5 Semantic category features

This chapter investigates the possible transfer of the semantic categories from the Roper River substrate languages to the pidgin on which Kriol is based. I focus here on two systems of grammatical categories: the TMA system, and the case system, as well as one grammatical system, the pronominal system. Within each of these, the semantic oppositions found within each category are analysed and compared in order to find those which are shared among the substrate languages. This is a departure from chapters 3 and 4, in which the structural characteristics of verb and nominal complexes, with their fixed morpheme positions, were examined for their influence on structural feature transfer. As such, the word order was based on the morpheme position within the respective complex. As pointed out in chapters 1 and 3, the substrate languages, being agglutinative and non-configurational, do not use fixed word order for the realisation of grammatical relations. In order to investigate features of grammatical categories and systems, it was necessary to expand the Transfer Constraints approach by applying it to the semantic aspects of such features.

In this chapter, the shared categories of the pronominal (in §5.1), TMA (in §5.2) and case marking (in §5.3) systems of the substrate languages are examined in order to form predictions as to which categories can be expected to have been retained during levelling of the preceding pidgin. Comparison with the corresponding Kriol data will determine if any such transfer of the semantics of the categories, or their oppositions, has taken place. Once again the Availability Constraint of perceptual salience can be examined to explain the results. This is particularly so in determining whether perceptually salient morphemes with a function or meaning similar to that of a corresponding morpheme in the substrate can be found in the superstrate language; if not transfer may have been constrained. The role of congruence as a possible constraint, is somewhat diminished here because the word order of constructions would appear to be largely irrelevant when considering the transfer of the semantics of categories. However, congruence may still affect whether a superstrate form is perceived as being perceptually salient, which is

required for transfer to take place. It is also reasonable to assume that the NSW/QLD Pidgin could also provide evidence of feature transfer. Where available, historical records are also therefore presented. A discussion of findings is presented in §5.4.

5.1 Pronouns

In §3.3 it was shown that pronominal prefixes are not found in Kriol, due to the constraints on transfer. As there are no perceptually salient forms that occur in congruent constructions in English, particularly where subject and object pronouns occur prior to the verb, transfer of the feature to the preceding pidgin was constrained. While the pronominal prefixes are the primary means for marking participants in the substrate languages there are also independent pronouns. This section, however, is primarily concerned with the semantics of the categories of person and number in the pronominal systems of the substrate languages.

5.1.1 In the substrate

While the semantics of the pronominal categories is the focus of this section, a discussion of the independent pronouns places the pronominal system in the Roper River substrate languages in context. The independent pronouns in the substrate languages are used for emphasis or contrastive purposes (Sharpe 1972:57; Heath 1981a:130), as in (61) and (62) below.

(61)   nganjini–ja   da   **ngina** ngayi juwi–ne–benya   wubu
        what–GEN   CONJ **1sg**   NEG   send.CV–3sg–do:TMA fire
        Why(lit. what for) didn't he send <u>me</u> fire. *(*Alawa, Sharpe 1972:58)

Noun class marking is encoded in the stem forms of the independent pronouns and so is not separately marked (Heath 1984:241). Independent pronouns can also carry case marking, the same as with other nominals, as (62) also shows.

(62)   alako ju–yolkyolk–ka   **nyinyjah–yih**
        later 2sg/3sg–tell–FUT   **2sg–ERG**
        Afterwards <u>you'll</u> tell it.   (Ngalakgan, Merlan 1983:72)

These sentences also provide examples of how the substrate languages lack word order rules for indicating grammatical relations. Comparing (62) and (63), for example, shows that OVS and SVO are both possible word orders for a transitive verb.

(63) **ngina–rra**   rag–nga–nyi   na–na   gariyi–marr
1sg–NOMINATIVE   hit.CV–1sg/3sg–root NC–DEF   man–CASE
I hit the man. (Marra, Heath 1981a:130)

All pronominal forms in the substrate language distinguish singular, dual and plural in the category of number, and inclusive and exclusive in the category of person, as shown in Table 18.

Table 18:   Shared categories of pronouns in the substrate languages

	Single	Dual	Plural
1Inclusive	1sg	1du.in	1pl.in
1Exclusive		1du.ex	1pl.ex
2	2sg	2du	2pl
3	3m.sg/3f.sg	3du	3pl

Table 18 shows the traditional paradigmatic arrangement of pronominal categories according to number (singular, dual, plural). McKay (1978, cited in Dixon 1980:352) argued that this analysis of pronominal categories obscured some recurrent morphological patterns in Australian languages. He suggested that pronominals in Australian languages were often better described by regarding the first inclusive category as a separate category of person, rather than a subcategory of 1st person non-singular. McKay's system provides a clearer representation of the morphological relationships among pronominal categories, since the first inclusive dual category is often morphologically similar to singular categories, rather than non-singular ones. Coined by McKay, this system of representing pronouns has become known as the minimal/augmented system. The pronominal system of Alawa (taken from Sharpe 1972:57) is presented in Table 19 in terms of this analysis.

Table 19: Minimal/augmented representation of pronominal categories for Alawa

	Minimal		Unit Augmented		Augmented	
1	*ngina*	1sg	*ngarru*	1ex.du	*ngalu*	1ex.pl
1/2	*nyanu*	1in.du			*nyalu*	1in.pl
2	*nyagana*	2sg	*wurru*	2du	*wulu*	2pl
3	*nurla*	3m.sg	*yirrurla*	3du	*yilurla*	3pl
	ngadurla	3f.sg				

In this case it can be seen that all Unit Augmented forms end in *rru* and, likewise, all of the four Augmented forms end in *lu*. All third person pronouns in Alawa end in a further element *–rla*; this is not relevant to the minimal/augmented distinction. The pronominal systems of the other substrate languages can similarly be analysed in terms of the minimal/augmented system (Baker 2004 on Ngalakgan and Nunggubuyu).

5.1.2 Reinforcement Principle and predictions

As previously noted, this chapter is concerned with semantic transfer of categories, rather than transfer of specific construction types. The discussion in the previous section described how there are three numbers (Singular, Dual and Plural) and Inclusive/Exclusive categories in all the substrate languages, which are morphologically realised through in a minimal/augmented system. This is a shared feature of the substrate languages, which therefore leads to the following prediction.

Predictions based on pronominal paradigm

E FEATURE 9:   Pronominal system with three number (Singular, Dual and Plural)
and Inclusive/Exclusive categories expressed by a
minimal/augmented morphological system

It is expected, therefore, that if transfer of these categories within a minimal/augmented system of pronouns took place to the preceding pidgin, it would have been retained during levelling due to its high frequency as a shared feature of the substrate languages.

5.1.3 In Kriol

Kriol uses independent pronouns in a SVO construction as in (64).

(64) **ai**   garra   lib–um   **yu**   olmen
      1sg   OBL   leave–TM   **2sg**   old/respected-man
      I have to leave you old (respected) man.   (A043)

An example of a pronoun used in an intransitive verb construction follows.

