

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

WORK PAPERS OF SIL-AAB  
SERIES A, VOLUME 8

by

*Joyce Hudson*



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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.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	xi
Abbreviations	xiii
0. Introduction	1
1. The Language and Its Speakers	5
1.1 Pidgins and Creoles	5
1.2 The Languages at Fitzroy Crossing	8
1.3 Historical Sketch of Adult Pidgin	10
1.4 Entrance of Kriol	13
1.5 Attitudes to Kriol	15
1.5.1 An Identity Language	16
1.5.2 A Rejected Language	18
1.5.3 Sociolinguistic Summary	19
2. Preliminary Notes	21
2.1 Orthography	21
2.2 Tense, Mood and Aspect	28
2.2.1 Tense	28
2.2.2 Mood	31
2.2.3 Aspect	33
2.3 Verb Morphology	34
2.3.1 Transitive Marker	34
2.3.2 First and Third Order Suffixes	39
2.3.3 Second Order Suffixes	41
2.4 Pronouns	43
2.5 Topicalisation and Tagging	45
 P A R T O N E - GRAMMATICAL ASPECTS	 49
Introduction	49
3. Prepositions	50
3.1 Prepositions in Verbal Clauses	50
3.1.1 Subject and Object	53

3.1.1.1	Subject	54
3.1.1.2	Object	55
3.1.2	{ <i>Blanga</i> } 'Dative'	57
3.1.3	{ <i>Langa</i> } 'Locative'	60
3.1.4	<i>Fo</i> 'Purposive'	64
3.1.5	<i>From</i> 'Ablative'	65
3.1.6	{ <i>Garra</i> } 'Associative'	66
3.1.7	Comparison with Traditional Australian Languages	68
3.2	Prepositions within the Noun Phrase	70
3.2.1	{ <i>Blanga</i> } 'Dative'	70
3.2.2	<i>Fo</i> 'Purposive'	72
3.2.3	{ <i>Garra</i> } 'Associative'	73
3.2.4	The Lexeme <i>laika</i>	75
3.2.5	Comparison with Traditional Australian Languages	76
4.	Verbless Clause Types and Their Transforms	77
4.1	Verbless Clause Types	78
4.1.1	Ascriptive and Equative Clauses	79
4.1.1.1	Ascriptive <sub>1</sub> Clause	80
4.1.1.2	Ascriptive <sub>2</sub> Clause	80
4.1.1.3	Equative Clause	81
4.1.2	Locative Clause	82
4.1.3	Possessive Clause	85
4.1.4	Associative Clause	86
4.1.5	Equational Clause	88
4.1.6	Existential Clause	92
4.1.7	Ambient Clause	94
4.1.8	Comparison with Traditional Australian Languages	94
4.2	Verbal Transforms of Verbless Clauses	98
4.2.1	The Copula <i>Bi</i> and $\emptyset$	98
4.2.2	<i>stap</i> 'Stay'	101
4.2.3	<i>Git</i> 'Become'	104
4.2.4	<i>Jidan</i> 'Sit' and <i>Jandap</i> 'Stand'	106



4.2.5	<i>Abam</i> 'Have, Possess' and <i>Gedam</i> 'Obtain, Procure'	108
4.2.6	An Alternative Analysis for { <i>garra</i> }	109
4.2.7	Comparison with Traditional Australian Languages	111
5.	The Morpheme <i>Jelp</i>	114
5.1	Reciprocal	116
5.2	Reflexive	118
5.3	Restrictive	120
5.3.1	Agent Exclusive	121
5.3.2	Minus Causal Agent	121
5.3.3	Agent Individual	123
5.4	Comparison with Traditional Australian Languages	124
P A R T    T W O            SEMANTIC ASPECTS		126
Introduction		126
6.	Etymology	129
6.1	Difficulties which Arise in Assigning Etymons	129
6.1.1	Homophony	129
6.1.2	Conflation	130
6.2	Lexemes Derived from Walmajarri	131
6.3	Lexemes of Uncertain Origin	133
7.	Lexemes and Associated Concepts	136
7.1	Concepts from Walmajarri Transferred to Kriol Forms	136
7.1.1	Taxonomy	137
7.1.2	Kinship	139
7.1.3	Time and Space	140
7.1.4	Attention and Perception Verbs	141
7.1.5	Culture-Specific Lexemes	144
7.2	Concepts Introduced through English	146
7.2.1	New Items	146
7.2.2	New Categories	147
7.2.3	New Activities	148
7.2.4	Concept and Form Mismatched	149

8. Lexemes Involving Grammatical and Collocational Changes	151
8.1 Grammatical Changes	151
8.1.1 Word Class	151
8.1.2 Transitivity	152
8.1.3 Valency	153
8.2 Collocational Changes	155
8.2.1 Verb-object	155
8.2.2 Idiom	157
8.2.3 Semantic Categories	157
Conclusion	162
Appendix 1 - Kriol Texts	165
Appendix 2 - Excerpts from Adult Pidgin Texts	176
Notes	179
Bibliography	185

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Once the project was launched these same people each continued to help. During my field trip in 1981, the group of children mentioned above spent many hours teaching me to talk and welcomed me to their marbles, cards and other games thus providing an introduction to this otherwise elusive language. Those who helped in formal language learning were Bernadette Willian, Diane Brooking, Anne Nuggett and Mabel Laurel, and their assistance cannot be overestimated. Most days Bernadette brought her two year old son Shaun, whose smile and delightful personality helped make this project a very pleasant one.

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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

## PART ONE

### GRAMMATICAL ASPECTS

#### INTRODUCTION

Kriol follows its superstratum language English and identifies grammatical subject and object by word order; in the basic clause subject precedes the verb and object follows it. The syntactic relationship of other arguments is identified by prepositions in which it seems to also follow the model of English. A closer look, however, reveals that prepositions in Kriol belong to a closed class which identify the syntactic relationship of arguments to the verb in much the same way as case inflections function in other languages. Kriol prepositions are {*blanga*}, {*langa*}, *fo*, {*garra*} and *from*. These prepositions function in three ways: in the arguments of verbal clauses, within the noun phrase and in the predicate of verbless clauses. This is displayed in Figure 3.1 where X means that the preposition occurs in that function.

Prepositions functioning in verbal clauses and within the noun phrase are described in the next chapter and their function in verbless clauses is included with the analysis of clause types in Chapter 4. A different type of syntactic relationship is involved with the morpheme *jelp* described in Chapter 5. Participants in the subject may be co-referential with the object in a reflexive or reciprocal relationship or the participants in the subject may be singled out as the only ones involved.

## CHAPTER 3

### PREPOSITIONS

#### 3.1 PREPOSITIONS IN VERBAL CLAUSES

Case marking is a well documented feature of TA languages. Blake (1977) has provided a description of the morphological means used to express syntactic relations in languages from the whole continent while Dixon (1980) provides a sketch of case markings and the systems in which they function as well as a reconstruction of the case system of proto-Australian. It is hardly surprising that the grammatical relations expressed by case inflections in TA languages are carried over into Kriol.

In the literature there are two basic differences in the use of the term 'case'. Traditionally it was used to refer to the contrasting forms of lexemes (morphology) which changed according to the syntax of the language. More recently it has been applied to categories defined semantically (Fillmore). Nouns, pronouns and adjectives were classified by traditional grammarians according to paradigms of declension for the inflectional categories of case and number. Lyons says, 'Case was the most important of the inflexional categories of the noun, as tense was the most important inflexional category of the verb' (Lyons 1968:289). Though each case was labelled according to one of its principal syntactic functions, it was impossible to find a single label which covered all functions of the case. Thus a traditional grammar would list a set of meanings for every case, such as for Russian the instrument of place, the instrument of time, the instrument of means etc. (See Wierzbicka 1980:xii).

Recently those describing non-Indo-European languages have found it increasingly more important to recognise semantic categories as distinct from the morphologically marked grammatical categories of case. Longacre,



FIGURE 3.1

## PREPOSITIONS AND THEIR FUNCTIONS

	Verbal Clause	Within NP	Verbless Clause
{ <i>blanga</i> }	X	X	X
{ <i>garra</i> }	X	X	X
<i>fo</i>	X	X	—
{ <i>langa</i> }	X	X	—
<i>from</i>	X	X	—

speaking of studies in Philippine languages in the 1950's and 1960's, says they found 'that grammatical categories such as subject and object must be distinguished from situational categories, such as actor, goal, and site' (Longacre 1976:23). But it was Fillmore who, in his well known article of 1968 'The Case for Case', brought to the attention of linguists world wide the notion of case as an underlying category. He claimed that 'the grammatical notion 'case' deserves a place in the base component of the grammar of every language'. Of English he said, 'Prepositions ... are selected on the basis of several types of structural features and in ways that are exactly analogous to those which determine particular case forms in a language like Latin' (1968:15). Chafe (1970) was also working along similar lines and since that time 'case grammar' has been developed by others; Platt (1971), Cook (1979), Grimes (1975) and Longacre (1976) to mention a few.

The semantic categories, or roles of case grammar provide a useful framework for describing the various functions of the prepositions in Kriol as they function in verbal clauses. I will describe them in terms of these semantic roles and syntactic relations but do not attempt a full case grammar analysis of Kriol. It would be profitable in a future study to analyse the verbs in terms of 'case frames' but that is beyond the scope chosen for this monograph. For clarity I will reserve the term 'case' for use where it refers to the traditional morphological category, i.e. case-forms, and 'role' for the underlying semantic categories. It is necessary now to select an inventory of terms suitable for describing these roles. Terms have been developed by the various writers referred to above and Longacre in 1976 (p.25) lists nine different inventories which were in use by that time. It is Longacre's own set which I have used for this analysis. I have found it difficult at times to assign roles, especially when choosing between source and goal, and while using Longacre's role labels, I have sometimes included more traditional terms such as recipient or beneficiary for extra clarity. The roles are listed below with definitions quoted from Longacre (1976:27-34). Two of them (measure and path) have not been used in the analysis.

'EXPERIENCER. An animate entity whose registering nervous system is relevant to the predication....

PATIENT. The inanimate entity of which a state or location is predicated or which undergoes change of state or of location; the animate entity which undergoes change of (physical) state or of location....

AGENT. The animate entity which instigates a process or which acts; an inanimate entity which acts (e.g. an astronomical body or the semiautonomous machine). Agents either instigate a process ... or perform an action....

RANGE. The role assigned to any surface structure nominal that completes or further specifies the predicate; the product of the activity of a predicate....

MEASURE. The role assigned to the surface structure nominal which completes a predication by quantifying it; the price in a transfer....

INSTRUMENT. An inanimate entity or body part which an (animate) agent intentionally uses to accomplish an action or to instigate a process; any entity (unintentional with animate) which conditions an (emotional) state or which triggers a change in emotional or physical state....

LOCATIVE. The locale of a predication. This role is more limited in distribution than source, path, and goal which replace it in many frames. The locale of a predication is the place where the predication takes place without implying motion to, from, or across the space indicated....

SOURCE. The locale which a predication assumes as place of origin; the entity from which physical sensation emanates; the animate entity who is the original owner in a transfer....

GOAL. The locale which is point of termination for a predication; the entity towards which a predication is directed without any necessary change of state in that entity; the animate entity who is the non-transitory or terminal owner....

PATH. The locale or locales traversed in motion etc. predications; the transitory owner.'

Since prepositions in Kriol have such a wide range of meaning it has not been possible to select glosses which can, in a word or two, encompass the whole. I have therefore chosen labels traditionally used for morphologically defined case but which, I believe, best capture the function of the prepositions. Details of the meaning in terms of semantic roles are given for each preposition in the description which follows.

### 3.1.1 SUBJECT AND OBJECT

The two central syntactic relationships of Kriol, subject and object, are identified by word order and not prepositions, but a description of the function of prepositions would be inadequate without reference to these two. They are described first. The phrase under discussion is underlined in examples in this chapter.

### 3.1.1.1. SUBJECT

The grammatical subject is identified by its position as the closest nominal or pronominal element preceding the verb. This applies regardless of transitivity, and the subject is obligatory in the clause. It has no other identification. Subject can encode the roles of agent, patient, experiencer and instrument. The role of agent can only be encoded in the subject and it is not restricted to subject of transitive verbs as the next two sentences illustrate.

(3-1) Orla kid bin tjak-am ston  
PL child PST throw-TR stone  
'The children threw stones.'

(3-2) Olabat bin go la riba  
3:PL PST go LOC river  
'They went to the river.'

The subject of some intransitive verbs are in a patient role where there is no reference to an agent but the entity is that of which a state or location is predicated.

(3-3) Wan dog bin stak la parrik  
IND:SG dog PST stuck LOC fence  
'A dog was caught in the fence.'

The entity may undergo a change of state or location.

(3-4) Det kid bin foldan  
that child PST fall  
'The child fell.'

(3-5) Det kap bin dran la riba  
that cup PST sink LOC river  
'The cup sank in the river.'

With some attention and corporeal verbs the subject encodes the role of experiencer.

(3-6) Main bratha bin luk-um wan sneik  
1:SG:P brother PST look-TR IND:SG snake  
'My brother saw a snake.'

(3-7) Wan olmen bin lus la Debi  
IND:SG old:man PST die LOC Derby

'An old man died in Derby.'

Sometimes two roles can be co-referential, i.e. a single participant may be involved in two roles as with the subject of the verb *dran* 'sink'. If the subject refers to a human, that human is at the same time in the role of a patient and experiencer.

(3-8) Wan kid bin dran la riba  
IND:SG child PST sink LOC river

'A child sank in the river (got into difficulties while swimming).'

If an instrument (including body parts) is used by an agent to perform an action, this relationship is encoded by the associative prepositional phrase but an inanimate entity can occasionally be referred to in the subject where no entity is perceived as agent. The subject then encodes an instrument role according to Longacre's definition because it triggers a change in the emotional or physical state of the patient without itself acting.

(3-9) Det stik bin pein-im mi  
that stick PST pain-TR 1:SG:0

'The splinter is causing me pain.'

(3-10) Ston bin nak-am mi  
stone PST hit-TR 1:SG:0

'I stubbed my toe (Lit - a stone hit me).'

### 3.1.1.2 OBJECT

Like the subject, object is identified by its position. It follows a transitive verb but can be separated from the verb by another argument with some three-place verbs. An exception to this post-verb position is to be found when the object is topicalised and therefore moved to the beginning of the clause (see (2-61) and (2-62)). Object can encode most of the case roles. Verbs of motion and affect which describe actions that bring about a change of location or state typically have an object encoding the patient role.

(3-11) Wan men bin bring-im-ap orla kid  
IND:SG man PST bring-TR-up PL child

'A man brought the children.'

(3-12) *Det men bin rul-um-ap is sweig*  
 that man PST roll-TR-up 3:SG:P swag  
 'The man rolled up his swag.'

Where no change occurs, but the entity (animate) affected is conscious of the action, the role of the object is experiencer.

(3-13) *Det boi bin hit-im wan gel*  
 that boy PST hit-TR IND:SG girl  
 'The boy hit a girl.'

For others, goal is encoded as object where the action is directed toward an entity.

(3-14) *Det men bin weit-im is doda*  
 that man PST wait-TR 3:SG:P daughter  
 'The man waited for his daughter.'

(3-15) *Ai garra kij-im-ap det stoa*  
 1:SG:S POT catch-TR-up that store  
 'I must hurry to catch the store (before it closes).'

Some attention verbs have an object which encodes a source role, where the entity is that from which physical sensation emanates.

(3-16) *Yu bin notis-im det men?*  
 2:PL PST notice-TR that man  
 'Did you see that man?'

Some verbs have an object which semantically belongs together with the verb as a natural extension of it. The entity here is in a range role.

