai*  
long:time when 1:SG:S PST little 1:SG:S see snake 1:SG:S  
*gedam ston, en ai tjakam langa det sneik*  
get stone and 1:SG:S throw LOC that snake

'A long time ago, when I was a child, if I saw a snake, I used to get a stone and throw it at the snake.'

A more specific auxiliary *yusda* is available for placing habitual events in the past (i.e. they are no longer performed). *Bin* is not usual with *yusda*, though the two can co-occur.

- (2-4) *Dei yusda plei-bat la hastel*  
3:PL used:to play-ITER LOC hostel

'They used to be playing at the hostel.'

Habitual action can be specified by the use of one of the following adverbs: *orlataim*, *orlas* and *ebritaim*.

- (2-5) *Ai bin gow-in skul orlataim. Afdatharran ai orlas*  
1:SG:S PST go-PROG school always after:that 1:SG:S always  
*kambek en abam dina en go plei-bat garra orla kid.*  
come:back and eat dinner and go play-ITER ASSOC PL child

'I used to go to school every day. After school I would come back and have dinner then go and play with the children.'

In the negative construction, where *neba* negates the verb, the past tense *bin* does not normally occur.

- (2-6) *Mipala neba gedam shuga*  
1:PL:EX NEG get sugar  
'We didn't get sugar.'

An aspect of completion is included in the meaning of *bin* but this is not easily distinguished from past time. It is with the negative that this completive meaning can be seen. In the next example the time reference is past and the first car is said to have not broken down during the whole time of ownership. Contrasting to that, another car is said to have not broken down for a period, which is now completed, and the current situation is described in positive terms. The *bin* is obligatory with the second negative but not allowed with the first.

- (2-7) *Wi bin abam det motika fo longtaim en i neba*  
we PST have that car PURP long:time and 3:SG:S NEG  
*breikdan det najawan motika wi bin abam fo longtaim en*  
breakdown that other car we PST have PURP long:time and  
*i neba bin breikdan bat tudei i orlas breikdan*  
3:SG:S NEG PST breakdown but now 3:SG:S always breakdown

'We had one car for a long time and it never broke down. We had another car for a long time and it didn't break down for some time but now it always breaks down.'

Two morphemes place an event after the moment of speaking. They are *garra* and *-l* and both are glossed 'potential' (POT). The first, *garra*, is an auxiliary with a combined tense-mood meaning of probable, potential or future action often with an implied obligation. Situations which have not happened at the time of speaking but which are envisioned by the speaker as very likely to happen are marked by *garra*.

- (2-8) *Ai garra kukum dempa*  
 1:SG:S POT cook damper  
 'I will cook the damper.'

In discourse, *garra* is used when describing a procedure such as when telling someone how to play a game.

- (2-9) *Fes yu garra putum detlat faib ting la yu finga ...*  
 first 2:SG POT put those five thing LOC 2:SG hand  
 'First you put those five things in your hand ...'

The probability implied in *garra* is clearest in a warning.

- (2-10) *Yu garra foldan*  
 2:SG POT fall  
 'You're sure to fall.'

Compare this with a less emphatic warning.

- (2-11) *Yu mait foldan*  
 2:SG might fall  
 'You might fall.'

The second morpheme of future time *-l* is restricted to use with the first person subject pronouns and is suffixed to the pronoun, producing two forms *a-l* and *wil* no doubt from English 'I'll' and 'We'll'. Its meaning is that the action is probable and likely to take place in the immediate future.

- (2-12) *If yu showum mi hospil, a-l gibim yu mani*  
 if 2:SG show 1:SG:O hospital 1:SG:S-POT give 2:SG money  
 'If you direct me to the hospital, I'll give you money.'

An event which is not specified as to its place in time, i.e. any habitual, customary or hypothetical event, is not marked by either of the tense auxiliaries.

- (2-13) *Naitaim dei kamat. Dei falaram-bat yu biyain wen yu*  
 night 3:PL come:out 3:PL follow-ITER 2:SG behind when 2:SG  
*wok-in jelp*  
 walk-PROG REFL

'At night (the ghosts) come out. They follow you when you walk alone.'

