

Chapter One

A multifaceted approach to describing referring expressions

1.1 Aims of this thesis

The goal of this thesis is to provide an original description of the way in which reference is achieved in Kriol, an English-lexified Aboriginal creole language spoken in the Northern Territory (NT) of Australia by about 15–20,000 people. I aim to investigate referring expressions in Kriol from various perspectives, using tools from a range of theoretical frameworks and research traditions, including descriptive linguistics, discourse analysis, information structure, and ethnopragmatics. The thesis provides an integrated description of how referential expressions are structured, their constituency, and how they are used in spontaneous talk to meet communicative needs. This thesis also demonstrates that there is significant continuity of referring strategies from Kriol's Aboriginal substrate languages.

I will analyse the relevant grammatical structures of Kriol, and seek to connect them with the functions of the language as a tool of interaction. Though linguists such as Diana Eades (1983, 1985, 1991, 1993), Michael Walsh (1991, 1997) and Jean Harkins (1994) have undertaken research into interactional style in Aboriginal languages¹, this remains a largely under-developed area of research in Australian linguistics. Until recently very little actual discourse analysis of Australian Indigenous languages has been undertaken (cf. Mushin & Baker 2008; Mushin 2005; Garde 2008, 2003; McGregor 1991; Malcolm 1994 and Blythe 2009). Thus not only does this thesis contribute to the study of descriptive linguistics by providing an in-depth analysis of a previously under-described language, it contributes new data and

¹ These scholars worked on Aboriginal English and traditional Aboriginal languages. Harkins, for example, demonstrates that Aboriginal English is a dialect of English distinct from Standard Australian English (Harkins 1994). See also Liberman (1985) for an ethnographic discussion interaction in Central Australia.

new insights to an emerging body of research into discourse and interactional style in Australian languages.

In this chapter I introduce the aims of the thesis, information about the Kriol language and its speakers, a discussion of the data and data collection, and an outline of each of the chapters. Firstly I will define the concept of reference and referential practice as used in this thesis.

To define the concept of reference, (and hence “referring expression”), it is useful to draw a comparison with the concept of “denotation”. Denotation is the relationship held between a lexeme and a class of extralinguistic objects, for example the lexeme “tree” denotes all possible objects that could be described as “tree(s)”. Conversely, reference is the relationship between a lexeme and a specific object (chosen from the class “denoted” by that lexeme) on the particular occasion of its utterance (Lyons 1977:207).² Thus, a referring expression is a group of words used by a speaker in a particular instance to refer to an extralinguistic object. In Kriol, as in most languages, such a group of words constitutes a noun phrase.

“Referential practice” can be summarised as an “approach to reference as social practice, in which language is articulated with its social and cultural context without reducing either to a reflection or epiphenomenon of the other” (Hanks 1990:74). There has been a small but significant amount of research undertaken in regards to reference (particularly person reference) in Aboriginal languages (for example, Stanner 1937; Blythe 2009; Goddard 1992; Baker 2008). There is a large body of research investigating other languages, particularly English, with regards to reference.³

The sub-disciplines of linguistics allow an analyst to adopt different perspectives on the structure of language, such as grammatical structures (syntax and morphology), the structure of talk-in-interaction (conversational and discourse analysis), and linguistic-cultural pragmatics (anthropological linguistics;

² A lexeme is a minimal unit of language that has a semantic interpretation.

³ Some relevant examples include: Hanks 2007; Downing 1996; Lerner & Kitzinger 2007; Enfield 2007; Enfield & Stivers 2007; Ford & Fox 1996; Haviland 2007; Sacks & Schegloff 1979; Schegloff 1996; Ariel 1988; 1990.

ethnopragmatics). Each perspective has explanatory power in its own domain and contributes to our understanding of human language and culture. In isolation, however, a description of any language from one of these perspectives does little justice to the tasks a speaker manages with the acts of speaking and interpreting language in a given context. Using language effectively means understanding the relevant communicative practices and simultaneously manipulating morphological and syntactic structures:

Speakers are cognizant, purposive agents in creating speech, in using language as a tool. Their choices are made in real time. This demands at the very least that language, with its hundreds of thousands of signs, function as a communicative system of contextually cued choices. This process, [...], is clearly profoundly constrained by human cognitive capacities, as well as by the specific structure of the language system being used. (Durie 1999:426-27)

A precursor to the current study can be found in Harkins (1994), who uses various theoretical perspectives to describe Aboriginal English. She documents both the grammatical differences between Aboriginal English and Standard Australian English, as well as the pragmatic features that distinguish one dialect from another.

As Kriol has not been previously described in a comprehensive grammar (Sandefur 1979 is a short description), I include grammatical description of referential expressions (i.e. the noun phrase), in Kriol. As mentioned, the thesis diverges from a standard descriptive grammar by also considering speech production, and including information about pragmatic and interactional norms.

Researchers such as Eades (1992), Koch (1985), and Harkins (1994) have shown that Aboriginal people who speak Aboriginal English often miss out on crucial information regarding medical, legal and educational issues because of difficulties in communication. I suggest that Kriol speakers are in a comparable situation (see Trudgen (2000), Cooke (1996) and Sutton (2009) for similar discussion concerning speakers of traditional Aboriginal languages). My thesis, much like Harkins' work, has the benefit of raising the status of Kriol by analysing this language using

linguistic frameworks.⁴ This study describes aspects of Kriol referring expressions without the particular goal of testing a theoretical claim. The tools of analysis have been chosen because they best describe the data.

I will briefly review each of the three linguistic research traditions utilised in this study: descriptive linguistics, the functionalist tradition (including frameworks such as discourse analysis and information structure), and the tradition of communicative practice/ethnopragmatics.

Descriptive linguistics was founded in the USA (cf. Boas 1911, 1929; Bloomfield 1933, 1939); however, in recent times it has been largely overshadowed in that country by the “supposedly nobler and more scientifically challenging task of “theoretical” work in formal paradigms” (Evans 2009:222; see also Thurston 2007:15). In Australia, however, descriptive linguistics remains a robust research tradition. The following is a typical outline of the descriptive approach adopted in descriptive grammatical research (see also Evans & Dench 2006:3):

The data gathered is analysed using what has lately been referred to as “basic linguistic theory” (Dixon 2009,1997:128-135; Dryer 2006). No formalised model is used (e.g., Optimality Theory or Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar); rather, the best aspects of traditional grammar, structuralism, formalised theories (such as generative grammar), and typology are drawn from. In other words, the data is described on its own terms: the description accommodated the data, and not the other way around. (Schneider 2006:17)

I also draw on frameworks rooted in the functionalist tradition, including discourse analysis. Schiffrin et al. (2003:1) state that studies in discourse analysis fall into one of three broad categories: “1. studies of anything beyond the sentence, 2. studies of language use and 3. a broader range of social practice that includes non-linguistic and non-specific instances of language”. In this study I use discourse analysis in the sense of “studies of language in use”. I utilise concepts from information structure, which is a specific branch of discourse analysis. Information structure research draws on

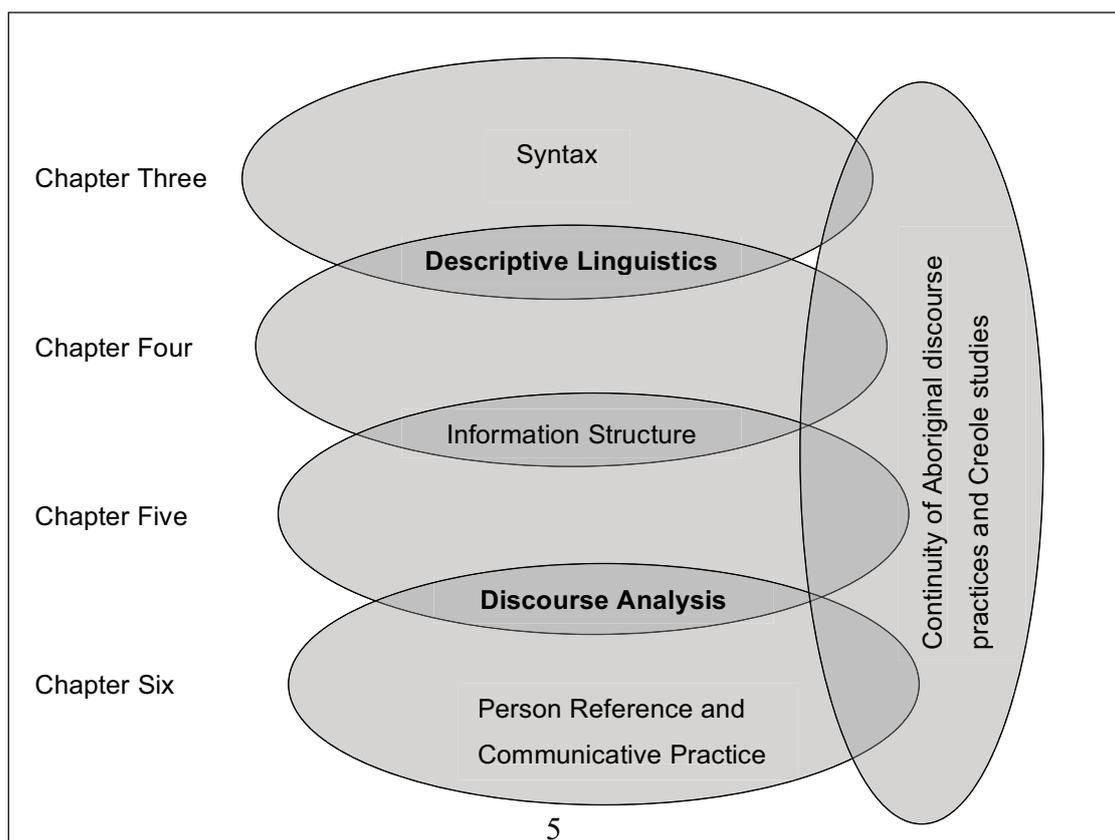
⁴ Many linguists in Australia use Kriol as a *lingua franca* when working on traditional Aboriginal languages in the Northern Territory. As a result, Kriol is often left unglossed and the analyst avoids highlighting, or even acknowledging, the vast differences between English and Kriol.

concepts such as “topic”, “focus” and “accessibility” and aims to correlate grammatical constructions with discourse functions. Information structure research can be characterised as follows:

The central premise of studies on the relationship between syntax and discourse function is that a speaker’s use of a particular structural option is constrained by specific aspects of the context of the utterance. Work in discourse has uncovered a variety of specific discourse functions served by individual syntactic constructions. (Ward & Birmer 2003:119)

I will also investigate referring expressions in Kriol from the perspective of ethnography of speaking and communicative practice. This research tradition draws on social and cultural information to explain and contextualise speech practices in a given speech community (cf. Gumperz & Hymes 1972; Hymes 1972; Hanks 1990, 1996). In this tradition “language has to be seen first of all as a cultural achievement and as a cultural tool, language is the mirror of the culture of its speech community” (Senft 2009:6). Below is a schematic representation of the “multifaceted approach” undertaken in this study. It details the research traditions and frameworks utilised in each chapter.

Fig 1.1 A schematic representation of theories and research traditions used in this thesis



I hope that each chapter of the thesis contributes original and substantial description of referring expressions and referential practice in Kriol. This study offers a variety of contributions to the discipline of linguistics, including an analysis of previously under-described aspects of Kriol language; a description of the noun phrase and sentence structure; information about communicative practices relevant to enhancing cross-cultural understanding; a corpus of naturally occurring conversational data in Kriol; and insights into the continuity of Aboriginal discourse practices in a contemporary English lexified creole.

§1.2 provides a description of the socio-historical context of the Kriol language and its speakers. §1.3 describes the data used in this study and transcription methods and §1.4 is an overview of the thesis.

1.2 Socio-historical context

The region in which Kriol is spoken, colloquially called the Top End, includes most of the northern part of the Northern Territory, and adjacent parts of northern Queensland and Western Australia (see map 1). As mentioned earlier Kriol speakers number at least 15–20,000 (Lee & Dickson 2003:68). There are likely many distinct dialects of Kriol, though no comprehensive areal survey of the language has yet been undertaken (see Rhydwen 1993, regarding Kriol dialects and identity in the Top End). Where I refer to “Kriol” in the body of the thesis I am referring to the dialect spoken predominantly by speakers from Ngukurr and surrounding areas. It is also known as Roper River Kriol, and Roper Kriol.

Ngukurr is a remote Aboriginal community in southeast Arnhem Land in the Northern Territory of Australia. The nearest town with a hospital, employment opportunities and other services is some 300 kilometres away at Katherine. Due to flooding in the monsoon season Ngukurr is inaccessible (except by small aircraft) for some parts of the year. The community has a population of 900–1200 inhabitants, depending on the season (the population is higher in the wet season). In a survey of the community, Lee and Dickson (2003:68) found that 900–1000 residents considered themselves speakers of Kriol. That is, almost all of the Aboriginal residents who

reside in Ngukurr speak Kriol as a first language. It is the language spoken in the home, and the first language acquired by children.

In the following sections I discuss the development of Kriol, in particular, the superstrate and substrate influences. These are terms used to discuss the genesis of creole languages. “Superstrate” is typically the language of the colonising population, it often has a high status and is almost always the lexifier language of the creole, that is, much of the vocabulary is adapted from this language. In the case of Kriol, English, and perhaps NSW Pidgin English are the superstrate influences. The “substrate” influences are typically those languages spoken by people oppressed by colonisation. They contribute some phonology and grammatical structure to the creole and they often have a lower social status than the superstrate language(s) (Siegel 2008:1). In Kriol, the substrate influences include a number of Australian Aboriginal languages.

1.2.1 The emergence of Kriol and superstrate influences

The Kriol language developed as a result of the colonisation of the Roper River region over the period from the late 1870s into the 1930s. There are varying accounts of how Kriol came into existence (cf. Harris 1986; 2007; Morphy & Morphy, 1981; Munro 2004), but all agree that there were several important events that unfolded over a number of decades.

Initially a small number of Europeans settled on the Roper Bar crossing (along the Roper River) while constructing the overland telegraph in the early 1870s (Harris, 1986, 1993; Munro 2004). This was not a permanent settlement, and while there was some interaction between indigenous and non-indigenous groups, it is likely there was little influence on languages in the region. Around the same time, and in the decades that followed, there was a presence in the area from the pastoral industry. Many of the cattle drovers employed Aboriginal men as stockmen. It is likely cattle drovers brought with them the New South Wales/Queensland Pidgin English from the southern parts of Australia and from Queensland (Morphy & Morphy 1981; Harris 1986). When cattle stations were established (from 1918 onwards), many Aboriginal

men and their families worked on the cattle stations as stockmen and domestic help (Morphy & Morphy 1981).

From 1903–1908 the Eastern and African Cold Storage company, a cattle droving company, undertook to “clear the land” in the Roper region to make way for pastoral development. There were brutal massacres (Bauer 1964; Merlan 1978; Munro 2004). Aboriginal men, women and children across the Roper region were hunted down and summarily executed: “they employed gangs of up to fourteen men to hunt out all inhabitants of the region and shoot them on sight” (Harris 1993:148; Bauer 1964).

As a result of this brutality the Anglican Church (the Christian Mission Society) set up a mission at Mirlingbarrwarr, on the Roper River in 1908. Aboriginal people from all over the Roper River region sought refuge there, and by 1909 up to 200 Aboriginal people from different language groups and clans had gathered there (Harris 1993:148). However, the population in the mission was still an itinerant one. In the mission context, albeit for a short time, children were institutionalised away from their parents in dormitories. The caretakers, since they did not speak any of the local Aboriginal languages, most likely used some kind of pidgin English with the children. Morphy and Morphy (1981) claim:

The development and spread of Kriol has been encouraged by the disruption of Aboriginal residence patterns and the reduction of the Aboriginal population consequent on European occupation and development of the region. Some of the individual language groups became too small to be viable, while with others the speakers became dispersed over a wide area. The communities that developed around cattle stations and missions consisted of speakers of many different languages and in this multilingual situation Roper Kriol developed as the lingua franca for daily interaction. There is evidence that as early as the beginning of [the 1900's] Kriol was the main language used by school children at Roper River Mission for talking among themselves. (Morphy & Morphy 1981:22)

The mission was moved to the current site of Ngukurr after being flooded out in 1940 (Munro 2004:3).

1.2.2 Substrate influences

The substrate languages of Kriol are all Australian Aboriginal languages from the Roper region. Australian Aboriginal languages can be roughly divided into two typological groups, Pama-Nyungan (PN) and non-Pama-Nyungan (nPN) (Blake 1988; Evans 2003a; Hale 1964). All Pama-Nyungan languages are thought to descend from a single “Proto-Pama-Nyungan” language and to constitute a genetic group. The non-Pama-Nyungan languages do not comprise a group (see map 1), but consist of some “twenty or so [language] families” grouped together for convenience (Evans 2003a:34). Non-Pama-Nyungan languages typically exhibit complex verbal morphology, including subject and object pronouns prefixed to the verb. Pama-Nyungan languages, in contrast, have simpler verbal morphology with no prefixes (Capell 1956; Hale 1964).

Kriol has substrate influences from at least seven Aboriginal languages, all non-Pama-Nyungan and from roughly the same region (Munro 2004; Harris 2007; Sandefur 1979). All have rich agglutinative verbal morphology with prefixes. They are situated in Australia’s most linguistically complex region (Evans 2003a:35).

The substrate languages of Kriol can be divided into two families based on typological similarities and genetic descent (Baker 2004; Evans 2003a; Munro 2004:7); *Ngalakgan*, *Nunggubuyu* and *Ngandi* are Gunwinyguan languages. *Marra* and *Warndarrang* are Marran languages; *Alawa* is typologically similar to the Marran languages. There is disagreement as to which family the *Mangarrayi* language belongs (see Evans 2003a; Capell 1956).