(3-17) *Orla kid bin plei hi geim*  
 PL child PST play he game  
 'The children played the game called "He game".'

(3-18) *Ai kan kil-am neim bla im*  
 1:SG:S NEG call-TR name DAT 3:SG:P  
 'I can't say his name (taboo).'

With some speech verbs, the goal or addressee is encoded in the object. They are *telam* 'tell', *askam* 'ask', *enseram* 'answer', *gralam* 'rebuke, growl at', *juweirrim* 'swear at', *kwesjinim* 'question, ask'. Examples of some are given.

- (3-19) *Det men bin tel-am mi "Wot blanga yu neim?"*  
 that man PST tell-TR 1:SG:0 what DAT 2:SG name  
 'The man said to me, "What is your name?!"
- (3-20) *Det boi bin juweirr-im det manga*  
 that boy PST swear-TR that girl(W)  
 'The boy swore at the girl.'
- (3-21) *Det titja garra gral-am yu*  
 that teacher POT growl-TR 2:SG  
 'The teacher will growl at (rebuke) you.'

### 3.1.2 {BLANGA} 'DATIVE'

The preposition {*blanga*} has two other forms. The shortened one is *bla* and the long one *blanganda*. There is no phonological or morphological conditioning but *blanga* and *bla* are in free variation. The short form is perhaps favoured by children, but the long three syllable form tends to be an archaic one heard only in the speech of mature adults and is a feature of Adult Pidgin.

With some verbs the goal of the action is encoded by the dative phrase. The most obvious is when an action is performed on behalf of another entity (the beneficiary).

- (3-22) *Det wumun bin kuk-um dempa bla orla kid*  
 that woman PST cook-TR damper DAT PL child  
 'The woman cooked damper for the children.'
- (3-23) *Kaman. Wi go lukaran bla det kakaji trek*  
 come we go look DAT that goanna(W) track  
 'Come on! Let's look for a goanna track.'

Some action and rest verbs can encode goal with the dative.

- (3-24) *Orla kid bin daib bla det tin*  
 PL child PST dive DAT that tin  
 'The children dived for the tin.'
- (3-25) *I bin weit bla is mami*  
 3:SG:S PST wait DAT 3:SG:P mother  
 'He waited for his mother.'

With some verbs the dative phrase appears to be co-referential of goal and source, i.e. the same participant is at the same time the source and the goal of the laughter.

(3-26) *I bin krai blanga is mami*  
 3:SG:S PST cry DAT 3:SG:P mother

'He cried for his mother (because his mother died).'

(3-27) *Det wumun fil-im jelp peining blanga yapa*  
 that woman feel-TR REFL paining DAT child(W)

'The woman feels the labour pains. (Lit - feels herself paining in regard to the child.)'

(3-28) *Mela bin laf-in blanga orla kid*  
 1:PL:EX PST laugh-PROG DAT PL child

'We were laughing at/because of the children.'

With verbs of transfer the dative can encode the source of, cause or reason for the transaction.

(3-29) *Dei bin gibirr-im mani bla det dres*  
 3:PL PST give-TR money DAT that dress

'They gave money for the dress.'

(3-30) *I bin ow-um-bek det boi blanga is trasis*  
 3:SG:S PST return-TR-back that boy DAT 3:SG:P trousers

'I gave the boy a gift because of the trousers he gave me before.'

With some mental attitude verbs, the dative encodes a source role.

(3-31) *Dei bin tis-im-bat det gel bla is bratha*  
 3:PL PST tease-TR-ITER that girl DAT 3:SG:P brother

'They were teasing the girl because of her brother.'

With others it encodes range.

(3-32) *Dei bin lern-am im bla tjak-am orla bumareng*  
 3:PL PST teach-TR 3:SG:O DAT throw-TR PL boomerang

'They taught him to throw a boomerang.'

With some speech verbs the dative encodes goal or source. These role labels are difficult to assign here. The action may be performed for the benefit of the entity as in (3-33), because of it as shown in (3-34),



or the entity may be the purpose or reason for the action as in (3-35) but it is never the addressee. In (3-35) the daughter is being sought but others are being addressed in reference to her.

(3-33) *I bin toktok bla is mami*  
3:SG:S PST talk DAT 3:SG:P mother  
'She talked, defending her mother.'

(3-34) *Det men bin agumen bla samting*  
that man PST dispute DAT something  
'That man disputed about something.'

(3-35) *I bin singat bla is doda*  
3:SG:S PST call DAT 3:SG:P daughter  
'He called out for his daughter to come.'

Speech verbs which reject the dative are, *sei* 'say', *kolam* 'call', *yekyek* 'chatter'.

In a small group of examples the dative could be analysed as encoding an experiencer or even a locative role. The referent in each is animate and the analysis of experiencer is preferred, viewing the entity as the one whose nervous system registers the effect of the event as in (3-36) or the forces of nature.

(3-36) *Ai bin nak-am wota blanga im*  
1:SG:S PST hit-TR water DAT 3:SG:O  
'I (threw a stick and) hit the water near him.'

(3-37) *I garra rein langa wi*  
3:SG:S POT rain LOC we  
'It's likely to rain on us.'

(3-38) *I bin rein-ing blanga wilat*  
3:SG:S PST rain-PROG DAT 1:PL:IN  
'We got caught in the rain. (Lit - It rained for us.)'

The variation between {*langa*} and {*blanga*} in (3-37) and (3-38) could be semantic but no difference of meaning is apparent at this stage. Such sentences usually have a non-referring subject, *i*.

3.1.3 {*LANGA*} 'LOCATIVE'

The preposition {*langa*} is often abbreviated to *la* and a longer form *langanda* occurs in text from one speaker. As with {*blanga*} the two shorter variants are in free variation with a tendency for the one-syllable form in the speech of children. The prepositional phrase with {*langa*} mostly encodes the locative role where it denotes the place where the predication takes place as illustrated in Examples (3-59) and (3-60). This is not the whole function of {*langa*} for it is used for some very important syntactic relations such as the traditional category of indirect object. Some verbs of transfer have a locative phrase identifying the recipient or goal of the action. Either argument, goal (locative) or patient (object), can take the position immediately following the verb.

(3-39) *Wi bin gib-im langa olabat petirl*  
 we PST give-TR LOC 3:PL petrol  
 'We gave them petrol.'

(3-40) *I bin ow-um-bek mani la det men*  
 3:SG:S PST return-TR-back money LOC that man  
 'He gave the money back to the man.'

These transfer verbs can also be ditransitive when the goal is encoded as an object, and then the goal obligatorily precedes the phrase encoding patient. See also Example (3-30).

(3-41) *Wi bin gib-im olabat petirl*  
 we PST give-TR 3:PL petrol  
 'We gave them petrol.'

With some motion verbs the locative phrase can encode the goal of the action as in the following example where the horse is directing its bucking to the rider on its back.

(3-42) *Det hos bin bak la im*  
 that horse PST buck LOC 3:SG:O  
 'The horse bucked with/at him.'

(3-43) *Les kripap la Sherin-mob*  
 let's creep:up LOC (name)-COL  
 'Let's creep up on Sharon and her friends.'

With some speech verbs the addressee or goal is encoded by the locative phrase and they have no transitive marker in the verb. Those in the data are *singat* 'call out, sing out', *tok* 'talk', *agumen* 'argue, dispute' and *sei* 'say'. Examples of two are given.

(3-44) *I bin singat langa is sista*  
 3:SG:S PST call LOC 3:SG:P sister

'He called out to his sister.'

(3-45) *Det men bin agumen langa det wumun, "Wijei ...?"*  
 that man PST dispute LOC that woman where

'The man disputed with the woman, "Where ...?"'

(3-46) *I bin toktok langa is matha en fatha*  
 3:SG:S PST talk LOC 3:SG:P mother and father

'He talked with his mother and father.'

Speech verbs can be categorised according to the correlation of role and grammatical categories which occur with them (contrasting 'case frames'). Verbs which encode the addressee as object are all transitive: *telam* 'tell', *askam* 'ask', *enseram* 'answer' and *gralam* 'rebuke, growl at' (see 3.1.1.2). With the two-place verbs *bleimim* 'accuse, blame' and *jamanjam* 'accuse, challenge', the addressee is encoded in the locative phrase and the object encodes the accused (or experiencer).

(3-47) *I bin bleim-im mi langa det sista bla gib-im-bat*  
 3:SG:S PST accuse-TR 1:SG:O LOC that sister DAT give-TR-ITER  
*rongwan medijin*  
 wrong medicine

'He accused me to the nursing sister saying I had given the wrong medicine.'

With most of these speech verbs, the dative phrase can occur where it refers to the purpose or beneficiary of the utterance as in (3-33) to (3-35). In 'light' Kriol the purpose (goal) of an utterance can be identified by the preposition *tu* (from English 'to').

(3-48) *I bin gral-am det wumun tu kuk-um det mit*  
 3:SG:S PST growl-TR that woman to cook-TR that meat

'He rebuked the woman, telling her to cook the meat.'

Intransitive verbs of emotion or mental attitude may have an entity in the role of goal encoded by the locative. With the intransitive verb *jelis* 'resent, envy', the attitude is directed to the goal.

(3-49) *N... bin jelis la D... tumaj is ngawiji bin*  
 (name) PST resent LOC (name) because 3:SG:P grannie(W) PST  
*keriy-im im*  
 carry-TR 3:SG:O

'N... resented D... because their grannie carried D...'

(3-50) *Ai bin figit la mai boi*  
1:SG:S PST forget LOC 1:SG:P boy

'I did not bring my boy—couldn't find him. (Lit - forgot my boy)'

There is a clear difference of meaning between locative and dative when they occur with attention verbs and both refer to the entity towards which the activity is directed. Locative as in (3-51) implies that the action is successful, that hearing and understanding occurs, but dative as in (3-52) implies that it has not yet been achieved (see also 7.1.4).

(3-51) *Ai bin lijin la det men*  
1:SG:S PST listen LOC that man

'I listened to (heard) the man (speaking).'

(3-52) *Ai bin lijin bla det motika*  
1:SG:S PST listen DAT that car

'I listened for the car (trying to hear it).'

Often there is semantic overlap and an entity can at the same time function in two roles. For example when the locative phrase occurs with the verb *lukunat* 'to watch or look at', the entity being watched is usually the goal of the action but if it is animate, it may be aware of being watched and so at the same time be in the role of experiencer. An extra constituent can sometimes clarify the role. In (3-53) embarrassment indicates that the participants are both goal and experiencer. The use of binoculars implies distance so goal is probably the only role in (3-54).

(3-53) *Big sheim, dei bin lukunat langa wilat*  
big shame 3;PL PST look:at LOC 1:PL:IN

'We were embarrassed. They stared at us.'

(3-54) *Wi bin lukunat langa detlat garra wan *kampas**  
we PST look:at LOC those ASSOC IND:SG binoculars

'We looked at them through binoculars.'

Some of the intransitive verbs described above can be transitivised. This results in the goal being encoded as grammatical object instead of the locative phrase.

(3-55) *Ai bin lijin-im det men*  
1:SG:S PST listen-TR that man

'I listened to (heard) the man.'

(3-56) *Ai bin figit-im mai boi*  
1:SG:S PST forget-TR 1:SG:P boy

'I did not bring my boy—couldn't find him. (Lit - forgot my boy.)'

When the goal of an action involving motion is a place, {*langa*} is optionally deleted.

(3-57) *Wi bin go la Debi ~ Wi bin go Debi*  
we PST go LOC Derby

'We went to Derby.'

With verbs such as *winim* 'win, beat' and *plei* 'play' the noun referring to the game or sport is in the range role. Sometimes, as with *winim*, this role is encoded by the locative phrase.

(3-58) *Odri-mob bin win-im mela la basketbol*  
(name)-COL PST win-TR 1:PL:EX LOC basketball

'Audrey's team beat us at basketball.'

The most frequent use of {*langa*} is to encode the role of locative which simply identifies the place where the action occurred.

(3-59) *Wi bin jidan la sheid*  
we PST sit LOC shade

'We sat in the shade.'

(3-60) *Ai bin bay-im taka la stoa*  
1:SG:S PST buy-TR food LOC store

'I bought food at the store.'

It is also used to refer to a part of the whole as when specifying a body part of the patient.

(3-61) *Det men bin hit-im langa hed*  
that man PST hit-TR LOC head

'The man hit him on the head.'

Others similar to this are in reference to driving a motor vehicle (see also Text C-19).

(3-62) *Put-um la handrid!*  
put-TR LOC hundred

'Go at 100 kph! (Lit - put the speedometer needle at 100).'

In 'light' Kriol prepositions are borrowed from English. One such is *thru* 'through'. It occurs occasionally in the data but mainly in reference to events where people traverse places where there is an obstacle such as flooded roadways, soft sand or boggy patches. Thus this preposition is found with the verb of accomplishment *meikit* 'make it', rather than motion verbs.

(3-63) *Wi bin meikit thru da big riba*  
 we PST make:it through the big river

'We got through the river without mishap.'

The same role is also encoded with the locative phrase.

(3-64) *Wi bin meikit la det sof sen*  
 we PST make:it LOC that soft sand

'We managed to drive through the soft sand (without getting bogged).'

#### 3.1.4 FO 'PURPOSIVE'

There is a lot of similarity between the dative and purposive prepositional phrases, in that either can be used to encode goal or source roles. In all examples where dative encodes goal in Section 3.1.2, *fo* can be alternated with {*blanga*} except with the verb *laf* 'laugh'.

\**Mela bin lafin fo orla kid* is unacceptable. Compare (3-65) with (3-22).

(3-65) *Det wumun bin kuk-um dempa fo orla kid*  
 that woman PST cook-TR damper PURP PL child

'The woman cooked damper for the children.'

In situations where either *fo* or {*blanga*} can be used {*blanga*} is the 'heavier' form. Some verbs which can have either typically prefer the purposive as in (3-66) and (3-67).

(3-66) *Wi bin betlin fo det motika*  
 we PST try PURP that car

'We tried hard to get the car but couldn't.'

(3-67) *Det drangkinwan bin hambag-am as fo taka*  
 that drunk PST pester-TR us PURP food

'That drunk man pestered us for food.'

*Fo* cannot occur where {*blanga*} encodes range or locative roles and the next two sentences are not acceptable. Compare them with (3-32) and (3-38).

\**Dei bin lernam im fo tjakam orla bumareng*

\**I bin rein fo wi*

Temporal reference is not included in the list of semantic roles supplied by Longacre but the use of *fo* with the temporal is worth mentioning here for this is one of the few situations where *fo*, but not {*blanga*}, can occur.

(3-68) *Wi bin stap Debi fo longtaim*  
we PST stay Derby PURP long:time

'We stayed in Derby for a long time.'

The deletion of the preposition gives a change of meaning (see also Text A-4 and E-1).

(3-69) *Wi bin stap Debi longtaim*  
we PST stay Derby long:time

'We stayed in Derby a long time ago.'

### 3.1.5 FROM 'ABLATIVE'

The preposition *from* has a basic ablative meaning encoding a source role and is used with motion verbs to refer to the place of origin or source of the predication.

(3-70) *Mela bin kam from Junjuwa*  
1:PL:EX PST come ABL (name)

'We came from Junjuwa.'

A restricted number of other verbs (e.g. attention verbs) can encode the place of origin of the activity with *from*.

(3-71) *Dei bin lukunat as from kemp*  
3:PL PST look:at us ABL camp

'They looked at us from camp.'

With transfer verbs the original location of the entity which is transferred is encoded by the ablative phrase.