(65) wotfo   **yundubala**   gan   sbel   fo   wan   dei
      why   **2du**   INAB   rest   P/P   one   day
      Why (lit. what for) *can't you two rest for a one day?*   (S147)

Kriol pronouns include three number categories (Singular, Dual and Plural), as well as Inclusive/Exclusive categories, which are presented in Table 20 below.

Table 20:   Kriol pronouns[20]

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	*ai/mi*	*mindubala/minbala* (exclusive)	*melabat/mela* (exclusive)
1/2		*yunmi (inclusive)*	*wi* (inclusive)
2	*yu*	*yundubala*	*yumop*
3	*im*	*dubala*	*olabat*

The prediction made in E Feature 9, whereby Kriol pronouns would have three number and Inclusive/Exclusive categories is therefore found to be the case in Kriol. There is no clear evidence, however, that the morphological realisation of these categories is of a minimal/augmented system in Kriol. It would appear that if *yunmi* were included as a Minimal pronoun, along with all other Singular pronouns then the other three Dual pronouns could best be understood as Minimal Augmented pronouns that all take the same morphological ending, *dubala*. However, of the Plural forms, only two take the same morphological ending *abat* and, most importantly, the Plural inclusive form differs. This would suggest that transfer of the categories had occurred to the preceding pidgin during expansion and that due to its high frequency as a shared feature of the substrate languages was retained in the NT Pidgin during levelling, and ultimately in Kriol.

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[20] The contrastive forms for 1sg are Nominative and Accusative forms. Those for 1du.ex and 1pl.ex, however, are generational variants within Kriol that indicate language change in progress with *mindubala* and *melabat* giving way to *minbala* and *mela*.

Transfer of the morphological patterning required for a minimal/augmented system was, however, constrained from transfer.

5.1.4 Availability Constraints and other explanations

E Feature 9 – Pronominal system with three number (Singular, Dual and Plural) and Inclusive/Exclusive categories expressed by a minimal/augmented morphological system – is partially found to be the most appropriate description of the system of pronouns in Kriol. There is, however, one grammatical category used in the substrate languages, which is not prevalent in Kriol, and that is gender. It is expected that this loss is a result of simplification (see §1.4). It has been recognised that a process of simplification often takes place in the development of pronominal systems of creole languages, in which the pronominal paradigm can be simplified by stripping all categories except number and person, so that only the six core categories remain (Romaine 1988:74). While the Kriol system includes more than six categories, they are all person and number categories.

The semantic transfer of all other categories, except those of a gender specific nature, was not constrained by perceptual salience. Table 21, for instance, shows there are perceptually salient forms in English on which pronouns in the preceding pidgin could be based. This list was based on another provided by Siegel (1999:24) to describe the perceptually salient forms on which pronouns in Melanesian Pidgin are based.

Table 21: Perceptually salient forms

Kriol pronoun	English form
ai	I
mi	me
yu	you
yunmi	'you and me'
im	him
mindubala	'me (and) two fellas'
yundubala	'you (and) two fellas'
dubala	'two fellas'
melabat	'me and all about'
yumop	'you mob'
olabat	'all about'
wi	we

While most of these forms seem straightforward, others seem unlikely as a base for pronouns. 'We', for example, is an obvious choice for *wi*, being a common pronoun in English and while it may appear that the form is simply adopted into Kriol from English, it is the semantic transfer of the category '1st plural inclusive' to this form that is significant. 'All about' is the pronominal base for *olabat*, which at first seems unlikely but it does have ready examples in the historical literature, such as the one following, which proves it was used in this way in the preceding pidgin (see e.g. Gunn 1908):

(66)   "Me   plenty   savee ...   me   savey   count   **allabout**"
        1sg   QUANT   understand/know 1sg   understand/know count   **3pl/everyone**
        I know a lot ... I know how to count them/everyone. (Gunn 1908:92).

Others, such as, 'me and two fellas', are assumed constructions with no historical examples available. While such phrases seem implausible in current speech styles, the speech styles from the late 1800s to the early 1900s in the pioneering cattle industry in Queensland and the Northern Territory may have allowed greater flexibility. Indeed the necessity for communication between a lone manager and a workforce of Aboriginal employees may have required some ingenuity. Consider the following sentences, which I would posit were possibilities for use during that time and indeed some would still be used in the industry today.

> *Everybody, all about camp, can help me with droving.*
> *Hey what are you mob doing?*
> *I want you (and) two fellas to start mustering tomorrow.*
> *Me and two fellas from Brisbane, went to town.*
> *You and me should help those two fellas over there.*
> *The manager said, 'Me and all about here will wait for the rain to stop'.*

It is likely that *–bala* had been analysed as a plural marker as part of NSW/QLD Pidgin, which influenced NT Pidgin preceding Kriol development. Keesing (1988:112) lists five functions of the *fellow* feature in Melanesian Pidgin. One of those is as a suffix to pronouns and numerals to indicate plurality. Baker (1993:45) provides the first known examples of this construction in archival material; 'me fellow' 1874 in the Solomon Islands and 1886 in Queensland, 'you fellow' 1866 in Queensland and 'he fellow' 1874 in the Solomon Islands. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that this feature either developed in New South Wales or Queensland itself. While *fellow* had been reported as

early as 1882 in the Northern Territory it was then functioning as a noun (Harris 1986:329). The first reported instance of *fellow* used on numbers and pronouns was in 1902.

> First time him sleep, then him wake up. Moon longa top of sky. Him say <u>you and me</u> go longa Price potato. Doctor been first time yabber this. Me no been go. Then **two fellow** walk. By and by him come back. Him been bring 'em **three fellow** bag longa potato. Doctor been carry 'em **two fellow** bag, him ... been carry **one fellow**. <u>**Two fellow**</u> been sit down and tuck out[21]. (Spencer 1928: 591, cited in Harris 1986:271)

The fact that the feature *fellow*, indicating plurality on numbers and pronouns, is evident so early in contact history, suggests that the feature was introduced to the Roper River region as part of the NSW/QLD Pidgin. It is noteworthy that the pronominal use of *two fellow* shown here is early evidence of the use of *bala* in relation to the dual category, which may have been a result of substrate influence in the Roper River region.

It may be, therefore, that this pronominal system is merely a case of spread of features from the preceding NSW/QLD Pidgin, which may have also influenced Melanesian Pidgin. Table 22 provides the Melanesian Pidgin pronominal system for comparison, using Solomon Island Pijin as an example.

Table 22:   Pronominal system of Melanesian Pidgin[22]

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	*mi*	*mitufela* (exclusive)	*mifela* (exclusive)
		yumi(tufala) (inclusive)	*yumi* (inclusive)
2	*yu*	*yutufela*	*yufela*
3	*hem, hemi*	*tufela*	*olgeta*

It can be seen that while there are many similar forms to that of the Kriol pronominal system, there are also significant differences. The dual forms in Melanesian Pidgin can all end in *tufela*, which appear to be equivalent to the dual category forms ending in *dubala* in Kriol. While the Kriol dual inclusive pronoun is the exception, as previously

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[21] Bold indicates number and underline indicates pronoun. Where both are used indicates it could be a number or pronoun, or both.

