

Grammatical
and
Semantic
Aspects
of
Fitzroy Valley Kriol

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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.

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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	Walmajarri
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 TWO
SEMANTIC ASPECTS

INTRODUCTION

In translating from one language to another, one is faced continually with choosing lexemes from the receptor language which are the nearest possible equivalents to those in the source language. As well as this, grammatical and phonological transference and choice of the correct speech act must be considered. Lyons gives an example of the difficulties of translating the simple sentence, 'The cat sat on the mat' into French. In regard to the lexeme for 'mat' there are several possible choices because of the denotational non-equivalence of the lexemes in the two languages. 'Is it a door-mat that is being referred to ('paillasson'), or a bedside mat ('descente de lit'), or a small rug ('tapis')—not to mention various other possibilities? There is a set of lexemes in English, 'mat', 'rug', 'carpet', etc., and a set of lexemes in French 'tapis', 'paillasson', 'carpette', etc.; and none of the French words has the same denotation as any one of the English lexemes. Each set of lexemes divides, or categorizes, a certain part of the universe of domestic furnishings in a different way; and the two systems of categorization are incommensurate' (Lyons 1977:238).

Similar problems exist in translating between Kriol (or Adult Pidgin) and English. However they are often obscured by the fact that the lexicon of Kriol is based almost entirely on English words and so Kriol appears to be a variety of English. When English speaking people come into contact with Kriol and Adult Pidgin they are immediately impressed by the phonological differences but soon 'tune in'. However, grammatical differences are more subtle and are often not seen as differences so much as mistakes in what is usually understood by English speakers to be an attempt to speak English.

The choice of a lexeme can also be seen as a mistake, when the Kriol or Adult Pidgin speaker uses a word in an apparently inappropriate context. Two common effects of this are miscommunication and loss of respect on the part of the English speaker for the intelligence of the Kriol speaker. An example of this is the incident when a Kriol speaker approached the hospital staff for help saying, *Mai waip bin dran la riba* 'My wife sank in the river'. Hearing this within the context of English, the nursing staff assumed that *dran* equated with 'drown' and called for police to bring the body to the morgue. They were subsequently astonished to find the man's wife sitting alive and well on the riverbank. The reaction, as it was expressed to me, was that the man was thought to be not too bright if he didn't know that his wife was not really dead. Kriol *dran* denotes an event in relation to the surface of a liquid. It does not give any information about the state of the entity which is affected. This affected entity can in Kriol be human, animate and it can *dran* in any form of liquid, e.g. a biscuit can *dran* in tea. The boundaries of meaning of English 'drown' and Kriol *dran* can be seen to be quite different yet there is an overlapping common core of meaning shared by the two lexemes.

Examples of similar misunderstandings in the Law Courts have been recognised by the Commissioner for Community Relations. In his Report on Racial Discrimination in 1979 he said, 'It has been established that Aboriginal English is a distinct language variant but is almost never interpreted by others present. The assumption is that the court understands Aboriginal English perfectly and that the Aboriginal has equal facility in standard and even legal English. This is an inadequate assumption in a multilingual society. Anglo-Australians believe they understand Aboriginal English completely because it uses English words, yet the words often have a different content of meaning.... In the absence of a proper interpreter service covering the full range of Aboriginal languages, I recommend that Aboriginal English should be explicitly recognised in the court system by acknowledging the need for it to be interpreted like any other language.'¹² Assumed knowledge of the etymology of a Kriol word does not assure an accurate interpretation of its meaning.

To provide a thorough comparison between a Kriol lexeme and one from English or Walmajarri, an analysis of the internal semantic structure of each lexeme as well as the external semantic relationship it has to other lexemes in the same language would be needed. Analytical methods are available such as componential analysis described by Nida, or Wierzbicka's explications using the semantic primitives of natural language. A study such as these would have provided far more explicit definitions than the glosses here are able to do. However, in this second part of the monograph I have chosen to give many lexemes which can illustrate the types of semantic change that have taken place rather than to concentrate on the detailed analysis of a small number of lexemes.

The next chapter deals with problems in assigning etymons to Kriol lexemes and includes examples of lexemes of uncertain derivation with alternative etymons offered for some. A small group of Walmajarri lexemes which seem to have been borrowed into Kriol are included here. Chapters 7 and 8 consist of lexemes with their meanings, illustrative sentences, grammatical and other notes. Those described in Chapter 7 are grouped according to concepts which originate with either Walmajarri or English. The individual lexemes illustrate the adjustments of meaning that have been made as the form has been taken from English into Kriol. Lexemes in Chapter 8 exemplify those for which meaning contrast with English words can be seen in terms of grammatical function or possibilities of co-occurrence with other lexemes. The grouping of lexemes in these three chapters does not reflect clear-cut categories in the language but has been made for ease of description. There is potential for overlap in places and at times one lexeme could have been described in more than one section. Reference to Walmajarri and English is made throughout, wherever either of these languages provides a reference point for description of a Kriol lexeme. Walmajarri has been chosen here, as in Part One, because it is the one of which I have personal knowledge. If a possible English etymon is given with examples, it follows the English gloss and is preceded by the letter E. Where a Walmajarri lexeme is also relevant, this follows the English and is preceded by the letter W. Unless otherwise stated the gloss for the Walmajarri word is not known to be different from that given for Kriol.

CHAPTER 6

ETYMOLOGY

6.1 DIFFICULTIES WHICH ARISE IN ASSIGNING ETYMONS

The etymology of Kriol lexemes is of great interest to many, scholars and non-scholars alike. Assigning an etymon to a Kriol lexeme is attempted to some extent by most English speakers who come into contact with the language. But to ascertain the correct source of a lexeme many factors must be considered, two of which are the neutralisation of phonemes and lexical conflation.

6.1.1 HOMOPHONY

The neutralisation of phonemes when lexemes are taken from English into Kriol allows for a great deal of potential homophony. As described in Section 2.1 (Figure 2.3) there is no contrast between stops and fricatives in the basilect or 'heavy' Kriol. This is compounded by the lack of voicing contrast and the limited distinction of only five vowels. Large numbers of English words can therefore transfer into Kriol with a single phonological shape in some instances. Homophony would be expected with the following group of English words which all neutralise to one form, approximately *bet* in Kriol; pet, bet, vet, pat, bat, fat, vat, bed, bad, pad, fad. Some of these words—bet, vet, pat, pad, fad—have never been taken into Kriol to my knowledge. With others, confusion is avoided by the use of different Kriol lexemes for these concepts; 'pet' is in Kriol *kwayitwan* (E: quiet one), 'vat' would be *bakiti* (E: bucket), 'bed' is a *bangk* (E: bunk), 'bad' is *nugud* (E: no good), and the animal 'bat' (probably a flying fox) has a TA language name which would mostly be used. This leaves only 'fat' to equate with *bet*. Although this is an over-

simplification, it reveals that the language does have means for preventing confusion by massive homophony.

Grammatical devices are sometimes used to avoid homophony. The verb *bak* 'buck' has been limited in transitivity to avoid homophony with a swear word *bak-am* (derived from English 'fuck'). *Bak* 'buck' can only function intransitively and the goal of the action is encoded in the locative phrase.

Det hos bin bak la mi

'The horse bucked with/at me.'

Without knowing for each lexeme how Kriol has avoided homophony, an English speaker would have no certain way of identifying the meaning and source of words such as *bet* and *bakam*. A sentence such as *I betwan tharran keingguru* could mean that the animal is fat, bad or a pet. Indeed examples could be cited of misinterpretation of this very sentence.

6.1.2 CONFLATION

A second difficulty in ascertaining the etymology of Kriol words is caused by lexical conflation. Muhlhäusler, describing conflation with regard to the lexicon of New Guinea Pidgin (1979:218ff), gives three different types which can be distinguished in that language:¹³ (1) two phonologically and semantically related lexical items in English can be subsumed under a single item in the pidgin; (2) a single lexeme may have derived from both English and German where each had a lexeme similar in form and meaning; (3) it is possible for there to be chance similarity of form and meaning between lexemes in Melanesian languages and those in European languages and these can both contribute to the formation of one pidgin lexeme. For Kriol there is no likelihood of the second type of conflation since there has been only one superstratum language, but both the others can be illustrated.

There are a few words from TA languages that have chance similarities of form and meaning with an English word.¹⁴ Two Kriol words which illustrate this sort of conflation are *kan* 'can't' and *lukartam* 'look after'. *kayan* is a negative in Walmajarri which is used to express inability. This is claimed by one fluent Walmajarri speaker to be a borrowing from English 'can't' but its function within the Walmajarri modal system denies this (see Hudson 1978:82). Kriol *kan* then could be considered conflation. *Lukarti-karra* in Walmajarri means to guard, watch over something either for the good or harm of the entity being watched. The similarity to English 'look after' suggests that the Kriol *lukartam* has had influence from both languages. Conflation from two lexemes in English is much more likely than these chance correspondences. The Kriol verb describing the

action of spurring an animal when riding in a rodeo is *reikim* but in fast speech the storyteller of Text C pronounced it as *rakam*. This could have come from either or both English words 'rake' and 'rock'. A better example is given by Rumsey in an interesting unpublished article where he quotes data from Fitzroy Crossing. He points out that the lexeme *jigrid* could be from either 'secret' or 'sacred' since nearly everything sacred in Aboriginal society is restricted to certain people and so is also secret.

There are a large number of lexemes for which the etymology is fairly obscure. For example there is in Kriol a transitive verb *bidrum*, which means 'to spread something flat (usually on the ground) for a person or thing to lie on it'. Phonologically the most likely English etymon would be the noun 'bedroom'. However there is another semantically more likely word 'spread', which involves several phonological changes: the loss of initial /s/, the insertion of a vowel after the bilabial stop, metathesis of the consonants /r/ and /d/ together with deletion of the vowel /e/; and the addition of the final sequence /um/ which looks like the transitive marking suffix except for its lack of harmony with the previous vowel (see 2.3.1). This vowel harmony is present in another verb, *pridimat* 'to scatter, spread thing(s) over a flat area'. Some local opinion expressed to me was that both *bidrum* and *pridimat* come from English 'spread', so this could be an instance of conflation. Another Kriol verb, *pajoba* 'to gain supremacy where a clash of wills has occurred', provides difficulties in assigning an English etymon as it could have come from several: 'pass over', 'boss over', 'fuss over' to name a few. As it does not seem to occur in the Northern Territory dialects, it is possibly derived from or conflated with a Kimberley TA language word. The examples in Rumsey's article include suggested etymologies which brought completely new suggestions to my mind. He links 'cheeky' and 'sticky' as possible origins for Kriol *tjiki* which I gloss 'savagely, dangerous'. Others he links are *dejim* from 'taste' and 'test', *lau* from 'allowed' and 'law', *bidim* from 'beat', 'feed', 'spear' and *jinik(ap)* 'sneak' and 'snake'.

In view of the issues raised above, I hesitate to make claims about the etymology of individual words. However, in the next two chapters a possible etymon is given for most Kriol lexemes. These are offered as educated guesses allowing that better alternatives may be suggested.

6.2 LEXEMES DERIVED FROM WALMAJARRI

The speech of Kriol speakers from a Walmajarri background is set off from those of other backgrounds by the frequent use of Walmajarri words. These are in the main common words which have well established Kriol equivalents, such as *manga* 'girl', *parri* 'boy', *kunyarr* 'dog' and do not warrant inclusion in the Kriol lexicon. A few words however have been heard

frequently and are used by people from various language backgrounds. Where my language teacher could give no English derived Kriol word as an equivalent I have included the Walmajarri form in the lexicon. As there are only five of these in the data all are given below.

pirrki 'hot coals'

Dei bin kukum dempa la pirrki

'They cooked the damper on the coals.'

munda 'belly, abdomen'

Yu garra putum hatwan ston langa munda

'You put the hot stones in the belly (of the kangaroo to cook it).'

This is used in many Walmajarri idioms which express emotions but not so much in Kriol.

yaraba (exclamation)

This comes from Walmajarri *yara pa* which is literally 'He/she/it is well'. If spoken deliberately with low pitch and stress on each syllable it can have an illocutionary force of insolence. Examples given are placed in the context of verbal exchanges which were recorded between two speakers.