(3-72) *Orla boi bin rab-am-bat mani from det haus bla detlat*  
 PL boy PST steal-TR-ITER money ABL that house DAT those  
*gardiya*  
 European

'The boys stole the Europeans' money from the house.'

(3-73) *I bin bay-im orla taka from stoa*  
 3:SG:S PST buy-TR PL food ABL store

'He bought food from the store.'

The source of a sensation can be encoded by the ablative.

(3-74) *Dei bin stab-am-bat orla kid from taka*  
 3:PL PST starve-TR-ITER PL child ABL food

'They denied the children a meal (as punishment).'

### 3.1.6 {GARRA} 'ASSOCIATIVE'

The preposition {garra} carries many meanings and functions in all three syntactic environments. When its function is one of identifying the relation of an argument to the verb, it encodes one of two semantic roles, instrument or locative. Instrument role requires an agent in the subject (see Text 'A-19, D-4).

(3-75) *Det boi bin nak-am garra ston*  
 that boy PST hit-TR ASSOC stone

'The boy hit her with a stone.'

(3-76) *Wi bin lukaran garra motika ebriwe fo orla keinggurru*  
 we PST look:for ASSOC car everywhere PURP PL kangaroo

'We went in the car, searching everywhere for kangaroos.'

(3-77) *Wi bin fil-im-ap garra biliken det wota*  
 we PST fill-TR-up ASSOC billy that water

'We filled the billy with water.'

Provided there is an agent, verbs of most semantic types can have an associative phrase encoding instrument role as it is defined by Longacre. Exceptions to this are the verbs of emotion *labam* 'love', *jelis* 'resent', *wariyin* 'worry'; or mental attitudes *rekin* 'reckon', *bilibim* 'believe, obey', *nowum* 'know, understand', *lern* 'learn'. These cannot have an instrument.



The locative role is even more restricted as it refers, not to a place, but only to an animate entity. This entity is not involved in accomplishing the action but is simply the location where the action occurs. Terms often used to describe this are accompaniment and comitative (see also Text E-9).

(3-78) *Mela bin laf-in garra detlat gel*  
 1:PL:EX PST laugh-PROG ASSOC those girl  
 'We were laughing with those girls.'

(3-79) *Det wumun bin krai garra mai sista*  
 that woman PST cry ASSOC 1:SG:P sister  
 'The woman cried with my sister (traditional mourning activity).'

(3-80) *Ai bin jidan garra orla kid*  
 1:SG:S PST sit ASSOC PL child  
 'I sat with the children.'

There are three forms of the preposition. They are *garra*, *garram* and *gat*. The first two are in free variation in all examples given above, though *garra* seems to be preferred. *Garram*, which is the form used in the Ngukurr/Bamyili dialects, is typical of the speech of those at the 'heavy' end of the continuum. It is analysed as *garra + im* (preposition + 3rd singular object pronoun) because it is the only form that can be used sentence finally when the noun is deleted. In the next two examples the first is a verbless clause and the second an intransitive clause.

(3-81) *Benjin garra-m*  
 Benson ASSOC-3:SG:0  
 'Benson has it.'

(3-82) *Okei. Yu plei garra-m*  
 okay 2:SG play ASSOC-3:SG:0  
 'Okay. You play with it.' (With your guitar—referred to in the previous sentence.)

The other two forms cannot be used finally. \**Okei yu plei garra* and \**Okei, yu plei gat* are unacceptable. The short form *gat* is heard more at the 'light' end of the continuum and is rarely used in the verbal clause function. One example of *gat* in locative role is given in (3-83).

(3-83) *Yu kam gat mi*  
 2:SG come ASSOC 1:SG:0  
 'You come with me.'

### 3.1.7 COMPARISON WITH TRADITIONAL AUSTRALIAN LANGUAGES

Kriol has many features which resemble the superstratum language English, and others which can suggest resemblance to TA languages. The use of order (to mark subject and object) and prepositions instead of a morphologically marked case system are English-like features. The number of prepositions in Kriol differ considerably from that in English. Quirk and Greenbaum list 62 simple prepositions in their grammar of contemporary English (1972:301). Compare this to Kriol's five. The function of many English prepositions is performed in Kriol by lexemes derived from these English prepositions but functioning in Kriol as locational words. They combine with the locative phrase to add specific orientation which the preposition cannot do (see Text D-10).

(3-84) *Wi bin go kros langa wota*  
we PST go across LOC water  
'We went through the stream.'

(3-85) *I bin foldan saidwei la reil*  
3:SG:S PST fall side LOC rail  
'He fell at the side on the rail.'

(3-86) *Wan das kaminap biyain la yu*  
IND:SG dust coming behind LOC 2:SG  
'There's a cloud of dust (car) coming behind you.'

On this subject Blake says of case in TA languages, 'Leaving aside dialect variants or stylistic variants, it is normal to find that separate case forms represent distinct case relations. However, in a language like English there are a number of prepositions such as in, on, under, near, etc. which all express location (they answer where questions) plus some specific orientation of one entity in relation to another. In most Australian languages we find a case suffix marking location, with adverbs being used to express orientation. In the latter instance it is possible to say that there is a locative case form expressing a LOCATIVE case relation. In English I would describe in, on, under, near, etc. as prepositions representing the same case relation, VIZ. LOCATIVE, but representing a further semantic specification as well. Thus in is a case form but not a case form expressing case only' (Blake 1977:1). The Kriol prepositions, in contrast to those of English, express case relations only and so are more like the cases of TA languages in their function.

Subject. The instrument role of the subject in some sentences in Kriol reflects the Aboriginal culture where accountability is viewed somewhat differently from English. This can sometimes be seen in the syntax of

TA languages. In situations where a person is hurt inadvertently, as when one stubs their toe or bumps their head, Walmajarri does not use a reflexive construction. The inanimate entity is treated as an agent and expressed in the ergative case.

(3-87W) *Jina pa-ja lani mana-ngu*  
 foot AUX-1:SG:0 pierced stick-ERG

'I stubbed my toe on a stick. (Lit - a stick poked my foot.)'

Kriol has taken this concept into its grammar by assigning the inanimate entity to the subject of a transitive verb as in (3-87K).

(3-87K) *Stik bin pokam mi*

'I stubbed my toe on a stick. (Lit - a stick poked me.)'

According to Longacre's definition, the entity 'which triggers a change in emotional or physical state' can be treated as an instrument role and I have analysed it as such in 3.1.1.1.

Associative. The two roles of Associative {*garra*} have parallels in Walmajarri. The instrument role is expressed through the morpheme *-jarti*, which is described in detail in 4.1.8. The locative role is expressed through the accessory case where the NP is marked by the morpheme {*-rla*} and is cross-referenced in the auxiliary. Compare the next two pairs of examples. Those in Kriol are taken from 3.1.6.

(3-88W) *Kirrarni ma-rna-nyanangurla yapa-warnti-rla*  
 sat AUX-1:SG:S-3:PL:ACC child-PL-ACC

(3-88K) *Ai bin jidan garra orla kid*  
 'I sat with the children.'

(3-89W) *Marnin-tu nyanarti-rlu ma- $\phi$ -nyanta lungani ngajukura-rla*  
 woman-ERG that-ERG AUX-3:SG:S-3:SG:ACC cried my-ACC

(3-89K) *Det wumun bin kraik garra mai sista*  
 'The woman cried with my sister (traditional mourning activity).'

Locative. Some of the roles of Kriol {*langa*} are encoded by the Walmajarri accessory and locative cases. (Kriol examples are from 3.1.3.)

(3-90W) *Rukarni ma-rna-nyanta parri-nga ngajukura-rla*  
 forgot AUX-1:SG:S-3:SG:ACC boy-ACC my-ACC

'I did not bring my boy—couldn't find him.'

A feature of the accessory case is that the accessory NP is cross-referenced for person and number in the auxiliary (by the suffix *-nyanta*

in these examples) but the locative case is not. In this the two cases contrast although they are both marked on the NP by {-rla}. (3-91) illustrates Walmajarri accessory case and Kriol {*langa*} encoding goal. (3-92) illustrates Walmajarri locative case with a Kriol translation of it.

(3-91W) *Nganpayi-rlu ma-∅-nyanta jangkujangkumani marnin-ta*  
 man-ERG AUX-3:SG:S-3:SG:ACC disputed woman-ACC

(3-91K) *Det men bin agumen langa det wumun*  
 'The man disputed with the woman.'

(3-92W) *Karrinyani ma-rna martuwarra-rla*  
 stood AUX-1:SG:S river-LOC

(3-92K) *Ai bin jandap la riba*  
 1:SG:S PST stand LOC river

'I stood at the river (either in the water or on the bank).'

### 3.2 PREPOSITIONS WITHIN THE NOUN PHRASE

As well as the syntactic function of prepositions where they relate the NP to the verb, there is an adnominal function for three of the five prepositions. The referent of an NP can be described by an adjective or by one of these three prepositional phrases which is functioning as a modifier of the noun (adnominal). A possessive relationship can be described by either the dative or purposive prepositional phrase, and the associative phrase carries a descriptive meaning. All can be separated by other constituents from the noun they modify. For dative and purposive the position of the preposition to the noun is variable as it can either precede or follow the noun. (In syntactic function the preposition always precedes the noun.) The adnominal prepositional phrase itself is also mobile as it can either precede or follow the noun which it modifies. These various positions will be illustrated below for each preposition. In examples throughout this section the prepositional phrase as well as the noun it modifies is underlined.

#### 3.2.1 {*BLANGA*} 'DATIVE'

The possessor is the referent of the prepositional phrase and the entity possessed is the head of the NP. In (3-93) the prepositional phrase (possessor) follows the noun (possessed) and in (3-94) the opposite is true.

(3-93) *Ai bin faind-im det kap bla det wumun*  
 1:SG:S PST find-TR that cup DAT that woman  
 'I found the woman's cup.'

(3-94) *I bin bak bla im hos*  
 3:SG:S PST buck DAT 3:SG:O horse  
 'His horse bucked (without a rider).'

The next one illustrates the dative phrase embedded within a phrase in apposition to the subject noun phrase.

(3-95) *En dis bigwan mangki blanga im dedi, i bin*  
 and this big monkey DAT 3:SG:O father 3:SG:S PST  
*tel-im, ...*  
 tell-TR

'And this big monkey, his father, told him ...'

The prepositional phrase is often in the Tag position and separated from the noun it modifies providing extra information about the noun.

(3-96) S TAG(S)  
*Det lilkid parralais-im as blanga det wumun*  
 that small:child paralyse-TR us DAT that woman  
 'The foetus in that pregnant woman is preventing us from winning at cards (bringing bad luck).'

(3-97) S O TAG(O)  
*i bin figit-im det ki langa riba blanga is*  
 3:SG:S PST forget-TR that key LOC river DAT 3:SG:P  
*motika*  
 car

'He left the car key at the river.'

Although in most examples {*blanga*} precedes the noun, it can be post-posed (see also Text D-1).

(3-98) *Det sneik bla ai dei kol-am rili dipwan*  
 that snake DAT eye they call-TR really deep  
 'The mythical snake's eye is what they call the really deep waterhole.'

(3-99) I bin fil-im det manga blanga jinkari  
 3:SG:S PST feel-TR that girl(W) DAT leg(W)  
 'He touched the girl's leg.'

### 3.2.2. fo 'PURPOSIVE'

The same features as have been described for {*blanga*} apply also for *fo*. The prepositional phrase is illustrated preceding the noun it modifies in (3-101) and following it in (3-100).

(3-100) Det dog fo im bin go longwei  
 that dog PURP 3:SG:0 PST go long:way  
 'His dog went a long way.'

(3-101) Fo Jukuna kid iya  
 PURP (name) child here  
 'This is Jukuna's son. (speaking on telephone)'

In the next example {*blanga*} and *fo* apparently are in free variation as the one can substitute for the other. Compare (3-102) with (3-100).

(3-102) Det dog bla im bin go longwei  
 that dog DAT 3:SG:0 PST go long:way  
 'His dog went a long way.'

There are some features of *fo* which are not shared by {*blanga*}. The preposition can, and often does, follow the noun referring to the possessor as in (3-103) and (3-104) and at times it both precedes and follows it as in (3-105). The head noun has been deleted in (3-106).

(3-103) Trisa fo dedi bin kam  
 (name) PURP father PST come  
 'Teresa's father came.'

(3-104) Wi bin luk-um Silina fo meit  
 we PST look-TR (name) PURP friend  
 'We saw Selina's friend.'

(3-105) J... bin stil-im fo M... fo greip  
 (name) PST steal-TR PURP (name) PURP grape  
 'J... stole M...'s grapes.'

(3-106) *Ai bin nili drap-am fo yu*  
 1:SG:S PST nearly drop-TR PURP 2:SG

'I nearly dropped your (cup).'

Potential ambiguity with the pre and post positioning of *fo* is prevented by a hierarchy indicating the possessor. Proper names are most likely to refer to the possessor, followed by human, animate and inanimate referents so that both *Trisa fo dedi* and *Dedi fo Trisa* refer to Tresa's father. A knowledge of the real world is necessary to interpret the possessive relationship where two inanimate entities are involved as in the next example.

(3-107) *Des da shedau fo det lif, i muvng*  
 that EQ shadow PURP that leaf 3:SG:S moving

'It's the shadow of that leaf (which is) moving.'

In spite of greater flexibility of order for the preposition *fo*, the purposive phrase is not so mobile as the others and in all examples the adnominal phrase remains contiguous to the noun it modifies.

The two functions of *fo* can be seen in the next example where the first occurrence identifies the syntactic relationship of phrase to verb and the second is the possessive use functioning within the phrase. Brackets are used in this example to help identify the constituents.

(3-108) *Mela bin luk fo [Y... fo] naif*  
 1:PL:EX PST look PURP [(name) PURP] knife

'We looked for Yamera's knife.'

### 3.2.3 {GARRA} 'ASSOCIATIVE'

When the associative prepositional phrase modifies a noun, {*garra*} functions semantically very much like the derivational affix of TA languages. This affix is glossed as 'having' or 'comitative' by Dixon (1976:203 and 1980:324) and others, and derives adjectives from nouns. The phrase follows the noun which it modifies but since it normally follows the verb also, it doesn't occur contiguous to the head noun of the subject (which precedes the verb). It cannot modify the noun within another prepositional phrase as dative and purposive can do as in (3-108).

(3-109) *Dei bin teik det men garra plendi blad la hospil*  
 3:PL PST take that man ASSOC lot blood LOC hospital

'They took the man who was bleeding to hospital.'

(3-110) : Det big loding bin kam garra orla staf  
that big truck PST come ASSOC PL stuff

'The big transport truck came with the load.'

It can occur without a head noun.

(3-111) Wi bin siy-im garra orla kid  
we PST see-TR ASSOC PL child

'We saw her with her children.'

When the adnominal associative phrase is topicalised it does not follow the predicate as in the next example (which is context dependent).

(3-112) Garra aigraj tharrei  
ASSOC spectacles there

'The one wearing glasses is over there.'

Semantically, the adnominal associative phrase either describes a noun as in (3-109), or refers to an entity in close association with the referent. This latter as illustrated in (3-113) is the more common use.

(3-113) En ai bin kambek garra det dupala fish la dinakemp  
and 1:SG:S PST return ASSOC that 3:DU fish LOC picnic:spot

'And I came back with two fish to the picnic spot.'

The entity is normally something physically smaller, often inanimate, and potentially under the control of the head noun referent.

(3-114) Ai bin gedof garra sweig  
1:SG:S PST descend ASSOC swag

'I got off (the vehicle) with my swag.'

In this, it contrasts with the locative role of the associative phrase in verbal clauses because there the entity is large, animate and refers to the location where the action takes place (3.1.6).