1.2.3 Languages in Ngukurr

From my own experience living and working in Ngukurr, all residents, except a very few much older people, speak Kriol as a first language. Some children from the community affiliated with the Waagilak/Ritharrngu language group grow up bilingual in Waagilak/Ritharrngu and Kriol.⁵ A number of residents are bilingual in English

⁵ There is a population of *Ritharrngu* and *Waagilak* speakers in Ngukurr. Speakers of these languages arrived in the community in the 1950’s from northern parts of Arnhem Land. Most speakers of

and Kriol; however, very few speakers are comfortable using Standard Australian English for extended periods. Kriol is the language predominantly spoken in almost all contexts within the community. Anglo Australians, speakers of Standard Australian English (SAE), administer many of the services (such as the local store, local council, arts centre and school). As a result, many Kriol speakers are adept at using “light” Kriol in these contexts (see §2.1.2; and Sharpe & Sandefur 1976). Some older people in the community learned one or more traditional languages in their youth, and these languages are used in ceremonial contexts and other restricted contexts. In day-to-day life, however, there is little use of either the substrate languages or of English.

Despite the fact that Ngukurr residents speak Kriol, speakers still identify themselves as belonging to a traditional Aboriginal language group (i.e. to one of the seven substrate languages listed above). This is because one inherits from one’s father a language and a relationship to a particular tract of land or “country” where that language is “from” (Merlan & Rumsey 1982).

Traditional languages play an important role in Kriol speakers’ sense of identity and in their relationship to tracts of country. Over the time I worked as a linguist in Ngukurr, almost all the work undertaken by the Language Centre was concentrated on reviving traditional languages. This important work is far more valued by community members than developing resources in Kriol. As there are only a few elderly speakers of these languages still surviving, time is a pressing factor in the documentation and description of these languages.

Since the 1970’s missionaries have dedicated much time to learning Kriol, and with the help of local people, a translation of the entire Bible in Kriol was published in 2007: *Holi Baibul*. There are some people who are literate in Kriol. However, written Kriol is not used consistently in any area of the community (e.g. the health clinic, police station, courtroom or local store).

Ritharrngu/Waagilak also speak Kriol, and perhaps some other *Yolngu* language from northern Arnhem Land. *Ritharrngu/Waagilak* and all other *Yolngu* languages are Pama-Nyungan (see §1.2.2).

1.2.4 Socio-economic situation of Kriol speakers

Most people in the Ngukurr community live in difficult conditions, often 10–15 people to a dwelling.⁶ In spite of the fact that it is officially a “dry” community (that is, possession and consumption of alcohol is illegal within the boundaries of the community), there are some problems with alcoholism. In Australia, Indigenous Australians have a significantly lower average age of mortality than the rest of the population, and significantly higher instances of chronic illnesses, such as heart disease and diabetes (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2003).

Opportunities for paid employment are few in Ngukurr, apart from the local arts centre. Most residents struggle to find meaningful and financially secure employment. Many people work for CDEP (Community Development Employment Project), which “trains jobseekers” and pays them an unemployment benefit. When the “training” is complete however, there are very few paid jobs available. Most people work indefinitely for CDEP in jobs such as childcare, picking up rubbish, at the local language centre or at the recreation centre. It is not unusual for people to feel that such occupations are worthless or menial, and few persist in “training” for more than a few years.

With regard to education, communities such as Ngukurr do not have a bilingual program in the school. This is in part because the local population have little interest in instituting Kriol as part of the education system, as well as government policy, which strongly discourages the use of languages other than English in the classroom. This is despite the fact that 100% of the people surveyed in the community do not claim English as a first language, and the majority of teachers working in the school are not trained in teaching ESL (English as a Second Language). The low status of Kriol, and the lack of recognition by government institutions, is one of the contributing factors to poor literacy and early drop out rates. Very few Ngukurr students go on to study tertiary education.

⁶ This with the exception of non-Aboriginal employees, such as school teachers and policemen, who have housing provided by the government (usually around 25 Ngukurr residents are non-Aboriginal).

1.3 Data collection and fieldwork

The two kinds of linguistic data used in this study are naturalistic and elicited (the thesis also contains ethnographic information gathered from discussion with Elders⁷). The bulk of the data in the thesis is spontaneous conversational data between two or more native speakers of Kriol speakers. Evans (2009) claims that interactional spoken data is often overlooked in texts accompanying descriptive grammars, but is important nonetheless:

[Ethnographically informed text collections] typically favour the formal and literary at the expense of the casual and slangy. They filter out the hesitations and mistakes of actual speech that may play a crucial role in pointing the way to future changes in the language. And they can be uninformative about exactly how people speak to each other in intimate situations. (Evans 2009:224)

A corpus of spoken language interaction provides an opportunity to see the mechanics of the language in action. While there are many complex constructions that are far less common in spoken conversation than in say, song, narrative or literature, describing spontaneous conversational data provides a unique stepping stone for analysts and can provide valuable information for language learners as to how the language is used in everyday situations.

I (SN) recorded three conversations and a public meeting in Ngukurr in 2005 and 2006 (transcripts of two of these, KC_1 and KC_2, are included in Appendix 3). Additional data comes from two conversations recorded by Denise Angelo (DA) in 1998.⁸ Since conversational data is in short supply I supplemented the data with two

⁷ Elders are senior authoritative community members.

⁸ This is recording conversation between Barbara Raymond and her husband. Barbara grew up in areas around the Hodgson River of the NT and lived in communities in Katherine when she married OR. This data has been lodged with AIATSIS, and examples from this corpus in this study are referenced as [DA_text number, speaker's initials, followed by line number, eg. DA_1BR_15]. This should correlate with AIATSIS archives.

oral narratives recorded by Jen Munro (JM)⁹ in the Minyerri Aboriginal community in 1998 (see map 1 for information of Kriol speaking regions). Table 1.1 includes details of the spontaneous data.

Table 1.1 Overview of discourse data corpus

Conversation	No. of speakers	Ages	Recorded by	Duration
KC_1	4	30-60	SN	3 m 58s
KC_2	4	30-60	SN	9 m 12s
LC_1	2	18-60	SN	7 m 45s
CM_1	5	30-60	SN	15 m 43s
DA_1	2	40-60	DA	20 m 58s
DA_2	2	40-60	DA	25 m 55s
JM_1	1	40-60	JM	≈ 42 m
JM_2	1	40-60	JM	≈ 33 m

As Kriol is an under-described language, it was necessary to carry out elicitation to check grammatical constructions and to gather negative evidence. As well as elicitation of grammatical structures, I recorded discussions I had elicited on cultural issues pertinent to language use. This included discussion on the use of terms of address, kinship systems and “ideal” speech routines (such as how to “ask questions” or “become acquainted with someone”).

In total I spent about 13 months in Ngukurr. In 2004 I spent 6 months in Ngukurr working as a community-based linguist for the Diwurruwurru-jaru Aboriginal Corporation (DAC) (also known as the Katherine Regional Aboriginal Language Centre). With agreement from DAC, I also undertook some research during this time. In 2005 I spent 3 months in Ngukurr as the community linguist. In 2006 with a grant from the University of New England I undertook fieldwork in Ngukurr as a researcher for 6 weeks. I visited the community again in 2007 to work for DAC for 6

⁹ This included narrative histories from Sammy Limmen, transcribed by Gillian Limmen (JM_1) [transcript number 04/1498] and from Cleo Wilfred, transcribed by Esther Wilfred (JM_2) [transcript number 04/1398], both collected by Jen Munro, AIATSIS [Grant no. G97/6053].

weeks. In 2009, with the help of a local linguist, Greg Dickson, I did a week of elicitation using the phone and fax in Ngukurr.

I had not originally intended to research Kriol. The stated aim of the Language Centre was to support the documentation of the endangered traditional languages in the region. However, I became intrigued with Kriol. It is a contemporary language with an English-based lexicon that has been adapted to maintain social and cultural norms of traditional Aboriginal culture. Day-to-day communication in the community is carried out in Kriol, and despite having many thousands of speakers (of dialects of Kriol) there has been little research into how this language is used to achieve such a delicate and complex task. With the help of community members I collected spontaneous spoken data as well as elicited speech (see Chelliah 2001; Bower 2008:121-4, for discussion of recording naturalistic data as part of documenting a language). While elicitation was helpful for checking grammaticality, Kriol speakers were rarely content to give a judgement on the grammaticality of a sentence without being made aware of the context in which it was said (cf. Bower 2008:86; Crowley 2007:103).

1.3.1 Difficulties with data collection

Gathering naturalistic spontaneous data is notoriously difficult (cf. Crowley 2007:130). Language consultants often feel self-conscious about “talking normally” with the recorder going. In my experience, a language consultant’s natural awkwardness at being recorded while speaking “naturally” was compounded by the low status of Kriol. Some consultants had a tendency to use their “best English” (usually “light” Kriol) in such conversations (see §2.1.2, for a discussion of “light” and “heavy” Kriol). After many false starts, I only requested to record when I knew that the speakers would be busy concentrating on another task. The four most suitable recordings I made—the ones I have included here as data sources—were all recorded in such settings: at a local meeting, during a long drive through familiar countryside, and while a group of language consultants were working at the language centre on a project for the local school. In each case the speakers could concentrate on something

other than the fact that they were being recorded. I was typically present, or close by, driving the car, or working in the office while everyone sat outside.

The audio recordings, of course, lack the extra-linguistic cues, gestures and physical interactions with the environment that a video recording might have captured. Unfortunately, in terms of practicality it was not possible to film natural spoken interaction.

To minimise the influence my presence would have on the data, I did little or no recording of spontaneous data until after I had lived in the community for six months and had some knowledge of Kriol and the local people and places. I consistently worked with community members to produce recordings for the language centre. As a result, the sight of myself with a recording device became increasingly innocuous over the years I visited Ngukurr.

1.3.2 Transcription of the data

The conversational data has been transcribed mostly using the methods developed at the University of California in Santa Barbara, informally known as the “Santa Barbara method”. It was used to transcribe the Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English (Chafe 1993; Du Bois 1991; Du Bois et al. 1993). The central unit of transcription in this method is the “intonation unit”.

Roughly speaking, an intonation unit is a stretch of speech uttered under a single coherent intonation contour. It tends to be marked by cues such as a pause and a shift upward in overall pitch level at its beginning, and a lengthening in its final syllable. (Du Bois et al. 1993:47)

Apart from intonation, pauses, vocal noises and overlap are transcribed in this method. Also included in the transcription is information regarding environmental noises or cues and codeswitching. Where relevant I also indicate voice quality (such as loud, soft or creaky voice). At the end of each intonation unit (IU) is an indication of the prosody of the unit. A question mark (?) indicates that the IU finishes with a raised intonation (like a question in English); a full stop (.) indicates that the intonation of an IU is “final” i.e. lowered; a comma (,) indicates “continuing

intonation”, i.e. a slight rise in intonation, and a dash (-) indicates that the IU has been truncated, broken off, or interrupted. See the excerpt below for an example of pauses (the “(0.6)” in line 1), and the punctuation at the end of intonation units. There is a line of spoken text, a gloss and then a free translation.

(1) Flora	(0.6	traɪ	luk	jɛyɑ	ɪnsaɪd	lɑ	wɑnɪ-
GLOSS		DIR	look	there	inside	LOC	whatsit
\$			look	inside	the		whatsit-
(2) Bessi		mi	teɪpɪm-ɪm,				
GLOSS		1SG	record-3SG				
\$			I'm	taping	it,		
(3) Bessi		mi	dəlɪmbət-ɪm	maɪn		sən.	
GLOSS		1SG	tell-3SG	1SG.POSS		[kɪntɜrm]	
\$			I'm	telling	my	son.	

A full outline of the symbols used for the transcription can be found with the abbreviations and symbols.

I have used conventional punctuation in example sentences that consist of only one intonation unit. Excerpts of two or more consecutive intonation units include transcription detail. Most morpheme boundaries are omitted in the text unless they are relevant to the discussion. In example sentences, if taken from a conversation text, I have included pauses, restarts, “whatsit” words and indecipherable speech (in the form <XXX> where X represents a syllable). Constructed examples (where a language consultant has made up a scenario) are not italicised in the text, all other Kriol words and examples are italicised.

The reader will notice some repetition of examples. In many cases I have reproduced examples on the relevant page for convenience, in such cases a reproduction of an example is used to illustrate a different point relevant to that same utterance.

Not all of the data are my own recordings and it was not possible to get permission to reproduce the names of all the speakers. Thus for consistency’s sake I have not reproduced the names of any of the speakers, instead I have used a single initial, such

as B or A. Some names in the text have been changed for anonymity; however, where relevant I have included information about the age, gender and relationships between speakers.

1.4 Thesis overview

Most of the work on Kriol language has not been undertaken with the aim of providing in-depth analysis of the language structure, but with a view to Bible translation and/or lexicography.¹⁰ Consequently, the scope and depth of the description of Kriol is relatively superficial. From the late 1970's onwards, SIL (Summer Institute of Linguistics) linguist John Sandefur produced many articles on various aspects of Kriol, including a short description of Kriol grammar (1979). While prolific (a full bibliography can be found here: http://www.ethnologue.com/show_author.asp?auth=6838, accessed 11/11/09), most of Sandefur's publications are intended for learners of Kriol, or teachers looking to understand the history and development of Kriol, and are somewhat superficial in terms of grammatical analysis (cf. Sandefur 1979, 1986). Harris (1986, 1993, 2007) also writes on the development and structure of Kriol. Much like Sandefur, Harris' work is characterised by careful discussion of socio-historical issues, but offers little profound analysis of the grammatical structure. In more recent times Munro (2004) has contributed significantly to the description of Kriol. In her PhD thesis, Munro (2004) showed that there is significant transfer of grammatical features from the substrate languages into Kriol. She discussed various parts of speech and compared them to the substrate¹¹.

¹⁰ As mentioned, the Summer Institute of Linguistics has published a complete translation of the Bible in Kriol: *Holi Baibul* (2007). Jason Lee undertook substantial research to create a Kriol/English dictionary, as yet unfinished, which can be found on the AIATSIS website here: <http://www1.aiatsis.gov.au/ASEDA/docs/0739-Kriol/>. The Katherine Regional Aboriginal Language Centre published a Handbook for a course on Kriol and Cultural Awareness (DAC 2006).

¹¹ Two other recent PhDs relevant to Kriol (and Kriol dialects) have been completed, one by Moses (2009), and the other by Disbray (2009). Both are studies investigating child language acquisition in Western Australia and Northern Territory Aboriginal communities respectively.

In Chapter Two I provide an overview of the grammatical structure of Kriol. This chapter provides essential background information and includes some original analysis. I also discuss interactional style in Kriol in relation to features of traditional languages proposed by Walsh (1991, 1997). I find that there are comparable features of interactional style that have been described in other Aboriginal languages found in Kriol.

The part of Kriol grammar examined in detail in this thesis is the noun phrase. In Chapter Three I extend the work of Munro (2004) and Sandefur (1979) by describing the constituents and the configuration of the noun phrase. In an innovative analysis I argue that adjectives and quantifiers when they occur with a noun are modifiers, however, when there is no noun in the NP I argue that Kriol allows these would-be modifiers to act as fused heads. This construction is subject to pragmatic constraints. I show that there are some aspects of word order that are flexible (for example, adjectives may occur after the noun inside the same intonation unit). I also describe the multiple possessive constructions in Kriol, inclusory pronominal constructions and examine the distribution of pronouns.

One ubiquitous feature of Kriol referring expressions is the determiner *det*.¹² In Chapter Four I analyse this determiner using various concepts, including a typological approach for distinguishing demonstratives and articles. The evidence suggests that *det* is best classified as an article. This chapter also considers features such as definiteness and specificity. I conclude that *det* is a “recognitional article”; that is, it is used when a speaker assumes the referent of the NP to be familiar to other interlocutors, but not immediately mentally accessible to him or her. For this reason I gloss *det* as REC (recognitional). The chapter offers some comparison to articles found in the substrate languages, and determiners in other creole languages.

In Chapter Five I analyse data using concepts from the study of information structure. The chapter examines phenomena typical of Kriol referring expressions from a clausal perspective. Using concepts from discourse analysis, such as “given”, “new”, and “familiar”, I show a correlation between the activation state of and NP and its position in the clause. Included in this chapter is a short empirical study

¹² In this thesis I use the term ‘determiner’ to denote articles, demonstratives and quantifiers.

examining left and right-dislocated NPs using a framework adapted from Gundel et al. (1993).

I also discuss here the concepts of “topic” and “focus” and how they apply to Kriol language data (cf. Gundel et al. 1993; Lambrecht 1994; Prince 1981; Chafe 1976; Givón 1983). The chapter contributes significant description of Kriol language in context at the intersection of function and sentence structure.

Chapter Six is a description of referring expressions and referential practice from the perspective of ethnography of speaking (cf. Gumperz & Hymes 1972; Hymes 1972; Saville-Troike 1989). I examine two aspects of referring expressions relevant to communicative practice: person reference and information exchange. I find that speakers are comfortable with non-specific references to third persons and I describe common strategies used by speakers to indicate the identity of a person while avoiding using a proper name. I find them to be similar to those found in the substrate languages, and substantially different from English. The study of person reference in interaction has been highlighted as a significant area of interest in Aboriginal languages by Garde (2003) and Blythe (2009) (see also Baker & Mushin 2008). In this chapter, I draw on the concepts discussed in the edited volume by Enfield & Stivers (2007), in particular the works by Hanks (2007), Brown (2007) and Levinson (2007). In this chapter I also investigate speech practices and cultural norms regarding information exchange in Kriol. I claim that there are “owners” for some kinds of information (particularly secret/sacred information), and that they alone have the right to disseminate information regarding these issues. Because some information is restricted, there are specific speech practices for eliciting information. I find that there is some clear continuity of substrate communicative practice in Kriol.