2.2.2 MOOD

Some verbal auxiliaries convey mood only, but many include a time orientation and are intrinsically negative or positive as well. Those which can be combined with the past tense *bin* are *labda*, *masbi*, *maitbi*, *nili*, *wanda*. All but the last two can also combine with the potential *garra*.

The etymology of *labda* deserves mention here. It appears to have been derived from English -ll have to as in I'll have to go now. The separation of the *-ll* from the subject pronoun and its reassignment to the modal can be seen in example (2-14), where *labda* occurs initially and the subject pronoun plus tense follows.

- (2-14) *Labda wi-l stat masteram*  
 must we-POT start muster  
 'We'll have to start mustering.'
- (2-15) *Wi bin labda kemp rait deya*  
 we PST must camp right there  
 'We had to camp right there.'
- (2-16) *I masbi garra kilim det sneik*  
 3:SG:S might POT kill that snake  
 'He might kill the snake.'
- (2-17) *I maitbi garra go la Debi*  
 3:SG:S might POT go LOC Derby  
 'He might have to go to Derby (to visit a sick relative).'
- (2-18) *Yu wanda kam fo raid?*  
 2:SG want come for ride  
 'Do you want to come for a ride?'
- (2-19) *Wan boi bin nili herdam det gel*  
 IND:SG boy PST nearly hurt that girl  
 'A boy nearly hurt the girl.'

Others have time orientation lexicalised within the morpheme and cannot be combined with either *bin* or *garra*. They are *les*, *kin*, *kan*, *don*, *masn*. The last three are intrinsically negative.

- (2-20) *Les go*  
 let's go  
 'Let's go.'

(2-21) *Ai kin isi duwum*

1:SG:S can easy do

'I can do it.'

(2-22) *Masbi i kan kam*

might 3:SG:S can't come

'Maybe he won't come.'

(2-23) *Don idim det rabijwan*

don't eat that bad:thing

'Don't eat that bad food.'

Contrafact *shudbi* has a past form *shuda* and a negative form *shudn*.

(2-24) *Yu shudbi wajam-bat jelp*

2:SG should wash-ITER REFL

'You should wash yourself.'

(2-25) *Det wota shuda git hat nau*

that water should become hot now

'The water should have heated by now.'

The negative *neba* is the most general. It negates the proposition in a non-future time orientation. If it negates a past event it is not combined with *bin* unless the negative situation is viewed as complete. Other negatives are *nomo*, *nat* and *no*. *Nomo* is used by mature adults where younger people use *neba*. When asked about *nomo* negating the verb, language teachers commented, 'Some old people say it that way, but I don't'. In the speech of those under 35 *nomo* is heard but it tends to be restricted to phrase level where it implies an opposite.

(2-26) *Dijan rein nomo lilbit, i bigwan*

this rain NEG limited 3:SG:S big

'This rain is not a little, it's a lot.'

*Nat* negates a noun or adjective but not a verb.

(2-27) *Dis dempa i nat kukwan*

this damper 3:SG:S NEG cooked

'This damper is not cooked.'

*No* refers to quantity and means 'zero'. It negates a noun.

(2-28) *Wi garram no shuga*  
 we ASSOC NEG sugar  
 'We have no sugar.'

### 2.2.3 ASPECT

Aspects are of three categories. Those which are verbal affixes are described in 2.3; two are separate words which follow the verb and nine are verbal auxiliaries and precede the main verb.

*Pini* 'completive aspect'. By using the completive aspect morpheme *pini*, the speaker indicates that the action of the verb continued on for a period, then ceased.

(2-29) *I bin wok-in pini. Tu lid bin gidin la im*  
 3:SG:S PST walk-PROG complete two lead PST enter LOC 3:SG:O  
 'He was walking, then wham: two pieces of lead entered his body (by magic).'

If the verb is not durative, it means the event was final and complete.

(2-30) *I bin drap pini*  
 3:SG:S PST collapse complete  
 'He collapsed and didn't get up again (for a long time).'

*Najing* 'in vain'. When the result of an activity is predictable from the verb itself or from context, *najing* can be used to indicate that it was carried out without the desired result (see also 7.1.4).