The two functions of the associative phrase, in verbal clauses and within the noun phrase, can be separated according to the following criteria:

(1) If the associative phrase is functioning syntactically it carries information relevant to the predicate whereas the adnominal function has no link to the predicate but serves only to describe the noun.

(2) Formally, the adnominal associative phrase can be identified because it can be negated but this cannot be done if its function is syntactic.



The instrument role provides an illustration of these two functions. The associative phrase often encodes an instrument role in the verbal clause but in the next example the agent is not using the spear to perform the action so it is analysed as adnominal modifying the subject pronoun rather than syntactic function.

(3-115) I        *bin daibin garra spiya*  
 3:SG:S PST dive    ASSOC spear

'He dived in carrying a spear.'

The second reason for this analysis is that the associative phrase here can be negated. The combination of *garra + no* means 'without'.

(3-116) I        *bin daibin garra no spiya*  
 3:SG:S PST dive    ASSOC NEG spear

'He dived in without any spear.'

The associative phrase in an instrument role cannot be so negated. The sentence \**Det boi bin nakam garra no ston* is incorrect for the negative *neba* would be used here preceding the verb (see section 2.2).

Adverbial Function. In a small number of examples in the data there is an abstract noun in the associative phrase. These are not analysed as adnominal function because they cannot be negated. However they do not fit the semantic roles well either. In (3-117) fear is not the source or the instrument but rather it describes the type of action. It is therefore treated as separate and analysed as having an adverbial function.

(3-117) *Det parri bin lukunat ebrive garra frait*  
 that boy(W) PST look everywhere ASSOC fright

'The frightened boy was watching all around.'

(3-118) I        *bin luk garra kwesjinmak*  
 3:SG:S PST look ASSOC question:mark

'He was amazed (and it showed on his face).'

### 3.2.4 THE LEXEME LAIKA

One other lexeme which must be mentioned among the prepositions is *laika* 'like'. The examples in the data are too few to attempt an analysis. In one of them it seems that *laika* is a preposition introducing an NP (which has no head noun). See Text A-3, 29 for other examples.

(3-119) *Laika ti i stap-in*  
like tea 3:SG:S stay-PROG

'It is like tea. (Describing a process of making imitation tea.)'

An adverb *layet ~ laigajet* 'in this manner' occurs frequently with the verb *go*.

(3-120) *En i garra go layet, en i garra idim*  
and 3:SG:S POT go in:this:manner and 3:SG:S POT eat

'And it will go like that (pick up ants with tongue) and it will eat them.'

### 3.2.5 COMPARISON WITH TRADITIONAL AUSTRALIAN LANGUAGES

The possessive relationship of {*blanga*} and *fo* is paralleled in Walmajarri by the dative case, and the descriptive meaning of {*garra*} has a parallel in a derivational affix *-jarti*. This latter is best treated later after all three functions of {*garra*} have been introduced, so see 4.1.8 for comparison of these two morphemes.

A possessive relationship can be shown in Walmajarri by the dative case in syntactic function as in (3-121W). Compare this with Kriol where the dative phrase functions within the noun phrase as shown in (3-121K).

(3-121W) *Manga pa-ji kanya ngaju-wu*  
girl AUX-1:SG:DAT carried 1:SG-DAT

(3-121K) *I bin keriyim gel bla mi*  
'He carried my girl.'

## CHAPTER 4

### VERBLESS CLAUSE TYPES AND THEIR TRANSFORMS

In the last two chapters the prepositional phrase was described as it functions in clauses which contain a verb. Some also have a predicative function and in this function the prepositions identify several of the clause types which have no verb. They will be described in this chapter followed by a section about the verbs which are typically employed to transform them when tense, mood or aspect is added.

Lyons uses a set of six sentence schemata in describing predicative structures which he says 'would appear to be identifiable on purely grammatical grounds, in very many unrelated languages' (1977:469). They are:

NP + V

NP + V + NP

NP (+COP) + NP

NP (+COP) + N/A

NP (+COP) + Loc

NP (+COP) + Poss

Kriol has among its clause types those which can be equated with these six. The first 2 have been illustrated in 3.1.1. The other four provide a beginning point for the description of predicates without a verb. Lyons includes the element (COP) as optional because in many languages these structures have no copula. Kriol does have an optional copula *bi* which will be described in Section 4.2.1.

#### 4.1 VERBLESS CLAUSE TYPES

The verbless clause types are used to describe states which are perceived as existing at the time of speaking. If the focus is to be shifted to refer to states existing before the time of speaking, the past completive auxiliary *bin* can be used without a verbal element but one is normally included. If the reference is to future time or if a state is perceived as potential or if aspectual reference is needed, then a verbal element is obligatory. The structures described in this section are only those pertaining to a state at the time of speaking.

There are nine clause types in Kriol which have no verb. They are Ascriptive<sub>1</sub>, Ascriptive<sub>2</sub>, Equative, Locative, Possessive, Associative, Equational, Existential and Ambient. All have the same two constituents, subject and predicate. Equational could be considered a subtype of Equative but is described separately because of the tentative analysis assigned to it. The terms ascriptive and equative are taken from Lyons (1977:469) and ambient from Longacre (1976:51). In the absence of a copula, constituent order helps identify these as grammatical clauses.

Topicalisation, a feature found throughout Kriol, also applies here (see 2.5). The phrase to be topicalised is moved to the beginning of the clause and the subject is identified by a pronoun which follows the Topic and precedes the predicate as in (4-2).

(4-1) *Dis motika bagarrap*  
this car spoiled  
'This car is broken down.'

(4-2) TOP(S) S  
*Dis motika i bagarrap*  
this car 3:SG:S spoiled  
'This car, it's broken down.'

Where the subject NP is topicalised there is no change of word order. If the subject NP is moved to the Tag position for lesser focus, then the subject pronoun copied before the predicate maintains the obligatory order of subject-predicate.

(4-3) S TAG(S)  
*I bagarrap dis motika*  
'It's broken down, this car.'

Deictics and pronouns cannot be topicalised. This is especially noticeable in the Locative clause where the predicate is frequently a deictic and the subject a pronoun.

The subject in the first 7 clause types has definite reference and can be a NP, demonstrative or a pronoun. Within a NP, demonstratives *dis* 'this' and *det* 'that' can be used. When the subject is a demonstrative without a noun, it must be in the nominal form derived by addition of the suffix *-wan*. Forms are *dijan* 'this' and *tharran* 'that'.<sup>9</sup> Where there are contrasting subject and object pronoun forms in Kriol either form can be used as subject, i.e. 3rd person singular subject can have either of two forms, *i* (subject form) or *im* (object form). In elicited data, either subject or object pronoun forms occur as subject of all but Associative, Existential and Equational clauses but in natural speech observed and recorded, the subject form only is used for all except some Locative predicates. This contrast between subject and object forms only shows up in the following combinations of person and number (see 2.4).

	subject	object
1:singular	<i>ai ~ am</i>	<i>mi</i>
1:plural	<i>wi</i>	<i>as</i>
3:singular	<i>i</i>	<i>im</i>
3:plural	<i>dei ~ ol</i>	<i>dem</i>

In the eastern dialects of Kriol contrast of subject and object pronouns is lacking but the contrast has been almost completely established in the west. The verbless predicative structures of the Fitzroy Valley dialect is one of the last areas of the grammar to change and so both forms are used.

- |                               |                   |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|
| <i>I kuk-wan ~ Im kuk-wan</i> | 'It is cooked.'   |
| <i>I tharran ~ Im tharran</i> | 'It's that one.'  |
| <i>I antap ~ Im antap</i>     | 'It is up above.' |

#### 4.1.1 ASCRIPTIVE AND EQUATIVE CLAUSES

Lyons describes the semantic distinction between equative and ascriptive in these words: 'the former are used, characteristically, to identify the referent of one expression with the referent of another and the latter to ascribe to the referent of the subject-expression a certain property' (1977:472). Kriol makes a three-way distinction here formalised by different word classes in the predicate: adjective, nominal and noun. The nominal consists of an adjective stem plus a suffix *-wan* or *-pala*. These suffixes are glossed NOM in examples.<sup>9</sup> It functions as

an adjective in the NP and is far more frequent in use than the simple adjective. On semantic grounds, I have included both the nominal and adjectival predicate in the Ascriptive clause but as sub-types to show the formal distinction between them. It is possible that further investigation would reveal a three-way semantic distinction also but present data provides no semantic contrast between the adjective and nominal predicates.

#### 4.1.1.1 ASCRIPTIVE<sub>1</sub> CLAUSE

The predicate of the Ascriptive<sub>1</sub> Clause is an adjective so the structure can be formalised as NP + ADJ. The predicate describes the state or condition of an entity referred to in the subject.

(4-4) *Dis ti swit*  
this tea sweet  
'This tea is sweet.'

(4-5) *I tjiki*  
3:SG:S dangerous  
'He is dangerous/savage.'

The adjective can be modified by an intensifier such as *prapa* 'very' or a limiter *lilbit*.

(4-6) *Dis ti prapa swit*  
this tea very sweet  
'This tea is really sweet.'

#### 4.1.1.2 ASCRIPTIVE<sub>2</sub> CLAUSE

The Ascriptive<sub>2</sub> clause is formally NP + NOM. The predicate function is to describe the state or condition of the entity referred in the subject. This structure is much more frequent than the Ascriptive<sub>1</sub> clause and this goes along with the preference for the nominal form of the adjective throughout the language.

(4-7) *I nat nugud-wa*  
3:SG:S NEG bad-NOM  
'It's not bad.'

(4-8) *I kwayit-pala*  
3:SG:S fame-NOM  
'He is tame.'

(4-9) *Wijan yus-wan*  
which 2:P-NOM

'Which one is yours?'

Topicalisation and tagging is frequent. In Examples (4-10) and (4-12) the subject NP is topicalised and (4-11) illustrates tagging of the subject NP which is moved to follow the predicate. (See also (4-3).)

(4-10) TOP(S)            S  
*Dis taka i swit*  
this food 3:SG:S sweet

'This food is tasty.'

(4-11) S                    TAG(S)  
*I gud dis taka warawu*  
3:SG:S good this food EXCL(W)

'It's good, this food—sure is.'

Both Ascriptive clauses can be negated by *nat* or *nomo*. If the latter is used, the opposite is implied and is often stated in apposition. *Nat* is illustrated in (4-12).

(4-12) TOP(S)                    S  
*Dislat wotamelin ol nat swit-wan*  
these watermelon 3:PL NEG sweet-NOM

'These watermelons, they're not sweet.'

(4-13) *Dijan rein nomo lilbit, i big-wan*  
this rain NEG limited 3:SG:S big-NOM

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

#### 4.1.1.3 EQUATIVE CLAUSE

The Equative clause can be formalised as NP + NP, with the meaning of an equational relationship between subject and predicate, i.e. the referent of the subject is equated with the referent of the predicate noun. In (4-15) the subject is topicalised.

(4-14) *Tharran main fishing lain*  
that 1:SG:P fishing line

'That is my fishing line.'

- 4-15) TOP(S) S  
 Det *gowena i mit*  
 that goanna 3:SG:S meat  
 'The goanna is meat.'

There are very few examples of this clause type in the data as the Equational clause is mostly used to express this.

#### 4.1.2 LOCATIVE CLAUSE

The structure of the Locative clause is NP + LOC. The subject can be an NP or pronoun and the predicate is an NP marked with the preposition {*langa*} 'locative' as in (4-17), *from* 'ablative' as in (4-18), an intrinsically locative lexeme as in (4-19), a word inflected with the directional suffix *-wei* as in (4-16), or a combination of these as in (4-20). (See 3.1.3 and 3.1.5 for a description of the locative and ablative phrases.) The meaning of the construction is that the entity referred to in the subject is identified as being in a certain location. When an ablative phrase is used the entity is said to have originated from the place or direction specified.

- (4-16) *Olabat tharr-ei*  
 3:PL that-DIR  
 'They are over there.'
- (4-17) *Det haus la ai pleis*  
 that house LOC high place  
 'The house is on a rise.'
- (4-18) *I from long-wei*  
 3:SG:S ABL long-DIR  
 'He comes from a long way away.'

The subject NP can be an adnominal NP.

- (4-19) *Trisa fo dedi iya*  
 (name) PURP father here  
 'Teresa's father is here.'
- (4-20) *Blanga im motika tharr-ei la rudas*  
 DAT 3:SG:0 car that-DIR LOC roadhouse  
 'His car is over at the roadhouse.'



Either constituent can be negated.

(4-21) *No kakaji deya*  
NEG goanna(W) there  
'There are no goannas there.'

(4-22) *Olabat not iya*  
3:PL NEG here  
'They are not here.'

Pronouns in the subject of this Locative clause can have either subject or object form. Although in elicited data either form can occur with every type of Locative predicate, in natural speech observed and recorded the object form is always used with a locative lexeme or one inflected with *-wei* while the subject form occurs with a locative phrase.

(4-23) *Im iya*  
3:SG:0 here  
'It's here.'

(4-24) *Im tharr-ei*  
3:SG:0 that-DIR  
'It's over there.'

(4-25) *I la ting, la Trisa-mob*  
3:SG:0 LOC HES LOC (name)-COL  
'He is at ---, with Teresa and her friends.'

If time is specified by the tense morpheme *bin*, with or without the copula, only the subject form of the pronoun is allowed.

(4-26) *I bin bi iya samwe*  
3:SG:S PST COP here somewhere  
'It was here somewhere.'

The locative *tharrei* 'over there' corresponds to those formed from the compass point roots in TA languages. It is often used in text where Walmajarri would have used a specific directional word yet there is no gesture or any other indication of which direction is intended.

Although no examples occur in the data, it is expected that where the predicate is a prepositional phrase topicalisation and tagging would be possible as in the next two unattested sentences.

(4-27) TOP(S) S  
*Det haus i la ai pleis*  
 that house 3:SG:S LOC high place  
 'The house, it's on a rise.'

(4-28) S TAG(S)  
*I la ai pleis det haus*  
 'It's on a rise, the house.'

Where the predicate is a demonstrative, *iya* 'here', *deya* 'there', *tharrei* 'over there', or *dizei* 'this way', topicalisation with pronoun subject preceding the predicate is not possible.

*\*Bigmob raunwan ston dei/dem iya*  
 'The big round stones, they're here.'

Focus on the location is acquired by simply reversing the order of the constituents.

(4-29) *Sam-pala tharr-ei*  
 some-NOM that-DIR  
 'Some are over there.'

(4-30) *Tharrei sampala*  
 'Over there are some.'

(4-31) *Blanga im kuldringk tharr-ei la frisa*  
 DAT 3:SG:O drink that-DIR LOC fridge  
 'His can of drink is there in the fridge.'

(4-32) *Tharrei la frisa blanga im kuldringk*  
 'There in the fridge is his can of drink.'

When this happens, only the object form of the pronoun is allowed. The starred alternative in (4-34) and (4-36) are not acceptable.

(4-33) *Im tharrei ~ I tharrei* 'He is over there.'

(4-34) *Tharrei im ~ \*Tharrei i* 'There he is.'

(4-35) *Im iya ~ I iya* 'He is here.'

(4-36) *Iya im ~ \*Iya i* 'Here he is.'

### 4.1.3 POSSESSIVE CLAUSE

Having established that the predicate structure may be a prepositional phrase in the Locative clause, it is not surprising to find other prepositional phrases functioning in verbless clauses. The predicate of the Possessive clause is the dative phrase which can be formalised as NP + [*blanga*] + NP]. The relationship of subject and object is one of possession between two entities, where the subject refers to the possessed entity and the predicate identifies the possessor.