The chapter employs the “cultural scripts” methodology developed by Wierzbicka (2002, 2006) (cf. Goddard & Wierzbicka 2007) and colleagues, a simple and methodical way to describe shared social values that influence speech practices, which aims to provide an insider’s view of speech practices. The cultural scripts method has parallels with the “ethnography of speaking” framework (cf. Gumperz & Hymes 1972; Hymes 1972; Saville-Troike 1989).

Chapter Seven summarises the findings of the thesis and suggests areas for further research in Kriol.

Continuity of Aboriginal discourse practices and creolistics

Kriol is spoken by many thousands of Aboriginal people across northern Australia. Because Kriol is a “new” language, which formed as the result of brutal colonisation (§1.2.1), it has none of the status of the ancestral languages. It has often been denigrated as a “broken language” (even by its speakers) and is routinely entirely overlooked by government institutions (see §1.2.4). In Chapters Four and Six in particular, I show how Kriol has maintained pragmatic features from traditional languages. In a sense this is unsurprising, as Kriol speakers are part of a culture that has communicated via Aboriginal languages for many thousands of years. The study of substrate influences on discourse and interaction is under-researched, both in creolistics and in Australian Kriol (but cf. Mühleisen 2005). In each chapter I compare aspects of Kriol with similar phenomena found in traditional Aboriginal languages. Some aspects, such as the classificatory kinship system, are clearly the result of continuity of Aboriginal speech practices. Other syntactic and pragmatic phenomena can be shown to be similar to traditional Aboriginal languages, and markedly different from English. Although it is difficult to conclusively prove continuity of Aboriginal discourse practices, it seems the most likely explanation. As well as comparing Kriol to Aboriginal languages I also include comparison where relevant, to phenomena found in other creole languages, particularly Melanesian Pidgin.

Chapter Two

An overview of Kriol

The aim of this chapter is to introduce the reader to the Kriol language and its speakers by way of a brief grammatical description of the language, and some points about the interactional style of its speakers.

2.1 Basic description of Kriol

In this section I provide an overview of the grammatical structure of Kriol. Except where otherwise stated the descriptions provided are my own analysis. In some sections I refer to previous work by Sandefur (1979, 1985) and by Munro (2004). The most relevant parts of Kriol grammar for this thesis concern the noun phrase, which is treated in detail in Chapter Three. Here I present a description of Kriol parts of speech, as well as basic sentence structure and word order. In §2.1.1 and §2.1.2 I discuss the Kriol orthography and the Kriol continuum respectively.

2.1.1 Kriol orthography

In Kriol there is no voicing distinction made in the stop series, the two symbols (voiced and voiceless) represent allophones. The Kriol orthography used in this thesis is similar that found in Munro (2004). However, Munro standardised the orthography in her thesis such that voiced stops were used word or syllable initially, and voiceless stops were used word or syllable finally (2004:15). In transcribing my data I have tried to remain true to the pronunciation of the speaker, rather than standardise the spelling. This is important for two reasons: firstly because it acts as a historical record of how Kriol is spoken in Ngukurr at the present time. Secondly, it gives a reliable indication of the “level” of the Kriol being used (i.e. light or heavy Kriol, see §2.1.2). It is also typical in discourse transcription, even in English, to include some detail regarding the pronunciation of words. This means that different spelling may occur

for the same word, e.g. *maid*, *maitbi* ‘maybe’, *garra*, *gada* ‘FUT/OBLIG’, *olabat*, *alabat* ‘3PL’. Tables 2.1 and 2.2 are adapted from Munro (2004:16).

Table 2.1 Kriol orthography – consonants

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	b...p			d...t	rd	j	g...k	
Fricatives		f	th	s		sh		h
Nasals	m			n	rn	ny	ng	
Laterals				l	rl			
Tap/Flap				rr				
Approximants	w			r		y		

Table 2.2 Kriol orthography – vowels

	Front	Back
High	i	u
Mid	e	o
Low		a
Diphthongs	ei ai ou oi au	

2.1.2 The Kriol continuum

Like many other creole languages, there is a continuum of varieties of Kriol spoken even within the one community. There are three terms used to describe these varieties: “acrolect”, that is, those varieties that are more similar to the lexifier language; “basilect”, the varieties further from the lexifier and “mesolect” the intermediate varieties (Siegel 2008:5). In Australia, the acrolect is described as “light” Kriol, and the basilect as “heavy” Kriol. Light Kriol uses phonology closer to English (without, for example, retroflexes or initial velar nasal sounds), for example *hojij* is pronounced as *hosis* ‘horse(s)’. Its lexicon is likely to include fewer words from the substrate languages; for example *dirwu* ‘to submerge or dive’ would be *daib* ‘dive’, *gabarra* ‘head’ would be *hed* ‘head’, and *gula* ‘growl/tell off’ would be *graul*

‘growl’. As well as this speakers are less likely to use non-standard word order (such as deleting the noun) and may use ‘-s’ as a plural suffix, ‘-ed’ for past tense, the word ‘the’ and other English function words.

Heavy Kriol is characterised by using phonology closer to that of the substrate languages. For example, as in the substrate languages, there are no fricatives used in heavy Kriol. Coronal fricatives become palatal stops, such as /j/. Speakers of Kriol use considerable noun phrase ellipsis (cf. §3.1.1), and an increased lexicon of words derived from the substrate. The kinds of words commonly derived from the substrate languages in heavy Kriol include body part terms, place names, animal and plant names. For further discussion see Sandefur (1985:206-12; Harris 1986). Speakers can range between the two varieties in a single sitting. This is reflected in the transcription of the data (see Appendix 3).

2.2 A short description of Kriol grammar

Kriol, like many creole languages, is largely an analytic language. That is, each word generally conveys a single grammatical or semantic meaning. Words are generally invariable in form, and morphology is relatively simple. Past and future tense are marked using separate words that occur before the verb, as shown in (1), rather than by affixes.

- (1) *Ai bin luk bigmob jeya.*
1SG PST look many there
A saw a lot (of people) there.

The grammatical role of arguments in a clause is indicated by word-order, which is relatively fixed. The basic word order in Kriol is Subject-Verb-Object (SVO). Kriol lacks the copula verb ‘to be’ and instead uses juxtaposition, as shown in (2).

- (2) *Wanbala libala olmen, im brabli bigbala bos.*
one little Elder.man 3SG very head boss¹
A little old man, he is the head boss. [Sandefur 1979:167]

2.2 Parts of speech

The Kriol parts of speech are: verbs, modals, tense markers, adverbs, nouns, pronouns, adjectives, demonstratives, quantifiers, articles, plural markers, prepositions and particles.

2.2.1 Noun phrase constituents

In Chapter Three I describe the constituents and the configuration of the noun phrase in detail. I have included here a brief overview of these constituents.

1. Nouns (discussed in §3.3.1): Common nouns occur as heads of NPs in Kriol. They occur in NPs with adjectives and determiners (i.e. articles, demonstratives and quantifiers, including plural markers).

<i>kemp</i>	‘house’
<i>gabarra</i>	‘head’
<i>pipul</i>	‘people’
<i>dilib</i>	‘loose leaf tea’
<i>bif</i>	‘meat’

3. Proper nouns (§3.3.1): Proper nouns are used in NPs that denote specific people, places and languages. They can occur with the collective suffix *-mob*, and cannot occur in first person possessive constructions. They can also occur with a determiner, the recognitional article *det*.

<i>Bessie</i>	[name]
<i>John</i>	[name]

¹ In terms of glossing, in the examples I have not indicated morphology where it is basic to the word, unless the morphology is under discussion. For example *-bala*, an adjectival suffix is not indicated on the gloss in these examples, similarly throughout the thesis I omit glosses for the transitive suffix *-im* and the adjectival suffix *-wan*.

Marra [language.name]

Ngilibiji [place name]

2. Adjectives (described in §3.3.2). Adjectives carry one of two distinct suffixes *-wan* and *-bala* in Kriol. Adjectives occur with intensifiers and occur with other adjectives and determiners (including quantifiers). In Kriol they can be found as the sole constituents of a NP.

<i>bigwan</i>	‘big’
<i>longwan</i>	‘thin, tall’
<i>gelwan</i>	‘female’
<i>hotwan</i>	‘hot’
<i>nogudwan</i>	‘bad’
<i>hotbala</i>	‘hot’
<i>draibala</i>	‘dry’
<i>granggibala</i>	‘crazy’

3. Quantifiers (discussed in §3.3.5). Quantifiers (including numbers) typically occur with nouns, and can be used to differentiate between mass and count nouns (see also table 2.3). Quantifiers with the suffix *-bala* can also occur as the sole constituent of a NP.

<i>sambala</i>	‘some’
<i>wanbala</i>	‘one’
<i>fobala</i>	‘four’
<i>holot</i>	‘all/everything’

In the tables below I give an overview of the demonstratives (table 2.3), articles (table 2.4) and personal pronouns (table 2.5) found in Kriol. These word classes are discussed in detail in Chapter Three. The tables below differ from those found in Sandefur (1979) and Munro (2004). These innovations are described and justified in Chapter Three.

Table 2.3 Demonstratives in Kriol (see §3.3.3)

	Adnominal	Pronominal	Adverbial
Proximal	<i>dis</i>	<i>dijan/diswan</i>	<i>iya</i>
Distal	<i>darran/dan</i>	<i>darran/dan</i>	<i>jeya</i>

Table 2.4 Recognitional and indefinite determiners in Kriol (see §3.3.4, §4)

	Singular	Plural
Recognitional	<i>det</i>	<i>det</i>
Indefinite	<i>wan/wanbala</i>	<i>sambala</i>

Table 2.5 Kriol personal pronouns (see §3.3.6)

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	<i>mi/ai</i>	<i>minbala/mindubala</i> (exclusive)	<i>melabat/mela wi</i>
1/2	<i>yunmi</i>		
2	<i>yu</i>	<i>yunbala/yundubala</i>	<i>yumob</i>
3	<i>im</i>	<i>dubala</i>	<i>alabat/dei/dem</i>

2.2.2 The verb complex

The verb complex in Kriol typically consists of a verb root that can occur with a number of other lexical items to indicate tense, aspect and modality. The root verb can be unanalysable, such as the verbs *tok* ‘say’ and *weit* ‘wait’ in example (3). Transitive verbs may contain the transitive suffix *-im*, as in example (4).

- (3) *Imin tok imin weit bla wan yunbala na.*
 3SG.PST say 3SG.PST wait for one 3PL EM
 She said she would wait for one of you.

- (4) *Ir-im mi na.*
 listen-TRS 1SG EM
 Listen to me.

There are a small number of transitive verbs that don't include the affix *-im* (such as *gibit* 'give' and *dagat* 'eat'), but all verbs that bear this affix can be considered transitive (Hudson 1983:162²; Sandefur 1979). Much like the Melanesian Pidgin dialects (Bislama, Tok Pisin and Solomon Islands Pijin), the transitive affix *-im* is productive in Kriol (Hudson 1983:163). This is evidenced by its application to new Kriol verbs, such as *bakyuweitim* 'evacuate':

- (5) *Sambala pleisis dei bin bekyuweit-im alabat.*
 some place.PL 3PL PST evacuate-TRS 3PL
 Some places they evacuated people. [DA_1BR_120]

This suffix occurs as a derivational morpheme. For example, it can be used to derive transitive verbs from nouns: e.g. *nidilim* 'inject' (*nidel* 'needle'), *tojim* 'shine a light on something' (*toj* 'torch'), *jelisim* 'resent, envy' (*jelis* 'jealous, envious'), *hayimap* 'put up high' (*hai* 'high') (examples from Hudson 1983:163).

As well as the transitive affix, a suffix *-bat* can affix to the root verb. It indicates progressive aspect, as demonstrated in example (6). Progressive aspect can also be indicated on the verb using the *-ing* suffix as well as *-bat*, as shown in (7).

- (6) *Ebribodi bin lukinat-bat Ketherain*
 everybody PST watch-PROG [place.name]

² Hudson (1983) uses data from 'Fitzroy Kriol' a dialect of Kriol, however, her findings are also relevant to Roper Kriol.

imin draun, pobaga, la telibijin.
 3SG.PST submerge poor thing LOC television
 Everybody was watching Katherine, the town went underwater, poor thing,
 on television. [DA_2BR_43]

(7) *Lanchtaim mela bin la Magalawa na fishing-bat.*
 lunch.time 3PL PST LOC [place.name] EM fish-PROG
 [By] lunchtime we were at Magalawa, fishing.

There are other types of verbs (such as two-part transitive verbs *pik-im-ap* ‘pick up’), as well as other suffixes that can be found on verbs (such as *wei*). It is beyond the scope of this thesis to describe each one, some discussion can be found in Hudson (1983:161–76).

Reduplication

Kriol speakers use reduplication, either of the root, or the entire verb to indicate duration. In example (8) there is no progressive suffix, but the reduplication can indicate that the verb is progressive.

(8) *Sambala la ... Bodam nomo gobekgobek yet,*
 some.people LOC [place.name] NEG return~PROG yet
dei stil la Tap.
 3PL still LOC [place.name]
 Some people at ... Bottom Camp aren’t going back yet, they’re still at the
 Top Camp. [DA_2BR_26]

(9) *Mela bin ridridbat la skol.*
 1PL PST read~PROG-PROG LOC school
 We were reading at school.

(10) *En imin lukaranlukaran du bla aligaita.*
 and 3SG.PST look.around~PROG too PURP crocodile
 And he was looking around [everywhere] for crocodiles.

Tense Markers

Tense markers precede the verb. No other clausal constituent (such as a noun) can intervene between the verb and the tense markers. As mentioned above, tense in Kriol is not indicated by the morphology of the verb, but by a separate word. When a tense occurs it forms the left-most boundary of the verb complex (but see also the word *imin*, discussed below). Kriol tense markers are shown in table 2.6:

Table 2.6 Kriol tense-marking words

Tense		
Past	PST	<i>bin</i>
Future	FUT/OBLIG	<i>gada</i>

Examples (11) and (12) show past tense, and (13) and (14) demonstrate the future tense. As indicated in (14), *gada* can also be used to indicate obligation.

- (11) *Ai bin dalim-im.*
 1SG PST tell-3SG
 I told him.

- (12) *Gudjob det olgaman bin bajimap la im mami.*
 good.thing REC³ woman PST bring LOC 3SG [kinterm]
 Just as well that woman brought him to his mum. [DA_2BR_132]

- (13) *Aidono, maitbi dis rein igin im gada boldan.*
 1SG.NEG.know maybe PROX.DEM rain EM 3SG FUT fall
 I don't know, maybe this rain is going to start. [DA_2BR_29]

- (14) *Yunmi gada go luk afta.*
 1IN.DU OBLIG go look afterwards
 You and I should go and look afterwards. [DA_2BR_35]

³ As mentioned in the introduction, I will gloss *det* as REC (recognitional), as this is its main function (cf. Chapter Four).

The 3SG pronoun *im* and the past tense marker *bin* can be merged into one phonological word of the form *imin* (sometimes written as *ibin*), as shown in example (15).

- (15) *Im-in gubek darrei na.*
3SG-PST go.back that.way EM.
S/he went back there

This unusual combination of tense marking on a subject pronoun is used even in slow speech. It can also be written and pronounced *ibin*.

Modals

Between the tense marker and the root verb there may be a modal, such as *gan* ‘can’t’, *gin* ‘ABIL’ ‘can’, *lafta* ‘OBLIG’ ‘have to, must’, *andi* ‘DESID’ ‘should/would have/want to’ and *oldei* ‘HAB’ as in examples (16), (17), (18), (19) and (20) respectively.

- (16) *Jei gan nyangaribat.*
3PL NEG.ABIL refuse
They can’t refuse. [DA_20R_63]

- (17) *Bat yu gin kaman peyimbat ebri fotnait lagiajt.*
but 2SG ABIL come pay every fortnight QUOT
“But you can come and pay [it] every fortnight” he said. [DA_2BR_99]

- (18) *Mela bin lafta gijim.*
3PL PST OBLIG get
We had to get (it).

- (19) *Det wamut bin andi kaman.*
REC [skin.name] PST DESID come
Wamut should have come/ Wamut wanted to come

- (20) *G.H dei oldei kalimim.*
 [name] 3PL HAB call.3SG
 G.H (that's what) they always called him.

***Andi* in the past tense**

The modal word *andi* can also be found affixed to the past tense marker *bin* in a reduced form, giving rise to the word *bin-a*. In the case that the subject is third person singular (*im*) and the past tense is also in use (creating the contraction *imin*), *andi* may also affix to this word in the form of a suffix *-a*, thus creating the word *imina* ‘3SG.PST.DESID’, as demonstrated in examples (21) and (22). This combination of the past tense and desiderative *andi* produces a past irrealis, or counterfactual interpretation.

- (21) ***Im-in-a*** *jidan lilbit mowa, finish:*
 3SG-PST-DESID stay little.bit more die
im-in-a *draund, det lil olgumen.*
 3SG-PST-DESID drown.PST REC little older.woman
 If she had have stayed a little bit longer (then it would have been) over: she
 would have been drowned, that little woman. [DA_1BR_43]

- (22) ***Im-in-a*** *kambek nathadei.*
 3SG-PST-DESID return another.day
 He was going to come back the other day. [DA_2BR_26]

Semi-modal *tra*

The word *tra* (lit. ‘try’) can occur immediately before a verb, as a “polite” directive. The verb *tra* can also be found as a main verb.