A. *Faya bin bern mi*
'I burned myself (at the fire).'

B. *Yarab*
'That's too bad.'

A. (adult) *Don pujumbat mi. Ai mait foldan.*
'Don't push me, I might fall.'

B. (child) *Yaraba*

A. - (a tirade of fast abuse)

mangei; parrei (exclamations) 'very good, excellent'

W: *manga* 'girl'; *parri* 'boy'

The last syllable is typically stressed, lengthened and has high pitch. There is a possible meaning difference implied by the choice of one or other of these exclamations but none shows up in the data. Two occurrences

of *parrei* were uttered by girls talking in groups when no boys were present.

Borrowings. Kriol often borrows the main meaning-bearing morpheme from Walmajarri compound verbs (which in Walmajarri cannot be isolated) to express a fine point of meaning when a suitable Kriol word eludes the speaker. In Kriol these take full verbal status and can be inflected for aspect. The next two lexemes are examples of this.

wil 'disappear, move out of sight suddenly' (intr)

En wen i bin tern, i bin wil. I bin ting yuno, i bin jes ting yuno, i bin jes wotna - i bin jes wil.

'And when it turned, it disappeared. It --- you know, it just --- you know, it just - what's that word - it just disappeared.'

dilaj 'persistently demand one's own way, pester either by requesting or refusing a request from someone else' (intr)

Wan boi bin dilajbat langa is mami fo mani til i bin pajoba

'A boy pestered his mother for money till he got it.'

Dei dilaj jelp wen dei abam fait

'They each demand their own way when they fight.'

6.3 LEXEMES OF UNCERTAIN ORIGIN

For many Kriol words the etymology is obvious. With nouns like *mit* and *gowena* there is little doubt that they are from 'meat' and 'goanna' respectively. For some there is no obvious meaning change, e.g. 'rain' > *rein*, 'river' > *riba*, 'eat' > *idim*, yet it is surprisingly difficult to find lexemes that have exact equivalence of both form and meaning. Although the etymology of all words presented here is somewhat speculative, there is a small group of words which either have no immediate resemblance to anything in English or Walmajarri or about which I am unwilling to commit myself to a suggested English etymon.

sama 'level, together'

Dupala bin sama en thrri bin bi biyain

'Two were (travelling) together and three followed behind them (on motor bikes).'

samaram 'close together, draw level with another, resemble in size or appearance' (tr)

Wi bin samaram nathalat langa geim

'We drew level with the other team (a draw or beaten by only one point).'

pajoba 'gain supremacy where a clash of wills has occurred'

Det boi bin pajoba langa mi

'The boy persisted until I gave in to him.'

jamanjam 'challenge, blame, accuse'

(This could be from English 'summons'.)

I bin jamanjam olabat langa pulijmen

'He informed on them to the police.'

Orla kid jamanjam jelp

'The children pass the blame to each other.'

stendaram 'stun, cause head to spin' (tr)

(My language helper defined this word as *Nakum ata sens*. (see Text C-50.)

*Det tu men bin fait en det nathawan bin stendaram det men en
det men neba git a lukin*

'Two men were fighting and one stunned the other so that he couldn't fight back.'

saltamap 'chase, head off, cause to change direction as dogs and horses do when working with cattle'

(A homonym, *saltamap*, means to salt meat in order to preserve it. This no doubt derives from English 'salt'.)

Detlat dog bin saltamap wan dog from natha kemp

'Those dogs chased the other dog to keep it away from the camp.'

yawarda; timana 'horse' (The English derived *hos* is used also.)

gugunja 'sheep'

bibi 'caterpillar'

gardiya

'a European or European-looking person'

bogi

'bathe'

In a short but interesting article in 1937, Worms lists 'foreign' words which were then in use in the language of Aborigines of the Kimberleys. He includes *yawada* for horse and *gogonda* ~ *gogondyai* for sheep as words for which he could not trace any origin. Elkin, the editor of the volume, suggests in a footnote that *yawada* may be from the term *yaraman* which is said to have come from N.S.W. and carried by whites. Elkin's suggestion for *gogonda* is that it may have been taken from the name 'Gogo', then a sheep station (and now a cattle station) south of the Fitzroy River. Similarly, *bogi* is said to have come from one of the languages near Port Jackson and carried north by whites (Ramson 1970:43).

Playing cards have become central to the life of many, and a rich and expressive vocabulary is used in the gambling ring. A few of the game titles are from English, such as *poka* 'poker', *trikkard* 'trick card' and *jeilgeim* 'jail game' but others are not so obvious.

barruk

'a common gambling game based on poker'

jarru

'a gambling game centred on the spade suit'

tungkaj

'combination of cards giving a score of 12'

wanai

'combination of cards giving a score of 11'

CHAPTER 7

LEXEMES AND ASSOCIATED CONCEPTS

7.1 CONCEPTS FROM WALMAJARRI TRANSFERRED TO KRIOL FORMS

Often where the meaning of an English word is extended in its Kriol counterpart, this can be explained in terms of the semantics of TA languages as with the verb *dran* (described in the Introduction to Part Two) which can be translated in all contexts by the Walmajarri verb *yurranti*. This is supported by evidence from a study of the meaning changes that occur when a morpheme is borrowed from a European language into a pidgin or creole. The work was done by George Huttar and results published in 1975. He took 20 polysemic root morphemes from Djuka, a creole in Surinam, and compared them with 43 languages: 13 of them were pidgins or creoles and 20 were other languages. His aim was to determine the extent to which their range of meanings in other languages are shared with Djuka. The results (which he admits are tentative) do not support the theory that such changes are due to the nature of the process of pidginisation and creolisation. Neither do they support the theories of semantic universals or monogenesis, but they suggest that the major factor is the linguistic background of those who speak languages other than the dominant one. Kriol speakers come from a linguistic background of TA languages and the influence from one of these, Walmajarri, is illustrated in the lexemes presented in this chapter. They are grouped according to broad categories of taxonomy, kinship, descriptives, attention and perception verbs, and terms relating to traditional Aboriginal culture.

7.1.1 TAXONOMY

In taxonomy, some Kriol terms have taken the English classification, but in most the traditional classifications are found. This results sometimes in a broadening and sometimes a narrowing of reference in the Kriol terms from that of English. A few Kriol lexemes referring to foods are given to illustrate this. The type of change in the first lexeme (*mit*) is clearly one of extension, and narrowing is illustrated in the second (*taka*). *Lisid* and *gowena* are adjusted to fit the edibility category of Walmajarri and *sneik* and *frog*, which retain the English generic meaning, are included here as counter-examples and to illustrate other means by which Walmajarri distinctions are maintained in Kriol.

mit 'meat, edible game'
E: meat W: *kuyi*

A basic distinction of edible versus inedible is lexicalised in many TA languages with edible foods being marked by separate generic terms. This is maintained in Kriol and the component of edibility is included in the word *mit* which refers to any edible game, dead or alive (kangaroo, goanna, etc.) as well as fresh meat bought in a store. For some speakers *mit* also includes egg as does the Walmajarri *kuyi*. The egg is usually eaten along with the female animal, not after it has been laid. Here the meaning of *mit* has been extended from that of animal flesh used as food to include any game that is potential meat.

taka 'edible vegetable product'
E: tucker W: *miyi*

Cutting across the dichotomy of edible/inedible is a different one which contrasts animal and vegetable food, so that Walmajarri has a noun *miyi* to describe vegetable food and *kuyi* can only refer to meat (and egg). Kriol has applied this same meaning 'vegetable food' to the noun *taka* and the English meaning of 'tucker' referring to food in general is narrowed by Kriol to exclude meat.

lijid 'inedible lizard'
E: lizard W: (no equivalent)

TA languages have names for the various species and there are no generic terms for some categories which are recognised in English. For instance there is no equivalent in Walmajarri for the generic 'lizard'. Kriol has, in part, taken this generic categorisation from English but retained the distinction of edibility. Thus we get *lijid* referring to any lizard which is too small to eat, and *gowena*, a second generic noun, is used for those larger ones which are hunted and eaten.

Orla kid bin pleibat garra lijid.

'The children were playing with a small lizard.'

gowena 'large edible lizard'

E: goanna W: *kakaji*

The term *gowena* includes all lizards which are edible and excludes the skink. (A bluetongue is neither *lijid* nor *gowena* but has its own name *bulutang*. It is classified as *mit*.) The species names are often needed for specific reference since these animals play an important role in the life and diet of the Kriol community and TA language terms are used here, e.g. Walmajarri *wirlka* '(Gould's) sand goanna', *kakaji* 'printi, bungarra'. The Walmajarri term usually equated with *gowena* is *kakaji* though it denotes only one of the species included in the term *gowena*.

sneik 'snake'

E: snake W: *jilpirtijarti*

Walmajarri identifies each species of snake with a different name and contrasts poisonous from non-poisonous by the descriptive *kulipari* 'dangerous, apt to harm'. Many snakes are edible, but the poisonous and edible distinctions are not parallel and those which are edible are subsumed under the generic term *kuyi*. The literal meaning of Walmajarri *jilpirtijarti* is 'having intestines' and is used to refer to all snakes. Kriol uses *sneik* as an equivalent to *jilpirtijarti* and the edible/in-edible contrast is not lexicalised though edible snakes are categorised as *mit*. The poisonous/non-poisonous distinction is made by adding the descriptives *tjikiwan* 'dangerous, apt to harm', or *poisinwan* 'poisonous' in contrast to *kwayitwan* 'tame, harmless'.

frog 'frog'

E: frog W: (no equivalent)

There are many edible species of frog which are all distinguished in Walmajarri by different names subsumed under the generic *kuyi*. Other frogs are used for bait or just avoided as is the common green frog. These have no generic term but each is known only by its species name. As with *sneik* Kriol has not lexicalised the distinctions of edible/in-edible and uses the one term *frog* for all. Where a distinction needs to be made for specific reference, either the appropriate TA language word is used, or a descriptive phrase or word.

Wi go luk fo bigwan frog so wi kin idim.

'Let's go and look for some big frogs to eat.'

Wi gedam beit lilwan frog.

'We'll get small frogs for bait.'

7.1.2 KINSHIP

Kinship terms which derive from English are used frequently. However, these few terms are quite inadequate for a culture which has such complexity in this area. The result is that TA language terms are used for all kin relationships which require more specification. As the influence of Western culture has increased, the young people have paid less attention to the traditional culture and it is not surprising that an area requiring much effort to learn, such as kinship, should be among the first to be put aside. Some have learned the traditional system and for them the Kriol terms equate with lexemes in their TA language but others have taken the Western system and use the terms as in English to apply to the nuclear family. For this latter group the Kriol terms equate with English ones so they are not defined here. The examples below illustrate the Kriol terms as they are used by those who equate them with the TA language lexemes.

mami 'mother' (vocative and referential)
E: mummy W: *ngamaji* ~ *ngama*

matha (referential only)
E: mother W: *ngamaji*

This term refers to mother, mother's sisters and all females who belong to the same subsection.¹⁵

dedi 'father' (vocative and referential)
E: daddy W: *ngarpu*

fatha (referential only)
E: father W: *ngarpu*

Father, father's brothers and all males in the same subsection are included here.

anti 'father's sisters and other females in her subsection'
E: aunty W: *pimiri*

angkul 'mother's brothers and other males in his subsection'
E: uncle W: *kaka*

Anti and *angkul* are not normally used to qualify a proper noun as in 'Aunty Mary' but they can be used that way following English.

TA languages often distinguish siblings according to age but Kriol does not. However it does extend the range of meaning of sibling terms beyond the immediate family to include all people of the same sex who belong to the same subsection.

- bratha* ~ *baba* 'brother of a male or female and other males in the same subsection'
E: brother
W: *papaji* 'older brother', *ngaja* 'younger sibling'
- sista* 'sister of a male or female and other females in the same subsection'
E: sister
W: *ngapurlu* 'older sister', *ngaja* 'younger sibling'
- kasin-bratha* 'cross cousin - mother's brother's son, father's sister's son and other males in the same subsection'
E: cousin, brother W: *parnku*
- kasin-sista* 'cross cousin - mother's brother's daughter, father's sister's daughter and other females in the same subsection'
E: cousin, sister W: *parnku*

The male/female distinction between *kasin-bratha* and *kasin-sista* is a little surprising as both English and Walmajjarri make no such distinction here. Note that children of mother's sister and father's brother do not fit in with these 'kasin' terms for they share the same subsection membership as siblings (see *bratha* and *sista*).

7.1.3 TIME AND SPACE

The following set of terms represent temporal and spatial words where the TA language meaning has been embraced by the Kriol lexeme.