[22] Based on Keesing (1988)

noted, the Melanesian Pidgin form is not. In this way the Melanesian Pidgin pronominal system appears more clearly a dual system. Melanesian Pidgin also makes use of *fela* as a morphological ending for most of the plural forms while two of the Kriol plural forms end in *abat*, which is not found in Melanesian Pidgin.

As this shows, therefore, there were no availability constraints on part of this feature. There were perceptually salient forms, with similar meanings and use in English, on which to base the substrate pronominal system at a previous stage of pidgin development. Transfer within the pronoun system appears to have first occurred within the NSW/QLD Pidgin and pronominal features, such as the *fellow/fela/bala* ending, spread to both Melanesia and the Northern Territory. In these environments the contact language features would have been added to the pool of possible variants available for contact language speakers to use. In each case, whether in the Northern Territory or Melanesia, transfer based on the semantic distinctions with the substrate could then take place. In the case of Kriol, while the *dubala* ending was largely maintained as an indicator of dual category pronouns, the dual inclusive form differs, possibly under influence of the minimal/augmented system of the substrate languages. The *abat* endings were also introduced for two of the four plural forms in the Roper River region. As previously mentioned, these features would then have been reinforced during levelling due to high frequency use among speakers of the substrate languages and retained in NT Pidgin and eventually Kriol.

5.2 TMA

In §3.5 it was found that no structural transfer of the postverbal TMA markers had taken place, although the process of reduplication and a unique supplementary tense suffix may have been transferred from the substrate languages. It was also found that the bulk of the Kriol TMA system is made up of preverbal periphrastic markers. This section shifts the focus to the semantic range of TMA marking in Kriol to determine if any transfer of the semantics of oppositions within the categories of tense, mood and aspect may have taken place.

5.2.1 In the substrate

The features of the TMA systems discussed here are generally only those that are shared features among the substrate languages. The descriptions are, therefore, not exhaustive for all the languages. Based on the information to hand, all the substrate languages here distinguish between past and present in tense. In the Past tense punctual and continuous aspect are distinguished in all the substrate languages. These categories are not clearly understood, however, and there have been suggestions that they also, and perhaps more accurately, demarcate foregrounded and backgrounded events (e.g. Merlan 1983:105). The category of Future is analysed as a tense category in grammatical descriptions available (Sharpe 1972:88; Heath 1981a:179). Heath (1980b:339), however, describes three 'Nonpast' categories in relation to Nunggubuyu and Merlan (1983:98) suggests that in Ngalakgan, the future category is in fact modal in nature expressing a range of meanings that include ability, obligation, intention and desire (Merlan 1983:98). It is likely that the same would be found in the other languages with further research. A shared feature of the TMA system is the existence of a distinct 'evitative' mood used in warning speech acts, and commonly translated as 'lest'. There is also always a Potential mood category. A summary of the shared TMA categories of the substrate languages is presented in Table 23, in which a tick signifies the existence of such a category in that language. This is followed by example sentences of these features.

Table 23: Summary of TMA categories in the substrate languages

	Ngalakgan	Nunggubuyu	Alawa	Marra
Past Punctual	✓	✓	✓	✓
Past Continuous	✓	✓	✓	✓
Present	✓	✓	✓	✓
Future	✓	✓	✓	✓
Potential	✓	✓	✓	✓
Evitative	✓	✓	✓	✓

Marra is one of the four languages that makes use of the punctual and continuous aspect in past tense (PP and PC), as (67) and (68) show.

(67) dad–gu–ji
    tie.CV–3sg/3sg–DO:PP
    He tied it up.   (Marra, Heath 1981a:180)

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(68) dad–gu–**jujunyi**
      tie.CV–3sg/3sg–**DO:PC**
      He was tying it up.   (Marra, Heath 1981a:180)

Example (69), below, is taken from a lengthy Ngalakgan passage presented by Merlan (1983:104-105) to show how past continuous forms are used to, '...describe the background or the framework of events...', particularly in narratives where the two aspects are opposed. The past punctual, in such contexts, therefore marks that which is punctual or foregrounded. More research is required on this topic for a more complete comparative analysis to be carried out..

(69) Ø–yinih–**ganiny**   ju–gohje jugu–bolo–yih   ... nu–gohje mirparra
      3sg/3sg–say.CV–**root:PC** NC–that   NC–old.person–CASE   NC–that   child

      Ø–ngalh–**miny**   balku Ø–bak–warrh–**miny**
      3sg–climb.CV–**root:PP** rope   3sg/3sg–OP–throw.CV–**root:PP**

      She told him like that, the old lady...the child climbed up, she threw him a rope.
      (Ngalakgan, Merlan 1983:105)

The present tense (PRS) is used to indicate an activity in present time in all the substrate languages, as (70) shows.

(70) gurnmarnh   ngunbu–bak–**yorn**
      maybe   3pl/1sg–OP–**gossip:PRS**
      Maybe they're gossiping about me.   (Ngalakgan, Merlan 1983:99)

The future (FUT) indicates activities that will happen in future time and may involve a sense of '...desire or intention of the agent of the verb ... to carry out whatever is expressed by it' (Merlan 1983:100).

(71) burrgu–marninyh–**nya** warlamanh–yih rerre–borre   golkol   matji burru–yarrh
      3pl/NC–make–**FUT**   many–ERG   camp–POSS   new   indeed 3pl–many
      Many want to build a new camp, because they're (too) many.
      (Ngalakgan, Merlan 1983:100)

The potential mood (POT) is found in all the substrate languages and an example from Alawa and Ngalakgan follow in (72) and (73) respectively.

(72) guny–nya–**darr**
      see.CV–1sg/2sg–**root:POT**
      I might see you.   (Alawa, Sharpe 1972:87)

(73) alangga   nugu–jarnrdiyah   Ø–**yengi**   mun.gu–relk–hgen
      then   NC–pandanus.mat   3sg/3sg–**put:POT** NC–sliced.vegetable.food–DAT
      Then she should put down a pandanus mat for the sliced vegetable food. (Ngalakgan, Merlan 1983:103)

The evitative (EVIT) is used in all the four languages although in different construction types. Ngalakgan uses a prefix to the root as in (74).

(74)   wanyba   rerre–ngini–kah   ∅–rabon–jih   ngu–meleh–bun
        NEG   camp–POSS–ALL   3sg–come–FUT:NEG   1sg/3sg–**EVIT**–hit:PRS
        He'd better not come to my camp (or/lest) I strike him.   (Ngalakgan, Merlan 1983:97)

Nunggubuyu, on the hand, can use either the evitative inflectional suffix on the root or the post-position *-magi*, glossed by Heath (1984:45) as 'lest'. There are a number of combination possibilities but (75) provides an example where both are used.