- (23) ***Trai*** *luk, maitbi imina guwap mowa.*
 try look maybe 3SG.PST.DESID rise more
 Go look, maybe it might have risen more. [DA_2BR_36]

2.2.3 Adverbs

There are at least two different kinds of adverbs in Kriol: those that must occur before the verb, and those that can occur separately from the verb complex.

Fixed position adverbs

Adverbs that occur within the verb complex include *stil* ‘still’ and *jis* ‘just’ as in (24), (25) respectively.

- (24) *En det... ami bin stil kaman gada*
and REC army PST still come INST
det elikopta darrei la wi du, ngabi?
REC helicopter that.way LOC 1PL too Q
And the army came (that way) to us too in a helicopter, didn’t they?

[DA_2BR_48]

- (25) *Mela bin luk det nyuwan brij dei*
1PL PST look REC new bridge 3PL
bin jis meigimbat du la saidwei.
PST just make too LOC side.way
We saw the new bridge they had just made along the side.

[DA_20R_22a]

Free adverbs

Adverbs that are not part of the verb complex can occur before or after the verb complex; for example *bambai* ‘later’ and *kwikbala* ‘quickly’ in (26) and (27).

- (26) *Bat det hil du bin oldei gowap, liftima, lagijat, bambai alabat draund.*
but REC hill too PST HAB go.up rise.up like.that later 3PL submerge
But that hill would always go up too, rise up, like that, afterwards they
were submerged.

[DA_2BR_297]

- (27) *Gudjob dei bin bildimap det nyuwan brij kwikbala.*
 good 3PL PST build REC new bridge quickly
 (It's) just as well they built the new bridge quickly. [DA_2BR_20]

2.2.4 Prepositions

Kriol has a small inventory of prepositions that each cover a wide range of uses, the most common ones include: *bla* or *blanga*, *la* or *langa* and *garrim* or *gada*. *La* has a locative meaning, which corresponds to the English words ‘to’, ‘on’ and ‘in’, as shown in (28). *Garrim* has a comitative, associative or instrumental meaning, much like ‘with’ and ‘by’ in English, as in examples (29), (30) and (31). *Bla* can be used to convey possessive (§3.4.3), and to indicate clausal purpose, much like English ‘for’, as well as dative as shown in (32)–(34).

- (28) *Trailuk jeya la wani.*
 DIR look there LOC whatsit
 Have a look in the ‘whatsit’ (bus stop).

- (29) *Bekos ai bin [...] mela bin kaman na garrim bas.*
 because 1SG PST ... 1PL PST come EM by bus
 Because I [RESTART] -we just arrived by bus.

- (30) *Yu braja garrim pikanini.*
 2SG brother with children
 Your brother [the one] with children.

- (31) *Ai bin kilim garrim wadi.*
 1SG PST hit with stick
 I hit [it] with [a] stick.

- (32) *Gajim bla minbala beg.*
 get POSS 1PL.EXCL bag
 Get our bags.

(33) *Trailuk jeya bla Andasen.*
DIR look there PURP [name]
Have a look there for Anderson.

(34) *Imin gibit im mani bla pei bla fyuel.*
3SG.PST give 3SG money PURP pay DAT fuel
He gave her some money to pay for fuel.

There are a number of less common prepositions, such as *insaid* ‘inside’, *autsaid* ‘outside’, and *ontop* ‘above’.

2.2.5 Discourse particles, tags and exclamations

Words from a variety of other word classes are commonly found in Kriol discourse. These words are not grammatically as significant as those found in the verb complex or the noun phrase. They are treated here because they make up a large part of the words in the example sentences that appear in this thesis.

There remains significant work to be done in understanding the functions and distribution of discourse particles and function words in Kriol. The words listed below have at most been glossed and briefly characterised in Sandefur (1979) or Munro (2004).

Logical connectives include: *en* ‘and’, as in: *En mi en mami* ‘and me and mother’. *Bunju/ if* ‘if’, as in: *Bunju alabat kaman* ‘if they come’. *Dumaji* ‘because’, as in *Dumaji wanbala san du* ‘because a son (was there) as well’, and *bat* ‘but’ as in *Dei bin rekin ola blekbala gada dai, bat najing* ‘They thought all the Aboriginal people would die, but it didn’t happen’.

Particles

Na ‘EM’ is a clitic used to indicate focus (and contrastive focus). It is described in some detail in §5.4.2 (also Graber 1987a). *Im na bin anda wandim duim det Ritharrngu*. ‘He’s the one who would have wanted to work on [language name]’.

Wal ‘PART’ is another common particle, typically occurring at the beginning or end of an utterance. Often to indicate the beginning or end of a narrative: *Wal ai maid deigim bambai*. ‘I might take [it] later’.

The epistemic particle *maitbi/maidi* ‘maybe’ is very common in discourse. This particle is discussed in more detail in §6.4.2. Interestingly, it can be used even in contexts where the speaker is sure about the information in the clause. *Maitbi dei finish na*. ‘Maybe they have already stopped’.

Lagijat/la ‘QUOT’ or ‘like.that’ also occurs frequently. It means ‘like that’, or as an indication of quoted speech: *Det wada bin guwap lagijat na?* ‘Did the water rise like that [indicating]’. “*Kam iya*” *dei lagijat la alabat*, ‘“Come here” that’s what they said to them’.

Below is a list of other common words found in examples and transcriptions.

Affirmation and backchannels

yuwai yes *Imin natha siknis igin, yuwai*. ‘Yes it was a different sickness’.

yo yes *Yo, Yuwai bla darran na*. ‘Yes, that’s right for that one’.

mm yes

nomo NEG *Alabat nomo bin kaman*. ‘They didn’t arrive’.

Tags (see §6.4.2)

ngi Q *Detmob modiga kaminap bigmob, ngi?* ‘The group of cars coming is big, isn’t it?’

indit Q *Wi gat wanbala iya na, indit?* ‘We have one here, right?’

ngabi Q *Melabat san gadim, ngabi?* ‘Our son has it, right?’

Exclamations

gardi EXC *Im gada meiga det woda gowap gin ba wi, gardi:!* ‘It will make the water rise on us again, oh dear!’

bobala poor.thing *Ai bin jas luk no enithing deya, bobala*. ‘I just saw they had nothing, poor things’.

In this section I have provided a basic overview of Kriol grammar adequate for the purposes of interpreting examples. There are a number of words and structures that have been omitted, such as a discussion of reflexives, further details regarding modals and complex sentences.

2.2.6 The transitive suffix *-im* and third person object ellipsis

One of the pragmatic features of traditional Aboriginal languages is the ellipsis of core arguments, such as subject and object (Mushin 2005; Simpson & Mushin 2008). If Kriol also regularly allows ellipsis, this would have significant consequences for our understanding of Kriol clause structure.

Later in Chapter Three, I argue that in Kriol any NP whose referent is recoverable from the discourse context can consist solely of words that would otherwise be modifiers (see §3.1.1). Here I discuss in detail a more restrictive phenomenon; the ellipsis of a third person object NP after a verb with the transitive suffix *-im*.

In terms of deleting third person objects when the transitive suffix is used, Sandefur (1979) claimed:

[That] unlike English, Kriol has the ability to delete the object from most transitive sentences. This is normally restricted, however, to sentences that have marked verbs and is possible because the *-im* suffix, in essence carries the ‘weight’ of the object much like a pronoun. (Sandefur 1979:177)

It is not entirely clear what Sandefur means by “carries the weight of the object”. However, from my data it is clear that a third person object NP can be omitted if the verb includes the transitive suffix *-im*, as in examples (35)–(37). In each of these examples it would be possible to include a lexical NP after the verb. This NP ellipsis is subject to a pragmatic constraint. It can only occur when the referent of the NP is easily recoverable within the discourse context (for example, if it has been previously mentioned)⁴. In the example below the speaker is talking about money that *mami* has.

⁴ A similar phenomenon is found in Ngandi, a substrate influence of Kriol (cf. Heath 1978:129).

- (35) *Yuwai, mami gad-im Ø.*
 Yes mother has-TRS [it]
 Yes [your] mother has [it].
- (36) *Maitbi T.L. bin gaj-im Ø.*
 maybe [name] PST get-TRS [her]
 Maybe Terri Lewis picked [her] up.
- (37) *Maidi buluki bin nag-im-dan Ø.*
 Maybe cattle PST knock-TRS-down [it]
 Maybe [some] cattle knocked [it] down.

The suffix implies an object NP is required; as a result, when the object NP is elided the interlocutors can still interpret the sentence (if the intended referent of the NP is clear). In general however, speakers tend to include an object NP more often than omit it, even in natural discourse. In elicitation and slow speech the object is rarely omitted.⁵

The suffix *-im* in other English lexified creoles

Tok Pisin also has a suffix *-im* which is found on most transitive verbs (Mühlhäusler 1979). In Tok Pisin the 3SG form of the pronoun is *em*. Sankoff (1993:120) claims that in Tok Pisin “in no way does the modern *-im* [suffix] carry the information of third person object”. Example (38) demonstrates the transitive suffix with an object noun phrase.

- (38) *Ol i-pas-im em long wek.*
 3PL fasten-TRS him at work
 They kept him at work. [Tok Pisin, Sankoff 1993:120]

⁵ This may not be the case for other dialects of Kriol. For example, in Kriol data from Yakanarra (Western Australia), speakers routinely omitted third person objects after a verb containing the *-im* suffix (Karin Moses, p.c. Melbourne, July 2009).

Further examples of Tok Pisin, however, present the same issue that is apparent in Kriol. If the transitive suffix *-im* is present on the verb, there may be no explicit nominal or pronominal object, as in example (39).

- (39) *Na bai taim mi dai, bai yu lukaut-im Ø.*
and FUT time 1SG die FUT 2SG look.after-TRS [it]
And when I die, you will look after [it].
[A previously mentioned cow pasture] [Tok Pisin, Sankoff 1993:120]

Solomon Island (SI) Pijin also has a transitive suffix *-im* (or *-em*). The 3SG pronoun form is *hem* (Beimers 2008). Beimers asserts that the suffix *-im* is a productive transitive suffix, and transitive verbs without *-im* suffix are extremely rare (2008:11). He finds that third person singular or plural objects could be ellipsed when the head of the verb includes the transitive suffix (Beimers 2008:178).

In summary, in Kriol, and some other creole languages, speakers may omit third person object NPs if interlocutors can easily identify the referent of that NP and the verb carries the suffix *-im*. The referent of the NP must be already established in prior discourse to be elided. In fact one could say it is a third person pronoun that has been omitted. However, other object arguments are used consistently even where they could be omitted. As mentioned, the object NP can only be deleted when it is the third person and where the referent of the NP is recoverable from context. Thus, I suggest that omitting the 3RD person singular pronoun implies that the referent of the pronominal NP is under discussion and thus easily accessible in the minds of the interlocutors. Eliding the third person object provides the same pragmatic implication.

2.3 Kriol and conversational style

While it is relatively straightforward for an English speaker to learn the lexicon and grammar of Kriol to a basic level, learning how to use the language appropriately to interact is a considerable challenge. In Chapter Six, I discuss ethnography of speech practices in some detail. In this section I overview some of the other ways in which

Kriol conversational style differs markedly from Standard Australian English (SAE), and other dialects of English spoken in Australia.

Thus far no comprehensive “ethnography of speaking” has been developed for any Aboriginal speech community (cf. Malcolm 1980-1982). Rather, descriptive ethnography is scattered across a variety of papers and other publications in linguistics, education and law (see Sansom 1980; Eades 1985; Harkins 1994; McGregor 1991; Goddard 1992; Lieberman 1985; Von Sturmer 1981; Sutton 2009, for some examples).⁶ In §2.3.1 I review some of the suggested features that characterise Aboriginal communicative style.

2.3.1 Dyadic, continuous style of conversation

In two short but significant papers, Walsh (1991, 1997) outlines a framework for examining and comparing Aboriginal style of communication with that of the “Anglo White Middle Class (AWMC)”.⁷ He describes two distinct modes of interaction that can be characterised using four features: “dyadic vs. communal” and “continuous vs. discontinuous”. He summarises these speech styles as follows (Walsh 1991:3):

Anglo	Dyadic	Non-continuous
	An ideology of talking in twos. Talk is directed to a particular individual. People should face each other. Eye contact is important. Control is by the speaker (the addressee(s) may or may not engage).	“Discrete chunks” of conversation with clearly defined boundaries. “Boundary” speech” includes phrases such as: “hang on that’s the kettle”, “can I talk to you in a minute”, and “I can’t listen right now, I’m busy” etc.
Aboriginal	Communal	Continuous
	Talk is broadcast. People need not face each other. Eye contact is not important. Control is by the hearer.	A “radio-like” broadcast that listeners can tune into at will.

Fig. 2.1 Speech styles in Anglo and Aboriginal Australia

⁶ Aboriginal cultures and languages have significant differences from each other, however many researchers (e.g. Walsh 1991, 1997, and others) suggest that there are some interactional guidelines that are likely relevant to most, if not all traditional Aboriginal communities.

⁷ Walsh explicitly compares Murrinh Patha with AWMC, however he states: “I draw on my experience at Wadeye [where Murrinh Patha is spoken], although I believe one can generalise [about Aboriginal communicative style] to some extent from this situation” (Walsh 1991:5).

Walsh suggests that Anglo Australian speech practices can be considered dyadic and non-continuous. That is, “idealised” speech occurs as if between two people. For example, eye contact is important and each addressee must be made to feel that they are being spoken to personally. A clear cue must be given if speech is to begin or end between people, such as “Can I talk to you for a minute” or “I must go now”.

His suggestion is that one of the factors underpinning miscommunication between Anglo Australian and Aboriginal Australians is that Aboriginal people communicate using an alternate framework, namely, one that values communal and continuous features. In such a framework the speaker, ideally, is “broadcasting” speech to no-one in particular and other speakers are tuning in and tuning out as they please (Walsh 1991:3).

While this is a sketch of Walsh’s framework, it does clarify some of the speech practices found in Ngukurr. For example, a Kriol speaker is comfortable speaking in a manner which appears undirected to any other person in particular. Kriol speakers are comfortable speaking over the top of one another (without conflict), seating themselves away from people that are speaking to them, avoiding eye-contact and passing long periods of silence even when sitting in a group.

As Walsh predicts, Kriol speakers are also comfortable (much more comfortable than Anglo Australians), with not introducing themselves to newcomers, and with not acknowledging the presence of a person new to the situation. Typically public meetings, ceremonies and other events can go on over days with people leaving, eating or talking whenever they are ready.

By the same token, many Kriol speakers are uncomfortable in contexts where an individual is singled out, either by using a proper name, making direct eye contact, or if a person asks another person a direct question (cf. Harkins 1990).

2.3.2 Kinship and person reference

Person reference is an important part of conversational interaction in any language and it is typically influenced by social strata and social norms. In this regard Kriol is no exception. I discuss person reference in detail in Chapter Six. It is worth mentioning here that Kriol speakers employ a complex classificatory kinship system,

i.e. the kinship terms extend not only to biological kin, but also to all others in the community. Thus, NPs that include kinterms can be used (hypothetically) to refer to anyone under discussion. Because kinterms are relational and less specific than names, they fit comfortably in a framework that values not singling out particular individuals, unless necessary (for a full list of kinterms, see §3.3.1).

2.3.3 “Vagueness” and “circumspection”

One of the other major features of Aboriginal language style is what has been termed “vagueness” or “circumspection” (Garde 2008; Blythe 2009; Sutton 1982). Kriol speakers are comfortable referring to people, things, events, and ideas using vague NPs that include “whatsit” words or do not include a determiner, rather than specific noun phrases. For example, one morning a Kriol speaking colleague walked into our workplace and said (to me, in front of many others), *Yunmi gada gajim det wanim bla duim wanim la wanim*, “You and I should go and get the whatsit to do the thingo at the thingo”. While this was completely incomprehensible to the other listeners within earshot, I knew from a previous conversation that my colleague wanted to get the axe and get some wood from a nearby area to make sculptures (for similar forms in a substrate language, see the texts in Heath (e.g. 1978:296)).

While it is possible in Anglo Australian English, this kind of speech style is not generally in an Anglo English speaker’s “comfort zone”. Anglo speakers are likely to ask for clarification, and may feel there is unnecessary ambiguity hindering communication. I am not suggesting that Kriol speakers always speak in this way, only that this kind of interaction is not unexpected and it does not make people uncomfortable.

From the listener’s point of view the broader one allows one’s anaphoric reference to range, the more success one has in understanding the referent of a NP. For example, a deictic or anaphoric form may refer back to something previously mentioned days or even weeks ago (see Walsh 1991). Walsh compares this kind of talk to that which occurs between married couples who can start up a conversation that was left hanging at a previous time, without indicating what they are referring to (Walsh 1991).

Overall there are significant differences between Anglo Australian and Kriol interactional style. These differences are to some extent centred on reference and communicative style, and thus would not be explicitly described in a traditional descriptive grammar. In the body of the thesis I discuss many of these issues in more detail.

2.4 Summary

In this chapter I have overviewed the interactional style of Kriol speakers, and given a brief structural outline of the language.

In many ways Kriol can be viewed as the intersection between modern day life and an ancient traditional culture. It draws on aspects of grammar from English and also from its substrate languages, as well as this, it has some similarities to Melanesian Pidgin. In terms of interactional style, at first glance, it is clear there is some continuity of Aboriginal discourse practices in Kriol. In the following chapters I pursue a deeper understanding of both the grammatical structure of the NP and the interactional style of Kriol in relation to referring expressions.

Chapter Three

The structure of referring expressions: The noun phrase in Kriol

Referring expressions in Kriol occur as noun phrases. Thus, this chapter provides a description of the noun phrase (NP) in Kriol. Building on and extending the work of Sandefur (1979) and Munro (2004), I discuss the constituents and internal structure of the NP, and the grammatical features of number, definiteness and specificity. This chapter also describes inclusory pronominal constructions, possessive constructions and co-ordination.