(2-31) *Mipala bin tjak-in-abat najing. Neba bin gedam*  
 1:PL:EX PST throw-PROG-ITER in:vain NEG PST get  
 'We cast our fishing line(s) for a long time without success; we got nothing.'

The aspectual auxiliaries which precede the verb are *kip* ~ *kipgoun*, *stil*, *yet*, which all indicate continued action; *jes* 'limitation', *stat* 'incipient - action begun', *stap* 'cessation', *trai* ~ *trayinda* 'attempt'.

(2-32) *Dei kipgoun bayam-bat taka*  
 3:PL continue buy-ITER food  
 'They continued to buy food.'

(2-33) *Ai stil garra go*  
 1:SG:S still POT go  
 'I still intend to go.'

(2-34) *Det krik neba ran-in yet*  
that creek NEG run-PROG yet

'The creek is not flowing yet.'

(2-35) *Dei bin jes stat masteram hos*  
3:PL PST just start muster horse

'They just started to muster the horses.'

(2-36) *Dei garra stap masteram tudei*  
3:PL POT stop muster now

'They will stop mustering now.'

(2-37) *Wi bin trayinda go riba*  
we PST try go river

'We tried to go to the river (but the car broke down).'

## 2.3 VERB MORPHOLOGY

The Kriol verb consists of a stem and three orders of suffixes, all marking either transitivity or aspect. They are displayed in Figure 2.4. In the first order there are two morphemes *-Vm* transitive marker and *{-in}* progressive aspect. Although it is possible to get a transitive verb in the progressive aspect these two morphemes cannot co-occur and the progressive aspect takes precedence when both meanings are needed. This allows for ambiguity in a very small number of verbs but in most cases it is clear from context or from the semantics of the verb stem. The second and third order suffixes are all aspectual.

### 2.3.1 TRANSITIVE MARKER

Transitive verbs are normally marked by the first order suffix *-Vm*.

(2-38) *Det dog bin bait-im mi*  
that dog PST bite-TR 1:SG:0

'The dog bit me.'

It can be omitted from those verbs which have an intrinsically transitive underived stem provided three conditions are met.

(1) The object must be overtly stated in an NP.

(2-39) *Ai bin kuk sam dempa*  
1:SG:S PST cook some damper

'I cooked some damper.'



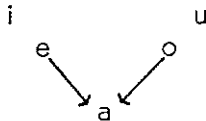
FIGURE 2.4 VERBAL SUFFIXES

	1st Order	2nd Order	3rd Order
Stem	<p><i>-im</i> transitive marker</p> <p><i>-in</i> progressive aspect</p>	<p><i>-ap</i> upwards, forceful, extensive action</p> <p><i>-at</i> towards a goal, cessation</p> <p><i>-bek</i> reversal, reciprocal</p> <p><i>-dan</i> downwards, termination</p> <p><i>-in</i> in, inside</p> <p><i>-(a)raun</i> motion with unspecified direction</p> <p><i>-(a)wei</i> motion away from</p> <p><i>-oba</i> on top of an entity</p> <p><i>-of</i> off, motion down from an elevated entity</p>	<p><i>-bat</i> iterative aspect</p>

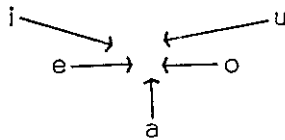
(2) All other verbal suffixes must be deleted also. Forms such as \**id-ap* 'eat' and \**bait-bat* 'bite' are not possible.

(3) The resultant stem must be an acceptable phonological shape. The form \**magar* from *magar-am* 'spoil' is not acceptable because the phoneme /r/ does not occur word finally. In text from speakers at the 'light' end of the continuum there is a tendency to omit the transitive marker more than in text from speakers at the 'heavy' end.