- tudei* 'now, today, somewhere in the proximity of the time of speaking - relative to context'
E: today W: *jalarra*

*Ai neba nou autu falaramap gowena, bat wanpala men bin shuwum
mi en tudei ai nou.*

'I didn't know how to track goanna but a man showed me and now I know.'

fran : 'ahead, in front of, first'

E: front W: *kajalurni*

Mela bin go garra motika. Pingali bin stap fran en
1:PL:EX PST go ASSOC car (name) PST stay front and

ai bin stap biyain.
1:SG:S PST stay behind

'We went by car. Pingali sat in the front and I sat in the back.'

Yu garra putum apsaiddan, en if wan antap-wei la
2:SG POT put upside:down and if one above-DIR LOC

yu fingga, yu garra putum la fran.
2:SG hand 2:SG POT put LOC front

'You turn your hand palm down, and if one (of the knuckle-bones) lands on the back of your hand, you (turn your hand up and) catch it in the palm of your hand.'

biyain 'behind, later, after, in relation to one's back'

E: behind W: *wartangurni*

Det parri bin slip-in biyain-wei langa yu.
that boy(W) PST sleep-PROG behind-DIR LOC 2:SG

'The boy is sleeping at your back.'

Wi bin jidan biyain-wei langa motika.
we PST sit behind-DIR LOC car

'We sat in the back of the car.'

Some spatial terms are used in Kriol for temporal reference as well as spatial, in the same way that Walmajarri combines spatial and temporal reference. Both *fran* and *biyain* are illustrated in the next sentence.

Det pitja bin stat fran en wi bin kam biyain.

'The film started before we arrived.'

7.1.4 ATTENTION AND PERCEPTION VERBS

The Kriol verbs *luk* and *lijin* have taken on the concepts from Walmajarri *nyaka* 'look, see' and *pinakarri* 'hear, listen, understand' respectively and with these Kriol lexemes, the contrast between a potential or actual result of the activity is made grammatically. Along with these, there

are alternative transitive verbs *siyim* and *eram*. All are listed below with the preposition which typically encodes the goal role (see 3.1.3 Examples 3-51ff).

Potential result	(intr)	<i>luk</i> + { <i>blanga</i> }	-	<i>lijin</i> + { <i>blanga</i> }
Actual result	(intr)	-	-	<i>lijin</i> + { <i>langa</i> }
	(tr)	<i>lukum</i> + object	-	<i>lijinim</i> + object
	(tr)	<i>siyim</i> + object	-	<i>eram</i> + object

The range of meaning between the two transitive verbs *lijinim* and *eram* is easy to define as only the former includes the concept of understanding. However the other pair, *lukum* and *siyim*, are very similar and appear to be synonymous.

luk 'look, look for' (intr)
 E: look W: *nyaka*

I bin luk bla is matha.
 'He looked for his mother.'

lukum 'look at, see' (tr)
 E: look W: *nyaka*

I bin lukum is matha.
 'He saw his mother.'

siyim 'see' (tr)
 E: see

Wi bin siyim wan faya barning la hil.
 'We saw a bushfire burning on the hill.'

lijin 'listen for, take notice of, understand' (intr) (see
 also Text E-6, 17,18)
 E: listen W: *pinakarri*

Ai bin lijin bla det motika.
 'I listened for the car.'

Wi bin lijin la det men.
 'We listened to the man.'

lijinim 'hear, listen to, understand' (tr)

E: listen W: *pinakarri*

Wi bin lijinim det men.

'We listened to the man.'

Det men kan lijinim Inggris

'The man can't understand English.'

eram 'hear' (tr)

E: hear

Ai bin eram det motika kaminap.

'I heard the car coming.'

The lexeme *najing* can be used in Kriol where *jakarr* 'in vain' is used in Walmajarri. It carries the meaning that the activity was carried out but the result was negative. (It can be used with other verbs which have an anticipated result such as *tjakam* when used to describe the action of casting a fishing line but catching no fish. See 2.2.3 for an example of this.)

Wi bin luk najing bla yupala.

'We looked unsuccessfully for you.'

I bin lukum najing, no pipul la kemp.

'He didn't find anyone (Lit - looked unsuccessfully):
there were no people in the camp.'

Ai bin lijin najing la det teiprikoda

'I listened unsuccessfully to the tape recorder (it doesn't
work properly).'

Compare these with a Walmajarri example.

Jakarr ma-rna-ø nyanya nganpayi
in:vain AUX-1:SG:S-3:SG:0 saw man

'I looked unsuccessfully for the man.'

There are two other verbs which are of interest here because of the parallelism of meaning with a Walmajarri verb.

faindim 'find, notice, catch sight of'
E: find W: *parlipungka*

This verb is primarily used to describe an activity resulting from effort as when one has searched for something and found it.

Wi neba faindim gowena tudei.

'We didn't find a goanna this time.'

A common situation for the secondary non-volitional meaning is when a small baby who is still learning to focus its vision appears to look intently at someone in a group. This causes great excitement and the usual comment in Walmajarri is *Parlipinya manta* 'He noticed you' or in Kriol, *I bin faindim yu*. The next example also illustrates this meaning.

Ai bin faindim lil Rona nau.

'I just noticed little Rona (being carried past by her mother).'

bilibim 'believe, take notice of, obey' (tr)
E: believe W: *mapunikarra*

The meaning of *bilibim* is extended from the mental attitude of belief to include an active response of obedience to someone.

I bin bilibimbat det najawan boi tu stil.

'He took notice of the boy and joined him in stealing something.'

Wi bin eram Mista P... bat wi neba bilibim.

'We heard what Mr. P... said but we didn't obey.'

7.1.5 CULTURE-SPECIFIC LEXEMES

Some events specifically related to the Aboriginal culture are lexicalised in Kriol. Each of these has a direct semantic equivalent in Walmajarri.

teikapleis 'fight on behalf of someone else in their defence, physical or verbal; stand in for someone else who has been wronged, usually a relative' (intr)
E: take place W: *purntukangka*

*Ai bin teikapleis blanga mai doda, en det najawan bin nakam
mi garra stik.*

'I stood in for my daughter (who had been insulted or at-
tacked) and the other one hit me with a stick.'

skwerambek 'reciprocate, retaliate, payback by the same means-blow
for blow' (tr)

E: square W: *purtayan* 'reciprocally'

Skwerambek det kid.

'Retaliate by doing it back to the child.' (mother advising
her crying child)

trabul 'trouble, problem, difficulty'

trabulum 'cause trouble for someone by an action which places the
relative in danger of a reciprocal vicarious attack' (tr)

E: trouble W: *kujikarra*

Orla kid bin meiking trabul langa kemp.

'The children were causing trouble for people in camp.'

I bin trabulum blanga im matha.

'By his actions he caused his mother to be in danger from
someone else.'

owumbek 'give a gift in return for a gift received but not for a
favour'

E: owe back W: *purtayan* 'reciprocally'

Equality of size or monetary value is not in focus (though it can include
repayment of a loan of money).

*Det men bin gibim is nyuwan motika langa is bratha, en is
bratha bin owumbek im garra is ol motika.*

'The man gave his new car to his brother to use and his
brother repayed it by letting him use his old car.'

jumok 'smoke (as a fire smokes)' (intr)
jumokam 'smoke something as a cigarette; put into smoke as a cure or for protection' (tr)
 E: smoke W: *ngunyjurrikarra* 'place in smoke'

Wen det beibi lilwan, det mamiwan i jumokam jelp.

'When the baby is only newborn the mother places herself in the smoke (to ensure a good milk supply and stop bleeding).'

Dei jumokambat taka, kulus, haus.

'They smoke food, clothes, a house (after death).'

7.2 CONCEPTS INTRODUCED THROUGH ENGLISH

With the arrival of Europeans came many things that the Aborigines had never before seen or even heard of. As well as terms to refer to the objects themselves, words were needed to describe the different activities that came with them. The TA languages were able to accommodate these by either extending the meaning of existing lexemes (Walmajarri *lani* 'pierce' was used for 'write') or by creating new words from combinations of morphemes (Walmajarri combined *ral* + *purru* 'hair + purposive' to describe a comb). But for some, the English word was borrowed and remained the only lexeme for that concept. These introduced concepts, of course, form an integral part of Kriol and the words selected to describe them sometimes provide glimpses into a world view very different from that of Western Society.

7.2.1 NEW ITEMS

This first group of words are nouns which refer to introduced items.

supsup 'thick soup, stew made from meat and vegetables'

E: soup

medijin 'a preparation used for internal and external application to cure illness; a liquid with a strong smell such as disinfectants and detergents'

E: medicine

raining geit 'cattle grid'

E: running gate

<i>tinamit</i>	'meat from a can either of the camp pie or stew variety' Reference is to the meat not to the tin. E: tin of meat
<i>aiglaj</i>	'spectacles' E: eye glass
<i>pigipigi</i>	'pig' E: pig
<i>papap</i>	'puppy' E: pup
<i>jukjuk</i>	'domestic fowl' E: chook
<i>nenigut</i>	'goat' E: nanny goat

Some animal names are reduplicated, others not. Ngukurr dialect uses the reduplicated form also for *kapikapi* 'calf' and *danggidanggi* 'donkey' but the forms at Fitzroy Crossing are *kap* and *dangki*. Steffensen, speaking about the Bamyill dialect, says that these reduplicated nominals occur 'almost exclusively in the language directed to infants and young children' (1979:127), but it is my observation at Fitzroy Crossing that each word has the same form regardless of the presence of children. Possibly there has been a diminutive aspect about these forms in the past but today they seem to be the standard Kriol names for the animals.

7.2.2 NEW CATEGORIES

New categories of humans were introduced also, and Aborigines and Europeans are distinguished by the terms *blekpala* and *gardiya* with a special term *misis* for European women. As the Aborigines adapted to station and town life, a distinction between them and those who were still unlearned in the ways of the European was lexicalised in the term *bushmen* which now is used to refer to an animal which is not part of a herd controlled by man, e.g. wild donkey or horse.

Various industries have had their influences on the way of life and the language. The cattle industry provided the concept of a *kila* (E: killer) which is the beast killed and butchered for local consumption. It is often used to refer to fresh beef but never to the flesh of locally killed game. Unbranded cattle are referred to as *klinskin* (E: cleanskin)

and when tape recorders became available through stores, the term was extended to include a cassette with nothing recorded on it. Miners cut seismic lines through the bush. These are called *katlain* (E: cut line) and have become local geographical reference points.

7.2.3 NEW ACTIVITIES

The routine of a working day had in it three features, *dina* 'hot midday meal including meat' (E: dinner), *sapa* 'evening meal, usually damper or bread' (E: supper), *kapardi* 'mid-work tea break whether or not tea is drunk' (E: cup of tea). The break from the routine was on Sunday which day is now called *wik* (E: week) and an *alidei* refers to 'time taken from a regular routine, either a vacation from work or a trip to a different place' (E: holiday).

The women were introduced to a new skill once clothes became part of life. Any form of sewing, either creation of a new garment or mending of an old one is referred to as *mendam* 'sew' (E: mend). Nurses brought relief from pain with their new medicines and most miraculous was the injection, lexicalised in the verb *nidilim* 'to inject' (E: needle).

The canvas groundsheet with blankets spread on top became the standard portable bedding. Each morning blankets, clothes and other valuables were rolled up together in a certain manner with the canvas as the outer covering and it became the swag. This way, property was protected against weather and dogs and served as a seat if needed. The action of rolling the swag is in Kriol *xulumap* (E: roll up). This is probably a new concept in that the Kriol word is also a loan word in Walmajarri and has no equivalent in the traditional vocabulary.

Housing, electricity and running water brought doors, taps and switches of various kinds. To gain access by means of these the verbs used are *opunum* 'open, turn on' (E: open) and *jarramap* 'close, turn off', (E: shut off).

I bin opunum det lait

'He turned the light on.'

A new economy where money is needed to buy material goods has led to many new words, two of which are *tjakin* (E: chuck in) and *meil* (E: mail). (Both syllables receive equal stress in *tjákin*.) *Tjakin* is the money collected from voluntary contributions for use in community related projects and *meil* refers to income received by cheque, which normally arrives in the mail.