(75)   ngirri:–dabali–ny   ngawa:–ngaa–**ngun**–**magi**
        2pl/1sg–remove:BEN–FUT   1sg/NC–bring.down–**EVIT**–**lest**
        (Emu said,) "Bring him out for me! Or else I will bring down the sky!"
        (Nunggubuyu, Heath 1980b:45)

Finally, a specific characteristic of the Roper River substrate languages' TMA system is that there are distinctive negative forms that contrast for TMA, which are summarised in Table 24 below. Three of the four languages use the same form to mark negative in past and present, while two of the four languages use the same form to mark negative in potential and future. We may refer to the former category that includes past and present, as Realis, whereby the activity has or is taking place. The latter category that includes potential and future, can be referred to as Irrealis, whereby the activity has not as yet taken place.

Table 24:   Negative TMA marking in the substrate languages

	Ngalakgan	Nunggubuyu	Alawa	Marra
Realis				
Past	potential+-*hmolk*	*wa:=rri*	*ngayi*	*ganagu* or *gu-*
Present	potential+*koro*	*wa:=rri*	*ngayi*	*ganagu* or *gu-*
Irrealis				
Potential	evitative+-*tjih/ji*	*yagi (and* Evitative)	NA[23]	*ngula* (Past Potential only)
Future	evitative+-*tjih/jih*	*yagi*	*ngayi*	*ngula*

[23] NA: not available

5.2.2 Reinforcement Principle and predictions

Based on the reinforcement principle of frequency we would expect that the shared semantic features of the substrate languages' TMA systems would have the greatest chance of being retained in Kriol during levelling. It must be borne in mind that further research is required within the substrate languages to more accurately determine the nature of these TMA systems. Nonetheless, the most common features derived from current understandings can be summarised in the following predictions.

Predictions based on TMA categories

E FEATURE 10:	Punctual and continuous distinction in past tense
E FEATURE 11:	A distinct evitative mood
E FEATURE 12:	Future and potential mood
E FEATURE 13:	Negative morphology distinguished for Realis and Irrealis moods

It is expected, therefore, that if transfer of these TMA category oppositions were able to take place to the expanding pidgin then these features would then have been retained during levelling due to their high frequency among the substrate languages.

5.2.3 In Kriol

Sharpe (1972:9) made a prediction in regards to the Kriol TMA system some time ago, which follows:

> In Alawa tense-aspect-mood and case are indicated by suffixation of auxiliary stems and substantives respectively; in PE [pidgin English, or Kriol] they are indicated by preposed words. However the contrasts distinguished are found to be in nearly all respects identical. In surface structure the languages are very different; in deep structure and semantically they are almost identical...

No analysis has since been provided to either prove or disprove this claim, until now. As already mentioned, the Kriol TMA system consists almost entirely of periphrastic markers that precede the verb, as set out in Table 25.

Table 25: **Kriol TMA system**

Realis Tense		Aspect		Irrealis Mood	
bin	Past	*oldei*	Continuative	*garra*	Obligatory (Future)
Ø	Present	*stil*	Durative	*-l*	Definite 1sg
		stat	Incipient	*mait*	Potential
		onli	Limitational	*gin*	Abilitive
		jes	Proximal	*gan*	Inabilitive
		-bat	Progressive	*lafda*	Necessary
		yusdu	Habitual		

As this shows, Kriol distinguishes between past and present tense. Past tense (PST) is marked with *bin* in Kriol as shown in (76) while present tense is unmarked, as in (77)

(76) wi   **bin**   gu la   gedul   grik
      1pl.ex**PST** go G/L   [place name]   creek
      We went to Cattle Creek.   (S025)

(77) dis   du   boi   bin   dal–im   im,   gaman   wi   **gu–dan**   iya   la
      DET   two   boy   PST   tell–TM   3sg   come:IMP 1pl.in **go–DIR**   DEM   G/L

      grik
      creek
      These two boys told him, "Come on, we are going down here to the creek".   (A143-144)

Future is expressed through the obligatory mood (OBL) marker as shown in (78).

(78) yu   **garra** gu la   anggul   gilbet–na
      2sg   **OBL** go G/L   uncle   [personal name]–EM
      You will/must/have to go to Uncle Gilbert now.   (C050)

The mood marker of obligation, as this example shows, can indicate a sense of obligation or intention, although always with the notion of future. It does not occur with any other tense, aspect or mood marker. Two other examples to show its semantic range are provided in (79) and (80).

(79) det   drein **garra** gam-bek iya   drekli
      DET   train **OBL** come-DIR DEM   soon
      The train will come back here soon/directly.   (S036)

(80) en   bos   bin   dok,   wi   **garra** deil–im–at   dedei
      TPC   boss/overseer   PST   talk/say   1pl.in   **OBL** divide–TM–DIR   today

      menija   fit–im   dumaji   wi   nomo   got–im   hei
      manager   feed–TM   CONJ   1pl.in   NEG   got–TM   hay

And the boss said, "We have to/must divide them out today to monitor their feeding because we haven't got any hay". (S033)

The habitual (HAB) also does not occur with any other tense, aspect or mood marker and inherently indicates something in the past as (81) shows.

(81)　en　　　main　hasben　**yusdu**　gerri–yim–ap　damiyok
　　　　TPC　　POSS　husband　**HAB**　　carry–TM–DIR　tomahawk
　　　　And my husband used to carry/bring along a tomahawk (axe). (C053)

Table 25 also presents the aspect markers that occur in combination with both present tense and past tense. Example sentence (82) shows the use of the continuative (CONT); (83) the durative (DUR); (84) the incipient (INC); (85) the limitational (LIM), and (86) the proximal (PROX).

(82)　olda　　　　ol–bibul　　bin　**oldei**　len–im　　melabat
　　　　PL　　　　RSP–people　PST　**CONT**　teach–TM　1pl.ex
　　　　The old people (respected elders) were teaching us (but not you). (D015)

(83)　medel　　　　　bin　**stil**　gam　na　mi
　　　　[personal name]　PST　**DUR**　come　G/L　1sg
　　　　Myrtle still came to me. (C052)

(84)　im　**stat**　luk–aran　det　woda–na
　　　　3sg　**INC**　look–DIR　DET　water–EM
　　　　He begins/starts to look around (in) the water then. (C207)

(85)　melabat　bin　**onli**　wok-na　　na　roubabeli
　　　　1pl.ex　PST　**LIM**　walk-EM　G/L　[place name]
　　　　We (not you) only walked to Roper Valley. (D033)

(86)　im　**jes**　rol–im　　swek　en　　larrimgu　　hos　　en　　gam–bek　　rait–bek
　　　　3sg　**PROX**roll–TM　swag　CONJ　let.go/loose　horse　CONJ　come–DIR　ADV–DIR

　　　　la　steishen
　　　　G/L　station

　　　　He just rolled his swag (up) and let his horse go/loose and came back, right back to the station. (C182)

The limitational and proximal aspect markers often occur in conjunction in a verb construction, the only aspect markers to do so. An example is provided in (87).