Morphophonemics. There is harmony between the last vowel of the verb stem and that of the suffix *-vm*. The vowels of the verb stem remain unchanged and that of the suffix varies. If the stem final vowel is /i/, /a/, or /u/ the suffix vowel is identical to it: *kil-im* 'hit, kill', *tjak-am* 'throw', *kuk-um* 'cook, heat'. The two mid vowels /e/ and /o/ do not pull the suffix vowel to themselves but it falls toward the low central position /a/ as in *greb-am* 'take possession of', *kol-am* 'call, refer to'. In the case of glides, the suffix is the same as the second segment of the glide: *faind-im* 'find, notice', *boil-im* 'boil', *kaund-um* 'count'. These are illustrated below.



The above vowel changes are tendencies only. With many speakers the vowel of the suffix, being unstressed, neutralises to an indistinct central vowel /a/ for all but the high back vowels. For some, even /u/ is lowered and centralised.



For orthographic purposes in this monograph three allomorphs will be written: *-im*, *-am* and *-um*, the vowel to agree with that in the last syllable of the stem. Where this is a glide, the suffix vowel agrees with the second segment. With stem vowels /e/ and /o/ the suffix vowel will be written /a/.

<i>stil-im</i>	'steal'
<i>tjak-am</i>	'throw'
<i>kuk-um</i>	'cook'

<i>enser-am</i>	'answer'
<i>brok-am</i>	'break'
<i>faind-im</i>	'find'
<i>boil-im</i>	'boil'
<i>kaund-um</i>	'count'

Where the verb is derived from a phrasal verb in English, the transitive marker is placed between the two English elements and the vowel agrees with the preceding vowel as described above.

<i>fil-ap</i>	>	<i>fil-im-ap</i>	'fill'
<i>grow-ap</i>	>	<i>grow-um-ap</i>	'grow, bring up, nurture'

Derivational Features. Almost all verbs are derived from English words and as English verbs are not marked for transitivity they are treated as intransitive when borrowed and a transitive form is derived where necessary by the suffix *-Vm*. Many verbs have both an intransitive and a transitive form. Some stems with intrinsic transitivity require obligatory transitive marking and there are no intransitive counterparts for these.... Others are intrinsically intransitive and have no transitive counterpart. A transitive derivation is hypothetically possible for all, since the transitive marker is productive in the language and only semantic implausibility would prevent it. A selection of verb stems are described below grouped according to their transitivity patterning.

Some verbs are intrinsically intransitive and cannot be transitivised. Examples are: *go* 'go, move', *kamap* 'arrive', *kemp* 'sleep, camp', *bogi* 'bathe', *poldan* 'fall', *breikdan* 'breakdown'.

(2-40) *Mela bin kamap from Junjuwa*  
 1:PL:EX PST arrive ABL (name)  
 'We arrived from Junjuwa.'

Verbs which are marked as transitive but have no intransitive counterpart are those where the action is only ever performed by an agent on another entity. Some are *lik-im* 'lick', *nak-am* 'hit', *majurr-um* 'muster, gather together', *nidil-im* 'inject'.

(2-41) *Orla kid bin tjak-am ston*  
 PL child PST throw-TR stone  
 'The children threw stones.'

The majority of verbs have intransitive and transitive counterparts. Some examples of these are given to illustrate the productivity of this transitivising suffix.

*ran* 'run' (intr)

- (2-42) *Orla kid bin ran raitap la riba*  
PL child PST run right LOC river  
'The children ran right to the river.'

*ran-am* 'run into' (tr)

- (2-43) *Det motika bin ran-am det dog*  
that car PST run-TR that dog  
'The car ran over the dog.'

*bagarrap* 'spoiled, useless' (intr)

- (2-44) *Det motika i bagarrap*  
that car 3:SG:S spoiled  
'The car won't go.'

*bagarr-am-ap* 'spoil, ruin, make useless' (tr)

- (2-45) *I bin bagarr-am-ap mai baik*  
3:SG:S PST spoiled-TR-up 1:SG:P bike  
'He spoiled my bike (so I can't ride it).'

A small group of verbs describe an act or activity directed by one entity (agent) toward another entity (goal). These can function either transitively or intransitively. Although there is probably some difference of meaning between the two constructions, my language teacher could not verbalise any. The goal of the action is encoded in a locative phrase with the intransitive verb (2-46) and as object with the transitive verb (2-47).