The Kriol noun phrase can consist of nouns, adjectives, demonstratives, pronouns, quantifiers and other determiners and clauses. Minimally it can consist of any one of the above-mentioned constituents, with the exception of a small closed class of adnominal determiners (see table 3.1). These latter constituents occur in a fixed position in the NP. Conversely, a noun, an adjective, a demonstrative, a pronoun or a quantifier can be the sole constituent of a noun phrase in Kriol. Some of these constituents can also co-occur in a single NP. My analysis diverges from that of Munro (2004) in that I claim only nouns, pronouns and demonstratives can be “pure heads” of the noun phrase. When adjectives and quantifiers occur as sole constituents of the NP they are occurring as “fused heads” and must have an antecedent referring term (cf. Payne & Huddleston 2002). My conclusion is that when the referent of a NP is recoverable from preceding discourse, the fused head construction is usual in Kriol. I also show that there is some freedom in the word order within the NP.

§3.1 is a discussion of the structure of the NP. §3.2 is a description of the noun phrase features, §3.3 details the word classes in the Kriol NP, and §3.4 is a description of inclusory pronominals, possessive constructions and conjunction in Kriol.

3.1 The Kriol noun phrase

As mentioned, in Kriol almost any constituent of the NP can be the sole constituent of the NP. There is a small closed class of determiners that cannot occur as sole constituents, shown in table 3.1. As well as determiners, intensifiers also occur in a fixed position; however, they are technically part of an adjective phrase, these are listed in table 3.2. Words from both of these word-classes must precede the head of the NP.

Table 3.1 Position of determiners in the NP

Kriol	Determiner type	Example	Position in the NP
<i>det</i>	recognitional article	<i>Det redwan trak</i> 'The red car'	Before a constituent that can occur as sole constituent of the NP.
<i>dis</i>	demonstrative	<i>Dis dubala iya</i> 'These two here'	Before a constituent that can occur as sole constituent of the NP
<i>ola</i>	plural marker/ 'all'	<i>Ola yanboi dei bin...</i> 'All the young boys were...'	Before a constituent that can occur as sole constituent of the NP.

Table 3.2 Position of intensifiers in the adjective phrase

Kriol	Gloss	Example	Position in AP
<i>brabli</i>	'really'	<i>Brabli nogudwan trak</i> '(A) really bad car'	Before an adjective.
<i>rili</i>	'really'	<i>Im rili hotbala tiday</i> 'It is really hot today'	Before an adjective.

As mentioned, there are some word classes that occur as modifiers, but also regularly occur as sole constituents of the NP in Kriol, such as adjectives and quantifiers, for example see the adjective in (1).

- (1) *Alabat bin gajim grinwan.*
 3PL PST get green
 They got a green [one].

The example above is only pragmatically acceptable if the referent of the object NP (a green “something”) is recoverable from the preceding discourse or discourse context. In §3.1.1 below I examine this construction in detail.

3.1.1 Modifiers as fused heads of NPs

A noun phrase that consists solely of modifiers is not uncommon in the world’s languages (Dryer 2007:194).^{1,2} In Kriol there is at least three possible analyses available for such a construction: 1. When adjectives and quantifiers occur in an NP without a noun they become nouns. 2. Nouns can be elided. Thus the modifiers remain modifiers, and the “head” of the clause is implicit or external to the clause. 3. The third analysis, and the one I will adopt here, claims that when a NP consists only of modifiers (or a single modifier) the modifier becomes a “fused head”.³ The concept of fused head is discussed in relation to English by Payne & Huddleston (2002; see also Stirling & Huddleston 2002). They define the notion as follows:

Fused head NPs are those where the head is combined with a dependent function that in ordinary NPs is adjacent to the head, usually determiner or internal modifier [...]. In general, the expression in the fused-head position can occur in the dependent position in NPs where it is not fused with the head. (Payne and Huddleston 2002:410)

This framework describes Kriol NPs such as that in (1) very neatly, as I show below. However, firstly I discuss why the arguments suggested in 1. and 2. are inadequate to explain this construction in Kriol. The argument put forward in 1. is easily dismissed. This is because adjectives, even when they are the sole constituents of an NP, are clearly distinct from nouns. This can be shown by examining the adjectival

¹ It could be argued that such constituents are really not noun phrases at all. Much like Dryer, however, I assume “whether or not such constituents are properly called noun phrases, [is] a purely terminological question” (2007:194). Such constructions are clearly still argument phrases.

² I use the term “modifier(s)” here in reference to those parts of the noun phrase that are syntactically dependent on the head of the noun phrase, in particular adjectives and quantifiers.

³ In this framework a fused head contrasts with a “pure head”, where a noun would be a pure head.

morphology, i.e., the suffixes *-wan* and *-bala* (described in detail in §3.2.2). Adjectives in general cannot be shortened, for example, it is not possible to change *shotwan* ‘short’ to **shot*. However, it is possible to add the suffix *-wan* to a noun to create an adjective, such that *boi* ‘boy/young man’ can become *boiwan* ‘male/young male’. In such a case *boiwan* becomes an adjective and a noun can be added to the utterance. Thus, the NP *boiwan baba* ‘young male sibling’ is possible, but not **boi baba*. That is, the adjectival morphology is productive, and it can affix to a noun to create an adjective. Because of this, it is unusual for two nouns to co-occur (cf. §3.2.2). This is evidence that adjectives are clearly distinct from nouns.

Further evidence of this distinction is that adjectives, unlike nouns, can co-occur with intensifiers and be reduplicated. This occurs even when the adjective is the only possible head of the NP,⁴ as shown in (2)–(4). Some nouns can be reduplicated; however, reduplication is not productive.

(2) *Ai bin luk ola bigwanbigwan.*
 1SG PST look PL big~INT
 I saw the really big [ones].

(3) *Det brabli tolwan jeya luk.*
 REC INT high there look
 The really high [one] there, look.

(4) *Ai bin dagat brabli nogudwan.*
 1SG PST eat INT bad
 I ate a really bad [one].

These examples show that adjectives, even when in the syntactic position of a noun, are not functioning as nouns.

The other two possible analyses (2. and 3.) are harder to satisfactorily contest. Scholars have considered both possibilities. Evans (2003b), for example, sees no

⁴ I have only found examples of intensifiers modifying adjectives when they are sole constituents through elicitation; there are no examples in the texts. Reduplication of an adjective is more common.

problem in positing a NP that consists solely of modifiers (although he doesn't mention anything regarding the "heads" of such noun phrases:⁵

[A]ny referring expression may be represented simply by modifiers, which will be construed as 'an X one' or 'an X place' according to the morphosyntactic context. When the referring expression is also an argument, however, additional semantic specification may be achieved through information marked on the verb. (Evans 2003b:242)

Dryer (2007: 193-97) on the other hand, argues that noun ellipsis is not a satisfactory explanation for such constituents.

One approach to such noun phrases lacking nouns is to analyse them as involving ellipsis of the head noun [...]. One argument that is given for such an approach is that when a speaker uses noun phrases of this sort, it is normally the case that it is clear in the context what noun could have been used. (Dryer 2007:195)

He claims that the argument above is "unconvincing":

The fact that one can normally provide a noun that could have been used may simply reflect a fact about language use: normally when speakers refer to something, they can identify a noun that fits the thing. (Dryer 2007:195)

Likewise Stirling and Huddleston (2002) treat NPs consisting of modifiers not as lacking heads, but as requiring an antecedent to be interpreted. They compare them to pronominal NPs, suggesting that:

[t]he pro-nominal and the fused head constructions have it in common that they do not have separate head filled by an ordinary noun with inherent lexical content. The interpretation thus generally requires that the content of the head be filled out from the context. (Stirling & Huddleston 2002:1511)

The advantage of analysing modifiers as fused heads in Kriol is that there is no reliable syntactic test that could demonstrate that such adjectives and quantifiers are *not* acting as heads of NPs. In other words, it could be that the syntactic role of the

⁵ See also the discussion in Heath (1978:129).

constituent is determined by the construction it occurs in (cf. Croft 2001). Thus, we assume the NP is syntactically complete, and that further semantic “lexical” information can be found in an antecedent NP.

In English only a restricted set of modifiers of the noun occur as fused heads

[t]hey include ordinal numbers, comparative and superlative adjectives or AdjP, and certain adjectives describing physical properties; they are more acceptable following the definite article or cardinal numerals as determiner than after the indefinite article and other determiners. (Stirling and Huddleston 2002:1512)

In Kriol there are no such restrictions. In fact in Kriol the fused head construction is productive, in that any word that can take the suffix *-wan* and most words that take the suffix *-bala* can occur as a fused heads. As I have demonstrated these suffixes generally create modifiers, such as adjectives from nouns (see also §3.2.2).

Likewise, in Kriol, the definiteness of the NP does not affect the likelihood that it will have a fused head. That is, in Kriol it is common for both definite and indefinite NPs, (and those that are not clearly definite or indefinite) to occur with fused heads. For example, the fused head NP may include an indefinite determiner, such as *wanbala* in (5), consist only of the quantifier *wanbala* ‘someone’ (6), or be underspecified, as in (7).⁶

- (5) *Dog bin kaman, wanbala blekwon.*
dog PST arrive one black
A dog came along, a black one.

⁶ In English the count noun ‘one’ must have an antecedent that is singular. In Kriol modifiers with the suffix *-wan* can have plural antecedents, which makes sense, as the suffix *-wan* is an inherent part of the adjective. Although it is more common in Kriol, if the antecedent noun is plural or mass that the modifier with the suffix *-wan* will be reduplicated, as shown in the example below.

- (1) *Ai bin luk bigmob trak detmob redwan (redwanredwan).*
1SG PST look PL vehicle DEM.PL red (red~PL)
I saw a lot of trucks, the red (ones).

(6) *Dog bin kaman wanbala misal.*
dog PST arrive one only
A dog came along, only one.

(7) *Dog bin kaman, redwan.*
dog PST arrive red
A dog came along, a red one./ The dog came along, the red one.

In an analysis of the English form ‘one’, Stirling and Huddleston (2002) claim that in such sentences as:

(8) *What seats have you got? I want the cheapest ones available.*

‘One’ is functioning as the head of the NP (and ‘seats’ as the antecedent used to interpret the referent of ‘one’).⁷ In the sentence:

(9) *What seats have you got? I want the cheapest.*

The adjective ‘cheapest’ is a fused head in which the dependent “incorporates the head function” (Stirling & Huddleston 2002:1512). A possible hypothesis is the *-wan* suffix found on Kriol adjectives arose as the result of the re-analysis of English ‘red one/ cheap one’ expressions into Kriol. This is possible as NPs in the substrate can also consist solely of modifiers (e.g. Heath 1984). Perhaps speakers interpreted ‘one’ in English to indicate that the word could act as a modifier.

Previous analyses of Kriol have either been ambivalent as to the role of modifiers as sole constituents (e.g. Sandefur 1979), or stated that they can occur as arguments (Munro 2004). It is possible that analysts have been influenced by the suffix *-wan* found in Tok Pisin and Solomon Islands Pijin, which have a very different function to *-wan* in Kriol, that is, it acts a nominaliser (Beimers 2008:77). For example in SI Pijin

⁷ Stirling & Huddleston (2002:1513) distinguish between homophones ‘one’ (a count noun, which inflects for number and can occur following a modifier) and ‘one’ a determinative. I discuss the count noun ‘one’ as it occurs following modifiers and is thus more relevant to Kriol.

adjectives do not include a *-wan* suffix. The adjective *strong* ‘strong’, becomes a noun when the suffix *-wan* is added, as shown in the (10).

- (10) ***Strong-wan*** *ya hem-i stap yet.*
strong-NOM DEM 3SG-SRP remain yet⁸
That frozen one is still there. [SI Pijin, Beimers 2008:65]

I have offered an original approach to describing NPs in Kriol by suggesting that adjectives and quantifiers can occur as fused heads. This construction is common in Kriol, but only occurs when a referent has already been established in the discourse. In summary, as a result of the fused head construction the Kriol NP allows for a almost any word found as part of the NP to be the sole constituent of the NP.

3.1.2 Constituent order in the NP

The order of constituents in the Kriol NP is relatively fixed. Typically determiners (when used) precede nouns, adjectives and other constituents occur between the two. As well as this, adjectives and other constituents do occasionally occur after the head noun under the same prosodic unit (intonation contour), as in (11).

- (11) *En daga bejtaburlwan.*
and food vegetable
And food (derived from) vegetable matter. [DA_20R_17a]

Since fused head constructions are common (once the referent has established in the discourse), a speaker can add information using just an adjective (or any other constituent that can act as a sole constituent), in a separate intonation unit before or after the clause (cf. §5.2 and §5.3)⁹. This provides the speaker with relative freedom

⁸ Abbreviations used in this gloss not found elsewhere in the thesis include: NOM - nominaliser, SRP - subject referencing pronoun.

⁹ In §5.2 and 5.3 I discuss “dislocated” NPs in detail. Dislocated NPs are those that have a personal pronoun NP in main clause and a lexical NP as an adjunct, outside of the clause.

in terms of adding information about a referent, as a number of co-referential NPs can be found in various positions in relation to the verb. Incidentally one would never find an adjective-only NP first (unless the referent of the NP was recoverable from the context). Examples (12)-(14) are elicited, (15) is from spontaneous data.

(12) *Ai bin luk det wanbala trak, redwan.*
1SG PST look REC INDEF car red
I saw the car, (the) red (one).

(13) *Wanbala trak ai bin luk jeya, redwan.*
INDEF vehicle 1SG PST look there red
A truck, I saw, a red (one).

(14) *Redwan trak ai bin luk jeya, wanbala bigwan.*
red vehicle 1SG PST look there INDEF big
A car I saw there, a big one, a red (one).

(15) *Yu gajim fon, mobailwan main.*
2SG get phone mobile 1SG.POSS
Can you get my phone, my mobile (one).

Below, (16), is a further example.

(16) *Oni wanbala lilboi, main grensan na, bin gaja nidal,*
only one little.boy 1SG.POSS grandson EM PST get needle
det lil B.
REC little [name]
Only one boy, my grandson, got a needle, that little B. [DA_2BR_131]

There are three separate NPs in the example above. They are juxtaposed as reflected in the prosody. The third NP is co-referential with the two subject NPs. That is, each NP is co-referential with the others, together the NPs could be considered a notional

phrase loosely linked NPs in semantic “apposition”.¹⁰ This is a very common construction in Kriol. The example below shows that in such constructions the noun phrases are not syntactically modifying each other (that is, neither one is head of the entire phrase). In the examples below, *wanbala* is an indefinite marker and cannot occur with a proper name, as shown in (17) and (18). If it is in a separate intonation contour (indicated by the comma), it can co-refer with the proper noun as shown in (19):

(17) **Wanbala Bob bin kaman.*
one [name] PST arrive
*One Bob arrived.

(18) **Wanbala det Bob bin kaman.*
one REC [name] PST arrive
*This one Bob arrived.

(19) *Wanbala, det Bob bin kaman.*
one REC [name] PST arrive
[This] one [guy], [the] Bob arrived.

Heath (1984) suggests that in some of the substrate languages of Kriol, there is no clearly defined NP. He also describes the parts of the notional NP as being in apposition to one another (1978:52). In the quote below he is referring to the language Ngandi.

By using the term ‘apposition’ I am trying to indicate that the various constituents are often formally independent of each other; they often each have a complete set of affixes [...], and may be separated from each other by pauses and even by other constituents such as a verb. (Heath 1978:52)

¹⁰ Apposition describes a construction where two or more referring expressions are juxtaposed and neither is clearly the head of the NP (see Huddleston & Pullum 2002:447-48, for a discussion of apposition, and also Sadler & Nordlinger 2006).

Heath (1984) also notes, in regards to another substrate influence Nunggubuyu, “Nunggubuyu production strategies are far more oriented toward chunk-by-chunk production than in, say, English” (1984:613). Typically the order of the apposing NPs is syntactically insignificant. As indicated above this is prosodically and semantically similar to Kriol NP clusters. The examples below are further evidence that in Kriol there are similar kinds of “chunking”, and the order of the NPs is variable:

(20) *Mela bin stil swim, guwap, la keib, kavidwan.*
1PL PST still swim go.up LOC cave enclosed
We still swam and went up into a cave, a protected one. [DA_2BR_191]

(21) *Yu braja du, wanbala talwan boi.*
2SG.POSS [kinterm] too INDEF tall boy
Your brother too, a tall boy.

As shown in tables §3.1 and §3.2 unlike Nunggubuyu, Kriol does have words that always occur in a fixed position (possibly these words are similar to prefixes found in Nunggubuyu, cf. §4.4).

3.2 Noun phrase features

In this section I discuss three features of the NP in Kriol, firstly number, and then specificity and definiteness.

3.2.1 Number

Number can be marked in three ways in Kriol. Firstly by using pronominal markers such as plural demonstrative pronouns or other determiners. Secondly, in a small number of cases, number is indicated by using reduplication. Thirdly, in the case of animate nouns, number is indicated by using the collective suffix *-mob*.¹¹

¹¹ There are instances of Kriol speakers adding ‘-s’ to an inanimate noun to indicate plurality. Speakers do not use the ‘-s’ suffix consistently. It has an idiosyncratic distribution, which is the result of the

Munro (2004) demonstrates that the substrate languages have influenced how number is expressed in Kriol. For example, much like the substrate languages, Kriol speakers make a distinction between human nouns, higher animate nouns and other nouns, and may use reduplication to indicate plurality.