(4-37) *Tharr-an bla Trisa fo dedi*  
that-NOM DAT (name) PURP father

'That is Teresa's father's.'

(4-38) *Det kap bla is mami*  
that cup DAT 3:SG:P mother

'The cup is his mother's.'

As with the Locative clause, the order of subject - predicate can be reversed where focus on the possessor (predicated entity) is desired.

(4-39) *Bla is mami det kap*

'It's his mother's cup.'

The subject NP can be moved to the Tag position.

(4-40) S TAG(S)  
*I bla is mami det kap*

'It's his mother's, the cup.'

With an interrogative form, the preposition can be final and there is then no grammatical subject.

(4-41) *Hu bla?*  
who DAT

'Whose is it?'

There are too few examples in the data to make any other generalisations about topicalisation with the possessive clause.

The meaning of possession can also be obtained by an Equative or Ascriptive clause using a possessive pronoun as in (4-42) and (4-43) respectively or a prepositional phrase functioning adnominally as in (4-44).

- (4-42) *Tharr-an mai jarriny*  
 that-NOM 1:SG:P totem  
 'That's my totem.'
- (4-43) *I main-wan*  
 3:SG:S 1:SG:P-NOM  
 'It's mine.'
- (4-44) *Di jan bla mindupala ka*  
 this-NOM DAT 1:DU:EX car  
 'This is our car.'

#### 4.1.4 ASSOCIATIVE CLAUSE

The Associative Clause has the structure NP + [{*garra*} + NP], where {*garra*} is the same morpheme as that in the associative prepositional phrase. Brackets enclose the predicate. There are always two entities and the structure carries a meaning that the referent of the predicate is in a close association with the referent of the subject. The entity referred to in the predicate is normally physically smaller, or potentially under the control of the subject referent. In a wider sense, association can imply some form of possession either temporary or permanent as in (4-45). See Text A-27 to 29 for more examples.

- (4-45) *I garram lisid*  
 3:SG:S ASSOC lizard  
 'He has a lizard.'
- (4-46) *Det teingk garram bigmob wota*  
 that tank ASSOC much water  
 'The tank has a lot of water in it.'

This relationship between predicate and subject is very similar to that between the adnominal associative phrase and its head noun (see 3.2.3).

A body part or some property of the referent can be predicated in this construction.

- (4-47) *I garram hard-pala kin*  
 3:SG:S ASSOC hard:NOM skin  
 'It (bullock) has a tough hide.'

(4-48) *Dis mit garram plendi bet*  
 this meat ASSOC much fat  
 'This meat is (nice and) fatty.'

(4-49) *I garra orla kala*  
 3:SG:S ASSOC PL colour  
 'It has many colours.'

The three forms of this preposition, *garram*, *garra* and *gat* are described in 3.1.6. Example (4-50) is typical of the 'light' end of the continuum featuring *gat*.

(4-50) *Yu gat eni bendij?*  
 you ASSOC any bandage?  
 'Do you have a bandage?'

Negation is preferred within the prepositional phrase as in (4-51) though *nomo* can precede it and negate the whole clause as shown in (4-52). This latter is rejected by some young people as 'the way the old people say it'.

(4-51) *Dei garram no mani*  
 3:PL ASSOC NEG money  
 'They have no money.'

(4-52) *Dij-an ti i nomo garram shuga*  
 this-NOM tea 3:SG:S NEG ASSOC sugar  
 'This tea has no sugar in it.'

Topicalisation and tagging occur and the subject pronoun precedes the predicate.

(4-53) TOP(S) S  
*Det krokadail i garram ol injaid langa wota blanga*  
 that crocodile 3:SG:S ASSOC hole inside LOC water DAT  
*im kemp*  
 3:SG:O camp

'The crocodile has a hole under the water, his home.'

(4-54) S TAG(S)  
*I garram hard-pala kin tharr-an*  
 3:SG:S ASSOC hard-NOM skin that-NOM  
 'It (bullock) has a tough hide, it has.'

The NP of the predicate can be topicalised leaving the preposition behind. This differs from the Locative and Possessive clauses where focus on the predicated entity is gained by moving the whole predicate to precede the subject (see (4-30) and (4-39)). There are no examples in the data of {*garra*} being fronted along with its NP.

(4-55) TOP(pred)                    S  
*Bigmob fleiba mela garram*  
 much    tasty:food 1:PL:EX ASSOC  
 'A lot of good food, we have.'


(4-56) TOP(pred)                    S  
*No murrarta yu garram*  
 NEG head:lice(W) 2:SG ASSOC  
 'No headlice you have.'


If transformed to an interrogative clause the preposition is final as with the Possessive clause (4.1.3).

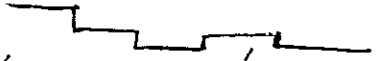
(4-57) *Hu garram*  
 who ASSOC  
 'Who has it?'


#### 4.1.5 EQUATIONAL CLAUSE

The structure of the Equational clause is NP + [{*da*} + NP]. It has a typical intonation contour which sets it off from all other verbless clauses. It is marked by high pitch and equal stress on the first syllable of both the subject and the predicate while {*da*} always receives low pitch and is unstressed.

(4-58)  *Dís da kíng*  
 this EQ best  
 'This one is the best one.'

(4-59)  *Kánboi da trák*  
 convoy EQ truck  
 'Convoy refers to a truck.'

(4-60)  *Yúndupala da gél fish*  
 2:DU            EQ girl fish  
 'You two are (pretending to be) the mermaids.'



(4-61) *Dis da ai-wan*  
 this EQ high-NOM

'This is the high one.'

The meaning of the construction is an equational relationship between subject and predicate. It is similar to the Equative clause but the presence of {*da*} has the effect of strengthening the notion of equality. The equational/equative distinction could be seen as similar to the definite/indefinite distinction of the English article. Compare (4-62), an equative clause, with (4-63) an equational clause.

(4-62) *Dijan rabi<sup>j</sup> pleis*  
 this rubbish place

'This is an undesirable place.'

(4-63) *Dis da rabi<sup>j</sup> pleis*  
 this EQ rubbish place

'This is the undesirable place.'

There is not much doubt that {*da*} is derived from the English article which has been reanalysed. This is not surprising since the copula in English is almost elided in such sentences as 'He's the teacher' and the article has been interpreted as the linking word. The contrast of definiteness in the English article appears to be almost lost in Kriol. For this reason I have analysed {*da*} as a linking device rather than an article.

Three verbless clause types are analysed as containing a preposition in the predicate and this is an identifying feature of these structures. They are Locative, Possessive and Associative. The Equational Clause has features similar to these three where {*da*} functions in the same way as the prepositions. When Possessive and Associative are transformed to interrogative, the question word takes the initial position and the preposition is left behind. Likewise {*da*} is left behind in an interrogative Equational clause.

(4-64) *Wot dish da?*  
 what this EQ

'What is this?'

When the subject NP is topicalised, the subject pronoun is copied before {*da*} thus identifying it as a constituent of the predicate.

(4-65) JOP(S) S  
*Detlat hos dei da kwayit-mob*  
 those horse 3:PL EQ quiet-COL  
 'Those horses are tame ones.'

However the predicate cannot be fronted either with or without {*da*} and in this the Equational Clause is less flexible than others which have prepositions in the predicate.

Because of the similarities of {*da*} with the other prepositions, it is treated in this analysis as a preposition. It appears to be a developing copula and an analysis of copula would have been chosen except for a few examples of the co-occurrence of {*da*} with the established copula *bi*.

(4-66) *Mela bin bi da kruk*  
 1:PL:EX PST COP EQ crook  
 'We were (pretending) to be the crooks.'

Such examples are from speakers who are also fluent in English and often use 'light' Kriol where they borrow the English article in noun phrases and even sometimes maintain the English contrast of definite/indefinite as in the next example.

(4-67) *I bin bi a sneik*  
 3:SG:S PST COP a snake  
 'It was a snake.'

At present {*da*} is heard mainly in the speech of young people and is very frequent in children's speech. It is not mentioned by Sandefur as occurring in the Ngukurr-Bamyili dialects of the Northern Territory from which Fitzroy Valley Kriol came, which suggests it is a recent local innovation. This language is a developing one and, as with all creoles, it is prone to change perhaps more than other languages. It is to be expected that there will be a period during the process of change when the new and old analyses will both be in use within the community. It follows then, that there will be times when more than one analysis may need to be recognised and the morpheme {*da*} is an example of this. Referring to the phenomena of multiple analysis Hankamer says, 'Our methodological assumption ... tells us that we must choose between two competing analyses, unless they are notational variants of each other. I suggest that ... we must give up the assumption that two or more conflicting analyses cannot be simultaneously correct for a given phenomenon' (p.583). Alternative analyses of {*da*} either as an article in 'light' Kriol or as a copula in 'heavy' Kriol are possible though I believe the one given here fits the system of the language best at this time.



In spite of the loss of contrast between the English articles both have influenced the forms of the preposition {*da*} though they retain no meaning contrast. Consequently, there is variation and several forms of {*da*} are heard, and the /s/ from the English copula is found in some forms of the subject.

*dis* + *da* (from 'this') > *dis da* ~ *dish da*

*det* + *da* (from 'that') > *des da* ~ *det sa*

*i* + *da* (from he/she) > *i da* ~ *is da* ~ *i sa*

(4-68) *Det sa mai jarriny*  
that EQ 1:SG:P totem(W)

'That's my totem.'

(4-69) *Yu da pirla parri*  
you EQ devil(W) boy(W)

'You're a devil, boy.'

(4-70) *I sa pirla orait*  
3:SG:S EQ devil(W) alright

'He's a devil alright.'

Noun plus {*da*} can take three forms, noun *da* ~ noun *sa* or nouns *da*.

(4-71) *Erik da canboi*  
Eric EQ convoy

'Eric is convoy. (Convoy refers to the man, Eric.)'

(4-72) *Kanboi sa trak*  
convoy EQ truck

'Convoy is the truck.'

(4-73) *I shudbi da men*  
3:SG:S should EQ man

'It (convoy) should refer to the man.'

These last three examples came from a discussion of the referential meaning of 'convoy' after seeing a film of that name.

(4-74) *Kenbira-s da mein pleis we i stei*  
Canberra is the place where (the Queen) usually stays.'

The subject must have definite reference and can be a demonstrative as shown in (4-75), a subject pronoun as in (4-70) or a noun as in (4-72).

(4-75) *Dij-an da prapa-wan*  
this-NOM EQ real-NOM

'This is the genuine one.'

This clause type differs from Ascriptive and Equative in that the subject is very often a demonstrative that is not nominalised, i.e. *dis* or *dijan* can both occur in Equational without a noun but only *dijan* in the other clause types. The predicate always refers to an entity which may have definite reference or be one member of a set. It cannot be abstract in the way that the adjective of an Ascriptive clause is, but must have concrete reference. The next sentence cannot mean 'That's a hundred.' as when counting reaches that figure.

(4-76) *Des da handrid*  
that EQ hundred

'That's a hundred (dollar note).'

Negation of Equational clause is by *nat* and {*da*} is optionally deleted. Examples where it is retained are emphatic denials of a previous claim or implication. The subject can also be deleted as in (4-78).

(4-77) *Tharr-an nat kakaji*  
that-NOM NEG goanna(W)

'That is not a goanna.'

(4-78) *Nat da raninggeit, des da geit*  
NEG EQ grid that EQ gate

'It's not the grid, it's the gate.' (self correction in text)

#### 4.1.6 EXISTENTIAL CLAUSE

The prepositional phrase with {*garra*} also occurs as predicate for the Existential clause which has the structure pronoun + [{*garra*} + NP] + (Loc). Here the subject cannot be an NP but only a subject pronoun, *i* '3rd singular' or *dei* '3rd plural'. There is always an implied location which is often overtly stated either as a prepositional phrase or one of the locative words *deya* or *iya*. It is these features which separate the Existential from the Associative clause. It means that the entity referred to in the predicate exists at a given location. This may be stated in the clause or understood from context.

(4-79) *I garra wapurra iya daunwei*  
3:SG:S ASSOC caterpillar(W) here down

'There's a caterpillar down here.'

The subject is non-referential but the location can be referential, suggesting at times a close association between the location and the predicate. If the subject is taken to be co-referential with the location (which would be 3rd person singular) the associative meaning of {garra} as described in the Associative clause applies here also. The entity referred to in the predicate is normally physically smaller than the subject referent, which in this clause type is a location, but the potential of control on the part of the subject cannot so easily be assigned here as it is in the Associative clause.

(4-80) *I garram wan big eligeita la riba*  
 3:SG:S ASSOC IND:SG big alligator LOC river

'There is a big alligator in the river.'

(4-81) *I garra debul deya*  
 3:SG:S ASSOC devil there

'A devil is there.'

Topicalisation of the locative is possible and the subject pronoun, as always, precedes the predicate.

(4-82) TOP(LOC) S  
*La riba i garram kol-wan wota*  
 LOC river 3:SG:S ASSOC cold-NOM water

'In the river there is cold water.'

As with the Associative clause the predicate NP can be topicalised, leaving the preposition behind.

(4-83) TOP(Pred) S  
*Plendi babalu i garram deya*  
 many buffalo 3:SG:S ASSOC there

'A lot of buffaloes are there.'

The reason for choice of singular or plural pronoun subject is not clear but it seems to be related to the referent of the predicate. If it is clearly a place the pronoun is singular, but in the examples with a plural subject, the referent could be seen as a community. There is only one example of plural subject in the data and it is from a 9 year old boy but the same feature occurs in the Ngukurr-Bamyili dialects (Sandefur—personal communication).

(4-84) *Dei garram bigmob flai la N...*  
 3:PL ASSOC many fly LOC (name)

'There are lots of flies at N...'

#### 4.1.7 AMBIENT CLAUSE

Seasons and time (natural phenomena) are described in an Ambient construction with non-referring subject. The structure is Pronoun + Temporal. The predicate is usually a temporal identified by the suffix *-taim*.

(4-85) I        *nai-taim*  
3:SG:S night-time  
'It's night time.'

(4-86) I        *tumaj kol-taim det fish kan bait*  
3:SG:S very cold-time that fish NEG bite  
'It's the middle of the cold season and the fish won't bite.'

A temporal or dative phrase can be added but these are not topicalised in the data.

(4-87) I        *alidei-taim tudei*  
3:SG:S holiday-time now  
'It's a holiday today.'

(4-88) I        *nai-taim blanga wi*  
3:SG:S night-time DAT we  
'It's night where we are.'

Ambient processes are described by verbs with the non-referential subject pronoun. They can also have the dative prepositional phrase indicating that humans are affected.

(4-89) I        *garra rein blanga wi*  
3:SG:S POT rain DAT we  
'It's likely to rain where we are.'

(4-90) I        *bin pringgl-in lilbit*  
3:SG:S PST sprinkle-PROG limited  
'It (the rain) was sprinkling a little bit.'

#### 4.1.8 COMPARISON WITH TRADITIONAL AUSTRALIAN LANGUAGES

Ascriptive, Equative, Locative and Possessive clause types can be identified in many languages, so we can expect to find at least some of these in TA languages. Ascriptive and Equative types with no copula are found in many, and Walmajarri also has a verbless structure which paral-

lets the Possessive clause in Kriol. The Locative, Associative and Existential clause types in Kriol all have some features similar to Walmajarri. Starting from the Kriol structures described above, similarities with Walmajarri will be presented. For interlinear glosses of Kriol examples used here, see the description of the appropriate clause type where the same examples have been used.

Ascriptive and Equative. Kriol Ascriptive and Equative clause types have direct equivalence with Walmajarri. Relevant grammatical features of the Walmajarri structures are the lack of a copula in present tense and the requirement of transformation to a verbal clause if either tense or aspect is to be specified (see 4.2.7). Examples comparing both languages are given below: (4-91W) is an Ascriptive<sub>1</sub> clause and (4-92W) is Equative.