- (2-46) *Pipul kin hambag langa yu fo mani*  
people can pester LOC 2:SG PURP money  
'People can pester for money.'

- (2-47) *Dis boi hambag-am-bat as*  
this boy pester-TR-ITER us  
'The boy is annoying/pestering us.'

As well as deriving transitive verbs from intransitive, *-Vm* can be used to derive a transitive verb from a different word class. This applies to words from within Kriol or borrowed from English. Of those listed below, the first three are derived from nouns and the other from adjectives. The English form, as the source, is given in the first column followed by the Kriol form of the same word class. In the third column the derived verb is given with its gloss.

needle	<i>nidil</i>	<i>nidil-im</i>	'inject'
torch	<i>toitj</i>	<i>toitj-im</i>	'shine a light on something'
dust	<i>dast</i>	<i>dast-am</i>	'cover with dust, overtake, surpass'
jealous	<i>jelis</i>	<i>jelis-im</i>	'resent, envy'
high	-	<i>hay-im-ap</i>	'heighten'
ready	<i>rudi</i>	<i>rudy-im-ap</i>	'prepare something'

### 2.3.2 FIRST AND THIRD ORDER SUFFIXES

The 1st order progressive aspect suffix *{-in}* and the 3rd order iterative *-bat* cannot really be described independently. There is overlap of meaning and therefore an interweaving of distribution and co-occurrence. The shared meaning is that of continuous or durational aspect, i.e. an action is seen to be carried on for a prolonged period of time. The different meanings are identified in the glosses given for each morpheme.

Progressive *{-in}*. First order *{-in}* usually indicates continuous action, but it can have a progressive or imperfective meaning when an action is viewed as being in progress at a given time. This can be at the time of the utterance or at the time identified by a verb in a contiguous clause.

*Dem kids dei bisi pley-in la trempalin*  
 them children 3:PL busy play-PROG LOC trampoline

'The children are active playing on the trampoline.'

There are two variants of *{-in}*: *-in* and *-ing*. These are not phonologically conditioned and there is no vowel harmony such as occurs with the other first order suffix *-Vm*. For those intransitive verbs derived from English phrasal verbs, progressive aspect suffix can be either between the two elements or at the end of the Kriol stem causing it to alternate between 1st and 2nd orders.

*jin-an-ing* ~ *jid-in-dan* 'sitting'  
*jing-at-ing* ~ *jing-in-at* 'singing out, calling'

This differs from the transitive marker which is only ever in the 1st Order position. Progressive forms are heard more often in the speech of young people.

The transitive marker *-Vm* and progressive aspect *{-in}* cannot co-occur, e.g. with the transitive verb meaning 'chase', *tjeis-im + in* becomes *tjeis-in* but not *\*tjeis-im-in* or *\*tjeis-in-im*. This means that verbs which can have only transitive forms retain their transitivity with progressive aspect even though there is no affix to show it.

(2-48) *Wi bin tjeis-im orla keinggurru*  
 we PST chase-TR PL kangaroo  
 'We chased kangaroos.'

(2-49) *Wi bin tjeis-in orla keinggurru*  
 we PST chase-PROG PL kangaroo  
 'We were chasing kangaroos.'

Iterative -bat. The iterative meaning of *-bat* is more common than durative. It can refer to repeated actions or plural participants as in the following examples where the first illustrates repeated action, and the second plural participants.

(2-50) *Dis motika i bagarrap-bat*  
 this car 3:SG:S spoiled-ITER  
 'This car is erratic. It goes for a while and then stops.'

(2-51) *Dei bin lait-im-ap-bat blanga dem jumok*  
 3:PL PST light-TR-up-ITER DAT them cigarette  
 'They were all lighting up their cigarettes.'

The continuous meaning of *-bat* is exemplified in the next example.

(2-52) *Det kid bin haid-im-ap-bat jelp from det titja*  
 that child PST hide-TR-up-ITER REFL ABL that teacher  
 'The child was hiding for a long time from the teacher (until it was too late to go to school).'