It has been found that there is a distinction between human, inanimate and higher animate nominals in terms of the number marking strategy used in Kriol. Inanimate nominals are most likely to be unmarked for number. Where reduplication is used as the number marking strategy in my data, however, it is most likely to be applied to inanimate nominals. Higher animate nominals can optionally be marked for number through the use of determiners, as can human nominals. (Munro 2004:191)

I also find that inanimate nouns do not require number marking. In example (22), the uninflected noun *hawus* ‘house’ refers to plural entities.

- (22) *Dei bin-ala wok-wook, swim lilbit, gu klinibat*
 3PL PST-HAB walk~DUR swim little go clean.PROG
la hawus ebriweya.
 LOC house everywhere
 They used to walk (for a way) (and then) swim a little and go cleaning
 houses everywhere. [DA_1BR_29a]

Much like Munro (2004) I find that reduplication is unusual, but tends to occur mostly on inanimate nouns. I find that when it does occur on nouns, it gives a distributive meaning, as well as plurality as in (23).¹²

- (23) *En, [di-] fyunrel-fyunrel na, ebarriweya, ei?*
 and [xx] funeral~PL.DSTR EM everywhere Q
 And there are funerals everywhere, aren't there? [DA_2BR_80]

lexifier (English) influencing Kriol (Munro 2004). A similar phenomenon has been described in Tok Pisin by Mühlhäusler (1985:276) and by Smith (2002:71).

¹² Reduplication is most commonly found on verbs in Kriol. Partial and full reduplication is also often found on adjectives and it can indicate either increased intensity or plurality, or both (cf. §3.2.2).

Sandefur lists two examples (1979:78) of frozen reduplicated nouns used to denote human entities. Full reduplication is found in the word *olmenolmen* ‘men’, from *olmen* ‘Elder (man)’; and partial reduplication in *olgolgamen* ‘Elder (women)’, from *olgamen* ‘Elder (woman)’.

By far the most common device to indicate plurality with both animate and inanimate NPs is use of plural demonstrative or quantifier, for example:

- (24) *Yu-mob luk dubala jet.*
 2SG-COLL look two planes
 Look at the two planes, you two.

My data indicates that determiners can mark both animate and inanimate nouns for plurality. Inanimate nouns can be interpreted as plural even when not marked as plural. However, number marking is obligatory on human reference nouns. If a human reference noun is not marked for number, it is necessarily interpreted as singular.

Examples (25) and (26) show inanimate nouns modified by plural determiners. Examples (27) and (28) are animate nouns modified by plural determiners (discussed below in §3.3.3). The form *detlot* is a variant of *detmob*; it tends to occur in noun phrases whose referent is inanimate.

- (25) *Ola Binloni-mob bin go gubarlgubarl detmob tjeya.*
 all [place.name]-COLL PST go scrounge~PROG DEM.PL chair
 The Binloni people went scrounging (around for) those chairs.
 [DA_1BR_195]

- (26) *Na maldi, maldi detlot trak na kaminap.*
 no maybe maybe DEM.PL truck EM approach
 No, maybe those trucks now coming up. [DA_20R_82]

- (27) *Dei bin seif jeya na, detmob olpipul.*
 3PL PST safe there EM REC.COLL old.people
 When they used to go up there, those old people. [DA_2BR_292]

- (28) *Detmob munanga bin dal alabat*
 REC.COLL white.person PST tell 3PL
 The white people told them [DA_1BR_196]

Number marking on non-human animate nouns is optional, as indicated by example (29). In context the animate NP, *hos* ‘horses’, clearly refers to a plural entity, but the speaker does not use any plural marking.

- (29) *Wanbala munanga im stil lukaran bla im hos deya*
 INDEF white.person 3SG still search POSS 3SG horse there
 One white person is still searching for his horses,
dei bin los, flowt la det woda na.
 3PL PST lost float LOC REC water EM
 They were lost, floated (away) in the water. [DA_10R_76]

The other clear animate/inanimate distinction in number marking concerns the distribution of the collective suffix *-mob*. Munro (2004:191) states that it “is used to indicate a group of the noun in question, where the feature of the noun unites them as a group”. That is, it denotes a group that shares some trait or state of activity.

In my data, this affix occurs only with animate nouns or place names. It can be found affixed to kinterms, proper names, human status nouns (‘boy’, ‘girl’, etc.), cardinal numbers (that are used in reference to people), and place names. It was not found on common nouns used to denote inanimate objects, it is also not found on adjectives. Regardless of the noun it affixes to, *-mob* denotes a group of people (or animate beings) and not to a place.

(30) *Ola san-mob bin kaman.*¹³
all [kinterm]-COLL PST arrive
All (Our/the) ‘sons’ arrived.

(31) *Munanga-mob bin tok-tok bla meigim dem du...*
white.person-COLL PST talk~PROG PURP make dam too
White people where talking about making a dam as well... [DA_1BR_138]

(32) *[mela] fo- fo-mob iya.*
[1PL four,[restart] four-COLL here
The four of us.

(33) *Ai bin dalim-im Beswick-mob bin jeya.*
1SG PST tell-3SG [place]-COLL PST there
I told, I told her the Beswick-group were there.

In Chapter Six I discuss the collective *-mob* in relation to person reference. One interesting use of *-mob* is to denote a group, using a particular person as the locus, as in example (34).

(34) *Oah Geri-mob jeya abum gudtaim feloship.*
EXC [name]-COLL there have good.time fellowship
Gary’s group/kin are having a great time at Fellowship (church service).

In my data there is no instance of an inanimate noun with the affix *-mob*, (see example (36)). However, it is found as a plural marker in the frozen form *bigmob* ‘much/many/a lot’, see (36). In this word it does not act as a collective suffix nor does the NP have a human referent.

¹³ It is also possible that when the form *ola* occurs in NPs whose referents are human it means ‘all’, when it appears in NPs whose referents are inanimate/non human it simply marks plural, compare examples (30) and (86).

- (35) **Ai bin luk ola tjeya-mob.*
 1SG PST look PL chair-COLL
 *I saw the group of [animate] chairs.

- (36) *Na bigmob stil langa ting... nyuseijen*
 no many still LOC thing newsagent
 Nope, there's still a lot [of newspapers] at the, what's-its-name, newsagent
 [DA_10R_164]

3.2.2 Specificity and definiteness

Bickerton (1981) claims that bare nouns in creole languages are typically used to indicate that the NP is non-specific. For some years this claim was widely accepted, however, with further evidence recently come to light, this statement appears questionable (in §4.3 I discuss this claim and counterevidence in detail). In Kriol, if a speaker uses a bare noun (i.e. a noun without determiners or plural marking) then the noun phrase can be considered underspecified with regards to definiteness and specificity. This is also true for bare nouns in Tok Pisin (Smith 2002:147) and the English lexified creole, Sranan (Bruyn 1994). The following can be said of Tok Pisin (a dialect of Melanesian Pidgin):

[t]he important thing to remember is that NP modification is not obligatory [although it is common]. An unmarked NP may represent an entity which is new or familiar, singular or plural, specific or non-specific, possessed or not. (Sankoff & Mazzie, 1991:3)

Likewise in the Kriol examples below, the object NP can be interpreted in a number of ways: definite, indefinite, specific, plural or singular. This is demonstrated in the examples below. In (37) and (38), the bare noun is in object position. In (39), both the subject and the object NPs are bare nouns. In (40) the bare noun is the object of a preposition.

- (37) *Ai bin luk yidaki.*
 1SG PST look yidaki
 I saw (a/the) didjeridoo (s) / I have seen a didjeridoo (in my lifetime).

(38) *Yuwai ai bin luk dog.*
yes 1SG PST look dog
Yes, I saw [a/the/your] dog.

(39) *Munanga bin gibit im mani.*
white.person PST give 3SG money
(A/the) white person(s) gave her (some) money.

(40) *Mami bin jeya bat im gon la kokonatri.*
[kinterm] PST there but 3SG gone LOC palm.tree
(Your) mother was there but (now) she went to (the) palm tree(s).

In short, while it is possible to indicate definiteness and specificity using determiners, it is not obligatory to do so in Kriol. Thus Kriol, much like Tok Pisin, appears to contrast with other creole languages in which bare nouns are reported to be invariably non-specific (but see §4.3).

There are various ways in which a speaker can indicate definiteness in Kriol. For example, the “recognitional article” *det* occurs in NPs whose referent the speaker assumes are “familiar” to the addressee (see Chapter Four). That is, *det* occurs in definite and specific NPs, as in (42). *Det* also occurs in generic NPs (i.e. definite but non-specific NPs) as in (41). The characteristics of *det* are discussed in some detail in Chapter Four. The article *wan* or *wanbala* is typically used to indicate an indefinite specific referent, as in (43).

(41) *Det shugabeg im gudwan bla dagat.*
REC honeycomb 3SG good for eat
(Native) honeycomb is good eating.

(42) *Ai bin luk det dog.*
1SG PST look REC dog
I saw the dog [you know which one I am referring to].

- (43) *Ai bin luk wanbala dog.*
 1SG PST look INDEF dog
 I saw a (particular) dog.

A speaker can create a specific but indefinite NP (with a referent recognisable to the addressee(s)) containing both *det* and *wanbala*. This is akin to the specific indefinite use of ‘this’ in English, as in ‘this guy walked into a bar...’. In such constructions the determiner *det* must precede *wanbala*, as in (44), but the two need not be adjacent as shown in (45).

- (44) *Bat imin teikimbat melabat det wanbala boi.*
 but 3SG.PST take 1PL REC INDEF boy
 Well he, this one guy, he took us.

- (45) *En det hawus wanbala jeya.*
 and REC building INDEF there
 And there’s this house there [you can know the one I mean].

[DA_10R_301]

There are definiteness markers used for plural referents. Example (46) shows the recognitional article *det* with the collective affix *-mob*. The plural form *detmob* is exemplified in (46), and the variant, *detlot*, in (47).

- (46) *Detmob modiga kaminap bigmob, ngi?*
 DEM.PL vehicle approach many Q
 Those vehicles that are coming, there’s a lot of them, isn’t there?

- (47) *Na maidi, maidi detlot trak na kaminap.*
 NEG maybe maybe DEM.PL truck EM approach
 No, maybe those trucks are approaching. [DA_20R_69]

Conversely, *sambala* ‘some’, indicates plurality and indefiniteness, as shown in example (48).

- (48) *Sambala Fiji-mob jeya langa Beswick.*
some Fiji-COLL there LOC [place.name]
Some Fijians are in Beswick.

It is not always clear why at times speakers choose to indicate definiteness and specificity, by using *wanbala* or *det* (or both), and not at other times. This matter is treated in more detail in Chapter Four.

3.3 Word Classes

3.3.1. Nouns

In this section I discuss common nouns, mass and count nouns, as well as kinterms and proper names. Common nouns occur as heads of NPs in Kriol and can be distinguished as a grammatical class distinct from proper names, adjectives, demonstratives, pronouns, quantifiers and other determiners. Kriol nouns are rarely used to modify other nouns. As mentioned in §3.1.1, nouns can take the adjectival morphology *-wan* to create an adjective.

The two optional articles: *det* (recognitional) and *wanbala* or *wan* (indefinite) as well as adjectives, demonstratives and quantifiers commonly modify (common) nouns. Common nouns occur as subject, object and oblique arguments, as in examples (49), (50), and (51) respectively.

- (49) *Dog bin kaman dijei.*
dog PST come this.way
A dog came this way.

- (50) *Imin draivim wan toyota.*
3SG.PST drive INDEF car
He drove a car.

- (51) *Mela bin gu la riba.*
1PL PST go LOC river
We went to the river.

Count nouns and mass nouns

Count nouns denote objects that speakers think of as individual entities. As a result they can be quantified and counted. They can be modified by cardinal numbers.

Mass nouns are those that people think of as substances, in Kriol the following are considered mass nouns, *shuga* ‘sugar’, *dilip* ‘tea leaves’, *flawa* ‘flour’, *das* ‘dust’ and *dambaku* ‘tobacco’. Other common mass nouns include *daga* ‘food’, *bif* ‘meat’, and liquids such as *wada* ‘water’, *di* ‘tea’ and *grog* ‘alcohol’. The determiners *diswan* ‘this one’, *detwan/darran* ‘that one’, and *wanbala* ‘one/a’ do not co-occur with mass nouns because they select a specific individual entity. Mass nouns cannot be modified by cardinal numbers, as shown in (52) and (53).

- (52) **Ai bin luk fobala das jeya.*
 1SG PST look four dust there
 * I saw four dusts

- (53) **Wanbala shuga*
 one sugar
 *One sugar

Mass nouns can be modified by the following quantifiers: *sambala* ‘some’, as in example (54); *ola* ‘all’, as in (55); *bigmob* ‘a lot/much/many’, as in (56), and *bigesmob* ‘a huge amount’, as in (57). In addition, determiners unmarked for number such as *det* and *dis* can occur with mass and count nouns. As indicated in example (57), each of the determiners can occur before the noun, or after it, with the exception of *ola*, *det* and *dis* which always occur before the noun.

- (54) *Yu gada gibit la melabat du sambala shuga*
 2SG FUT give LOC 1PL too some sugar
melabat wandim shuga du.
 1PL want sugar too
 You’ve got to give us some sugar too. We want sugar too.

[DA_10R_106]

(55) *Ai bin luk **ola** **das** jeya.*
 1SG PST look all dust there
 I saw all the dust there.

(56) *Ai bin luk **bigmob** **das**.*
 1SG PST look much dust
 I saw a lot of dust there.

(57) *Ai bin luk **das** **bigesmob** jeya.*
 1SG PST look dust big.amount there
 I saw a huge amount of dust there.

Where there is no indication of plurality, some nouns can be interpreted as either mass or count depending on the context. For example, *shugabeg* ‘native honey’ can function as both a count noun and a mass noun. The word ‘*shugabeg*’ has two different (but related) meanings; one based on *shugabeg* a mass noun ‘native honey’ and the other a count noun ‘a beehive with native honey’. In example (60), *kenggurru* ‘kangaroo’ could be interpreted as a count noun to mean an animal, or as a mass noun to mean some meat. This kind of polysemy is common in Australian languages (cf. Dixon 2002).

(58) *Mela bin faindim **shugabeg** (an entity of its own).*
 1PL PST find beehive.with.native.honey
 We found a beehive [of native honey].

(59) *Mela bin faindim **shugabeg** (a substance).*
 1PL PST find native.honey
 We found some native honey.

(60) *Eni **kenggurru**, yumob neba bin gedimbat kengguru?*
 any kangaroo 2.COLL NEG PST get kangaroo
 (And what about) kangaroo, didn’t you get (any) kangaroo?

(61) *Mela bin luk dubala kengurru.*

1PL PST look DU kangaroo

We saw two kangaroos.

Kinterms

The table below is a list of Kriol kinterms and their meanings:

Table 3.3 Kriol kinterms (cf. DAC 2006)

Kriol	English
Same generation:	
<i>baba/braja, sista</i>	sibling, brother, sister * 'parallel' cousin
<i>barngga/kas</i>	'cross' cousin (children of father's sister or mother's brother)
<i>banji</i>	brother-in-law/sister-in-law, also spouse/marriageable person
<i>waif</i>	wife
<i>hasben</i>	husband
<i>mit</i>	spouse * children of mother's sister(s) or father's brother(s)
One generation away:	
<i>mami</i>	mother (also mother's sister)
<i>dedi</i>	father (also father's brother)
<i>anti</i>	aunt (father's sister)
<i>anggul</i>	uncle (mother's brother)
<i>gajin/marli</i>	mother-in-law ("poison cousin"), son/daughter-in-law
<i>lambarra</i>	father-in-law
<i>san</i>	son (also sons of ego's brothers -- when ego is male)
<i>dota</i>	daughter (also daughters of ego's brothers -- when ego is male)
<i>nis</i>	daughter of ego's sisters (when ego is male)
<i>nefyu</i>	son of ego's sisters (when ego is male)
Two generations away:	
<i>abuji</i>	grandmother (father's mother) and their siblings
<i>amuri</i>	grandfather (father's father) and their siblings
<i>gagu</i>	grandmother (mother's mother) and their siblings
<i>abija</i>	grandfather (mother's father) and their siblings

From a semantic perspective kinterms can be classified as a subtype of nouns. They are a linguistic manifestation of the social architecture of Kriol speaking society, and occur in discourse with high frequency. From a syntactic perspective kinterms occur

in a variety of constructions (cf. possessive constructions in §3.4.3). There may be dozens of people one could address to as *mami* (mother) or *baba* (sister or brother) (see §2.3.2, §6.1.2). NPs with kinterms as heads often also contain adjectives, determiners, or even full clauses with information to help the interlocutors identify a referent. Because kinterms are non-unique referring terms, they can co-occur with the indefinite determiner *wanbala*, or the recognitional article *det*, as shown in examples (62)–(64).

(62) 1.O ***Wanbala main sista bin win deya twelbthausin***
 one 1SG.POSS sister PST win there twelve.thousand

dei bin tok.

3PL PST talk

One of my sisters won twelve thousand there they said.

2.B *Hu bin [duwum]?*

who PST [do]

Who did?

3. O ***Det bla Greg mami.***

REC POSS [name] [kinterm]

Greg's mum.

4. B *mm.*

Right.

[DA_10R_BR_306-308a]

(63) *Yu braja du wanbala talwan boi.*

2SG.PSS brother also INDEF tall boy

Your brother, a young tall one.

(64) ***Wanbala san bin jeya du.***

INDEF [kinterm] PST there too

A son [of yours] was there too.

Any word class that can modify a common noun can also modify a kinterm. Like other NPs that denote human entities, kinterms can be suffixed with the collective suffix *-mob*. A bare kinterm can occur as the head of a NP:

(65) *Alabat main san-mob.*
3PL 1SG.POSS [kinterm]-COLL
They are my sons.

(66) *Mami bin jeya bat im gon.*
[kinterm] PST there but 3SG go.PST
(Your) mother was there but she is gone.