7.2.4 CONCEPT AND FORM MISMATCHED

Sometimes an English word has been associated with a concept related to but different from that which it means in English. This mismatching results in some unexpected meanings of Kriol lexemes.

gildi 'murderer, one who has caused the death of another by physical violence or other tribally recognised means'
E: guilty

The story is told of the man who was charged in Court with a minor offence and when asked if his plea was guilty or not guilty, he indignantly replied that he had never killed anyone.

king 'the best one (can refer to a leader, or to the strongest one of a group)'

Dijan da king.

'This (the bullock) is the strongest and biggest.'

kwesjinmak 'surprise, amazement, question mark'

E: question mark

Perhaps the first two meanings have come from reading comics where the use of a question mark indicates an attitude such as that in the next sentence.

I bin luk garra kwesjinmak.

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

pulijmen flai 'bush fly'

E: policeman fly W: *limpa*

An interesting meaning transfer concerns the name for a particularly unpleasant insect. The Walmajarri name for this insect is *limpa*. It looks like a fly and is reputed to bite the eye, causing a very uncomfortable infection called *bangai* (E: bung eye). When the Walmajarri first met up with the police their experiences were not pleasant, for the police were known mainly for their activities of taking people by force to the cattle and sheep stations or to gaol. Various names were used in the TA languages for police. Among them in Walmajarri were *tarrpartarnujuwal* 'the one who is always grabbing' and *limpa*, the biting insect. Others in the area carried primary meanings of 'chaining horseman', 'severe looking', 'fierce', 'sour' and 'salty' (Worms 1937). The term *limpa* is the most common in use today among the Walmajarri, and an interesting lexical back

formation has taken place in Kriol. The lexeme seems to have been re-analysed with 'policemen' as the primary meaning and the Kriol name for the insect is now *pulijmen flai*, while *limpa* is still known and used as the Walmajarri name for the insect. (Worms assigned the meaning 'sour, salty' to Walmajarri *limba*.)

CHAPTER 8

LEXEMES INVOLVING GRAMMATICAL AND COLLOCATIONAL CHANGES

Lexemes presented in this chapter are those which can be described in terms of grammatical and collocational changes that have taken place between English and Kriol. Grammatical change means that the primary meaning of a lexeme is similar to that of its English derivative but Kriol has assigned it different grammatical features. These include change of word class, transitivity, and valency. Collocational changes refer to the types of meaning transfer which enable different co-occurrence of lexemes, e.g. a transitive verb in English may take only an animate noun in its object but the Kriol parallel includes inanimate nouns in the object. There is some overlap between these grammatical and collocational changes as will be seen in some words particularly those dealing with change of valency.

8.1 GRAMMATICAL CHANGES

8.1.1 WORD CLASS

Kriol verbs, like those of TA languages, provide a fruitful area for semantic study. Many Kriol verbs are derived from lexemes of other word classes, frequently nouns. Sometimes Kriol retains the stem in both word classes as with the noun *taka* 'food' and the verb *tagat* 'eat'. This feature of multifunctionality as a means of word formation is widespread in pidgins and creoles (Mühlhäusler 1974:103). Examples are given of several Kriol verbs which appear to come from word classes other than verbs in English.

aut-um 'extinguish a fire' (tr)

E: out

Autum det faya garra wota.

'Put the fire out with water.'

toitj-im 'shine a light on something, usually with a flashlight'

E: torch

Wan men bin toitjimbat mela garra toitj.

'A man kept shining his torch on us.'

jelis-im 'envy, resent what someone else has and act to get it for oneself'

E: jealous

I bin jelisim det gel bla is boifren.

'One girl envied the other because of her boyfriend and set out to get him for herself.'

kapiket 'copy another person's action, make a copy of an entity as in printing'

E: copy cat

Dei garra kapiket dis buk la Peth.

'They will print this book (from MSS) in Perth.'

8.1.2 TRANSITIVITY

Kriol lexemes derived from English verbs are generally put into the intransitive verb category and a transitive verb formed by inflection (2.3.1). Those derived from strictly intransitive verbs in English and which are transitivised in Kriol provide surprises for the English speaker. The basic meaning is often not altered but an entity in a goal or patient role is encoded as object, resulting in a slight shift of meaning.

blidin 'bleed' (intr)

E: bleed

Wan boi blidin la kemp.

'A boy is bleeding (from an injury) in the camp.'

blidin-im 'cause to bleed, draw blood' (tr)

E: bleed

Det boi bin blidinim mi garra stik

'The boy hit me with a stick and drew blood.'

flai 'fly' (intr)

E: fly

Tu tarrki bin flai tharrei.

Two turkeys flew that way.

flay-im 'brush away, knock off something with a fast action causing it to fly through the air' (tr)

E: fly

Wen dei git wail dei flayim eniting laik tjeya, kap, pleit.

'When they get angry, they'll throw anything such as a chair, cup or plate.'

I bin flayim mai hen.

'He knocked my hand away.'

endap 'end up, reach an end point' (intr)

E: end up

Det said la riba mela bin endap no petirl.

'At the river there we ran out of petrol.'

endamap 'conclude, bring to an end' (tr)

E: end up

Dei bin endamap det fens la riba.

'They finished making the fence at the river.'

8.1.3 VALENCY

Some lexemes derived from English transitive verbs are also transitive verbs in Kriol, but the valency may differ by having an additional argument (*bleim*) or by a difference in the correlation of the semantic role and the argument which encodes it (*filimap*, *rabam*).

bleim ~ bleimim 'inform against, accuse, blame' (tr)

E: blame

The one informed against (patient) is encoded as object and the locative phrase encodes the one who is informed (goal).

I bin bleimim mi langa det sista bla gibimbat im rongwan medijin.

'He told the nursing sister that I had given him the wrong medicine.'

Don bleim mi, ai garra go langa outel.

'Don't tell anyone that I've gone to the hotel.'

filimap 'put something into a vessel' (tr)

E: fill up

The vessel (goal) is encoded in a locative phrase and the entity transferred into the vessel (patient) is the grammatical object.

Ai bin filimap det wota langa det bakit.

'I put water into the bucket.'

The patient role can also be encoded as subject.

Det wota bin filimap det bakit.

'The water is (dripping from a tap) into the bucket.'

The receptacle is sometimes not stated overtly though one is implied. In the next example it may be a hand, skirt or flour bag.

Mi en Polin bin filimap plendi ngalungurru.

'Pauline and I gathered a lot of *ngalungurru*(W) fruit.'

Complete fullness is not in focus here, neither is it excluded. To express complete filling of something the adjective *fulap* is used. Both sentences below are acceptable but the second is preferred, probably because the complete filling of the river bed is essential to the concept of flood waters and the verb lacks that component.

Det fladwota bin filimap det riba.

'The floodwaters filled the river bed.'

Det fladwoata i fulap la riba.

'The river is about to burst its banks (Lit - floodwaters have filled the river).'

rabam 'steal, rob'

E: rob

The entity which is transferred (patient) is encoded as object.

Orla boi bin rabam blanga mipala motika.

'The boys stole our car.'

In the two examples in the data where the person robbed is specified (as here), a dative phrase functioning adnominally in the object identifies them. There is another verb with identical valency and apparently the same meaning: *stilim* from English 'steal'. A homonym *rabam* 'rub' occurs.

Am peining la mil, tumaj ai bin rabam jelp.

'I have a sore eye because I've been rubbing it.'

8.2 COLLOCATIONAL CHANGES

8.2.1 VERB-OBJECT

Some terms which were acquired through working with cattle or sheep have been extended in meaning to allow entities other than animals to co-occur with them. One such is *majurum* which probably came in through reference to mustering sheep and cattle but has been extended to gathering people into a group, or inanimate things into a heap. Ramson points out that 'muster' is originally a military term but was used in the Sydney area in reference to assembling convicts and it was extended from this to include assembling sheep (1970:41). Kriol again includes reference to humans and has taken it another step beyond its original meaning to include inanimates as well.

majurum 'muster, gather together'

E: muster

Detlat bin majurum jelp fo miting.

'They congregated together for a meeting.'

Ai bin majurumap detlat ston.

'I gathered the stones into a heap.'

katamat 'detach from the whole'

E: cut out (with the meaning of 'detach an animal from the herd')

It can refer to the action of separating off a section using an instrument or separating one entity from a group.

Katamat bla mi tu rib bon en katamat bigmob gats.

'Cut two rib bones and a lot of the intestines for me (when you butcher the animal).'

Wi garra katamat burluman tudei.

'We will be sorting the cattle today.'

Ai labda go en katamat det gel.

'I must go and bring that girl back (from an unacceptable alliance with a boyfriend or group who frequent hotels etc.)'

randamap ~ ranamap 'control the direction something (animal) will go by placing oneself in its path, as for rounding up cattle or sheep; encircle.'

E: round up, run up

*Det dog bin tjeisim gowena, en Lili bin telam mi 'Ranamap!
Ranamap!'*

'The dog was after a goanna, and Lilly called to me, "Cut off its escape (and make it climb the tree where we can catch it)".'

Dei bin randamap tu bois faiting.

'They (the onlookers) encircled the two boys who were fighting.'

8.2.2 IDIOM

tatjam 'touch, have contact with'
E: touch

Morin bin tatjam det berd.

'Maureen touched the bird.'

The primary meaning is to touch with the hand but unlike English, the grammatical object can also be a place and some idiomatic usages have developed around this.

Wi bin kip wokin neba tatjam.

'We kept on walking but still didn't reach our destination.'

Am nat last tu tatjam det pleis.

'I know the place. I'm familiar with it from being there long ago. (Lit - I'm not the last one to touch that place.)'

8.2.3 SEMANTIC CATEGORIES

Many lexemes retain the same word class as their English etymons but the semantic categories may differ. This is illustrated below from nouns and quantifiers.

Nouns. The categories of count and mass merge in some Kriol nouns.

mani 'money, coin'
E: money (mass)

The question words *aumeni* 'how many' and *aumaj* 'how much' can be used to make the count versus mass distinction as in the next two examples.

Aumeni mani yu bin kauntum?

'How much money did you count? (Lit - how many coins).'

Aumaj mani yu garram?

'How much money do you have?'

das 'dust'
E: dust (mass)

Wan das kaminap biyain la yu.

'There's a cloud of dust coming toward you from behind (from a car travelling on a dusty road).'

Similarly the abstract/concrete distinctions are not made in some nouns.

fleiba 'tasty food'

E: flavour (abstract)

This is a recent introduction to the language used by school children in the town. It hadn't reached one of the station schools when I visited there in May 1981. Its reference includes not only an abstract quality of an entity but also the concrete entity itself.

Bigmob fleiba mela garram.

'We have a lot of tasty foods.'

Quantifiers. Lexemes which are used in the noun phrase to express quantity or degree can be grouped on the basis of their collocational potential. This is greater in Kriol than it is for the English counterparts. Those occurring frequently in the data are presented in Figure 8.1. This is not an exhaustive list and is presented only to give a framework in which to describe the semantic categories of some quantifiers. For most there is no contrast between the categories of mass and countable things and in this they differ from English. If the quantifiers and word class can co-occur it is marked on the chart by X. The bracket in Group II indicates restrictions which will be explained later. Examples will be given for only one or two lexemes from each group to illustrate the categories as many of them have been included in examples elsewhere.

Group I lexemes can be used to express quantity or degree.

lilbit 'small, limited'

E: little bit (mass)

Although 'little bit' in English cannot refer to countable entities there is no such restriction for *lilbit* as can be seen from the next example.

Ai bin lukum lilbit elifen, riliwan ai bin lukum.

'I saw a few real live elephants (at the circus).'

Gimi lilbit bet.

'Give me a small amount of fat.' - (See also Text E-17.)

FIGURE 8.1 COLLOCATIONAL POSSIBILITIES OF QUANTIFIERS

Quantifiers	Collocational Potential	Count & Mass noun	Adjective	Directional	Temporal
I <i>lilbit</i> 'small, limited' <i>mo</i> 'more' <i>tumaj</i> 'very much, excessive'	} } }	X	X	X	X
II <i>prapa</i> 'very, genuine' <i>rili</i> 'real, very' <i>nomo</i> 'NEG'		(X)	X	X	X
III <i>no</i> 'NEG' <i>plendi</i> 'much, sufficient, many' <i>lada</i> 'much, many' <i>bigmob</i> 'much, many'		X	-	-	-

The next three examples illustrate degree with adjectives, directionals and temporals respectively.

I lilbit gud det mangarri.

'It's not too bad, the food(W) (maybe too salty).' - (See also Text B-3.)