(4-91W) *Minyarti ti pa linyngurru-jinyangu*  
 this tea AUX:3:SG:S tasty(W)-very

(4-91K) *Dis ti prapa swit*  
 'This tea is very sweet.'

(4-92W) *Kakaji pa kuyi*  
 goanna AUX:3:SG:S meat

(4-92K) *Det gowena i mit*  
 'Goanna is meat.'

The auxiliary in these Walmajarri examples has the appearance of a copula. Its function is quite different however, being a root morpheme which carries the cross-referencing person and number case affixes and at the same time expresses mood. Another example with plural subject will illustrate its function better since 3rd person singular subject is not shown in the auxiliary (zero morpheme—indicated by  $\emptyset$  in some examples).

(4-93W) *Nyantuwarnti pa-lu purlka*  
 3:SG:S-PL AUX-3:PL:S big

'They are big.'

The cross-referencing suffixes of the auxiliary are often the only overt reference to the subject since the NP can be omitted. This can be seen in the next example where only the suffix *-lu* identifies the subject. In (4-91W) and (4-92W) it is the absence of any suffixes that indicate cross-reference with a 3rd person singular subject.

(4-94W) *Purlka pa-lu*  
big AUX-3:PL:S

'They are big.'

Equational. The copula-like auxiliary in Walmajarri provides an interesting link with the Equational clause in Kriol. I suggest that as the morpheme {*da*} has been developed it has been influenced by an incorrect interpretation of the function of the auxiliary in Walmajarri. This could have come about because most Fitzroy Crossing speakers have only a passive knowledge of TA languages. An equative structure in Walmajarri with 3rd person singular subject could have the form:

(4-95W) *nyantu pa-∅ takmen*  
3:SG:S AUX-3:SG:S stockman

'He is a stockman.'

The auxiliary here could have been interpreted as a non-verbal copula and influenced the reanalysis of {*da*} in Kriol as in the sentence *Des da stakmen*.

Possessive. The Possessive clause in Kriol has a grammatical parallel in Walmajarri. Dative case can be incorporated into the verbless clause in Walmajarri with a meaning of possession in the same way that Kriol uses the preposition {*blanga*} 'dative'. Compare the Walmajarri Possessive clause in (4-96W) with the Kriol sentence which follows it in (4-96K).

(4-96W) *Nyanarti pa-ji ngaju-wu*  
that AUX-1:SG:DAT 1:SG-DAT

(4-96K) *Tharran bla mi*

'That is mine.'

Associative. There is in Walmajarri a morpheme which parallels the Kriol preposition {*garra*}. It is *-jarti* which I have glossed 'comitative' (Hudson 1978). It occurs in three similar syntactic structures to Kriol {*garra*}. In the verbal clause it can be used to mark the instrument role. If the verb is transitive, the ergative case marking suffix follows *-jarti* as well as the head noun as in (4-97) but the head noun is deleted in (4-98).

(4-97W) *Parri-ngu pa pinya pamarr-jarti-rlu*  
boy-ERG AUX hit stone-COMIT-ERG

(4-97K) *Det boi bin nakam garra ston*

'The boy hit it with a stone.'

(4-98W) *Muupinya ma-rnalu kuyi-wu ngurti-jarti-rlu*  
searched AUX-1:PL:S game-DAT car-COMIT-ERG

(4-98K) *Wi bin lugaran garra motika ebriwe fo orla keinggurru*  
'We used the car to search for kangaroos.'

Within the NP *-jarti* carries meaning very similar to Kriol {*garra*} as illustrated in the pairs of examples below. In (4-100) there is no head noun, a feature typical of both languages.

(4-99W) *Ngarni ma-rna walak partu-jarti*  
ate AUX-1:SG frog skin-COMIT

(4-99K) *Wi bin idim frog garra skin*  
'We ate the frog with its skin on.'

(4-100W) *Nyanya ma-rnalu yapa-warnti-jarti*  
saw AUX-1:PL:S child-PL-COMIT

(4-100K) *Wi bin siyim garra orla kid*  
'We saw her with her children.'

In the verbless clause *-jarti* is again similar to {*garra*} though in Walmajarri there is no need to set up a separate clause type ((4-101W) is an Ascriptive clause).

(4-101W) *Nyantup kunyarr-jarti*  
3:SG:S AUX dog-COMIT

(4-101K) *I garram kunyarr*  
'He has a dog.'

Walmajarri *-jarti* has been analysed as a derivational affix in all examples. It can be suffixed to a noun and the resultant word functions as an adjective as in (4-101W). If its function is to modify a noun it is inflected for case. See (4-97W) where the derived adjective is marked for ergative case, and (4-99W) and (4-100W) where they are unmarked (the same as their head nouns) because they are in nominative case. It is largely because of this feature of case inflection that an analysis of derivational affix has been chosen. In her description of the Walmajarri Noun Phrase, Richards includes *-jarti* in a set of six derivational suffixes. An equivalent derivational morpheme is to be found in most non-prefixing languages of Australia (Dixon 1980:324).

The noun can be negated and an adjective derived from this compound. A strikingly similar means of negation is possible for Kriol using {*garra*}.

(4-102W) *Pulukwantinya pa jirnal-ngajirta-jarti*  
dived AUX spear-NEG-COMIT

(4-102K) *I bin daibin garra no spiya*  
'He dived in without a spear.'

Locative and Existential. The Locative and Existential clauses in Kriol do not have parallel grammatical structures in Walmajarri since Walmajarri requires a verbal structure for each of these concepts, usually with the existential verb *nguna*. However transforms of the Kriol Locative and Existential clause types as shown in (4-133) and (4-137) do parallel Walmajarri and these are described in 4.2.6.

## 4.2 VERBAL TRANSFORMS OF VERBLESS CLAUSES

The addition of tense or aspect to a verbless clause requires transformation to a structure which contains a verb. The structures described in the last section (4.1) consisted only of those with verbless predicates and which refer to a state at the time of speaking. To describe states which are perceived as existing either before or after the time of speaking, it is necessary to add one of the tense/aspect morphemes *bin* 'past' or *garra* 'potential'. Except for the Ascriptive and Equative clauses, it cannot be done without transformation to a clause with a verb. There are several verbs available for this; the copula *bi*, *git* 'become', intransitive verbs *stap* 'stay', *jidam* 'sit', *jandap* 'stand', and the transitive verbs *abam* 'have, possess' and *gedam* 'obtain, acquire'. These are displayed in Figure 4.1 with the clause types to which they relate indicated by an X in the chart. Brackets mean the data is insufficient. They will be described in groups and in terms of these clause types. Throughout this section interlinear glosses will be included only with the first example of each group or when it is necessary for clarity. The verbal element is underlined in the transforms.

### 4.2.1 THE COPULA *BI* AND $\emptyset$

Past tense can be specified with or without the addition of a verb in both Ascriptive clause types. Where there is no verb this is analysed as a zero copula and no transformation is involved (see Text A-5). Locative and Ambient clause types cannot have a zero copula but *bi* is used when tense is added to them. The older dialect of Kriol at Ngukurr-Bamyili uses the copula *bi* optionally to describe a future state



FIGURE 4.1 VERBS IN TRANSFORMS OF VERBLESS CLAUSE TYPES

	∅	bi	stap	git	jidan	jandap	abam	gedam
Ascriptive <sub>1</sub>	X	X	X	X	(X)	(X)	-	-
Ascriptive <sub>2</sub>	X	X	X	(X)	X	X	-	-
Locative	-	X	X	X	X	X	-	-
Ambient	-	X	X	X	-	-	-	-
Equative	(X)	(X)	(X)	-	-	-	-	-
Equational	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-
Associative	-	-	(X)	-	-	-	X	X
Existential	-	-	X	-	-	-	X	-
Possessive	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

but not elsewhere in the language (Sandefur 1979:123). Fitzroy Valley dialect has extended the use of *bi* to make it almost obligatory with *garra* 'potential' and optional with *bin* 'past'. It is most prevalent in the speech of school age children but not restricted to them. The form of *bi* is invariant and it cannot be affixed for aspect. It is semantically empty functioning merely as a linking device to enable tense to be specified. Examples are grouped according to the verbless clause types with which they relate.

#### Ascriptive<sub>1</sub>

- (4-103) *Olabat hepi*  
 3:PL happy  
 'They are happy.'

#### Transforms

- (4-104) *Olabat bin hepi* 'They were happy.'  
 (4-105) *Olabat neba bin hepi* 'They were not happy.'  
 (4-106) *Olabat bin bi hepi* 'They were happy.'  
 (4-107) *Olabat garra bi hepi* 'They will be happy.'

#### Ascriptive<sub>2</sub>

- (4-108) *Det wotamelin big-wan*  
 that watermelon big-NOM  
 'The watermelon is big.'

#### Transforms

- (4-109) *Det wotamelin bin bigwan*  
 'The watermelon was big.'  
 (4-110) *Det wotamelin bin bi bigwan*  
 'The watermelon was big.'  
 (4-111) *Det wotamelin garra bi bigwan*  
 'The watermelon will be big (when it grows).'

## Locative

- (4-112) *Im iya samwe*  
3:SG:0 here somewhere  
'It's here somewhere.'

## Transform

- (4-113) *I bin bi iya samwe* 'It was here somewhere.'

## Ambient

- (4-114) *I naitaim*  
3:SG:S night  
'It's night.'

## Transform

- (4-115) *I bin bi naitaim* 'It was night.'

## Equational

- (4-116) *Mela da kruk*  
1:PL:EX EQ crook  
'We are crooks.'

## Transform

- (4-117) *Mela bin bi da kruk* 'We were (pretending to be) the crooks.'

### 4.2.2 STAP 'STAY'

In transformations from verbless clause types, the most widely used verb is *stap* 'stay'. It is well attested in relation to both the Ascriptive clause types, Locative, Ambient and Existential but not so much evidence is available for Equational and Associative. In many contexts either *stap* or *bi* can be used but these two differ in that *stap* is meaning-bearing while *bi* is not. Also *stap* can be affixed for progressive aspect by the suffix {-in} (see 2.3.2). Thus it functions as a full verb and is more versatile than the copula.<sup>10</sup>

Ascriptive<sub>1</sub>

- (4-118) *I kwayit*  
3:SG:S quiet  
'He is quiet.'

Transform

- (4-119) *Yu garra stap kwayit* 'You must be quiet.'

Ascriptive<sub>2</sub>

- (4-120) *Det mad i slipri-wan*  
that mud 3:SG:S slippery-NOM  
'The mud is slippery.'

Transform

- (4-121) *Det mad bin stap slipriwan* 'The mud was slippery.'

Locative

- (4-122) *Im tharrei*  
3:SG:0 there  
'He is over there.'

Transforms

- (4-123) *I bin stap tharrei fo longtaim*  
'He was there for a longtime.'
- (4-124) *I garra stap Debi fo longtaim*  
'He will be in Derby for a longtime.'

*stap* with its inherent duration is preferred above *bi* with the locative, unless duration is not in focus (see (4-113)).

Ambient

- (4-125) *I hataim*  
3:SG:S hot:season  
'It's the hot season.'

## Transform

- (4-126) *Wen dei bin stap hataim ...*  
'When it was hot season...'

## Equative

- (4-127) *I big-wan ston*  
3:SG:S big-NOM stone  
'It is a large rock.'

## Transform

- (4-128) *We i stap rili big-big-wan ston, dei kolam hil*  
REL 3:SG:S stay really big-REDUP-NOM stone 3:PL call hill  
'Really big rocks they call hills.'

## Associative

- (4-129) *I garram no murrarta*  
3:SG:S ASSOC NEG headlice(W)  
'She has no headlice.'

## Transforms

- (4-130) *I bin stap garra no murrarta*  
'She had no headlice.'
- (4-131) *Orla gel bin stap-in garra dres*  
PL girl PST stay-PROG ASSOC dress  
'The girls were wearing dresses.'

There are very few examples of *stap* with associative in the data and even they could be analysed as an adnominal use of the phrase rather than as a complement.

## Existential

- (4-132) *I garram wan eligeita la riba*  
3:SG:S ASSOC IND:SG alligator LOC river  
'There is an alligator at the river.'

Transform

(4-133) *Wan eligeita stap-in la riba*

'There is an alligator at the river.'

General truth statements not related to the time of speaking, or habitual states, are described using the verb *stap* but without any tense or aspect marked.

Ascriptive<sub>1</sub>

(4-134) *I lilbit grin-wan*  
3:SG:S limited green-NOM

'It's a bit green.'

Transform

(4-135) *Athasaid i stap lilbit grinwan*

'(A mango goes a bit yellow on one side and) the other side is still green.'

Locative

(4-136) *I la mana*  
3:SG:S LOC tree

'It's in the tree.'

Transform

(4-137) *I stap la mana*

'It (the animal) lives in a tree.'

#### 4.2.3 *GIT* 'BECOME'

If the state described in a verbless clause is the result of change, the tense/aspect triggered transformation involves *git* 'become'. It relates to the Ascriptive, Equative, Locative and Ambient clause types and can be affixed for progressive aspect but not iterative.

Ascriptive<sub>2</sub>

(4-138) *I wail*  
3:SG:S angry

'He is angry.'

## Transforms

(4-139) *I garra git wail*

'He is sure to get angry.'

(4-140) *I bin git-ing fraitin la orla wapurra*  
3:SG:S PST become-PROG afraid LOC PL caterpillar(W)

'She was getting frightened by the caterpillars.'

## Ascriptive<sub>2</sub>

(4-141) *Yu big-wan nau*

2:SG big-NOM now

'You are big now.'

## Transform

(4-142) *Wen yu garra git bigwan, yu garra go skul*

'When you are big, you will go to school.'

## Locative

(4-143) *I la det geit*

3:SG:S LOC that gate

'He is at the gate.' (See also Text C-15.)

## Transform

(4-144) *Wen wi bin git langa det geit, i bin git naitaim langa*  
*mipala rait deya*

'When we arrived at the gate, darkness fell at that very moment.' (See also Text C-55.)

## Ambient

(4-145) *I naitaim bla wi*

3:SG:S night DAT we

'It's night where we are.'

## Transform

(4-146) *I bin git leit bla wi*

'It got late on us.' (Reference is to the sun setting.)

Passives with *git*. The only passive-type constructions in the language occur with *git* and *jelp* (5.3.2). Both allow for the description of an activity without reference to an agent. *Git* implies a change of state in the entity referred to in the subject and the complement indicates the final state reached as in (4-147). The verb in the complement can also indicate the activity or process which brought about the change of state as shown in (4-148) and (4-149). The form of the verb used is intransitive and it is sometimes homophonous with an adjective.

(4-147) *Wi bin git bog la riba*  
 we PST become bogged LOC river

'We got bogged in the river.'

(4-148) *Det dempa kan git kuk*  
 that damper NEG become cooked

'The damper won't cook (no fire).'

Sometimes the past participle form of English can be seen in the verb used in this complement. The English suffix *-ed* is present in remnant form before an aspectual suffix *-ap* (see 2.3.3).

(4-149) *Detlat kulus bin git bernd-ap*  
 those clothes PST become burnt

'Those clothes were burnt (and consumed).'

#### 4.2.4 *JIDAN* 'SIT', *JANDAP* 'STAND'

The stance verbs are full intransitive verbs as in the next two sentences.

(4-150) *Wi bin jidan la sheid*  
 we PST sit LOC shade

'We sat in the shade.'

(4-151) *Yu jandap la det trak parri*  
 2:SG stand LOC that truck boy(W)

'You stand up near the truck boy.'