In example (66) the speaker is using an addressee-oriented kinterm. That is, the speaker is referring to someone the addressee calls *mami*. Kinterms can be the sole term used to identify a person. Often the kin relationship between the addressee and the referent is determined before the actual identity of the referent. In most cases a kinterm is enough to resolve identification (see Chapter Six for more detail on referring practices).

Proper nouns

Proper nouns can be distinguished as a subclass of nouns as they occur with a restricted set of modifiers. They are used to refer individual people, places and languages by name. In Kriol the recognitional article, *det*, commonly occurs with proper names, as in example (67). The indefinite determiner *wanbala* is ungrammatical with proper names see (68) (see §3.1.2).

(67) *Det B. B. bin gibit im mani.*
REC [name] PST give 3SG money
[name] gave her money.

- (68) **Wanbala B. B. bin kaman.*
INDEF [name] PST arrive
*One/a [name] arrived.

A possessive construction with a pronominal possessor e.g., *main* or *bla main* cannot have a proper noun as possessum (69), (unless it has been modified by the adjectival suffix *-wan*, see §3.4.3).

- (69) **Betty bla main.*
[name] POSS 1SG.POSS
*My Betty.

- (70) **Ngukurr bla main.*
[place.name] POSS 1SG.POSS
*My Ngukurr.

Proper noun NPs commonly occur as the object of a prepositional phrase.

- (71) *Melabat bin gu la Katherayin.*
1PL PST go LOC [place.name]
We went to [place].

There are also compound proper names, such as *Dijan la Top* (God; lit. ‘the one at the top’), which is capitalised in the *Holi Baibul* (the Kriol translation of the Bible).

Proper nouns can occur with an animate collective suffix *-mob* (as shown in §3.2.1).

- (72) *Ola **Richad-mob.***
all [name]-COLL
Richard’s family (or group).

- (73) *Ola **Kalano-mob** bin bakyuweitim langa ...*
all [place.name]-COLL PST evacuate LOC

The Kalano mob evacuated to ...

[DA_1BR_172]

3.3.2 Adjectives

As mentioned earlier, there are three important distinctions between nouns and adjectives in Kriol. Firstly, when adjectives can occur as fused heads in an NP. That is, they occur as modifiers of the noun when a noun is present. When there is no noun an adjective can incorporate the head function in an NP. This is only possible when interlocutors can discern from the preceding conversation or environmental cues the referent of the fused head NP. The second clear distinction between the class of nouns and adjectives is that intensifiers can modify adjectives, but not nouns (see table 3.2 above). Thirdly, adjectives typically take adjectival morphology, unlike nouns, and are often reduplicated.

Adjectival morphology

Most adjectives are composed of two analysable parts: a root and a suffix, where the suffix is either *-wan* or *-bala*. In example (74), *rabish* occurs as a noun, to mean ‘rubbish’ or ‘trash’. In (75) *rabishwan* consists of the noun *rabish* ‘useless’ and the suffix *-wan* (Munro 2004:167).

(74) *Yu luk bigmob rabish iya.*
 2SG look much rubbish here
 Look at all this rubbish. [Kriol, Munro 2004:167]

(75) *Dubala bin faindimbat rabish-wan balnga las nait.*
 3DU PST find useless-MOD ash last night
 Those two found some useless ash last night. [Kriol, Munro 2004:167]

Adjectives with the suffix *-wan*

The majority of adjectives in Kriol include the suffix *-wan*.¹⁴ Examples (76) and (77) show such adjectives modifying nouns.

¹⁴ There are adjectives with no suffix found in Kriol. These are influenced by the lexifier (English) and do not include either suffix. This is exemplified by *grin* (green) in the example below (from Munro 2004:166).

(1) *Ai bin gajim grin pannikin.*
 1SG PST get greencup
 I got a green cup.

Because they don't contain a suffix, *-bala* or *-wan*, these adjectives always precede a noun. They are “semantic” adjectives that have no adjectival morphology, their use is infrequent and idiosyncratic. Only *lil* ‘small’ occurs relatively frequently.

- (76) *Imin luk them lilil-wan peket laigijad, luk.*
 3SG.PST look DEM little~INT-MOD packet thus look
 He saw those little tiny packets like that, look. [DA_1BR_109]

- (77) *Alabat ola tal-wan boi.*
 3PL all tall-MOD young.man
 Them, all the tall (young) men.

Not only is *-wan* by far the most common adjective suffix, it is also the most productive, attaching to almost any noun to create a modifier, as in (78).¹⁵

- (78) *Skul-wan trak*
 school-MODtruck
 School vehicle

The suffix *-bala*

Adjectives with the suffix *-bala* can also occur as fused heads. However, the suffix *-bala* has a restricted distribution. It occurs as a productive suffix on adjectives that modify nouns used to denote human referents, and in just a few cases on adjectives that modify other kinds of (non-human) nouns. It can be used to attribute (perhaps permanent) characteristics or features to people and things. Adjectives with the suffix *-bala* typically describe a person with particular attributes, as illustrated in example (79).

- (79) *Nunggubuyu-bala, dis blakbala im wokwok.*
 [language.name]-MOD this black.person 3SG walk~PROG
 [This is] a Nunggubuyu [person], this Aboriginal person walking along here.

Below is an example of an adjective with the suffix *-bala* modifying a human status noun.

¹⁵ Most common nouns in English that consist of two nouns together, such as ‘school teacher’, ‘police station’ etc. have become a single word in Kriol: *skultitja, plistayshon*.

- (80) *Ai bin luk **nogud-bala** boi jeya.*
 1SG PST look bad-MOD boy there
 I saw a badly behaved boy there.

In most cases the use of an adjective with *-bala* indicates that the property being attributed is of a permanent (or lasting) nature. Many adjective stems can take either the *-wan* suffix or the *-bala* suffix. I hypothesise that *-bala* is more commonly used when the meaning is lasting, and *-wan* when the attribute is changeable. For example, *granggibala* means something like ‘crazy in the head’, and *granggiwan* means ‘annoyed, upset, angry’. However, in some cases it appears that speakers use the adjectives interchangeably. Further analysis would be required to determine the exact nature of the differences between the two kinds of adjectives.

The form *-bala* also occurs as a frozen form on words that are not adjectives. It is found on many frozen nominalised forms that may once have been adjectives, including *blakbala* ‘Aboriginal person’ and *yalobala* ‘person of mixed racial background’ (see table 3.4). In such cases it need not have a human referent, as shown in the two examples below. In example (81) *bobala* ‘poor thing’ is a particle that is ubiquitous in Kriol. It is used as an expression of sympathy or empathy. In example (82) *sambala* ‘some’, is a quantifier.

- (81) “*Aa, **bobala** dis tawun. Imin git draund.*” *im lathad.*
 EXC poor.thing DEM town 3SG.PST get drown 3SG QUOT
 “Ah, this poor town. It was submerged” he said. [DA_20R_333]

- (82) *Wal wi nid **sambala** mowa ebrijing yet.*
 well 1PL need some more thing still
 Well we still need more things. [DA_2BR_13]

(81) and (82) above are examples of common uses of N+*-bala* that appear to be fused. For example, the stem *bo-* from *bobala* does not occur alone in Kriol. The word stem *blak-* co-occurs with the suffix *-wan*, but does not occur on its own. In the table below each of the groups are non-productive. The column headings indicate the part of speech of the word (not the stem).

Table 3.4 Word classes with lexicalised *-bala*

Pronouns	Numbers/Quantifiers	Exclamations	Adverbials	Nouns
<i>minbala</i> '1DU.EXCL'	<i>wanbala</i> 'one'	<i>bobala</i> 'poor thing'	<i>elibala</i> 'early'	<i>blakbala</i> 'Aboriginal person'
<i>dubala</i> '3DU'	<i>dubala</i> 'two'	<i>trubala</i> 'true'		<i>yalobala</i> 'person of mixed descent'
<i>yunbala</i> '3PL'	<i>thribala</i> 'three'			

3.3.3 Determiners

Demonstratives

In this section I discuss demonstratives as a subclass of determiners (see table 3.5). I also discuss determiners that have no deictic function, such as the recognitional article *det* and the indefinite *wanbala* or *wan*.

I define demonstratives as those words that use deixis to provide information about a referent's location, typically within the spatial environment of the interlocutors, or within the discourse domain. Pronominal demonstratives can function as NPs. Adnominal demonstratives co-occur with another constituent in the NP (such as a noun or adjective). Munro (2004:152-56) describes the functions of demonstratives and adverbial demonstratives. She demonstrates that the same form can occur both adnominally and pronominally. Table 3.5 is an overview of demonstratives in Kriol.

Table 3.5 Demonstratives in Kriol

	Adnominal demonstrative	Pronominal demonstratives	Adverbial demonstratives
Proximal	<i>dis/dijan</i>	<i>dijan/diswan</i>	<i>iya/dijei</i>
Distal	<i>darran/dan</i>	<i>darran/dan</i>	<i>jeya¹⁶/darrei</i>

¹⁶ The adverbial demonstrative *jeya* also has a discourse function in Kriol that is not related to its deictic function. Unfortunately an in-depth analysis of this demonstrative is beyond the scope of this thesis.

NPs consisting of demonstrative pronouns can be used to refer to people, as well as objects.

(83) *Ai bin luk im dijan iya.*
1sg pst look 3sg prox.dem here
I saw him this one [the guy just mentioned or in view].

(84) *Dei bin .. apolojais.. dijei najing?*
3PL PST apologise this.way nothing
They apologised (this way) [to them], or not?

(85) 1.B ... *bla im mami?*
POSS 3SG [kinterm]
His mother?

2.D .. *yo yuwai ba darran na,*
yes yes DAT DIST.DEM EM
yes that's the one.

NPs consisting of demonstratives and adverbial demonstratives have important discourse functions in Kriol conversation requiring further research. They are discussed in more detail in Chapter Four; see also Sandefur (1979: 94-97) and Munro (2004: 152-156).

3.3.4 Article-like determiners

In table 3.6 *det* and *wan* are determiners, they co-occur with nouns or any word that can be the sole constituent of the NP. The forms *wanbala* and *sambala* are plural determiners, and occur as quantifiers. They can occur as sole constituents of an NP, or as modifiers (see table 3.6 below).

Table 3.6 Recognitional and indefinite determiners (reproduced from Table 2.4)

	Singular	Plural
Recognitional	<i>det</i>	<i>det</i>
Indefinite	<i>wan/wanbala</i>	<i>sambala</i>

Munro (2004: 111) includes a table of determiners that she claims indicate focus and topic in the discourse. I discuss one such determiner, *det*, in some detail in Chapter 4. The other determiner she lists is *dis*. In my data *dis* appears to be a demonstrative with a simple deictic function, that is, it indicates the referent of the NP is close to the speaker. Unlike *det*, *dis* can be stressed suggesting that it is more like a demonstrative than an article-like determiner (see Lyons 1999:29). For example, one can say in Kriol: *yu luk dis gel iya, nomo darran* ‘look at this gel, not that one’. However, it is possible that *dis* is becoming more like *det* (i.e. more like an article), Moses (p.c. Melbourne, July 2009), suggests that this is the case in the Kriol dialect spoken in Yakanarra (Western Australia).

3.3.5 Quantifiers

To indicate dual or plural, speakers can use the pre-nominal quantifiers *sambala* (some), *bigesmob* (a lot), *dubala* (two) or *ola* (PL or ‘all’), as shown in (87)–(90). These quantifiers can also be combined with the [N+-*mob*] construction, as exemplified in (86).

- (86) *Sambala lil yangbois bin ranimapbat ola kengguru, kilimat.*
 some little boy.PL PST run.after PL kangaroo kill.PROG
 Some little boys were running after kangaroos (and) killing (them).

[DA_1BR_18]

- (87) *Ai bin luk bigesmob dog.*
 1SG PST look many dog
 I saw a lot of dogs.

(88) *Ai bin luk dubala dog.*
 1SG PST look two dog
 I saw two dogs.

(89) *Ai bin luk ola dog-mob.*
 1SG PST look PL dog-COLL
 I saw (the) dogs.

(90) *Ola ebarijing bin draund la taun.*
 all thing PST submerge LOC town
 All the belongings were submerged in town.

[DA_1BR_33]

Each of these quantifiers can also occur as sole constituents of the NP, with the exception of *ola* (discussed in §3.1).

3.3.6 Personal pronouns

Kriol personal pronouns have different forms for number (singular, dual and plural), person, and an ‘exclusive’ dual form.¹⁷ The third person forms are unmarked for gender and animacy.

Table 3.7 Personal pronouns (reproduced from §2.5)

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	<i>ai/mi</i>	<i>mindubala/minbala</i> (exclusive)	<i>melabat/mela, wi</i>
1/2	<i>yunmi</i>		
2	<i>yu</i>	<i>yunbala/yundubala</i>	<i>yumob</i>
3	<i>im</i>	<i>dubala</i>	<i>alabat/dei/dem</i>

Munro (2004:123) and Sandefur (1979:83) describe a subject/object distinction in some Kriol pronouns. Sandefur claims that speakers commonly use *ai* ‘1SG’ as the

¹⁷ Personal pronouns in Kriol have different forms in different regions. I focus on those used in Roper Kriol.

subject and/or agent of a clause, and *mi* ‘1SG’ as an object to a transitive verb. However, the situation is more complex than this. In the sections below I examine 1SG and 3PL pronouns and their distribution in the discourse in detail. But firstly I briefly outline 1PL and 3SG since their distribution is relatively straightforward.

Each of the other pronouns mentioned in the table: *yundubala*, *yunmi*, *yubala*, *yumob* and *dubala* occur in any position within the clause.

First person plural

In my data there is little or no distinction between the distribution of the first person plural forms *wi* and *melabat* (sometimes shortened to *mela* when in subject position). They are both used as subject of transitive and intransitive verbs, as well as objects and obliques, as shown in (91)–(94).

(91) *Mela bin kaman na.*
1PL PST arrive EM
We just arrived.

(92) *Wi bin kaman garrim bas.*
1PL PST arrive by bus
We came by bus.

(93) *Imin luk wi.*
3SG.PST look 1PL
He saw us.

(94) *Imin gibit la wi.*
3SG.PST give LOC 1PL
He gave it to us.

Munro (2004:123) suggests that there is an exclusive/inclusive distinction between *wi* (inclusive) and *melabat* (exclusive). However, in my data *melabat* does not always function as an exclusive pronoun (although it can). For example it is possible to say

Mela gada gu la shop na, ngi? meaning ‘we (inclusive) will all go to the shop now, right?’. Likewise *wi* is not used in an exclusive sense. That is, it is possible to say *Wi bin gu la shop* ‘we went to the shop’ to someone who did not go to the shop. The pronoun *minbala* however, according to my data, is exclusive. one could not say *Minbala bin gu la shop* ‘we went to the shop’ if the addressee also came along to the shop.

Third person singular *im*

There is only one form for the third person singular pronoun: *im*. It does not indicate gender or animacy. The third person singular *im* can be used as a dummy subject, see for example (95).

- (95) ***Im*** *hotwan tidei.*
3SG hot today
It’s hot today.

First person singular

The first-person singular pronouns *ai* and *mi* are, to a large extent, in complementary distribution. *Ai* always occurs in subject position, specifically it occurs as the subject in tensed clauses, and as subject in clauses that include *nomo* ‘NEG’, as well as with some restricted verbs; *mi* occurs elsewhere. That is, in terms of subject position, the pronoun *ai* is used with predicates that include the tense markers *bin* PST, or *gada* FUT/OBLIG, or NEG as illustrated in examples (96)-(97), (98)–(99) and (100) respectively.¹⁸

- (96) ***Ai bin*** *dalimim.*
1SG PST tell.1SG
I told him.

¹⁸ *Ai* is also found in the fossilised words *Aidamu* ‘I don’t know’, *Aidalimyu* ‘I tell you/believe me!’ and *Ailabda...* ‘I will have to...’.

(97) *Ai bin luk mami jeya <XXX> autsaid.*
 1SG PST see [kinterm] there [XXX] outside
 I saw [your] mother there [indistinct] outside somewhere.

(98) *Im dalimbat mi ai gada marid la Shila.*
 3SG tell 1SG 1SG FUT marry LOC [name]
 He told me “I will marry Sheila”.

(99) *Maitbi ai gada gu jeya dijan iya.*
 maybe 1SG FUT go there DEM here
 Perhaps I will go there, me [lit. ‘this here’].

(100) *Ai nomo gadim enijing.*
 1SG NEG have anything
 I don’t have anything.

The other first person singular form, *mi* occurs as both a subject and object argument, as in (101) and (98) respectively. It occurs as an oblique argument, such as the object of a preposition or indirect object, as in examples (102) and (103). It is also the form used in the first person possessive construction, as in example (104).

(101) *Mi dalimbat-im.*
 1SG tell. -3SG
 I’m telling him.

(102) *Wal na kaman en sidan la mi.*
 PRT EM come and stand LOC 1SG
 Come and stand over here.

(103) *Iya la Top bin kaman jidan la mi, en imin*
 here LOC heaven PST come sit LOC 1SG and 3SG.PST
tok la mi.
 talk LOC 1SG [DA_2BR_308]
 God in Heaven came (and) sat by me and He spoke to me.

- (104) *Im mami bla mi.*
3SG [kinterm] POSS 1SG
She is my mother [a mother 'for' me].

Mi is unattested as a subject pronoun followed by the tense *bin* PST or *gada* FUT/OBLIG; however, it does occur with the modal auxiliary *andi*, used to express obligation or duty, as in example (105).

- (105) *Mi andi dalim alabat.*
1SG DESID tell 3SG
I should have told them.