Wen yupala bin go lilbit longwei, mela bin lukum yu

'When you were walking around a fair way off, we saw you.'

Ai garra teik yu lilbit koltaim.

'I will take you in the cool part of the day.'

tumaj 'very much, excessive; because'

E: too much (mass)

I tumaj lilwan dis motika.

'This car is very small. (We can't take any more people.)'

The lexeme *tumaj* differs from the others in this group for it also serves as a connective, meaning 'because'. The next example illustrates this function.

Ai kan dringkim dis ti, tumaj i swit.

'I can't drink this tea because it's too sweet.'

OR 'This tea is too sweet to drink.'

The lexemes in Group II differ from those in Group I in that they always express degree.

prapa 'very, genuine'

E: proper

With nouns, Group II quantifiers refer to the reality or genuineness of the entity, not the quantity.

Wi bin tagat prapa taka.

'We ate quality food.'

Prapa and *rili* only occur with count nouns when suffixed by *-wan* (nominal) hence the brackets in the chart.⁹

Wi garra siyim prapliwan pitja, nat laiyawan.

'We're going to see a film which is a true story, not fiction.'

Adjectives, directionals and temporals are illustrated in the three examples below.

I bin git prapa wik.

'He got very tired.'

Wi bin go prapa longwei.

'We went a very long way.'

Wi bin stap deya prapa longtaim.

'We stayed there for a very long time.'

Group III lexemes are more restricted in occurrence. The lexemes only co-occur with nouns and always refer to quantity though no distinction is made between count and mass.

bigmob 'much, many'

E: big mob (count)

In English 'big mob' is only used in references to countable items and this contrasts with Kriol (see also Text D-10).

Bigmob kid bin bogibat langa riba.

'Many children were swimming in the river.'

Bigmob wota bin kam raitap langa rud.

'The floodwater came up onto the road.'

CONCLUSION

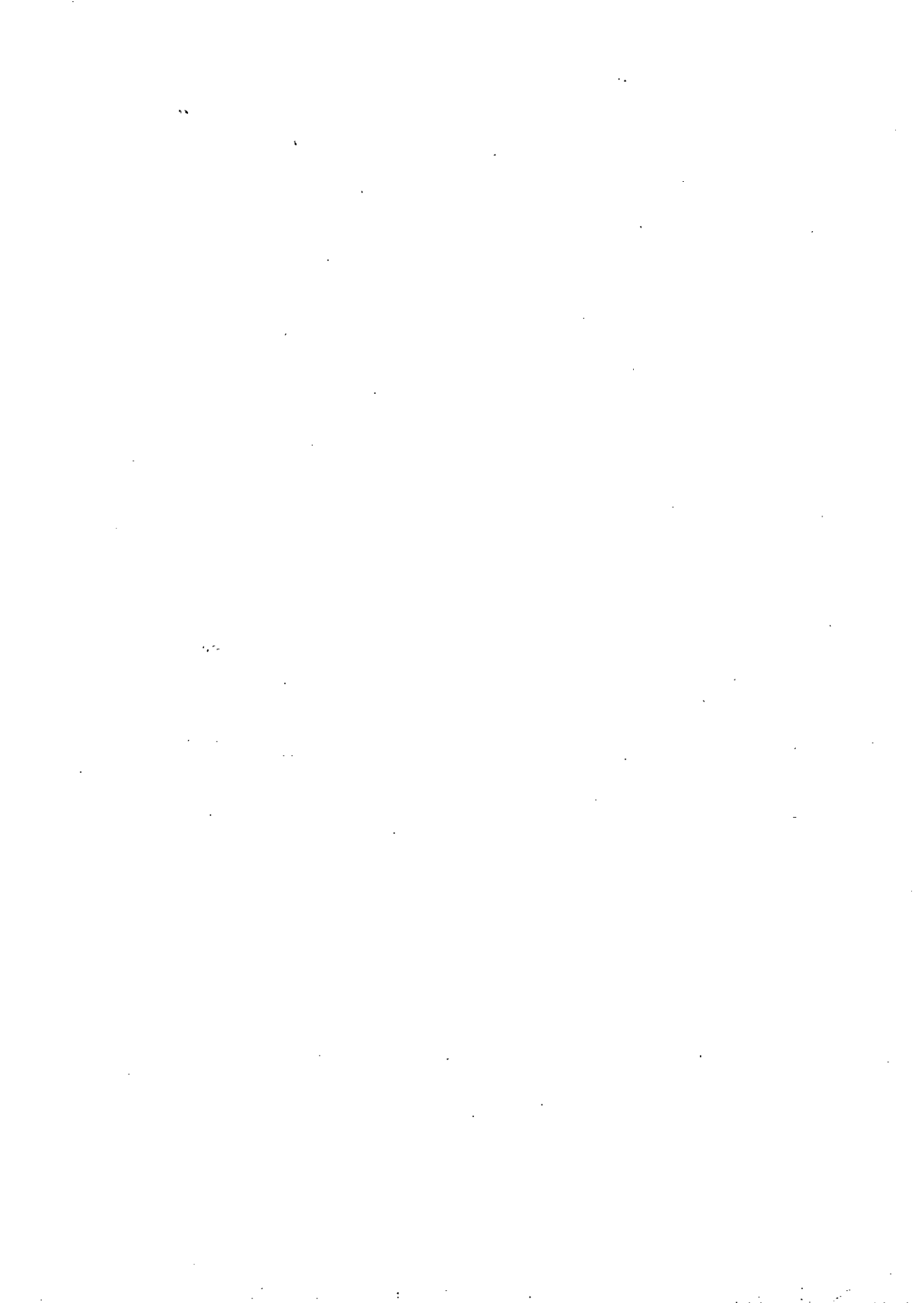
Although this study has covered only some aspects of the Kriol language, it has provided evidence that Kriol is a language in its own right and not a dialect of English. Investigators who speak only European languages will no doubt see the English influence in Kriol as primary but by bringing in the TA language influence I have shown that this is of considerable significance and should not be discounted. It has not been the aim of this study to prove that TA language influence on Kriol is equal to that of English or that Kriol is genetically more closely related to one than to the other. Rather it has been to provide evidence of the unique system of Kriol and thereby encourage linguists, educators and others to stop viewing it through the eyes of English and begin treating it as a separate language worthy of consideration along with TA and migrant languages.

Kriol and TA languages alike have an uncertain future as community languages. Bilingual education programmes in the Northern Territory schools are having a positive effect on preservation of the TA languages involved there. On the other hand influences from English continue to increase as the outback areas are opened up further by industries such as mining and tourism, and English education facilities are continually improved. These influences are very strong in the Fitzroy Crossing area and the arrival of television to the area in the near future will mean increased access to English for all Aborigines, young and old alike. In response to this Kriol could take one of two directions in the future. English may take over and become the first language of the next generation in the same way that Kriol has done for the young people of today. This would result in decreolisation of the language towards the standard as described by DeCamp (1971b). Alternatively, Kriol could be retained and a situation of diglossia develop where the whole community controls both English and Kriol in the way that a small section already does. Of the two possibilities, I believe the latter is the more likely because of the strong tendency towards this already, Kriol being used as a sign of identity within the Aboriginal community.

As for the balance between Kriol and TA languages in the Fitzroy Valley, it appears that Kriol will continue to be used as a first language for the young, though a TA language (particularly Walmajarri) could be retained as a community language, becoming a second language to many Kriol speakers. This is especially likely because of a recent change of attitude among the adults who have become aware that their own languages and culture are being displaced by English influences. Efforts are now being made towards having Aboriginal language and culture taught along with English subjects in community controlled schools. Only two such programmes are currently functioning but if others are able to be implemented, the effects could be far reaching in developing multilingualism

(English, Kriol and TA languages) in the next generation.

It is my hope that the material presented here will help to develop a more positive attitude to Kriol among the wider community and so contribute to better communication between Europeans and Aborigines in the north of Australia.



APPENDIX 1 - KRIOL TEXTS

Five texts are included to illustrate Kriol as it is spoken by people of various age groups. Text A is a story told by an 8 year old girl, B by an 11 year old girl, C by a 12 year old boy, D by a young adult in his late teens and E by a woman in her 30's. All were recorded on tape except Text B which was dictated. Text C was recorded out of hearing of the researcher. Two boys took the recorder and chatted for half an hour in seclusion. This is the fastest of all recorded stories collected and is typical of the speech of males from adolescence to late twenties. The text of 59 sentences is two minutes long. Because of the speed, and lack of access to the storyteller for transcription, the text was edited for presentation here by Diane Brooking but all translation is my own. For the other texts, I have both transcribed and translated them. At times a few words were inaudible and this is shown by three periods. The identity of participants is not necessary for understanding so names of people and sometimes places are shown by the initial letter followed by three periods. Walmajarri loan words are identified by (W) following the gloss.

There are some features of interest in the texts but not described in the analysis. Notes on these are given below.

1. The lexeme *ting* has two different functions. In A-21 it functions as a non-specific noun used when the speaker knows no name for the entity, but in A-25 and 29 it is functioning as a substitute for a specific lexeme which the speaker has in mind but cannot produce immediately. It can substitute for any stem and take the appropriate suffixes as in words such as *ting-bat* where it substitutes for a verb with the iterative aspect suffix. See also C-31 and 6.2. It is glossed 'hesitative' (HES) in Interlineal translation. Its closest equivalent in English would be a colloquial word such as 'whatchamacallit' but in free translation of texts and examples *ting* is shown by --- indicating the hesitation on the part of the speaker. This lexeme is equivalent to one in Walmajarri, *nganayi* (Hudson 1978:86).

yani pajarra nganayi-jarra Mik-jarra
went AUX:1:DU:EX HES-DU (name)-DU

'Mick and I went.'

2. Another morpheme is glossed in two different ways reflecting that it functions in two ways in Kriol. It is *wan* which can be used as a numeral 'one' or as a marker of indefiniteness in the noun phrase. It is always singular, hence the gloss (IND:SG) and contrasts with the lexeme *oxla* which is also indefinite but plural (PL) (see D-2,6; E-9,11).

3. The form *mob* functions both as a suffix and a free form. As a free form it means a group (D-13) and it is probably this same morpheme that appears in the compound *big-mob* meaning 'many, much'. The suffix *-mob*, while semantically sharing components with the free form, has a rather specialised function. It is suffixed to proper nouns and thereby includes those known to be associates of the person named, producing a plural noun (see A-18). Walmajarri has an equivalent suffix *-ngurra*.

Yijayi-ngurra palu pirriyani
(name)-COL AUX:3:PL came

'Yijayi and her family group have arrived.'

4. Joining of two names in a phrase can be done by the 3rd person dual pronoun *dupala* (D-3), or if the second referent is known to both the hearer and speaker this may not be specified as in D-11. Walmajarri uses the dual suffix in a similar way. See also example under Point 1 above.

Yijayi-jarra pila yani kurlirra
(name)-DU AUX:3:DU went south

'Yijayi and her friend went south.'

5. One discourse feature which is typical of TA languages is the use of intonation and repetition to express prolonged action. It is also a feature commonly heard in Kriol. This is the only intonational feature written in these texts and it is shown by a double colon after the lengthened syllable (e.g. *go::*). The syllable receives high pitch and is lengthened to a degree which matches the duration of the action being described. If it took several hours as in the travelling described in Text C (5,6,7 and 12,13,14) both intonation and repetition are used to emphasise the fact. See E-10 for another example.

6. Sentence introducers are used to varying degrees by different speakers. The common forms are *aftadet*, *aftatharran*, *fromde*, *fromtharran*. The last is a literal translation of Walmajarri *nyanarti-jangka* which has a parallel function and the first two are similar to English 'after that'. In Kriol and Walmajarri they tend to be used more frequently than in English. See Texts C-15,24,31,42,58,59; E-2,6,12.

7. Lexemes *luk*, *si* and *yuno* are used as emphasisers by young speakers in much the same way as 'you know' is used in some local dialects of Australian English. See Texts A-4, 27 and C throughout. Where *yuno* is an abbreviation for 'do you know...?' it is glossed 'you know' (A-13).

8. Features of 'light' Kriol can be seen in sentences B-12; C-3, 12, 21; D-6, 19.

9. Two verbs often share an object noun phrase. This is illustrated in C-9.

TEXT A - girl 8 years

This story is typical of those told by children of this age. The story teller is bursting to get the information out and makes false starts as in 10-12 and 24. After 12 she returns to tell the same episode again with more detail. The change of topic at 27 has a logical link because the truck was there when they returned home.