(87)　dei　bin　**onli**　**jes**　bek–im–ap　　　ol da　tings　but–im
　　　　3pl　PST　**LIM**　**PROX**pack–TM–DIR　PL　　things　put–TM

la   ginu
G/L   canoe

They (only) just packed up all the things and put them in the canoe. (C017)

The mood markers of Kriol never take the past tense marker nor occur in the present. As previously described, *garra*, can be used in a few ways, predominantly to indicate a sense of obligation as in (88).

(88)   hei   ai **garra** lip–um   yu   olmen   yu garra naja
        EXC   1sg**OBL** leave–TM 2sg   old/respected.man   2sgI/A   INDPR

        gel–na
        girl–EM
        Hey, I have to/must leave you old man/husband as you're with another girl/wife now.
        (A043)

When a definite sense of the future is required with the first singular pronoun then -*l* may occur on the pronoun, as in (89).

(89)   en   ai–l   deik yundubala la   stok–gemp
        TPC   1sg–**DEF** take 2DU   G/L   stock–camp
        I will take you two to the stock-camp. (S076)

Other example sentences follow of the potential (POT) in (90); the abilitive (ABL) in (91); the inabilitive (INABL) in (92), and the necessary (NEC) in (93).

(90)   im   **mait** gaman   en   ran–im–wei en   it   yunmi
        3sg **POT** come   CONJ run–TM–DIR CONJ eat   1du.in
        It might come and run this way and eat us (you and me). (C249)

(91)   yundubala **gin**   deik–im–bek   hos
        2du   **ABL**   take–TM–DIR   horse
        Can you two take back the horses? (S055)

(92)   wotfo   yundubala   **gan**   sbel   fo   wan   dei
        why   2du   **INABL**   rest   P/P   one   day
        Why (lit. what for) *can't you two have a rest for one day?* (S147)

(93)   en   dedi bin   dok,   wi   **lafda** gu
        TPC   daddy PST   talk   1pl.ex **NEC**   go
        And Daddy said, "We have to/must go".   (C114)

Negative (NEG) TMA is marked in four ways. In Realis there are two forms. For greater emphasis *neba* is used, most commonly in the past tense and the other form is *nomo*. Both precede the verb complex and are shown in examples (94) and (95) respectively.

(94) main   hasben   **neba** bin   wandi gil–im–bat   enibodi
      POSS   husband **NEG** PST   INT   hit–TM–PROG   anybody
      My husband never wanted to be hitting anybody.   (C206)

(95) olabat   **nomo** bin   ap–um   hei   det   daim
      3pl   **NEG** PST   have–TM hay   DET   time

      meik–im–bat   hei   **najing**
      make–TM–PROG   hay   **nothing**

      They didn't have hay at that time, they weren't making hay, nothing.   (S034)

The only form used to mark negative in Irrealis is *gan*, the inabilitive aspect marker, as in example (92), above.

In terms of the predictions made in the previous section it has been shown that there is no evidence of E Feature 11 (a distinct evitative mood). It can be expected, therefore that E Feature 11 did not transfer at an earlier stage of pidgin development, possibility due to availability constraints. The Kriol past tense marker either occurs with a continuous aspect marker to form past continuous or without, in which case it is past punctual. E Feature 10 (punctual and continuous distinction in past tense) has, therefore, been found in Kriol. There is also future mood and potential mood marking in Kriol, which suggests that E Feature 12 (future and potential mood) is present in Kriol. The Future marker in Kriol expresses a range of modal meanings including obligation, but always in the future. There are separate mood markers for other moods. Similarly, there is also a distinction in marking Realise and Irrealis negative TMA, which suggests that E Feature 13 (negative morphology distinguished for Realis and Irrealis moods) is found in Kriol. It can be argued that E Features 10, 12 and 13 did transfer at earlier stage of development, as there were no constraints on transfer and these features were then retained during levelling due to their high frequency among the substrate languages.

5.2.4   Availability Constraints

E Feature 10 - punctual and continuous distinction in past tense – is a feature of the Kriol TMA system. Firstly, there is a continuous aspect marker in Kriol, *oldei*, which is used in conjunction with the past tense marker *bin* to form past continuous. The form of the continuous is based on a perceptually salient form in English; consider the following.

We were always fighting.
The celebrations went all day.

It is suggested that the form of *oldei* may be based on 'all day' while the construction on which it is based involves 'always'. Alternatively, because the consonant cluster /lw/ is generally not possible in the phonotactics of the substrate languages it may have been replaced by the voiced stop /d/, and with the deletion of the final /s/, thereby created 'alday' from 'always'. In either case these two forms in English would not be easily distinguished according to the phonologies of the substrate languages, and perhaps taken for the same by substrate language speakers. As there is no constraint on transfer this feature could be transferred to the preceding pidgin during expansion and retained in Kriol due to its high frequency.

Secondly, there is no actual punctual marker in Kriol, which may be due to a lack of a perceptually salient form in English that has some shared function. However, there is still a distinction between past punctual and past continuous. If past continuous is marked through the use of *oldei* in combination with past tense *bin*, then it follows that where the past tense *bin* occurs without the continuous, it is in fact past punctual. The distinction remains although no specific form for the punctual has been transferred. The distinction in past tense between punctual and continuous is expected to have transferred during expansion to the preceding pidgin and would also have been retained during levelling due to high frequency and ultimately found in Kriol.

E Feature 11 – a distinct evitative mood – is not a feature found in Kriol. There are two perceptually salient forms on which an evitative mood marker could have been based, as

it is commonly translated as 'or else' or 'lest'. These forms are not found in congruent constructions in English, although they occur in proximity to the verb, particularly following it, as they do in the substrate languages. Consider the following sentences.

Keep to the track lest the monster will get you.
Don't throw that ball or else you'll be in trouble.

Both these English forms are conjunctions that precede the subject. As noted in the introduction to this chapter, the role of congruence is most likely reduced in the semantic transfer of categories, although it may still influence transfer by assisting in the perception of forms as salient. This lack of congruence may explain why the seemingly perceptually salient forms in English were not transferred to act as the equivalent to the evitative mood in the expanding NT Pidgin, that preceded Kriol. As transfer is not expected to have occurred the feature could not have been retained during levelling and hence is not present in Kriol.

E Feature 12 – future and potential mood – have been transferred to Kriol. The future is marked by the obligatory mood marker, *garra,* and the potential is marked by *mait* in Kriol. They are based on the perceptually salient forms, 'got to' and 'might', respectively, as shown in the following sentences.

I've got to help at the gallery.
Sally might leave him.

They also occur in direct relationship with the verb, as congruent constructions. Furthermore, and perhaps more significantly, as noted in §5.2.1 that in one, and with further research perhaps all, the substrate languages, future is in fact expressed as a mood with a sense of 'obligation'. The English form, 'got to' is likewise not directly a future tense marker but rather a mood construction, which expresses a sense of 'obligation'. This semantic similarity between the substrate feature and the superstrate feature may have assisted in its transfer to the preceding pidgin, which due to its high frequency among substrate languages, the future mood feature was retained during levelling. In Kriol then, while *garra* can express a sense of future tense it is not an actual future tense form itself, rather a marker of obligatory mood. The same is expected of the potential mood, such that the model in the substrate languages may have encouraged the transfer of

the use of 'might' from English to the preceding pidgin, which was then retained during levelling due to its high frequency.