Their meanings can be extended to carry the implications of the physical orientation of the inanimate referent, and it is this meaning that is primary when they occur in the transforms from the verbless clause structures. *Jidan* implies a position low and horizontal and *jandap* implies a vertical elevated position. These two are optionally selected in relation to Ascriptive and Locative verbless clauses when tense and aspect need to be specified. They cannot be used with many contexts as they are semantically very restricted. The type of things that are per-



ceived as standing are hills, houses and cars; things that typically sit are low hills, bird's nests and people dwelling in a place. Examples of this function of *jidān* and *jāndap* follow.

#### Ascriptive<sub>2</sub>

- (4-152) *Dis haus i grin-wan*  
this house 3:SG:S green-NOM  
'This house is green.'

#### Transform

- (4-153) *Dis haus i bin jāndap grinwan bat tudei i waitwan*  
'This house used to be green, but now it's white.'

#### Equative

- (4-154) *I big-wan ston*  
3:SG:S big-NOM stone  
'It is a large rock.'

#### Transforms

- (4-155) *We i jidān big-big-wan ston dei kolam hil*  
REL 3:SG:S sit big-REDUP-NOM stone 3:PL call hill  
'Big rocks, they call hills.'

- (4-156) *We i jāndap bigbigwan ston, dei kolam hil*  
'Big tall rocks, they call hills.'

#### Locative

- (4-157) *Det nes antap la tri*  
that nest above LOC tree  
'The nest is at the top of the tree.'

#### Transforms

- (4-158) *Det nes bin jidān antap la tri*  
'The nest was at the top of the tree.'
- (4-159) *Mai mami bin jidān la Debi fo long-taim*  
1:SG:P mother PST sit LOC Derby PURP long-time  
'My mother lived in Derby for a long time.'

This extension of meaning for the stance verbs is very similar to TA languages. In Kriol they seem to be used less with this extended meaning and the general verb *stap* is much more prevalent.

#### 4.2.5 ABAM 'HAVE, POSSESS' AND GEDAM 'OBTAIN, PROCURE'

The transitive verb *abam* 'have, possess' differs from the others in that it only occurs in relation to Associative and Existential clauses, those containing the preposition {*garra*} in the predicate. *Gedam* 'obtain, procure' is even more restricted as it is used in transformations from the Associative clause only. It can only be used if the reference to past time indicates an event which brought about the present state. If the reference is to a state which existed in the past, only *abam* can be used. Note that the non-referential pronoun subject is retained in (4-165).

##### Associative

(4-160) I        *garram shuga*  
          3:SG:S ASSOC sugar  
          'He has sugar.'

##### Transforms

(4-161) I *bin abam shuga*                    'He had sugar.'

(4-162) I *garra abam shuga*                'He will have sugar.'

(4-163) I *bin gedam shuga*                'He got sugar.'

##### Existential

(4-164) I        *garram wota deya*  
          3:SG:S ASSOC water there  
          'Water is there.'

##### Transform

(4-165) I *bin abam wota deya*  
          'Water was there.'

In the next example the entity is located in time rather than a place and the plural subject is consistent with a view of the association being in relation to a community (see 4.1.6).

(4-166) *Langa drimtaim dei bin abam-bat entita en tetil*  
 LOC dreamtime 3:PL PST possess-ITER anteater and turtle  
 'In the dreamtime there was an anteater and a turtle.'

The short excerpt of text which follows illustrates the interplay of *stap* and *abam* and the progressive and iterative aspects which are mutually exclusive with these two verbs, i.e. *stap* cannot be made iterative and *abam* cannot take progressive aspect.

(4-167) *Orla gel bin stap-ing garra bra en orla boi bin*  
 PL female PST stay-PROG ASSOC bra and PL male PST  
*stap-ing garra no shet ani shout dei bin abam-bat*  
 stay-PROG ASSOC NEG shirt only shorts 3:PL PST possess-ITER

'The women were wearing only bras on top, and the men were not wearing shirts, they only wore shorts.'

#### 4.2.6 AN ALTERNATIVE ANALYSIS FOR {GARRA}

The analysis of {*garra*} as a preposition in the verbless clause types is open to question as there is evidence of some verbal qualities. Features which support the preposition analysis are:

(1) the lack of tense/aspect. No tense or aspect can be specified without transformation to a verbal clause. If it is analysed as a verb, it would be the only verb in the language with the restriction that it can only occur in the present tense. For examples of transformations necessary for tense to be added see 4.2.2 and 4.2.5.

(2) its similarity in form and meaning to the preposition of the associative phrase (compare 3.1.6 and 4.1.4).

Features which support an analysis of verb are:

(1) fewer restrictions apply to {*garra*} for final position in the clause than apply to the other prepositions which can only be final with an interrogative.

(4-168) *Benjin garram* 'Benson has it.'

The subject-predicate order can't be switched with {*garra*} as it can for the Locative and Possessive clauses thus preventing it from occurring initially. The sentence \**Garram plendi fet dis mit* is not acceptable.

(2) the form *garram* could be analysed as a transitive verb stem plus transitive marker, *garra-am* 'possess'.

(3) the copula verb *bi*, which occurs in transforms from the other verbless clauses (except Possessive), cannot occur with the Associative.

It is probable that the etymon of {*garra*} is the English 'got' as in 'I've got a car'. The potential tense/aspect morpheme *garra*, and *git* 'become' probably also come from the same English form; from 'I've got to go' and 'He got sick' respectively. These last two are different enough in form and function to be easily distinguished in Kriol as separate morphemes. Associative {*garra*}, however, has one set of allomorphs and a similar meaning whether it functions in the NP of a verbal clause or in the predicate. This allows for possible variation of analysis. Bickerton refers to a similar feature in Guyanese Creole which he claims results in confusion of analysis for the speakers themselves, and I present details of this in support of my own claim of variable analysis for Kriol {*garra*}.

Bickerton says that in Guyanese Creole there are two distinct verbs *gat* and *get*. The first may carry the sense of possessing, being obliged as well as an existential meaning; and the second has the meaning of 'be able to, manage to' as well as being an auxiliary in the passive. He explains that there is possible confusion between these two verbs because of their common etymology and phonological similarity. Of the variation found among speakers of Guyanese Creole he says, 'It would seem likely that the speaker who is moving away from the basilect would find it progressively harder to keep the two verbs apart' (1971:480). In the absence of any study of variation in Kriol, I see no evidence of confusion on the part of Kriol speakers with regard to the morpheme {*garra*}, but rather there seems to be a continuum between the clearly defined preposition and the uncertain verbal element, as illustrated by the set of examples below.

- (4-169) *I bin nakam mi garra stik*  
3:SG:S PST hit 1:SG:0 ASSOC stick  
'He hit me with a stick.'
- (4-170) *Ai bin jidan garra orla kid*  
1:SG:S PST sit ASSOC PL child  
'I sat with the children.'
- (4-171) *Dei bin teik det men garra blad la hospil*  
3:PL PST take that man ASSOC blood LOC hospital  
'They took the bleeding man to hospital.'
- (4-172) *Orla gel bin stap garra bra*  
PL female PST stay ASSOC bra  
'The women wore bras.'

(4-173) I garram wan big krakadail la riba  
 3:SG:S ASSOC IND:SG big crocodile LOC river  
 'There is a big crocodile at the river.'

(4-174) I garram lisid  
 3:SG:S ASSOC lizard  
 'He has a lizard.'

(4-175) Benjin garram  
 (name) ASSOC  
 'Benson has it.'

(4-176) Yu gat *eni bendij?*  
 2:PL ASSOC any bandage  
 'Do you have any bandages?'

#### 4.2.7 COMPARISON WITH TRADITIONAL AUSTRALIAN LANGUAGES

Of the verbs described in this section, *git* 'become' and the stance verbs have equivalents in TA languages which are either grammatical or semantic. Very few TA languages have any copula verb, though there is evidence for one recently developed in Walmajarri. It is the verb *nguna* 'exist' which is used when tense or aspect needs to be marked in verbless clauses.

(4-177W) Nyantu *pa* *purlka*  
 3:SG:S AUX:3:SG:S big  
 'He is big.'

(4-178W) Nyantu *pa* *purlka ngunang-an-a*  
 3:SG:S AUX:3:SG:S big exist-continuous-present  
 'He is big (right now).'

Dixon says of this verb, 'It is probably cognate with *ɲu(u)- ~ ɲuna- ~ wu- ~ wuna-* 'to lie down' in other languages ... We can suggest that in an earlier stage of the language 'lie' was the unmarked term from the system {lie, sit, stand}, being used for 'to stay, settle' and 'to exist' ...; it has now moved one step further to become a copula verb 'to be' (1980:120). In Fitzroy Valley Kriol, *stap* and *bi* are both used parallel to Walmajarri *nguna*. The difference here is that *nguna* can be used in the present continuous form specifying that the state is ongoing at the time of speaking as in (4-178W), but in Kriol the present is always zero realisation. In Kriol, *stap* seems to have displaced *leidan* which is one of the set of three stance verbs in eastern dialects.

(4-179W) *Nyantu pa purlka nguj-a*  
3:SG:S AUX:3:SG:S big exist-PST

(4-179K) *I bin bi bigwan*  
'He was big.'

(4-180W) *Luka nyanarti pa karntaly-jinyangu nguja*  
mud that AUX slippery-very exist-PST

(4-180K) *Det mad bin stap slipriwan*  
'The mud was slippery.'

The customary tense brings out the existential meaning of *nguna* as in (4-181W) and (4-182W). Here it parallels Kriol *stap* 'stay'.

(4-181W) *Mana-nga pa- $\emptyset$  ngun-iny*  
tree-LOC AUX-3:SG:S exist-customary

(4-181K) *I stap la mana*  
'It (the animal) lives in a tree.'

(4-182W) *Kuwarniya pa- $\emptyset$  ngun-iny martuwarra-rla*  
alligator AUX-3:SG:S exist-customary river-LOC

(4-182K) *Wan eligeita stapin la riba*  
'There is an alligator at the river.'

The stance verbs are used in many TA languages as existential verbs which indicate physical orientation. Some sentences from Walmajarri illustrate this and serve as a comparison with Kriol.

(4-183W) *Ngamaji pa-ji Debi-nga kirrarnani*  
mother AUX-1:SG:DAT Derby-LOC was:sitting

(4-183K) *Mai mami bin jidan la Debi*  
'My mother was living in Derby.'

(4-184W) *Ngurtti-warnti paja pa-lu rudas-ja karrinyani*  
car-PL many AUX-3:SG:S roadhouse-LOC were:standing

(4-184K) *Bigmob motika bin jandap la rudas*  
'There were a lot of cars at the Roadhouse.'

Git 'become'. Almost all TA languages have a derivational inchoative affix which is added to a nominal root or stem to derive an intransitive verb (Dixon 1980:434). The Walmajarri inchoative is *-jarri* and it can be added to nominals and lexemes from other word classes deriving intransitive verbs. Some of the semantic combinations are paralleled in Kriol with *git*. Examples are presented according to the word classes from which verbs are derived in Walmajarri.

#### Adjective

(4-185W) *kuli-jarri-wu pa*  
anger-INCHO-FUT AUX:SG:S  
'He became angry.'

Compare this with Kriol Ascriptive transform.

(4-185K) *I garra git wail.*

#### Allative case

(4-186W) *Ngurra-ngkurra-jarri-nya pa*  
camp-ALLATIVE-INCHO-PAST AUX:3:SG:S  
'He arrived at the camp.'

Compare this with Kriol Locative transform.

(4-186K) *I bin git la kemp.*

#### Temporal

(4-187W) *Pukanyja-jarri-nya ma-rnapangu*  
night-INCHO-PAST AUX-1:PL:EX:DAT  
'Night fell. (Lit - it became night for us.)'

Note the use of dative case here as shown in the cross-referencing in the auxiliary. Compare this with Kriol Ambient transform.

(4-187K) *I bin git naitaim bla wi.*

## CHAPTER 5

### THE MORPHEME *JELP*

The morpheme *jelp*, probably derived from English 'self', does not give any information about the type or mode of action but about the participants involved. It normally follows immediately after the verb but is analysed as a separate word because it can be separated from the verb by an object NP as in (5-1) and it can be fronted when topicalised as in (5-2).

- (5-1) *I bin ged-am wan bulutang jelp*  
3:SG:S PST get-TR IND:SG blue:tongue REFL

'She caught a blue-tongue lizard without any help.'

- (5-2) *Jelp i bin opun-um-bat*  
REFL 3:SG:S PST open-TR-ITER

'The door opened itself (an unlikely event).'

The basic meaning carried by *jelp* is participant exclusiveness, i.e. the participant(s) referred to in the subject NP are the only participants in the action described. This results in three types of participant involvement: reciprocal, reflexive and restrictive. Figure 5.1 displays these three with subdivisions. The number of participants is significant, so these are shown on the vertical parameter. As there is no contrasting form for reflexive and reciprocal, there is potential ambiguity in some situations. However, a knowledge of the semantics of the verb plus cultural information enables a correct interpretation in the majority of cases. In the chart, X means that there is a structure of this kind found in the language. They will be described as presented across the chart.



FIGURE 5.1 FUNCTIONS OF JELP

Number of Subject	Reciprocal Agent = Patient/goal	Reflexive Agent = Patient/goal	Restrictive		
			Agent Exclusive	Minus Causal Agent	Agent Individual
Sing.	—	X	X	X	—
Dual	X	X	X	X	X
Plural	X	X	X	X	X

There are several pronunciations for this morpheme: *jelp* at the 'heavy' end of the continuum and *self* at the 'light' end. Others are *jel*, *sel*, *selp*.

In both reciprocal and reflexive functions *jelp* replaces one of the arguments which is co-referential with the subject. Depending on the valency of the verb, this replaced argument can be the object, a dative phrase or a locative phrase. Only when the second argument encodes a semantic role of patient or goal can it be co-referential with the subject. This excludes the ablative and associative phrases as well as some functions of the dative, purposive and locative, e.g. source, range and locative roles. The identity of the replaced argument is not shown formally because *jelp* is not preceded by the identifying preposition. It can be known only by the roles typical for each verb.

### 5.1 RECIPROCAL

Only when two or more participants are involved can *jelp* have a reciprocal meaning. With two-place transitive verbs, the participants of the subject (agent) are co-referential with the object and the meaning of this construction is that the participants are performing the action directed toward each other. If the semantic role of the object is that of patient, the meaning is that the participants acted on each other and affected each other as in (5-3) and (5-4). If the object is encoding a goal role it means that the participants directed the action toward each other without necessarily affecting each other as in (5-5) and (5-6).

(5-3) *Mela bin drand-am-bat jelp*  
1:PL:EX PST sink-TR-ITER REFL  
'We were ducking each other in the water.'

(5-4) *Dupala bin tjeis-im-bat jelp*  
3:DU PST chase-TR-ITER REFL  
'They two (cars) were travelling together, passing each other.'

(5-5) *Dupala kid samaram jelp*  
3:DU child level REFL  
'The two children are approximately equal in age, height etc.'

(5-6) *Wi bin enser-am jelp na*  
we PST answer-TR REFL EM  
'We were able to converse with each other by this time.'

In his description of Diyari (a language of South Australia), Austin makes a comment about participants in a reciprocal structure which applies also to Kriol: 'When the NP in S function refers to more than two (i.e. plural) it does not follow that every member is acting upon every other member of the set of referents! (1978:178). In (5-3), every member of the group did not necessarily give and receive a ducking.

The intransitive speech verbs such as *agumen* 'dispute, argue' take a locative phrase to encode the role of goal as in (5-7) and *jelp* replaces the locative phrase.