Both *{-in}* and *-bat* can be suffixed to the same verb. (The vowel /a/ is optionally inserted between the alveolar and bilabial consonants which would form a cluster when the allomorph *-in* precedes *-bat* as in the next example.)

(2-53) *Mela bin tjak-in-abat, najing*  
1:PL:EX PST throw-PROG-ITER in:vain

'We were casting (our fishing line(s)) repeatedly for a long time without success.'

The overlap of meaning with these two aspect suffixes can perhaps best be shown by some examples where two verbs with the same time reference and duration occur in contiguous clauses.

(2-54) *Wi bin siy-im-ba krakadail get-ap-bat*  
we PST see-TR-ITER crocodile get-up-ITER

'We were watching crocodiles getting in and out (of the water).'

(2-55) *Det motika shuda kam-in-ap dis-wei get-am-bat taka*  
that car should come-PROG-up this-DIR get-TR-ITER food  
*fo orla penjina*  
PURP PL pensioner

'The car should come every day and get food for the pensioners.'

### 2.3.3 SECOND ORDER SUFFIXES

Suffixes of the second order are all derived from English prepositions and in Kriol some carry aspectual meaning. Most are productive though some are heard mainly in verbs which originate from English phrasal verbs (e.g. *jidan* 'sit' from 'sit down' and *jandap* 'stand' from 'stand up'). Second order suffixes are listed with the other verbal affixes in Figure 2.4. They are all based on a spatial dimension and the first four have been developed to include aspectual meaning as well.

-ap 'upwards'. Probably derived from English 'up', the primary meaning of -ap is that of an action performed in the vertical dimension, upwards. It is glossed 'up'.

*klaim-ap* 'climb'

*bildim-ap* 'build (a house)'

*jand-ap* 'stand'

It extends spatially to include motion toward a physical goal.

*draibim-ap* 'drive right to a goal'

*kam-ap* 'move towards speaker'

The aspectual meaning is that of the action carried out to its fullest extent. The next two examples have contrasting forms without the aspectual suffix. Both forms are given.

<i>falaram-ap</i>	'follow to catch up with, track game in order to kill it'
<i>falaram</i>	'move along behind something which is moving'
<i>rulum-ap</i>	'roll up into something small, as a swag'
<i>rulum</i>	'roll along as a drum'

-at 'towards a goal'. The aspectual meaning of *-at* is that the action is performed until a goal or a change of place or state is reached as in the verbs *wetnim-at* 'extinguish a fire' and *kam-at* 'reach a physical goal'. It is glossed 'attain' (att). The second is illustrated in the next example.

(2-56) *Ai bin kat-am det log en ai bin kam-at la det*  
 1:SG:S PST cut-TR that log and 1:SG:S PST come-att LOC that  
*sneik*  
 snake

'I chopped into the hollow log until I reached the snake.'

-bek 'reverse'. The basic meaning of this morpheme is that an entity is seen as being away from another entity or place and returning toward it. It is glossed 'back'.

<i>kam-bek</i>	'return to speaker'
<i>pajim-bek</i>	'pass an item back to its original possessor'

The aspectual extension of meaning includes retaliation or reciprocation and involves two entities. It assumes a previous action which has affected one of them and has been performed by the other. The action is then performed a second time with a reversal of roles, i.e. the agent of the first action becomes patient of the second. Understandably, *-bek* with aspectual meaning can only occur with transitive verbs.

<i>shain-im-bek</i>	'shine a light back at someone in retaliation'
<i>yus-um-bek</i>	'use something belonging to someone else who has borrowed an equivalent thing'



-dan 'downwards'. The primary meaning of *-dan* is action performed in a downward direction. It is glossed 'down'.

*nakam-dan* 'hit something causing it to fall'

*go-dan* 'go down'

It is extended to include an event which causes the cessation of one state, and, at the same time, change to a different state.

*breik-dan* 'break down (of vehicle or engine)'

*sedil-dan* 'cease from some activity'

There are very few examples in the data of the other second order suffixes. No aspectual extension of their meaning has been discovered so far. An example is given of each.