E Feature 13 – negative morphology distinguished for Realis and Irrealis moods – is also present in Kriol and requires a twofold comparison to English. Firstly, the forms of the negative markers in Kriol, *neba, nomo* and *gan,* have been derived from perceptually salient forms in English, included in the following sentences.

> *John never talked to me about it.*
> *No more dancing is allowed.*
> *You can't leave in the morning.*

In relation to this last example, it should be pointed out that this 'settler speech' is based on an English-Australian pronunciation, which is phonetically realised as [a]. It is suggested, therefore, that *neba* is based on 'never', *nomo* on 'no more' and *gan* on 'can't'.

Secondly, there is the issue of the distinction between Realis and Irrealis negative marking, which does occur in Kriol, whereby *neba* and *nomo* only occur in the former and *gan* only in the latter. It appears then that transfer of E Feature 13 has occurred, yet in order for this to be a case of negative transfer (see §1.4) it must be shown that English does not also utilise a distinction between Realis and Irrealis negative marking. The following sentences, in combination with those above, can shed some light on this issue.

> *She is not going to school.*
> *She did not go to school yesterday.*
> *She will not go to school tomorrow.*
> *I never go to Queensland.*
> *I never went to Queensland.*
> *I will never go to Queensland.*
> *You can't go now.*
> **You can't went/go yesterday.*
> *You can't go tomorrow.*

As this shows the negative markers in English, 'not' and 'never' can occur in both past and present tense, the equivalent to Realis, and future tense, the equivalent to Irrealis. Furthermore, 'can't' occurs in both future and present tense. These differences in the

English negative marking patterns to the substrate language model described in E Feature 13, suggest that this is in fact a case of negative transfer. It is expected, therefore, that speakers of the preceding pidgin transferred the characteristics of E Feature 13 to the pidgin. This is a case of negative transfer because English, as the superstrate language, does not have the same feature characteristics. It is further expected that during levelling the feature characteristics were retained due to their high frequency in the substrate languages, and were ultimately retained in Kriol.

5.3 Case

Case marking was discussed in §4.3 in terms of structural transfer within the nominal complex. It was shown that Kriol does not make use of postnominal case marking, favouring instead prenominal prepositions. It was also shown that Kriol only marks semantic roles in this manner, rather than grammatical relations. This section, therefore, examines the possible semantic transfer of semantic roles from the substrate languages to the NT Pidgin, which were ultimately retained in Kriol.

5.3.1 In the substrate

The substrate languages each have their own unique case systems to mark semantic roles of nominals but there are shared categories between them. Each language has a different number of such case suffixes, with Nunggubuyu perhaps the most complicated. The shared semantic roles that are marked by all the substrate languages are presented in Table 26.

Table 26:   Case systems of the substrate languages

	Nunggubuyu	Ngalakgan	Marra	Alawa
Allative, Goal	-wuy	-gah	-yurr	-rru
Locative, Location	-ruj	-gah	-yurr	-rru
Ablative, Source	-wala	-wala	-yani/-yana	-yunu
Instrumental	-miri	-yih	-Ø	-rri
Genitive, Possession	-yinyung	-hgVn	-Ø	-ja
Purposive, Purpose	-yungguyung	-hgVn	-ni	-ja

Here we can see the correlation between the grammatical term and the semantic role; the former will continue to be used in interlinear glosses and the latter will be used in the following text. Table 26 also shows that some semantic role categories share the same case form. The semantic roles of goal and location, for example, can be represented by the same form in three of the four languages. Examples from Marra are provided below. Example (96) shows the locative (LOC), or location semantic role, and (97) shows the allative (ALL), or goal semantic role, taking the same form.

(96)   nya–radburr–**yurr**   wa–wurlu
          NC–camp–**LOC**   3sg–sit:TMA
          He sits/stays/lives in the camp.   (Marra, Heath 1981a:85)

(97)   nga–jurra   na–walba–**yurr**
          1sg–go:TMA   NC–river–**ALL**
          I will go to the river.   (Marra, Heath 1981a:85)

Similarly, possession and purpose are expressed with the same form in two of the four languages. In Ngalakgan, for example, the most common way of indicating purpose is to use the genitive (GEN) case suffix (Merlan 1983:45-47), and examples follow in (98) and (99).

(98)   naman,   mu–may–**hgan**   gu–rli–marrawul–me–n
          poor.thing   NC–food–**GEN**   3sg–CMP–hunger–root–TMA
          Poor thing, he's hungry for food.   (Ngalakgan, Merlan 1983:45)

(99)   nu–gohje nu–gu–mirparra Ø–runi–runiny   balinyh   nu–gunhbirri mirparra
          NC–that NC–DEF–child 3sg–rdp–cry:TMA like   NC–that   child

          ju–nangari–**hgin**   yinimbala
          NC–[subsection term]–**GEN**   just.the.same

          That child cried and cried, just like Nangari's child (lit. *that child of Nangari's).* (Ngalakgan, Merlan 1983:44)

Case forms in all the substrate languages encompass a range of semantic roles, which are often the same sets of semantic roles.

As will be found in the following sections, it is necessary to mention the comitative, or semantic role of accompaniment. Heath (1984:210) says that for Nunggubuyu: 'It [the

instrumental case] is specifically instrumental in sense, and in particular is not comitative. The latter category is expressed by a derivational prefix *−anyji−* in the verb....'

Interestingly, an identical prefix is also used in what Heath (1984:483) describes as 'one instance in Nunuggubuyu of a "having X" proprietive derivation', although it is not common. In Alawa, Sharpe (1972:68) mentions the nominal suffix *−wanji,* which also appears to express a proprietive 'having X' meaning, as well as the accompaniment semantic role. In Ngalakgan, Merlan (1983:39) says that the *barta–X–yih* 'proprietive' construction, which is a means of expressing 'having X', also encompasses comitative and instrumental, and an example of the proprietive is found in (100).

(100) anyji burr-rnahrna   nugu-**barta-gurnrdarorro-yih**
       and   3nsg/3sg-see:PP NC-**PROP-horns-PROP**
       And they saw a cow. (literally *having/with horns*)   (Ngalakgan, Merlan 1983:39)

In Marra, Heath (1981a:286) says the most likely way of expressing comitative is through the use of *daginiyi* 'having' followed by a noun with instrumental case and although this construction is not common it is no doubt another proprietive construction type.

5.3.2 Reinforcement Principle and predictions

The discussion in the previous section suggests that two predictions can be made, regarding what can be expected in the representation of semantic roles in Kriol. The first prediction, E Feature 14, predicts that the semantic roles that are shared by all the substrate languages, and therefore high in frequency, would have been retained in NT Pidgin during levelling if transfer had previously taken place. The second prediction, E Feature 15, predicts that the semantic roles of goal and location would be realised by the one form, and likewise, possession and purpose would also be realised by another single form in Kriol. This feature is not unanimous among the substrate languages. However, in three of the four substrate languages one case form expresses both goal and location, and in two of the four languages one case form expresses possession and purpose. It is further predicted, therefore, that if this feature was transferred during expansion of the

NT Pidgin then it would have been retained during levelling, due to this relatively high frequency of occurrence. The predictions follow.