- (1) *ai no ai garra tokabat hampibek-men* (2) *wara luk*
 1:SG:S know 1:SG:S POT talk:about humpback-man EXCL(W) look
- det hampibek tharra* (3) *wot tharran tharr-ei laika* (4) *long-taim yuno*
 that humpback there what that that-DIR like long-time EM
- wen mela bin go tharr-ei la swing-swing mela bin luk-um hampibek*
 when 1:PL:EX PST go that-DIR LOC swing-REDUP 1:PL:EX PST look-TR humpback
- (5) *i bin big* (6) *en mela bin ran fas tharr-ei la Janjuwa ...*
 3:SG:S PST big and 1:PL:EX PST run fast that-DIR LOC (name)
- (7) *en mela bin sei 'wara'* (8) *mela bin ran den* (9) *mela*
 and 1:PL:EX PST say EXCL(W) 1:PL:EX PST run then 1:PL:EX
- bin ran* (10) *P ... bin prei fo mela* (11) *en en i bin*
 PST run (name) PST pray PURP 1:PL:EX and and 3:SG:S PST
- er-am-bat mela hat* (12) *en i bin go* (13) *P ... bin sei*
 hear-TR-ITER 1:PL:EX heart and 3:SG:S PST go (name) PST say
- 'A-1 *lisin la yupala turlpu' hat yuno* (14) *en i*
 1:SG:S-POT listen LOC 2:PL heart(W) heart you:know and 3:SG:S
- bin er-am* (15) *i bin go tuktuktuk* (16) *i bin go rili*
 PST hear-TR 3:SG:S PST go ONOM 3:SG:S PST go really
- fas* (17) *afta-det P ... bin prei* (18) *en det F...-mob bin go*
 fast after-that (name) PST pray and that (name)-COL PST go
- garra is baik* (19) *i bin rip-im garra is blu-wan* (20)
 ASSOC 3:SG:P bike 3:SG:S PST speed-TR ASSOC 3:SG:P blue-NOM
- en ai bin heing-ing la bek* (21) *ai bin hold-am-bat det bek*
 and 1:SG:S PST hang-PROG LOC back 1:SG:S PST hold-TR-ITER that back

ting (22) en mela bin jidan (23) mela bin tel-ing stori (24)
thing and 1:PL:EX PST sit 1:PL:EX PST tell-PROG story

en ai bin sei (25) en mela bin go ting den (26) mela bin
and 1:SG:S PST say and 1:PL:EX PST go HES then 1:PL:EX PST

go bek kemp den (27) si B... yuno i garra trak (28) en i
go back home then EM (name) EM 3:SG:S ASSOC truck and 3:SG:S

garra plendi timana (29) en i garra ting ka laika tharr-an-deya
ASSOC much horse and 3:SG:S ASSOC HES car like that-NOM there

laika det ol-wan bat i garra keliko antap-wei
like that old-NOM but 3:SG:S ASSOC canvas above-DIR

(1) I know I'm to talk about the humpbacked man. (2) [2 and 3 - Interjection by a bystander] Hey. Look at the humpback there. (3) What's that over there? (4) A long time ago, when we were over there at the swings we saw a humpback. (5) He was big. (6) Then we ran fast to Junjuwa ... (7) and we called out 'Help!' (8) We ran then, (9) we kept running. (10) P ... prayed for us (11) and she listened to our heart-beat (12) and (our hearts) went -. (13) P ... said, 'I'll listen to your turlpu.' (That means heart you know.) (14) And she heard it. (15) It went thump thump thump thump. (16) It went really fast. (17) After that P ... prayed. (18) Then F ... and friends rode her bike. (19) She was speeding on her blue bike (20) and I was hanging on behind. (21) I was holding onto the thing on the back. (22) Then we sat down. (23) We were telling stories (24) and I said, - (25) Then we went to --- (26) we went back home then. (27) And you know B ..., he has a truck (28) and he has a lot of horses (29) and he has a car, like that one there, like that old one but it has a canvas top.

TEXT B - girl approx 11 years (dictated)

(1) det kampiny bin bi yelo (2) en i bin bi bran atsaid-wei
that egg(W) PST COP yellow and 3:SG:S PST COP brown outside-DIR

(3) en i bin bi lilbit swit (4) en i bin teist nais (5)
and 3:SG:S PST COP limited sweet and 3:SG:S PST taste nice

en L... bin id-im det kampiny i-self (6) if mai mami
and (name) PST eat-TR that egg(W) 1:SG:S-REFL if 1:SG:P mother

garra ged-am natha kakaji ai garra id-im mai-self (7) det
POT get-TR another goanna(W) 1:SG:S POT eat-TR 1:SG:P-REFL that

kampiny-garra bi kuk fes (8) en afta-tharran ai garra gib-im
 egg(W) POT COP cooked first and after-that 1:SG:S POT give-TR

L... skin seim-wei wen i bin gi-mi fes-taim (9) en wen
 (name) skin same-DIR when 3:SG:S PST give-1:SG:0 first-time and when

L... garra bi nat-ful (10) ai garra laf langa im (11) en
 (name) POT COP not-full 1:SG:S ASSOC laugh LOC 3:SG:0 and

ai garra bi ful (12) en maiti L... garra duw-um seim langa
 1:SG:S POT COP full and maybe (name) ASSOC do-TR same LOC

mi egen (13) if i duw-um wanmotaim ai kan duw-um-bek
 1:SG:0 again if 3:SG:S do-TR another:time 1:SG:S NEG do-TR-back

langa im
 LOC 3:SG:0

(1) The [goanna] egg was yellow (2) and it had a brown skin [soft shell]
 (3) and it was quite tasty: (4) it tasted nice. (6) If my mother should
 get another goanna [with an egg inside] I will eat it all myself. (7)
 The egg has to be cooked first, (8) and after it's cooked I will give
 L... the skin only, which was what she gave me last time. (9) And when
 L... is still hungry, (10) I will laugh at her (11) but I'll be satis-
 fied. (12) Maybe L... will retaliate and do the same thing to me again.
 (13) If she does it again, I won't retaliate a second time.

TEXT C - boy 12 years

(1) mela bin go la M... den garra det ailaks yuno det
 1:PL:EX PST go LOC (name) then POT that (name) you:know that

arinj ailaks (2) en mela bin go gudwei (3) mela bin meikit
 orange (name) and 1:PL:EX PST go good:way 1:PL:EX PST make:it

thru da big riba (4) K... bin put-um la fowildraib (5) mela
 through the big river (name) PST put-TR LOC 4:wheel:drive 1:PL:EX

bin go (6) mela bin kippoun (7) mela bin go (8) mela bin opun
 PST go 1:PL:EX PST continue 1:PL:EX PST go 1:PL:EX PST open

det geit (9) mela bin siy-im imyu bin breikat na (10) mela
 that gate 1:PL:EX PST see-TR emu PST start:to:run EM 1:PL:EX

bin tjeis-im-ap (11) mela bin kil-im na (12) wi bin gow-in ap ta
 PST chase-TR-up 1:PL:EX PST kill-TR EM we PST go-PROG up to

M... (13) wi bin go (14) wi bin gow-in (15) afta-tharran wi bin
 (name) we PST go we PST go-PROG after-that we PST

git la W... krik (16) wi bin go thru ol rod (17) wi bin
 'become LOC (name) creek we PST go through old road we PST

meikit (18) wi bin meikit rait (19) K... bin put-um la
 make:it we PST make:it right (name) PST put-TR LOC

fowildraib bat i neba meikit yuno (20) i neba ab no
 4:wheel:drive but 3:SG:S NEG make:it EM 3:SG:S NEG have NEG

shitibain dan (21) en i bin bog rait dan tu da dif
 sheet:iron down and 3:SG:S PST bog right down to the differential

(22) wel i neba meikit na (23) i bin stak deya (24)
 well 3:SG:S NEG make:it EM 3:SG:S PST stuck there

afta-tharran wi bin wandringran (25) no dina we bin ab-am (26)
 after-that we PST wandering:around NEG dinner we PST eat-TR

en K... bin go la bush (27) i bin faind-im wan bigis
 and (name) PST go LOC bush 3:SG:S PST find-TR IND:SG very:big

wotamelin luk (28) mi B... en J... bin it det wotamelin luk
 watermelon EM 1:SG:S (name) and (name) PST eat that watermelon EM

(29) i bin singat langa mela en nomo blok bin kam la mela
 3:SG:S PST call LOC 1:PL:EX and NEG man PST come LOC 1:PL:EX

(30) wi bin id-im-ap (31) Afta-tharran ting bin kam blekdoa (32) i
 we PST eat-TR-up after-that HES PST come (name) 3:SG:S

bin kam en i bin si as from deya (33) i bin pul ailaks
 PST come and 3:SG:S PST see us ABL there 3:SG:S PST pull (name)

at (34) en wi bin go ab-am prapa dina la M... (35) wen wi bin
 out and we PST go eat-TR real dinner LOC (name) when we PST

kam-bek we bin luk fo orla stokmen na (36) en we bin siy-im (37)
 come-back we PST look PURP PL stockman EM and we PST see-TR

dei bin kam-in-at from ting yuno (38) wi bin go (39) wi bin siy-im-bat
 3:PL PST come-PROG-att ABL HES EM we PST go we PST see-TR-ITER

ting orla stokmen tharrei en das (40) wi bin go en wi bin luk na
 HES PL stockman that:way and dust we PST go and we PST look EM

(41) *wi bin siy-im helikapta majur-in sam burluman* (42) *en*
 we PST see-TR helicopter muster-PROG some cattle and

afta-tharran wan bul bin breikat (43) *wi bin tjeis-im-ap garra*
 after-that IND:SG bull PST start:to:run we PST chase-TR-up ASSOC

ailaks (44) *wi bin tjeis-im-ap* (45) *i bin go-dan la klif* (46) *det*
 (name) we PST chase-TR-up 3:SG:S PST go-down LOC cliff that

big bul bin lid-im-bat detlat buluk en ting bul (47) *det buluk*
 big bull PST lead-TR-ITER those bullock and HES bull that bullock

bin ab-am bigis hon luk (48) *ailaks bin kam en blekdoa bin go*
 PST have-TR very:big horn EM (name) PST come and (name) PST go

grrr (49) *i bin bamp-am luk* (50) *i bin jes stendar-am luk*
 ONOM 3:SG:S PST bump-TR look 3:SG:S PST just stun-TR EM

(51) *wen blekdoa bin bamp-am en i bin drap-am luk* (52) *wi bin*
 when (name) PST bump-TR and 3:SG:S PST drop-TR EM we PST

kat-am hon (53) *wi bin si det helikapta bin wek-am* (54) *we i*
 cut-TR horn we PST see that helicopter PST work-TR REL 3:SG:S

bin tjeis-im det burluman i bin gibirr-im turlturlturlturl
 PST chase-TR that cattle 3:SG:S PST give-TR ONOM

bekweds-wei (55) *i bin git naitaim na* (56) *orla stokmen bin*
 backwards-DIR 3:SG:S PST become night EM PL stockman PST

silip langa B... boa (57) *wi bin stap-in silip-in la B...*
 sleep LOC (name) bore we PST stay-PROG sleep-PROG LOC (name)

boa (58) *afta-tharran wi bin go tu ting kam-bek langa N...* (59) *en*
 bore after-that we PST go to HES come-back LOC (name) and

afta-tharran wi bin go silip
 after-that we PST go sleep

(1) We went to M... then in the Hilux (4-wheel drive utility) you know that orange Hilux. (2) And we went for a long way. (3) We were able to get through the river which was flowing over the cement crossing. (4) K... put the vehicle into 4-wheel drive (to get through). (5) We travelled a long way. (6) We went on and on, (7) we travelled still further. (8) We (stopped to) open the gate. (9) we saw an emu and it started to run. (10) We chased it till we caught up to it, (11) then we killed it. (12) We kept on going to M... (13) We went a long way.