*git-in* 'enter'

*skaiting-aran-bat* 'showing off'

*teikirr-awei* 'take away, remove'

*kabarr-oba* 'cover over'

*get-of* 'get off, alight'

## 2.4 PRONOUNS

The distinctions of inclusive/exclusive and dual number which are features of TA languages are present also in Kriol though the English forms *we* (*wi*) and *us* (*as*) are used with the same meaning as they are in English. They are shown as alternative forms on Figures 2.5 and 2.6. There is contrast between subject and object pronouns in 1st and 3rd persons as shown on the charts.

When pronouns follow a preposition, the object form is used except in the case of 1st person dual and plural. If the four-way distinction is not made, the subject pronoun *wi* often follows the preposition.

(2-57) *Tharran motika bla wi*  
that car DAT we

'That is our car.'

FIGURE 2.5 SUBJECT PRONOUNS

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1 incl		<i>minyu ~ wi (mela)</i>	<i>wilat ~ wi (mela)</i>
1 excl	<i>ai a</i>	<i>mindupala ~ wi (mela)</i>	<i>mela ~ mipala ~ wi</i>
2	<i>yu</i>	<i>yundupala</i>	<i>yupala</i>
3	<i>i</i>	<i>dupala</i>	<i>dei ~ olabat ~ ol</i>

FIGURE 2.6 OBJECT PRONOUNS

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1 incl		<i>minyu ~ as</i>	<i>wilat ~ wi ~ as</i>
1 excl	<i>mi</i>	<i>mindupala ~ as</i>	<i>mela ~ mipala ~ as</i>
2	<i>yu</i>	<i>yundupala</i>	<i>yupala</i>
3	<i>im</i>	<i>dupala</i>	<i>dem ~ olabat ~ ol</i>

Several people whose work brings them into constant contact with children told me in 1982 that children do not always make the four-way distinction in 1st person but use the plural exclusive form *mela* for all. I have not been able to verify this personally so have included it in Figure 2.5 in brackets to identify it as a possible feature of language change. It would not be surprising if other distinctions, especially duality, should be lost in the future as there is continuing influence from English.

The possessive pronouns are:

<i>main</i>	~	<i>mainwan</i>	'my'
<i>yus</i>	~	<i>yuswan</i>	'yours'
<i>is</i>			'his, hers, its'
<i>deya</i>			'theirs'

## 2.5 TOPICALISATION AND TAGGING

Throughout this monograph, there are many examples where topicalisation and tagging are significant and these introductory comments are included to explain the way the terms are used here.

Topicalisation. In Kriol narrative text the constituent containing new information is often given special focus by being moved to the beginning of the clause. In elicited data (and in conversation) this same technique of fronting is used to mark the constituent that is in focus. I will call this process topicalisation following Grimes (1975:337-342). In a discourse, topicalisation may mean that a new participant(s) is introduced (2-61), that one (or a group) is selected for special reference from among participants previously identified (2-58) or a new piece of information is introduced about an already established participant (2-62). In one-clause utterances such as conversation or elicited data, the Topic is the constituent in focus. As the subject is normally the first constituent, topicalisation is identified formally by the presence of the subject pronoun following the fronted NP (noun phrase) and preceding the predicate. This initial pre-subject position is here labelled Topic (TOP).

(2-58) TOP (S) S  
*Ani mi B..., L..., K... en ngaju mipala bin abam*  
 only 1:SG (name) (name) (name) and 1:SG(W) 1:PL:EX PST eat  
*kakaji fo dina*  
 goanna(W) PURP dinner

'Only me, B..., L..., K... and me, we had goanna for lunch.'

Compare this with a sentence where there is no topicalisation

(2-60) S  
*Mi, B... en J... bin idim det wotamelin*  
1:SG (name) and (name) PST eat that watermelon  
'B..., J... and I ate the watermelon.'

Examples of arguments topicalised by fronting are subject (2-58), object (2-61), (2-62), purposive (2-63), locative (2-64), associative (2-65) and dative (2-66).

(2-61) TOP(O) S  
*Najawan gowena na dei bin digimap from hol*  
another goanna EM 3:PL PST dig:up ABL hole  
'Another goanna they dug up from its hole.'