(5-7) *I bin agumen la mi*  
 3:SG:S PST dispute LOC 1:SG:0  
 'He argued with me.'

(5-8) *Dupala bin agumen jelp*  
 3:DU PST dispute REFL  
 'They argued with each other.'

With three-place verbs there are semantic restrictions as to which argument can be co-referential with the subject. With verbs of transfer and speech the subject is normally human and so the co-referential argument is necessarily human also. With most verbs this removes any potential ambiguity of reference.

(5-9) *Dei gibirr-im jelp mani*  
 3:PL give-TR REFL money  
 'They give each other money.'

(5-10) *Mela bin tel-im-bat jelp stori*  
 1:PL:EX PST tell-TR-ITER REFL story  
 'We told stories to each other.'

For verbs which have three arguments with animate reference the object takes precedence for co-referentiality.

(5-11) *I bin jamanjam olabat langa pulijmen*  
 3:SG:S PST accuse :3:PL LOC policeman  
 'He accused them to the policeman.'

(5-12) *Dupala bin jamanjam jelp*  
 3:PL PST accuse REFL  
 'The two accused each other.' NOT-the two accused someone to each other.

(5-13) *Dei bin bleim-im jelp langa det gardiya*  
3:PL PST accuse-TR REFL LOC that European

'They accused each other (made accusations against each other) to the European.'

Transitivity of the verb is unchanged and the majority of reciprocal clauses are transitive.

## 5.2 REFLEXIVE

The reflexive function of *jelp* can be found in transitive clauses with any number of participants. The subject is co-referential with the object, dative or locative phrases and the meaning is that the participant(s) is acting on, or on behalf of, himself/herself. As with reciprocal, the argument which is co-referential with subject is replaced by the morpheme *jelp* and transitivity is unchanged. Two examples of transitive verbs where the object as patient is co-referential with subject are given below.

(5-14) *Mindupala bin weten-im jelp la riba*  
1:DU:EX PST wet-TR REFL LOC river

'We two splashed water on ourselves to cool off at the river.'

(5-15) *Dei bin trabul-um jelp, tumaj dei bin stil-ing*  
3:PL PST trouble-TR REFL because 3:PL PST steal-PROG

'They caused trouble for themselves, because they had been stealing.'

Reflexive actions can include such unlikely acts as injuring oneself where the agent is also the patient.

(5-16) *Det wumun bin blidin-im jelp garra biliken la hed*  
that woman PST bleed-TR REFL ASSOC billy LOC head

'The woman hit herself on the head with a billycan until she bled (in mourning).'

Intention is usually implied though accidental self injury can be included, provided the patient was actually an agent. The next example comes from text where the speaker tried to hit a goanna and missed, striking her own foot.

(5-17) *Ai bin hit-im jelp langa fut*  
1:SG:S PST hit-TR REFL LOC foot

'I hit myself on the foot.'

Uncontrolled events such as a stubbed toe are not described with reflexive as in English 'I kicked my toe' but the source of the injury is encoded as grammatical subject (see also 3.1.7).

(5-18) *Ston bin nak-am mi*  
stone PST hit-TR 1:SG:S

'I stubbed my toe on a stone. (Lit - a stone hit me.)'

Some transitive perception verbs where the subject encodes an experiencer role can be reflexivised.

(5-19) *I bin faind-im jelp la rong pleis*  
3:SG:S PST find-TR REFL LOC wrong place

'He discovered that he was lost. (Lit - found himself at the wrong place.)'

(5-20) *Det wumun bin fil-im jelp pein-ing blanga yapa*  
that woman PST feel-TR REFL pain-PROG DAT child(W)

'The woman became aware of labour pains.' (Lit - felt herself paining for the child.)'

The euphemistic verb for death occurs with reflexive. The verbs used to refer to human death are *lus* 'die (intr)' and *luj-um* 'be bereaved (tr)'. The latter places the bereaved relative as grammatical subject and the one who dies as grammatical object.

(5-21) *Wi bin luj-um det olmen*  
we PST lose-TR that old:man

'The old man (our relative) died.'

This verb when used with reflexive perhaps implies an untimely death as in the next example where the situation described is of a woman who was about to receive treatment from a medicine man. He made this prophecy should the treatment not be given.

(5-22) *I garra luj-um jelp bifo wik*  
3:SG:S POT lose-TR REFL before Sunday

'She will probably die before Sunday.'

Margaret Sharpe gives a similar example for the Ngukurr dialect in her article of 1975 (p.9):

*Olmén bin lujim mijalb*

'The old man died' (Lit - 'lost himself'.)

Ambiguity between reciprocal and reflexive is possible where there is more than one participant. However, most can be interpreted by a knowledge of the culture or by the semantics of the verb.

(5-23) *Dei bin peint-im-bat jelp*  
3:PL PST paint-TR-ITER REFL

'They were painting themselves and each other (as in preparing for a corroboree).'

(5-24) *Dupala bin jamanjam jelp*  
3:DU PST accuse REFL

'The two accused each other.' OR

'The two accused themselves (confessed).'

Although *jelp* is not preceded by a preposition in reciprocal/reflexive constructions described so far, there is one situation where it can be. That is the adnominal function of {*blanga*}. Participant exclusiveness is retained but the co-referential phrase is not an argument of the verb, but an embedded phrase within an argument (object in all examples).

(5-25) *Wi kin ab-am lil kut blanga jelp*  
we can have-TR little court DAT REFL

'We can have our own small court.'

Co-referentiality with the adnominal dative allows for some participants in the subject and dative phrases to be different, provided the subject referent is included in the dative phrase.

(5-26) *Ai bin bay-im motika bla mindupala jelp*  
1:SG:S PST buy-TR car DAT 1:DU:EX REFL

'I bought a car for us two (exclusive) only.'

### 5.3 RESTRICTIVE

When the reference is to the exclusiveness of participants in the subject, *jelp* is used in both transitive and intransitive clauses. This function can be subdivided into three: that which excludes the possibility of any participant other than those referred to in the subject, that which excludes any possibility of an agent involved in the action, and that which focuses on the individual action of each participant. There is no co-referential argument in restrictive function. Transitivity is unchanged and the object NP occurs.

### 5.3.1 AGENT EXCLUSIVE

The term agent is used here according to Longacre's definition, 'The animate entity which instigates a process or which acts; an inanimate entity which acts (e.g. an astronomical body or the semiautonomous machine). Agents either instigate a process... or perform an action' (1976:28). It, therefore, can include subject of transitive and intransitive verbs. Any number of participants is possible.

- (5-27) *Det wumun rid-im-bat kard jelp*  
 that woman read-TR-ITER card REFL  
 'That woman works out the score of her hand of cards without any help.'
- (5-28) *I bin brend-am det burluman jelp*  
 3:SG:S PST brand-TR that cattle REFL  
 'He alone branded the bullock.'
- (5-29) *Dupala bin jidan jelp*  
 3:DU PST sit REFL  
 'They two sat alone, away from others.'
- (5-30) *Dej duw-um jelp nau*  
 3:PL do-TR REFL now  
 'They do the work without supervision now.'

### 5.3.2 MINUS CAUSAL AGENT

Where it is desired to highlight that there was no agent involved in the event or process but that it was accidental or 'just happened', *jelp* is used. This often applies to inanimate referents and can include such things as an engine with an automatic starter. If the process is in focus rather than the absence of an agent, the structure with *git* 'become' is more appropriate (see 4.2.3).

- (5-31) *Det shuga kan pinij jelp, sambadi maiti bin teik-im*  
 that sugar NEG complete REFL somebody might PST take-TR  
 'The sugar couldn't just disappear. Somebody must have taken it.'
- (5-32) *Det doa bin opun jelp bla mi*  
 that door PST open REFL DAT 1:SG:0  
 'The door just opened as I was about to go through it.'

(5-33) I        *bin foldan jelp*  
3:SG:S PST fall REFL

'He fell accidentally (no one pushed him).'

In one example, participant exclusiveness refers to the object and not the subject.

(5-34) B... *bin jendam Ng... jelp*  
(name) PST send (name) REFL

'B... sent Ng... alone.'

It is probable that this verb with its human object is one of few which allow object exclusiveness. It is not possible in sentences such as (5-28) which can only mean 'He alone branded the bullock' not 'He branded the bullock only'. To express emphasis of the object as English reflexive pronouns do, Kriol is more likely to use the emphatic particle *na* as in (5-35).

(5-35) I *bin brendam det burluman na*

'He branded that very bullock.'

There may be an implied emphasis in the Agent Exclusive and Minus Causal Agent structures. This can be illustrated by the apparently redundant use of the emphatic affix from *Walmajarri* in (5-36).

(5-36) I        *kin bomit jelp-arni*  
3:SG:S can vomit REFL-EM(W)

'He will certainly vomit (if he keeps gorging himself).'

English forms are optionally used in some examples by some speakers. They are *ijelp* 'itself', *imjelp* 'himself, herself', *yujelp* 'yourself', *maijelp* 'myself'.

(5-37) Det *wota bin fil-im-ap imjelp*  
that water PST fill-TR-up REFL

'The water filled the vessel without any help (a dripping tap).'

(5-38) I        *bin bi la bek imjelp*  
3:SG:S PST COP LOC back REFL

'He was alone in the back (of the truck).'

Children of Primary School age sometimes use these forms for emphasis the same as in English, 'I've never been there myself' (see Text B-5,6).



(5-39) *Yu-1 dai yujelp*  
2:SG-POT die REFL

'You yourself will die (if you kill your totem animal).'

### 5.3.3 AGENT INDIVIDUAL

The third restrictive type differs from all others in that it has an obligatory reduplicated form *jelpjelp* or *jelp-en-jelp*. Its meaning is that the participants (two or more) each acted individually. The two forms have no contrasting meaning but may be stylistic and are in free variation in these examples. There can be no ambiguity between this and unreduplicated structures.

(5-40) *Det shuga bin pinij, tumaj dei bin teik-im jelp-en-jelp*  
that sugar PST complete because 3:PL PST take-TR REFL-and-REDUP

'The sugar is all gone, because they each came and took some.'

(5-41) *Dei bin tok jelp-jelp*  
3:PL PST talk REFL-REDUP

'They each spoke in turn.'

An interesting sentence can be made from (5-41) by reduplicating the verb also. Reduplication of the verb normally implies multiple actors or repeated actions. In the next example the reduplicated verb implies plural participants and the reduplicated reflexive indicates separate actions.

(5-42) *Dei bin tok-tok jelp-jelp*  
3:PL PST talk-REDUP REFL-REDUP

'They were in separate groups, all talking within their groups.'

The underlying meaning of reduplication in Kriol seems to be one of plurality. This use of it in *jelpjelp* for focus on participants acting individually is not out of keeping with the concept of plurality, because separate actions involve plural participants and therefore plural actions. An example from another word class will help illustrate this.<sup>11</sup> In (5-43) the lexeme *meit* indicates that they were in pairs and the reduplication shows that there were many pairs separated from each other.

(5-43) *Orla boi bin go meit-meit langa riba*  
PL boy PST go mate-REDUP LOC river

'The boys walked in pairs at the river.'

Compare this with reduplicated *jelp*.

- (5-44) *Dei bin go fishing jelp-jelp*  
3:PL PST go fishing REFL-REDUP

'They split up and went fishing separately.'

#### 5.4 COMPARISON WITH TRADITIONAL AUSTRALIAN LANGUAGES

According to Dixon the reflexive/reciprocal morphemes in most TA languages are derivational affixes on the verb. Reflexive 'can only be added to a transitive root, and derives an intransitive stem' while reciprocal is the same except that it must have a subject NP which refers to two or more participants (Dixon 1980:433). 'In many languages the verbal affix which signals reflexive can also have a wider syntactic effect, being used also to mark an 'antipassive' construction' (Dixon 1980:434). With this information only, it appears that Kriol is radically different from TA languages. However, he goes on to say, 'There are a few languages, scattered over the continent, that do not have any reflexive (or reciprocal) verbal affix. Instead, a reflexive construction can involve a special reflexive form of the appropriate pronoun, rather like in English (e.g. he cut himself). In Gumbaynggir, reflexive is shown by a regular transitive sentence with A and O NPs that have identical reference; the reflexive marker *-w* may optionally be added... In Western Desert there is a special bound clitic that signals reflexive or reciprocal (the choice effectively depends on the number of the S NP)' (Dixon 1980:434).

So Kriol *jelp* does share features with a few TA languages. It is not a verbal affix, transitivity is unchanged, and a single form is used for both reciprocal and reflexive. All of these features can be demonstrated from Walmajarri. It has a single morpheme *-nyanu* suffixed to the verbal auxiliary which equates (for this purpose) with the Western Desert enclitics. Although the NP is deleted where it is co-referent with the ergative NP (except where a body part needs to be specified), there is no change in the ergative case marking so transitivity is considered unchanged.

- (5-45W) *Pinya pa-lu-nyanu piyirn-warnti-rlu kuli-ngu*  
hit AUX-3:PL:S-REFL man-PL-ERG anger-ERG

'The men hit each other as they fought.'

- (5-46W) *Lani ma- $\phi$ -nyanu kanyji mangul-jarti-rlu*  
speared AUX-3:SG:S-REFL thigh spear-COMIT-ERG

'The man speared himself in the thigh (in mourning).'

Walmajarri also allows co-reference between the ergative and dative noun phrases. Here the reflexive morpheme *-nyanu* signals co-referentiality of the subject and noun phrase in dative case. (Both are identified by

cross-referencing in the auxiliary.) This parallels the Kriol reflexive use of *jelp* described at the end of 5.2 where I have analysed the dative as functioning adnominally. Compare a Walmajarri and Kriol example.

(5-47W) *Kamparni pa-lu-rla-nyanu kuyi nganpayi-warnti-rlu*  
cooked AUX-3:PL:S-DAT-REFL meat man-PL-ERG  
'The men cooked meat for themselves.'

(5-48K) *Wi kin abam lil kut blanga jelp*  
'We can have our own small court (a small court for ourselves).'

TA language influence on Kriol can be seen in the use of one form for both the reflexive and reciprocal functions. It applies also in the Bamyili dialect according to Steffensen (1979:123) but Sandefur, writing about Ngukurr-Bamyili dialects, describes separate morphemes for each: *mijelb* 'reflexive' and *gija* 'reciprocal' (1979:93f). (*Gija* has not been heard at Fitzroy Crossing and attempts to elicit it have been fruitless.)

The use of reflexive/reciprocal morpheme to mark restricted participants is not referred to by Dixon. In my own description of Walmajarri, I was unable to explain some sentences adequately because of the lack of examples. 'The reflexive in intransitive sentences is not often heard, and its meaning is difficult to define' (Hudson 1978:69).

(5-49W) *Purrku-jarrinya pa-lu-rla-nyanu piyirn-warnti*  
old:man-became AUX-3:PL:S-DAT-REFL man-PL  
'The men grew into old men.'

If *-nyanu* is analysed as having a restrictive function similar to Kriol, this example could be understood to mean 'The men grew up (in a group) separate from other people.' OR 'The men grew up in different places.'

Others have had similar problems in analysing TA languages. McKay has described Rembarrnga, a language from Arnhem Land. At the end of his discussion on reflexive/reciprocal forms McKay gives a set of examples 'where the REFLEX form appears to lack a full reflexive or reciprocal sense' (1975:285). For some of these it seems feasible to attempt a restrictive interpretation. The older Kriol dialects at Ngukurr and Bamyili also have the restrictive function. Sandefur's (1979:91ff) and Steffensen's (1979:122f) descriptions include examples of this for the morpheme *mijelb* 'reflexive' though they don't describe it as I have done.