Predictions based on semantic role categories

E FEATURE 14:   Marked semantic roles of goal, location, source, instrumental, possession and purpose
E FEATURE 15:   One form to express the two semantic roles of goal and location and another form to express possession and purpose.

5.3.3   In Kriol

It will be recalled from §5.2.3 that Sharpe (1972:9) previously suggested that the case system of Alawa is 'almost identical' to the prepositions in Kriol in their semantic categories. No research on this point has since been carried out on Roper Kriol, until now. Hudson (1983a: 68-76) previously carried out an analysis of the semantic roles of prepositions in Fitzroy Kriol in comparison to Walmajarri, a substrate language of that region and found correlations between the following Walmajarri case categories with Fitzroy Kriol prepositions: dative case – *blanga,* locative and accessory case – *langa* and instrumental derivational affix and locative case – *garra.*

The semantic categories of Roper Kriol prepositions are presented in Table 27.

Table 27:   **Kriol prepositions**

Semantic categories	Form	Gloss
Goal, Location	*langa* or *la*	to, at, in, on
Source	*burrum* or *brom*	from
Possession, Purpose	*blanga* or *bla*	for, belongs to
Instrument, Accompaniment	*garra*	with

The semantic roles of goal (G) and location (L) are expressed by the same preposition, *langa* or *la,* as (101) and (102) show, respectively.

(101) wal   ai   bin   gu   **la**   denambirini
       well   1sg   PST   go   **G/L**   [place name]
       Well, I went to Tanumbirini   (A009)

(102)   wal   ai   bin   bon   **la**   natwut
        well   1sg   PST   born   **G/L**   [place name]
        Well, I was born at Nutwood Station.   (C001)

Similarly the categories of possession (P) and purpose (P) are also expressed by the same preposition, *blanga* or *bla,* as (103) and (104) respectively show

(103)   mi   en   main   mami   bin   get–im   det   drak   **blanga**   im–na
        1sg   CONJ POSS mummy PST   get–TM   DET   truck   **P/P**   3sg–EM
        My mummy and I got his truck (that truck of his) now.   (A050)

(104)   mela garra weit–na   **bla**   olgamen
        1pl.ex OBL   wait–EM   **P/P**   old/respected.lady
        We (not you) have to wait now, for the (respected) old lady.   (D016)

Furthermore, the roles of instrumental (I) and accompaniment (A) are also expressed by the same preposition, *garra,* as (105) and (106) respectively show.

(105)   det   medel   hasben   bin   hit–im   **garra** shabulsbiya
        DET   [personal name]   husband PST   hit–TM   **I/A**   shovelspear
        (That/the) Myrtle's husband hit her with a shovel-spear.   (C028)

(106)   mela bin   oldei gu hant   **garra** gliyo
        1pl.ex PST   CONT go hunt   **I/A**   [personal name]
        We (not you) always went hunting with Cleo.   (D015)

An example of the use of the source (SRC) preposition is in (107).

(107)   yu   waif   yu   si   loda   grandrimen   bren   **burrum** borralulua–wei
        2sg   wife   2sg   see   QUANT   country.man   friend   **SRC**   [place name]–DIR

        makatha
        [place name]

        (With) your wife you see a lot of countrymen, friends (from the same place), from (in the direction of) Borroloola way, McArthur River.   (A118)

As expected from E Feature 14, it has been found, therefore, that all the marked semantic roles of goal, location, source, instrumental, possession and purpose are expressed through the Roper Kriol prepositions. It can now further be expected that transfer of this feature was allowed during an earlier stage of development of the pidgin, before being retained during levelling due to high frequency. Also as expected from E Feature 15, Kriol expresses the semantic roles of goal and location with the one form, as well as

possession and purpose with the one form. It can also, therefore, be expected that transfer of this feature took place at an earlier stage of development of the pidgin, before being retained during levelling due to high frequency.

5.3.4 Availability Constraints and other explanations

E Feature 14 – marked semantic roles of goal, location, source, instrumental, possession and purpose – is found in Kriol. Table 28 below shows the correlation between the categories of semantic roles in Kriol and those shared by the substrate languages. E Feature 15 – one form to express the two semantic roles of goal and location and another form to express possession and purpose – is also found in Kriol.

Table 28: Overview of semantic roles.

Semantic categories	Kriol Form	Substrate case	English source
Goal, Location	*langa* or *la*	Allative, Locative	'along'
Source	*burrum* or *brom*	Ablative	'from'
Possession, Purpose	*blanga* or *bla*	Purposive, Genitive	'belong'
Instrument, Accompaniment	*garra*	Instrumental	'got a'

Before continuing, the case of accompaniment as a semantic role must be discussed. As was noted in §5.3.1 all the substrate languages have a means of expressing the semantic role of accompaniment, although its form varies. In Nunggubuyu this is a verb prefix, in Alawa a nominal suffix and in Ngalakgan and Marra a nominal construction. Accompaniment is therefore not marked through a case suffix as such. The fact that Accompaniment is expressed with the same form as Instrument in Kriol is therefore unexpected. However, in all four Roper River substrate languages the form used to express accompaniment is also used to express the proprietive 'having X' construction. There could be a case made that the NT Pidgin speakers also bilingual in the substrate languages associated the accompaniment and proprietive constructions with the one form. Evans (2003:139) also shows how a grammaticalisation path may have developed between these two functions to the instrumental case in other Gunwinjguan languages, which suggests that this may be a general pattern either in the region or in nonPN

languages in general. The fact that the English preposition, 'with', can also be used to realise both instrumental and accompaniment semantic roles indicates that there may be a relationship between the two, which could influence transfer to Kriol. The NT Pidgin speakers may then have extended the one form to express the two semantic roles, Instrument and Accompaniment.

For all of the Kriol prepositions, there must have been perceptually salient forms in English on which to base them. Table 28 above also shows the expected source words from English for the Kriol prepositions. There are numerous options in English on which to base prepositions in Kriol and so we must ask why these particular forms were chosen. First of all, all bar one are bi-syllabic, which increases their chance of being heard distinctly. Secondly, if they could be used in English with similar semantic categories it would make a strong case for their inclusion. To this end consider the following sentences.

> *We walked **along** the creek.*
> *(We walked **in** the creek.)*
> *She came back **from** London.*
> *This book **belongs** to me.*

For those categories that share the one form, it is suggested that as long as the English form can function in one of the semantic roles then transfer could take place. The other semantic role may have been extended to this same form due to pressure from the substrate languages. This appears to be the case with possession, which can be expressed by 'belong' in English. This form, being perceptually salient, was transferred to the contact language and the semantic role of purpose was then extended to it through substrate semantic transfer. The same can be said of the G/L preposition in Kriol, which is based on 'along', such that it can be expected that it was first used as the location semantic category and later the semantic category of goal was extended to it.