(2-62) TOP(O) S  
*Gudsaiswan i bin raidim*  
good:size 3:SG:S PST ride  
'A fair sized (calf) he rode.'

(2-63) TOP(PURP) S  
*Fo frog mela bin lukaran*  
PURP frog 1:PL:EX PST look:for  
'For frogs we looked.'

(2-64) TOP(L) S  
*Said langa faya wi bin silip*  
side LOC fire we PST sleep  
'At the side of the fire we slept.'

(2-65) TOP(A) S  
*Garra stik i bin kilim*  
ASSOC stick 3:SG:S PST kill  
'With a stick he killed it.'

(2-66) TOP(D) S  
*Bla orla kid i bin kukum taka*  
DAT PL child 3:SG:S PST cook food  
'For the children she cooked food.'

Tagging. The final position (labelled TAG) is used to specify additional information about the referent of one of the arguments in the clause. Sometimes tagging serves to highlight the phrase (2-68) and other times it is merely a catch-all where information omitted earlier can be specified as a kind of afterthought (2-69).

(2-67) S TAG(S)  
*Orla kid bin redi bigmob kid*  
 PL child PST ready many child  
 'The children were ready, lots of children.'

(2-68) S TAG(S)  
*En dei bin densing orla purrku*  
 and 3:PL PST dancing PL old:man(W)  
 'And they were dancing, the old men.'

(2-69) S TAG(S)  
*Aftatharran ting bin kam blekdoa*  
 after:that HES PST come (name)  
 'After that --- came, the car with the black door.'<sup>8</sup>

It is possible to combine both topicalisation and tagging as in (2-70) where the object is in Topic position and extra information about it is given in the Tag. Sentence (2-71) topicalises the object and includes a phrase in apposition, while the subject is further specified in the Tag.

(2-70) TOP(O) S TAG(O)  
*Wan men dei bin falaram-bat, fo k... fo fatha*  
 IND:SG man 3:PL PST follow-ITER PURP (name) PURP father  
 'One man they were following, it was K... 's father.'

(2-71) TOP(O) S  
*en wan bigis bul luk, bigis stiya, i bin*  
 and IND:SG very:big bull EM very:big steer 3:SG:S PST  
 TAG(S)  
*raidim luk N...*  
 ride EM (name)  
 'And a very big bull, a very big steer he rode, N... did.'

Noun Phrases in Apposition. It is not uncommon in Kriol for phrases to occur in apposition. The term is used here to refer to a repeated phrase which further defines or identifies the referent, in contrast to phrases within an NP which have a possessive or descriptive relationship to a head noun (see Section 3.2). Phrases in apposition are not normally separated by other elements of the clause as the adnominal phrase and its head often are. Appositional phrases often coincide with the final or Tag position because, apart from the subject, the argument involved usually occurs last. To some extent these two functions of apposition and tagging overlap as they both add information about an entity previously referred to. Examples below illustrate appositional phrases in subject (2-72), object (2-73), locative (2-74), (2-75) and associative (2-76) phrases (see also Text D-10). The appositional phrase is separated off by a comma.

(2-72) TOP(S) S  
*En dis bigwan mangki, blanga im dedi, i bin telim ...*  
 and this big monkey DAT. 3:SG:O father 3:SG:S PST tell  
 'And this big monkey, his father, he said ...'

(2-73) *I bin abam neim, orla neim, orla kid fo neim*  
 3:SG:S PST have name PL name PL child PURP name  
 '(The car door) had a name on it, several names, children's names.'

(2-74) *Sneik kraling la yu, biyain la yu*  
 snake crawling LOC 2:SG behind LOC 2:SG  
 'A snake is crawling on you, on your back.'

(2-75) *En mela bin go la mash, la rud*  
 and 1:PL:EX PST go LOC marsh LOC road  
 'And we went along the marsh, along the road.'

(2-76) *Orla gel en boi bin nakam-bat jelp garra kura, garra*  
 PL girl and boy PST hit-ITER REFL ASSOC dung(W) ASSOC  
*burluman kura*  
 cattle dung(W)

'The girls and boys were hitting each other with dung, with cattle dung.'