(14) We kept on going. (15) Then we came to W... creek (no cement crossing). (16) We went through on the old track. (17) We were getting through, (18) we continued to move alright. (19) K... put the vehicle into 4-wheel drive but he couldn't get it right through (the boggy place), (20) because he didn't put any iron down to drive on. (21) And the utility was bogged. It sank until the differential was in the mud. (22) Well he didn't make it that time, (23) it was stuck there. (24) After that we just wandered around. (25) We had no dinner. (26) K... went into the bush. (27) He found a very big watermelon. (28) B..., J... and I ate the watermelon. (29) He (K...) called out to us and none of the others came (30) so we ate the lot. (31) After that the other vehicle came, the one we call Blackdoor (a white Holden with one door painted black). (32) It came and they saw us from the new road. (33) Blackdoor pulled the Hilux out of the bog. (34) Then we went and had a proper meal at M... (35) When we came back, we looked for the stockmen (36) and we saw them. (37) They were coming out from _____. (38) We went (39) and we were looking at ---, the stockmen over there and there was a lot of dust too. (40) We went and watched them. (41) We saw the helicopter mustering some cattle. (42) And then one bull broke out from the mob. (43) We chased it in the Hilux. (44) We chased it (45) but it went down the slope (where the utility could not go). (46) That big bull was leading the other bullocks and --- bulls. (47) That bullock had really big horns. (48) The Hilux came up to him and Blackdoor went rrrr. (49) It bumped the bullock. (50) It just stunned it (51) when Blackdoor bumped it then it collapsed (52) and we cut off its horns. (53) We saw the helicopter working. (54) When he was chasing the cattle he would reverse the machine making it go throb throb throb throb. (55) It got dark then (56) and the stockmen slept at B... bore. (57) We stayed there and slept at B... bore too. (58) After that we went to --- we came back to N... (59) And after that we went to sleep.

TEXT D - man in his late teens

(1) *las wik mipala bin go langa Debi garra A... bla motika* (2)
 last Sunday 1:PL:EX PST go LOC (name) ASSOC (name) DAT car

en wen wi bin kam-bek wi bin ab-am dina langa wan winmil (3)
 and when we PST come-back we PST eat-TR dinner LOC IND:SG windmill

en den a bin tel-am A... dupala D... 'wi go luk fo kakaji'
 and then 1:SG:S PST tell-TR (name) 3:DU (name) we go look PURP goanna(W)

(4) *en A... bin sei 'okei wi go garra motika'* (5) *mipala bin go en*
 and (name) PST say okay we go ASSOC car 1:PL:EX PST go and

wi bin git bog (6) *en wi neba ab-am eniting tu get-am-at with*
 we PST become bogged and we NEG have-TR anything to get-TR-att with

ani wan ol jek (7) en D... bin go get-am-bat orla shitibain
only IND:SG old jack and (name) PST go get-TR-ITER PL sheet:iron

(8) en afta-det wi bin tray-im-at bat wi neba bin pul-um-at (9)
and after-that we PST try-TR-att but we NEG PST pull-TR-att

wi bin weit til det wota bin git drai (10) en from-deya mipala
we PST wait until that water PST become dry and from-there 1:PL:EX

get-am bigmob gras put-um andanit la det motika la taya (11) en
get-TR much grass put-TR under LOC that car LOC tyre and

a bin tray-im-at en D... dupala bin lipt-im-ap en push-um
1:SG:S PST try-TR-att and (name) 3:DU PST lift-TR-up and push-TR

seim-taim (12) en wen wi bin meikit wi bin git rili hepi (13)
same-time and when we PST make:it we PST become really happy

en den wi bin go-bek la dinakemp bla dis atha mob (14) dei
and then we PST go-back LOC picnic:spot DAT this other group 3:PL

bin weit-in bla mipala (15) from-deya wi bin si dem langa teingk
PST wait-PROG DAT 1:PL:EX from-there we PST see 3:PL:0 LOC tank

(16) en dei bin siy-im mipala kam-in-ap (17) en den dei bin
and 3:PL PST see-TR 1:PL:EX come-PROG-up and then 3:PL PST

tel-am mela 'wi bin kuk-um ti en ebriting deya redi' (18) en
tell-TR 1:PL:EX we PST cook-TR tea and everything there ready and

afta-det wi bin ab-am sapa (19) en wen wi bin git bek
after-that we PST eat-TR evening:meal and when we PST become back

iya la Fitrai mipala bin ava gud bogi (20) en wi bin go silip
here LOC (name) 1:PL:EX PST have good bathe and we PST go sleep

(1) Last Sunday we went to Derby in A...'s car. (2) When we were coming back we had dinner at a windmill. (3) Then I said to A... and D..., 'Let's go and look for a goanna.' (4) A... said, 'Okay. We'll go in the car.' (5) We went and we got bogged. (6) We didn't have any equipment to get it out with, only an old jack. (7) And D... went to try and find some old sheets of iron. (8) After that we tried but we couldn't get it out of the bog. (9) We waited till the water dried up in the bog (10) and after that we got a lot of grass and put it under the wheels. (11) Then we tried again; I drove and D... and the other one lifted the car and pushed at the same time. (12) When we succeeded we were really happy. (13) Then we went back to the picnic spot where the others were. (14) They were waiting for us. (15) After a while we saw them on the tank

(16) and they saw us coming. (17) They told us, 'We have made tea and cooked food. It's all ready for you.' (18) After that we ate our meal (19) and when we got back here to Fitzroy Crossing we had a good shower (20) and went to sleep.

TEXT E - Woman 30-40 years

(1) *Long-taim wen ai bin go skul la Gogo* (2) *from-deya ai*
 long-time when 1:SG:S PST go school LOC (name) from-there 1:SG:S

bin go-bek J... (3) den gardiya bin pik-im-ap mipala en teik
 PST go-back (name) then European PST pick-TR-up 1:PL:EX and take

mipala langa mishin long-taim (4) en deya wen mipala bin lil-il
 1:PL:EX LOC mission long-time and there when 1:PL:EX PST small-REDUP

kid mipala yusdu tok-in Walmajarri (5) sam-taim gardiya bin gib
 child 1:PL:EX used:to talk-PROG (name) some-time European PST give

mipala haiding fo tok-in Walmajarri (6) from-deya mela bin
 1:SG:S hiding PURP talk-PROG (name) from-there 1:PL:EX PST

lisin-ing sam-pala kid bin tok-in Kriol (7) mela bin lisin-ing
 listen-PROG some-NOM child PST talk-PROG (name) 1:PL:EX PST listen-PROG

en pik-im-ap lilbit (8) from-deya mela bin go-bek alidei (9)
 and pick-TR-up limited from-there 1:PL:EX PST go-back holiday

kam-bek lisin en tok-in garra orla kid (10) tok-in mela
 come-back listen and talk-PROG ASSOC PL child talk-PROG 1:PL:EX

bin tok-in: (11) mela bin pik-im-ap det wed from orla atha-lat
 PST talk-PROG 1:PL:EX PST pick-TR-up that language from PL other-NOM

kid (12) from-deya mela bin kipgoun tok-in Kriol (13)
 child from-there 1:PL:EX PST continue talk-PROG (name)

from-tharran ai neba figit-im det wed til tudei (14) ai
 from-that 1:SG:S NEG forget-TR that language until now 1:SG:S

tok dis-wan Kriol nau (15) en sam-taim ai tok la mai pipul
 talk this-NOM (name) now and some-time 1:SG:S talk LOC 1:SG:P people

garra Walmajarri (16) en go-bek la skul tok la lil-il kid
 ASSOC (name) and go-back LOC school talk LOC small-REDUP child

Kriol .so dei kin lern prapli (17) en tok lilbit *Walmajarri* so
(name) so 3:PL can learn properly and talk limited (name) so

dei kin lisin (18) wen orla kid don lisin la gardiya-wei
3:PL can understand when PL child NEG listen LOC European-DIR

Inglis ai tok *Kriol* en main lengwij *Walmajarri*
English 1:SG:S talk (name) and 1:SG:P language (name)

(1) A long time ago I went to school at Gogo. (2) Then I went back to J... [and no school]. (3) Then a white person picked us up and took us to the mission. It was a long time ago. (4) There, when we were only small, we used to talk *Walmajarri*. (5) Sometimes the whites would give us a hiding for talking *Walmajarri*. (6) After that we were listening to some of the children talking *Kriol*. (7) We were listening and we learned some of it. (8) Then we went home for holidays. (9) We came back and listened and talked [*Kriol*] with the other children. (10) We used to talk; (11) we talked a lot and we learned that language from the others. (12) After that we kept on talking *Kriol*. (13) I've never forgotten it, right up till now. (14) I still talk this *Kriol* now. (15) And some times I talk to my relatives in *Walmajarri* (16) then I go back to school [working as teacher] and talk to the small children in *Kriol* so they can learn [their lessons] properly (17) and I talk some *Walmajarri* to them so they can understand [the content of lessons]. (18) When children can't understand English I talk to them in *Kriol* and my own language *Walmajarri*.

APPENDIX 2 - EXCERPTS FROM ADULT PIDGIN TEXTS

Text I

The speaker is a man in his late 40's who has a Walmajarri background. He speaks Walmajarri, Adult Pidgin/Kriol and some English. He is popular among the youth as a storyteller and leader and is reputed to speak Kriol, yet the text reveals a few expressions not so far heard in speech of younger people. They are underlined the first time they occur.

(1) ... *orait det gel gedap prapa naitaim nomo san gedap* (2)
 alright that female get:up very night NEG sun get:up

gel gedap fes meik-im faya ti ebriting blanganda boi (3)
 female get:up first make-TR fire tea everything DAT male

redi-pala blanganda det ed takmen (4) *i kuk-um ebriting*
 ready-NOM DAT that head stockmen 3:SG:S cook-TR everything

pinij (5) *boi gedap* (6) *put-um-on but ebriting pinij het* (7)
 complete male get:up put-TR-on boot everything complete hat

raito i ged-am penikin (8) *i go langa faya* (9) *i jidan ...*
 right 3:SG:S get-TR mug 3:SG:S go LOC fire 3:SG:S sit

(10) *ai dono yang-pala garra teikoba nau* (11) *tok prapa ai-pala*
 1:SG:S NEG young-NOM ASSOC take:over now talk very high-NOM

Ingglis (12) *nomo laik mi dijan am tok-in tudei* (13) *pinij*
 English NEG like me this 1:SG:S talk-PROG now complete

na (14) *yang-yang-pala gel langa skul wi garram det gud-wan* (15)
 EM young-REDUP-NOM female LOC school we ASSOC that good-NOM

maitbi mipalas kan lijin prapli langa waitpala gud Ingglis prapli
 maybe 1:PL:EX NEG understand properly LOC European good English very

(16) *detlat yang-pala teik-im nau ...*
 those young-NOM take-TR now

(1) ... Well, that woman gets up while it's still dark, before the sun rises. (2) The woman gets up first and lights the fire, makes tea and prepares everything for the man; (3) makes it ready for the head stockman. (4) She cooks everything and finishes it. (5) Then the man gets up; (6) he puts on his boots and all, a hat as well. (7) Righto, he gets his enamel drinking mug and (8) goes to the fire. (9) He sits down there... (10) Well, the young ones will take over now. (11) They talk real

English, (12) not like me. I speak this language I'm using now. (13) The old era is over now. (14) Our young girls are in school now and that's good. (15) Maybe we don't understand the whites who speak English properly, (16) so the young ones will take over (this role) now....

Text II

Speaker is a woman in her 50's with a Walmajarri background. She speaks several traditional languages and Adult Pidgin, all freely and with confidence. My language teacher, after listening to the tape, was hard pressed to give an interpretation for the last half of this section. The English given below is my version of the story as I understood it at the time rather than a direct translation, so the sentences are not numbered.

... wel a bin pini^j teik-im-at dredi a bin bogi na
well 1:SG:S PST complete take-TR-att.dress 1:SG:S PST bathe EM

a:: i bin teik-im-at biyain-wan na i bin bogi pini^j
3:SG:S PST take-TR-att behind-NOM EM 3:SG:S PST bathe complete

jamp-in mipala bin bogi-bat e:: pini^j werr-am dredi mindupala bin
Jump-in 1:PL:EX PST bathe-ITER complete don-TR dress 1:DU:EX PST

ged-am wota na kippoun kippoun kippoun kippoun wi bin jandap iya,
get-TR water EM continue continue continue continue we PST stand where

'wi garra jilip iya ol wumun' a bin tel-am, 'h?h' i bin
we POT sleep here old woman 1:SG:S PST tell-TR 3:SG:S PST

tel-am mi 'Yu jidan wi garra jidan lilbit a nakap' 'No Yu
tell-TR me 2:SG sit we POT sit limited 1:SG:S knock:up NEG 2:SG

kan nakap wi garra len we yu bin goun bipo bush wok-in!
NEG knock:up we POT learn REL 2:SG PST gone before bush walk-PROG

'A-l len-am yu:' ...
1:SG:S-POT learn-TR 2:SG

... I stopped walking, took off my dress and bathed in the river. After a while the other one came up and she took off her dress and bathed too. When we had finished bathing, we put on our dresses again and got some water in billycans to carry with us. We walked on and on and later we stopped and I said, 'Let's stand here and rest a moment.' She answered, 'No. You sit down. We must stop here. I'm too tired to go on.' 'No. You can't stop now. We have to keep going. We must keep walking like we used to in the old days when we travelled long distances on foot.'...