It must also be borne in mind that two of these prepositions in Kriol most likely entered the contact language in the Northern Territory via the NSW/QLD Pidgin. Harris

(1986:271) provides the earliest recorded examples and they are presented in Table 29 below.

Table 29:   Earliest examples of prepositions in the Northern Territory Pidgin

Preposition	Year	Source	Example
'along' – *langa* or *la*	1882-1886	Searcy 1912:70	1. Captain, what for you get em lost alonga bush and no take me?
	1888	Kelsey 1975:76	2. I bin lendem longa Timbuk, my brother.
	1902	Gunn 1905:10	3. Me knock up longa Shimmy Shirts... Longa string ... me bin make em.
	1902	Gunn 1905:20	4. No more Missus. Me goodfellow; s'pose you no more make me whitefellow longa paint.
'belong' - *blanga/bla*	1902	Gunn 1905:11	5. him bite eye belonga me
	1902	Gunn 1905:65	6. Missus, which way you bin put him egg belonga crocodile.

There are some interesting conclusions that can be drawn from these examples. Firstly, examples 1. and 2. show 'along', as the precursor to *langa*, being used to express the semantic role of location. This is as expected and due to the early date of attestation we can assume this feature was part of the NSW/QLD Pidgin on arrival, although still based on the same perceptually salient form in English. It can be assumed that the use of this preposition was extended to the semantic role of goal at a later date, due to substrate language semantic transfer. Similarly, examples 5. and 6. provide evidence of 'belong' as the precursor to *blanga* and showing its use expressing the possession semantic role. It can be assumed that this feature entered NT Pidgin via this NSW/QLD Pidgin and that the preposition was extended to purpose, which was also due to substrate language semantic transfer at a later date.[24]

Finally, examples 3. and 4. show 'along' being used to express the instrument semantic category, which is now not evident in *langa*. While this function may have been in use at the time it has now given way to another preposition, *garra*. Combined with the fact that there are no early attestations of the use of *garra*, or 'got a', this may be evidence that the

use of this Kriol preposition developed due to semantic transfer from the substrate languages in the Roper River at a later date. The same reasoning applies to the source preposition, *burrum/brom*; as there are no early attestations of this preposition it may suggest that it developed as part of NT Pidgin at a later date of development and was influenced by transfer from these substrate languages.

5.4 Discussion

There have been seven predictions of feature transfer made in this chapter, from the pronominal, TMA and case systems of the substrate languages, and they are summarised along with findings in Table 30 (on the following page). Five of these predictions were proven correct, in that Kriol displays the same feature type as that predicted. One feature was partially found. The lack of the other predicted feature that was not found in Kriol, from within the TMA system, was explained via the availability constraints, such that transfer was not possible at an earlier stage of pidgin development due to the constraints.

It was found in §5.1 and §5.3 that while the Transfer Constraints can account for semantic transfer, they are enhanced by taking into consideration other language input and processes. More specifically, the identification of NT Pidgin features that originated in the NSW/QLD Pidgin allows for a more accurate assessment of the influence of the Roper River substrate languages. While the *dubala* ending on pronouns in Kriol may have originated in the NSW/QLD Pidgin, for example, their reorganisation to mark most dual pronouns, may have been a result of substrate influence and semantic transfer to NT Pidgin during expansion. The same was shown in regard to the semantic categories of prepositions in Kriol. While the form and partial function of prepositions, such as *langa* and *blanga,* were shown to be derived from NSW/QLD Pidgin, their functions changed in the NT Pidgin under influence of the Roper River substrate languages. The ability of *langa* to express both the goal and location semantic roles and the ability of *blanga* to

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[24] It should be noted that *bilong* is also used in Tok Pisin as the purposive preposition. The possible substrate language influence in that language requires further investigation.

express both the possession and purpose semantic roles, for example, were transferred to the expanding NT Pidgin under influence of the case system of the substrate languages. Finally, it was also shown in §5.1.4, that by taking into consideration the contact language process of simplification the lack of gender in the pronominal system in NT Pidgin and ultimately Kriol, could be explained.

Table 30:   Summary of Chapter 5 findings

Predictions	Findings in Kriol
E Feature 9: Pronominal system with three number (Singular, Dual and Plural) and Inclusive/Exclusive categories expressed by a minimal/augmented morphological system	Prediction partially correct Kriol has a pronominal system that includes three number (Singular, Dual and Plural) and Inclusive/Exclusive distinctions. The evidence is inconclusive as to whether it is best represented in a minimal/augmented morphological system.
E Feature 10: Punctual and continuous distinction in the past tense	Prediction correct There is continuous aspect in Kriol and a punctual/continuous distinction.
E Feature 11: Evitative mood	Prediction incorrect There is no Evitative mood in Kriol. Constraints apply
E Feature 12: Future and potential mood	Prediction correct The obligatory mood in Kriol expresses future and obligation. There is also a potential mood in Kriol.
E Feature 13: Negative morphology distinguished for Realis and Irrealis moods.	Prediction correct There is a distinction in marking negative TMA in Kriol: *neba* and *nomo* are used in Realis and *gan* in Irrealis.
E Feature 14: Marked semantic roles goal, location, source, instrumental, possession and purpose	Prediction correct goal and location – *langa*, source – *brom,* instrumental and accompaniment – *garra* possession and purpose – *blanga.*
E Feature 15: One form to express the two semantic roles of goal and location and another form to express possession and purpose.	Prediction correct goal and location – *langa* possession and purpose – *blanga*

It should be recalled from §1.4 that the application of the Transfer Constraints approach in this study differs from that formerly used in that features of semantic categories are analysed for the effects of transfer, which has not previously been performed. This chapter provides evidence that not only is it possible for transfer of semantic categories to take place, but that the Transfer Constraints approach is still able to account for the results. The reinforcement principle of frequency continued to provide appropriate predictions as to what could have been retained during levelling within the preceding pidgin, if transfer had taken place. Similarly, the availability constraint of perceptual

salience continued to provide accurate explanations for the transfer possibilities. While the availability constraint of congruence played a less vital role in explaining constraints on transfer, the discussion in §5.2.4 shows that it continues to have explanatory power. If the main focus is on defining whether there was 'somewhere to transfer to' in the superstrate, whether for a morphosyntactic or semantic feature, then the placement of the feature within a construction, such as defined by congruence, may still influence such transfer.

The three features discussed in this chapter were previously analysed in chapters 3 and 4 in terms of structural transfer. In §4.3 it was noted that any case of structural transfer found at that stage also included a discussion of semantic features. This chapter provides further evidence of this. While there appeared to be no structural transfer of case suffixes, TMA suffixes or pronominal prefixes there is substantial semantic transfer within their systems of categories. As previously stated it was also shown, however, that congruence continues to play an integral part of the analysis in terms of identifying 'somewhere to transfer to'. It has been systematically shown, therefore, that the best approach is to discuss structural and semantic feature characteristics together and this is carried out in the next chapter.