Text III.

The speaker is a woman in her 50's who has a Bunaba background. She speaks Bunaba, Walmajarri, Adult Pidgin/Kriol and some English. The text is clear and easy to understand with very little difference from the speech of young people.

... (1) a bin singat fo orla kid (2) dei bin ran na (3) a
1:SG:S PST call PURP PL child 3:PL PST run EM 1:SG:S

bin dabul-um main fishing lain (4) get det joughish a bin
PST roll-TR 1:SG:P fishing line get that sawfish 1:SG:S PST

ged-am en ketfish a bin ged-am brim (5) wi bin go na (6) wi
get-TR and catfish 1:SG:S PST get-TR bream we PST go EM we

bin go kros langa wota (7) i bin lilbit dip det wota (8)
PST go across LOC water 3:SG:S PST limited deep that water

a bin go natha-wan na-(9) tray-im langa natha-wan wota (10)
1:SG:S PST go another-NOM EM try-TR LOC another-NOM water

o:: lilbit shela-wan (11) a bin go kros (12) rait wi bin
limited shallow-NOM 1:SG:S PST go across right we PST

go na go-bek (13) ab-am sapa langa dinakemp ...
go EM go-back eat-TR supper LOC picnic:spot

... (1) I called to the children (to leave their fishing/playing and go back). (2) They ran off. (3) I rolled up my fishing line, (4) picked up the sawfish, catfish and bream. (5) We left the place then. (6) We started to cross the creek (7) but it was too deep. (8) So I went to another spot. (9) I tried a different route. (10) It was shallower there. (11) I went across. (12) We returned (13) and had our evening meal at the picnic spot...

NOTES

1. The name Kriol has been in use in the Northern Territory since 1976 and is the orthographic spelling of 'Creole'. Although the speakers of Kriol refer to it as 'Pidgin' the Principal of the Bamyili School decided to use the technically more accurate name, Creole (Kriol), when the language was introduced into the school bilingual education programme in 1974. He did this because he anticipated that the negative connotations associated with the term Pidgin would work to the detriment of the school programme if that name was used (Sandefur forthcoming).

2. In their survey report the Sandefurs said, '*biginini* is also used in the Fitzroy area as well as everywhere else' (1980:35). Such generalisations about the language of Fitzroy Crossing probably came about because their survey was brief and did not reveal the contrast between Adult Pidgin and Kriol as I have described it in 1.2 and 1.3, though they did make a distinction between the speech of those over 35 and those under.

3. Some notes comparing Tok Pisin with Fitzroy Crossing Kriol.

There are many lexemes in Tok Pisin that have no equivalent in Kriol. The following are a few items from Mihalic's dictionary (with his glosses) not found in the Fitzroy Valley. A possible Kriol equivalent is sometimes given in brackets.

<i>giaman</i>	'a lie, nonsense ... to lie, to deceive' (<i>laya</i>)
<i>kaikai</i>	'food, meal' (<i>taka</i>)
	'to eat, to chew, to feed on' (<i>tagat, idim, abam</i>)
<i>laik</i>	'to like to, to want to, to wish to' (<i>wanda</i>)
<i>nogat</i>	'no, nothing ...' (<i>na, nat, najing</i>)
<i>man</i>	'... male ...' (<i>boi</i>)
<i>manki</i>	'... boy ...' (<i>boi, kid</i>)
<i>maski</i>	'to be indifferent ... in spite of'
<i>masta</i>	'a white man, a European' (<i>gardiya</i>)
<i>meri</i>	'... female ...' (<i>gel</i>)
<i>olgeta</i>	'all, every' (<i>ol, ebri, -mob</i>)
	'altogether, completely, wholly' (<i>piniij, tumaj</i>)

<i>pikinini</i>	'baby, child ...' (<i>beibi, kid</i>)
<i>save</i>	'to know, to understand' (<i>nou</i>) 'to know how to, be able to' (<i>kin isi</i>)
<i>tasol</i>	(E: that's all)

A few of the more obvious grammatical differences are given below with page references to Dutton 1973.

Stap 'continuous action'. (p.148) In Fitzroy Valley Kriol *stap* does not function this way but only as an existential or completive action main verb (see 4.2.2 and Note 10). An adverb *kipgoun* can be used with similar meaning but the iterative suffix *-bat* appears on the main verb.

Wi bin lijinim-bat det stori, kipgoun

'We kept on listening to the story.'

Pinis. (p.150) The completed action morpheme *pinij* functions similarly in the Fitzroy Valley (but not the form *pinis tru*).

Reflexive/reciprocal pronouns. (p.188 and 218) The reflexive personal pronoun *yet* does not occur in the Fitzroy Valley nor is reduplication used for reciprocal actions (see 5.1 and 5.3.3).

Bai. (p.23) The lexeme *bai* as marker of future tense does not occur in the Fitzroy Valley but *garra* does (see 2.2.1).

Predicate marker. (p.7) In Fitzroy Valley Kriol, the subject pronoun occurs between a noun phrase subject and the verb but it agrees with the subject in person and number (see 2.5).

4. Some Notes Comparing Kriol from Ngukurr-Bamyili and the Fitzroy Valley (abbreviated as Ng-B and FV respectively).

The following are a few vocabulary items found in Sandefur 1979 and Sandefur & Sandefur 1979, which are known to be different at FV. The FV forms are shown in brackets.

<i>wanim</i>	(interrogative) 'what' (<i>wot</i>)
<i>burrum</i>	'from' (<i>from ~ brom</i>)
<i>gadim</i>	(prep) 'with' (<i>garra ~ garram ~ gat</i>)
<i>mijelb</i>	'one's self' (<i>jelp</i>)

olmen 'men, old man' (*men* 'man', *olmen* 'old man')

olgamen 'woman, old woman' (*wumun* 'woman', *olgamen* 'old woman')

The last two items above are used in Adult Pidgin with meanings the same as those at NG-B.

gibit 'give' (*gibim* ~ *gibirrim*)

imin 'he, she, it - past tense' (*i bin*)

I have not considered lexemes which appear to be borrowed from the Northern Territory TA languages.

Grammatical features. Some morphemes in Kriol have some type of extended use in FV. (page numbers refer to Sandefur 1979.)

stap 'stay' does not function as an existential verb (p.124f) at NG-B as it does in FV (see 4.2.2).

bi is used only if the state referred to is future (p.123). At FV it is extended to the past also (see 4.2.1).

neba is glossed 'never' on p.126 and it contrasts with *nomo* and *no* which are the 'simple' negatives. This form has become the main negative in FV and *nomo* is restricted to a meaning of degree (see 2.2.2).

{*da*} does not occur in Sandefur's description. (see 4.1.5).

jelp ~ *mijelb*. The first is the form used at FV and the second at Ng-B. However it is not a simple transference of form. *Jelp* functions as reflexive, reciprocal and restrictive as described in Chapter 5. *Mijelb* has both reflexive and restrictive functions (p.91f) and the adverb *mijamet* in Ng-B can also be used to express individual participation. Reciprocal action is not part of the meaning of *mijelb* but a completely different morpheme, *gija*, is used (p.94). Neither *mijamet* nor *jiga* is known at FV.

tumaj. Here again one form at FV encompasses two meanings, 'very' and 'because'; but Ng-B differentiates with contrasting forms, *tumaj* 'very', *tumaji* 'because' (p.151).

Prepositions {*blanga*} and *fo* in FV Kriol can be postposed (see 3.2.1 and 3.2.2) but there are no examples of this from Ng-B.

Pronouns differ in that FV makes contrast between subject and object in 3rd singular and some 1st person forms making it more like the Ng-B 'light' pronoun system (p.87). First dual inclusive is preferred as *minyu* at FV

rather than *yunmi* and 1st plural inclusive is *wilat*. *Mela* is more common at FV than *mipala* though both forms are used (see 2.4).

5. The names of specific traditional Australian languages are spelled according to Wurm except for Walmajarri. This has recently been changed from Walmatjari to conform with the orthography in use in Walmajarri literature.

6. For this information I am grateful to the Librarian of the Shire of the West Kimberley, M.A. Stevens.

7. The second alternative was considered to be the case by Fraser (influenced in her short visit by myself and my co-worker, Eirlys Richards) when she wrote, 'It [Kriol] may therefore be classified as a "pidgin undergoing creolization". By contrast, APE [Adult Pidgin] functions more as an "auxiliary contact language", i.e. a true pidgin' (p.149). More recent evidence suggests that we were wrong in this and that the language taken up by these hostel children was an imported one, Kriol.

8. See Appendix 1 for an explanation of the lexeme *ting*.

9. To determine whether adjectives suffixed with *-wan* or *-pala* are adjectives or nouns further study is required. In the meantime the term 'nominal' has been used. Such words have more features of adjective than noun. They can, and frequently do, occur without a head noun.

Wan big raun-wan deya

'There's a big round one there.'

In noun phrases both forms, adjective and adjective + *-wan*, can modify a noun but the suffixed form is preferred. Similarly in the predicate of Ascriptive clauses both occur (see 4.1.1 for examples).

Orla big kid bin go

'The big children went.'

Orla gridi-wan kid bin teikim

'The greedy children took it.'

Dis tri bin abam kwik-kwik-pala prut

'This tree bore fruit before the normal time for bearing.'

A noun can be suffixed and then it can modify a noun.

I garra gardiya-wan fatha

'She has a white father.'

The morphemes are frequently suffixed to demonstratives, pronouns and numerals.

dis + wan > dijan 'this'

yu + pala > yupala (3rd person plural pronoun)

wan + pala > wanpala 'one'

I have not been able to satisfactorily specify the meaning difference between these two morphemes. Steffensen's reference (p.121) to the same morphemes indicates that in Bamyili there is a 'strong tendency' for *-pala* to be used if the referent is human and *-wan* otherwise. Although this at first seemed to apply at Fitzroy Crossing, checking the data soon revealed numerous situations where either morpheme could occur. Some restrictions have been noted however; *-pala* but never *-wan* is used with pronouns and numerals.

There are other intrinsically plural suffixes with similar function, *-lat* as in *det-lat* 'those' and *-mob* as in *big-mob* 'many, much', *fraitin-mob* 'frightened ones'.

10. A homonym, *stap* 'stop' functions as a full verb elsewhere in the language with the meaning of cessation of activity. It can be transitivised.

Mai irrul lilbit klin wen det nois bin stap

'My ear feels much better when the noise stops.'

Ai bin stap-am det motika la rudas

'I stopped the car at the roadhouse.'

11. The reduplicated adverb *kwik-en-kwik* refers to plural actions of the agent but in all examples plural entities are also referred to in the object.

I bin gedam kwik-en-kwik motika

'He had many different cars, one after the other.'

12. This quote is taken from an article in *National Outlook* in the June issue of 1980, page 23.

13. The language is also called Tok Pisin.

14. Data from the Kimberley area presented by Worms in 1937 provides an example from TA languages of either conflation or incorrect assignment of an etymon. He says that the form *melemele* was at that time used by the Garadjari tribe (near Broome) to refer to 'letter' or 'book' and was derived from English 'mail'. The Walmajarri use a similar form, *mirlimirli*, to refer to 'letter', 'paper' and 'book'. This word is the name of one of the paperbark trees and suggests that there has been lexical conflation between the traditional name for paperbark and the English word 'mail'. Actually *mirlimirli* is not a Kriol word for there are other more recent forms such as *leta* 'letter' and *buk* 'book'. *Meil* from 'mail' is also in Kriol but with a specialised meaning of income which arrives by post.

15. 'Subsection' refers to the eight recognised social groupings of Aborigines in the Fitzroy Valley (and beyond). Everyone belongs to one of the eight groups and traditionally they influence marriage choice and social behaviour.

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