Both *mi* and *ai* occur before verbs that lack tense or aspect marking; however, *mi* is more common. In elicitation speakers claim that *mi* is possible in subject position within a tensed clause if it is clearly in focus (such as the answer to a question, or for contrastive emphasis) see example below. This is unattested in spontaneous data.

- (106) 1.B *Hu bin gajim-im? Joj?*
who PST got-3SG [name]
Who got it, George?
- 2.D *Nomo, mi bin gajim-im.*
NEG 1SG PST get-3SG
No I got it.

It is possible that *ai* occurs more frequently (in subject position) when a speaker is using light Kriol (§2.1.2).

Third person plural

There are three forms for the third person plural pronoun: *dei/dem* and *alabat*. *Alabat* is the most common form. In the data, *dei* occurs only in subject position (with both transitive and intransitive verbs), as in example (107). *Dem* is rare (except in light

Kriol cf. §2.1.2), and generally appears in the object position, as in example (108). *Alabat* can occur in either position, as shown in (109) and (110). As well as this, *alabat* is used in the third person possessive construction, as shown in example (111) (§3.4.3).

(107) *Dei bin kaman.*
3SG PST arrive
They arrived.

(108) *Mami bin dalibat dem.*
[kinterm] PST tell 3PL
[your] Mother told them.

(109) *Sambala pleisis dei bin bekuweitim alabat.*
some place 3PL PST evacuate 3PL
Some places they evacuated them. [DA_10R_120]

(110) *Alabat bin dalibat mi.*
3PL PST tell 1SG
They told me.

(111) *Bla alabat ebrijing bin brabli wanim, demij na ngabi?*
POSS 3PL thing PST very what's.it damaged EM Q
Their things were really whats-it, damaged weren't they?
[DA_2BR_110]

Further to this, *alabat* is the only third-person plural pronoun that occurs as an oblique argument, as shown in (112) and (113), *alabat* occurs as the object of a preposition.

(112) *Mi weit iya bla alabat.*
1SG wait here for 3PL
I'll wait here for them.

- (113) *Ola ami bin help la alabat, kadimbat alabat*
 PL army PST help LOC 3PL take 3PL
la wanim.
 LOC what's-it

The army helped with everybody, carting them to whatsit.

[DA_2BR_47]

- (114) **Mi weit iya bla dem.*
 1SG wait here for 3PL
 *I wait here for them.

Alabat can also function to mean something like ‘everyone’ or ‘everywhere’, depending on the context, as shown in examples (115)–(118). *Alabat* is derived from English ‘all-about’, and is sometimes used in the sense of ‘all around’ as in example (115). In examples (116)–(118) *alabat* is used to address a large group of people, similar to the use of words ‘everyone’, *yumob*. In this sense *alabat* can function in both second and third person reference.

- (115) *La main blok ai gobek, mowa lilbit...*
 LOC 1SG.POSS block 1SG go.back more little...

jadsaid langa ola bujij en hil alabat.
 that.side LOC all bush and hill everywhere

I’ll go back to my block of land, a little further over, that side in amongst all the bush and hills. [DA_10R_40a]

- (116) *Alabat wi had bla gajim daga.*
 everyone 1PL hard PURP get food

Everyone! All of us around here are hard-pressed to get food.

[DA_2BR_52]

(117) *Dei drinkers ol wi kids, alabat.*
3PL drinker all 1PL kids everyone
Everyone, our children are drinkers [of alcohol].

(118) *Alabat yumob nomo sabi wai dei wandim*
everyone 2.COLL NEG know why 3PL want

pudim la det grog.
put LOC REC alcohol

Everyone! You don't understand why they want [us] to have alcohol.

3.4 Complex NPs and possessive constructions

In this section I discuss three important NP constructions found in Kriol. In §3.4.1 I discuss inclusory pronominal constructions, in §3.4.3 possessive constructions, and in §3.4.4 I discuss co-ordination. These are interesting because they display obvious differences from English. For example, inclusory pronominal constructions, as well as the other pronominal constructions described in §3.4.1 do not occur in English, but are found in the substrate languages (cf. Heath 1978:302, 1984:542).

3.4.1 Inclusory pronominal constructions

Pronouns occur as heads of NPs in Kriol. However, they need not be the only word in the NP. A number of plural or dual pronouns in Kriol can occur in “inclusory pronominal” constructions, these have been examined in a benchmark description by Lichtenberk (2000). Inclusory pronominal constructions have previously been described in many Australian languages (cf. Singer 2001; Goddard 1985:100; Heath 1978:302, 1984:542). They are also common in Austronesian languages. They take the following form: PETER WE (DUAL) WENT FISHING, ‘Peter and I went fishing’, or ‘I went fishing with Peter’ (Lichtenberk, 2000:2). The definition of an inclusory pronominal, according to Lichtenberk (2000:2) is: “a pronominal form that identifies

a total set of participants, a subset of which is identified by a lexical NP¹⁹. Aissen (1989) claims that in such cases the pronoun is the head of the NP and the other constituent acts as an adjunct. Aissen notes “the adjunct names an individual who is *included* in the reference of the head, not *added* to it” (1989:542; original emphasis).

(119) and (120) are examples of this construction in Kriol. (119) shows a first-person plural exclusive pronoun coupled with a possessed kinterm. In (120), the speaker uses a name followed by the third person dual pronoun, to mean ‘*Boni* and another person associated with her’.

(119) *Minbala main dota bin gu jeya wantaim.*

1DU.EXCL 1SG.POSS daughter PST go there once

My daughter and I went there one day [lit. ‘we my daughter went there one time].

(120) *Dis Boni dubala.*

this [name] 3DU

These two (including Boni).

As suggested by (119) and (120), the two constituents of an inclusory pronominal construction can appear in either order, regardless of whether the construction occurs in subject or object position. In this sense Kriol differs from the majority of other languages said to have inclusory pronominal constructions, such as Mayan, (Aissen 1989), and Turkish, (Lichtenberk 2000), in which there are constraints on the ordering of the pronominal and the lexical NP. In Australian languages the case is slightly more complex as there are various ways in which a pronoun can occur (either dependent on the verb or as an independent word). Typically the pronoun and the lexical NP must be adjacent, it is not clear what order they occur in. Singer (2001:3) claims that only Kriol and Kaytetye (an Aboriginal language from Central Australian) allow either word order.

¹⁹ That is, not a pronominal NP.

In Kriol the inclusory pronominal construction may also be discontinuous; however, the pronoun must occur before the lexical NP.

- (121) *Minbala greihed na main sista.*
 1DU.EXCL grey.hair EM 1SG.POSS sister
 We are grey haired, [me and] my sister.

3.4.2 Other pronominal constructions

There are other pronominal constructions in Kriol that involve the pronouns *alabat* ‘3PL’ and *dubala* ‘3DU’. Instead of the co-occurring NP indexing just part of the subset denoted by the pronoun, with *alabat* and *dubala*, the co-occurring NP(s) refer to all of the people denoted by the pronoun. Thus the pronoun and the lexical noun are co-referential, and it is unclear which is the head. I suggest that apposition best describes these cases, see (122) and (123) for examples (cf. §3.1.3 for a discussion of apposition).

- (122) *Alabat ola fiji-mob dei jeya.*
 3PL PL [name]-COLL 3PL there
 Those ones the Fijian (group) they (are) there.

- (123) *Rik dubala Juli iya la Ropa.*
 [name] 3DU [name] here LOC name
 Rik and Juli (the two of them) (are) here in Roper.

As well as this, it is worth noting another construction whereby any first, second and third person plural pronoun can be quantified using a number, such as in (124) and (125). *Dei* ‘3PL’ is an exception; it is unattested co-occurring with a cardinal number.

- (124) *Melabat thribala bin la det pak.*
 1PL three PST LOC REC park
 The three of us went to the park.

- (125) *Alabat fobala kaminap na.*
3PL four arrive EM
The four of them are arriving now.

3.4.3 Possessive constructions

There are two construction types used to mark possession in Kriol: juxtapositional and prepositional. They are summarised in sections below. I have included alternative word orders and examples not included in Munro (2004).

Pronominal/Juxtapositional possessive constructions

Only the first person in Kriol has a distinct possessive form. I discuss these first. This construction consist of the first person singular possessive pronoun, *main* or *mai* and a noun. There are two possible word orders for the constructions: [possessive pronoun+possessed] and [possessed+possessive pronoun]. Examples (126)–(128) show the first word order, and (129)–(131) the second word order, in the second word order *mai* is not possible as the possessive pronoun.

- (126) *Main mami*
1SG.POSS [kinterm]
My mother

- (127) *Main kemp*
1SG.POSS camp
My house/area

- (128) *Mai pleis*
1SG.POSS place
My place

- (129) *Kemp main*
house 1SG.POSS
My house/area

(130) *Trak main*
vehicle 1SG.POSS
My vehicle

(131) *Mami main*
[kinterm] 1SG.POSS
My mother

Juxtaposition possessive construction

Much like the possessive pronoun construction, this construction consists of two words juxtaposed, the possessor and the possessed. The possessor occurs as first person plural pronoun, second or third person singular or plural pronoun.

(132) *Melabat kemp*
1PL house
Our house/area

(133) *Yumob trak*
2PL vehicle
Your truck

(134) *Im gabarra*
3SG head
His/her/its head

(135) *Dubala mami*
3DU/two [kinterm]
Their mother/Two mothers

The phrase “The two mothers of them two” in Kriol would be *dubala mami bla dubala*. The sentence **dubala dubala mami* is unattested.

Prepositional possessive constructions

These constructions are slightly more complex than the previous two. They can be used to allocate possession to a third person using a lexical NP (as well as to first and second persons). They consist of an animate or inanimate noun (the possessed entity) followed by a preposition *bla* or *blanga* (this can function as a possessive or a dative preposition, discussed below), and finally an animate noun (the possessor), which can be a proper noun: [possessed+preposition +possessor]. That is, in this NP the head noun is modified by a prepositional phrase (the possessor), which in its entirety may follow or precede the head noun.

(136) *Trak bla main*
vehicle POSS 1SG.POSS
My truck

(137) *Kemp bla mami*
house POSS [kinterm]
Mother's house/area

(138) *Bos bla Daisy*
boss POSS [name]
Daisy's boss

These constituents can occur in another order, with the preposition first, followed by the possessor and then the possessed item: [preposition+possessor+possessed]. In this construction the preposition can have a dative meaning, giving rise to some ambiguity if both the possessor and the possessed are animate, for example *bla Jona san* could mean that some referent implicit in the discussion, 'belongs to Jonah's son', alternatively it means 'Jonah's son'.

(139) *Bla mami kemp*
DAT/POSS [kinterm] house
Mother's house. /House for mother

(140) *Bla melabat bos*
DAT/POSS 1PL boss
Our boss/ Boss for us

(141) *Bla ami kemp*
DAT/POSS army camp
The Army's camp./Camp for the Army

(142) *Bla Jona san*
DAT/POSS [name] [kinterm]
Jona's son/Jona's son's ...

Speakers can resolve the ambiguity inherent in this construction by adding an adjectival suffix *-wan* to the possessor, thus deriving a modifier. In such cases the preposition always has a dative interpretation. The ordering of constituents is the same: [preposition + possessor + possessed].

(143) *Bla mamiwan kemp*
DAT mother.MOD house
Mother's house/area

(144) *Bla amiwan kemp*
DAT army.MOD area
The Army's camp

(145) *Bla Jonahwan san*
DAT [name].MOD [kinterm]
Jonah's son

3.4.4 Determiners and possessive constructions

All of the possessive constructions described above can be occur with determiners, such as demonstratives and the recognitional article *det*, as illustrated in examples

(146)–(149). *Det* and *wanbala* can occur anywhere within the possessive construction, as long as they directly precede a head NP, or a modifier of the head NP (including the possessive pronoun *main/mai*). Pronominal demonstratives can occur before or after the possessive construction, but within it, see example (150). The word *ola* ‘all’ or ‘PL’ always occurs phrase-initially, as in (151).

(146) **Det** *bla Greg mami.*

REC POSS [name] [kinterm]

Greg’s mum.

(147) **Wanbala** *main sista bin tok.*

INDEF 1SG.POSS [kinterm] PST talk

One of my sisters spoke.

(148) **Det** *yu mami.*

REC 2SG [kinterm]

Your ‘mother’ (you know which one).

(149) **Det** *trak bla main.*

REC vehicle POSS 1SG.POSS

My truck.

(150) **Darran** *na bla Jimi-wan san.*

DIST.DEM EM POSS [name]-MOD [kinterm]

That is Jimi’s son.

(151) **Ola** *nyujenareishon chilren bla wi,*

all new.generation children POSS 1PL

dei- dei jidan la pak.

3PL 3PL sit LOC park

The new generation of our children, they stay in the park.

The preposition *bla* also occurs in other constructions. For further description, see §2.2.4.

3.4.5 Co-ordination

The word *en* ‘and’ can link two NPs or two sentences as in example (152). Sandefur (1979:107-108) claims that juxtaposition also occurs in Kriol; however it is unattested in my data. Unlike the substrate languages in Kriol, it is necessary to use the conjunction *en* ‘and’ between nouns or sentences. This is unexpected as some of the substrate languages of Kriol allow juxtaposition as a means of co-ordination (e.g. Ngalakgan, Merlan 1983). In Kriol, like in English and the substrate languages, NPs can be coordinated in a ‘list’, using a particular intonation contour.

- (152) *Yeya, ai gada gedimbat ola tjeya en teibul distaim*
yes 1SG FUT get PL chair and table this.time
Yes, I will get the chairs and table this time. [DA_20R_17]

3.6 Summary

In this chapter I have provided an original description of the constituents and the configuration of the Kriol NP. In terms of overall structure, I find that many constituents of the NP can be sole constituents of the NP, that is when the entity they refer to is recoverable from the context, many modifiers can occur as fused heads. Speakers commonly use prosodic “chunking” to introduce new information about a referent using a number of separate co-referring NPs (much as in Nunggubuyu (Heath 1984)). Since these NPs can occur outside of the main clause, it gives speakers some freedom in how they ascribe attributes to a referent (e.g. in a separate intonation unit before or after the main clause (cf. Chapter Five)). Further to this, there is a small closed class of words, *det*, *dis* and *ola*, which must co-occur with another NP constituent, and occur in a fixed position with relation to this constituent.

While the NP in Kriol displays some similarities to English, there are many obvious distinctions; for example, except on animate nouns, indicating number is

optional. Indicating definiteness is also optional in most contexts. Speakers use inclusory pronominal constructions, and a variety of possessive constructions.

In the following chapter I describe the recognitional article *det* in more detail. This involves examining the NP in a broader (extra-clausal) context and drawing on the concepts of “familiarity” and “topic”.

Chapter Four

Determiner *det*

Essential to understanding referring expressions is an analysis of the determiners that occur in those referring expressions. In this chapter I use tools from various theoretical perspectives to examine a determiner found in Roper Kriol. In Kriol, as in many creole languages, marking definiteness is generally not obligatory (except under some conditions discussed in §4.2.2 (see §3.2.2)). In general, in Kriol an NP with a bare noun can be considered underspecified in terms of definiteness and specificity (see §4.3.1). In this chapter I argue that the determiner *det*, which up until now has been commonly glossed as ‘that’ in Kriol (for example in Sandefur 1979), is in fact, better characterised as a “recognitional article” than as a demonstrative. I draw on interactional data, utilising concepts such as “new topic”, to explain the function and distribution of *det*. Grammatical items with discourse functions are particularly vulnerable to being under-described if they are described without reference to detailed analysis of interaction.

By examining conversational data, *det* is found not only to indicate familiarity, and to take on some roles that are typologically typical of articles, but to have other functions related to the discourse. For example, it occurs in NPs whose referent has been previously referred to in the discourse. *Det* is also found in NPs that refer to new but “familiar” referents in the discourse (hence the gloss REC ‘recognitional’). In discourse terms, *det* shares features with “recognitional demonstratives” (Himmelman 1996), which have been described in other Australian Aboriginal languages, although as mentioned (see §4.2.3), I suggest it is more accurately described as a “recognitional article”.

In this chapter I also address Bickerton’s (1981) claim that creole languages generally encode specific/non-specific distinctions, rather than definite/indefinite distinctions. I find that Kriol, like many other creole languages, does not adhere to

Bickerton's prediction, as it does not consistently encode specific/non-specific distinctions (cf. 4.3.1).

Further to this, I discuss similarities between the Kriol *det* and articles in the substrate languages. Much like the recognitional article *det*, articles in the substrate languages can precede proper names and mark topics (Baker 2008; Heath 1984; Munro 2004).¹

The chapter has five sections. Section 4.1 recaps the discussion of demonstratives (from §3.3.3), providing evidence for the claim that *det* is not deictic. Section 4.2 offers a description of the semantic content of *det* based on interactional discourse data. This includes demonstrating that *det* is not well classified as a demonstrative (§4.2.1), that it acts an indicator of a new topic (§4.2.2) and, finally in (§4.2.3) I show why *det* is best classified as a recognitional article. Section 4.3 examines *det* in relation to articles in other creole languages. Section 4.4 details the similarities between *det* and article systems in the substrate languages. Section 4.5 discusses *det* from the perspective of discourse and cultural norms, with particular attention to the significance of *det* in the continuation of Aboriginal referring practices.

4.1 Demonstratives in Kriol

In his description of Kriol, Sandefur (1979) classified *det* as a demonstrative. As mentioned, *det* is historically derived from the English demonstrative 'that', and bears some superficial resemblance to the English lexical item 'that'. For example, it co-occurs with nouns in apparently demonstrative i.e. deictic contexts, as in (1). *Det* appears to contrast with the demonstrative *dis* 'this', as in (2).

- (1) *Yu luk det boi.*
2SG look REC boy
Look at that/the boy.

¹ Munro (2004) classifies *det* as a determiner found in topic constructions although she does not offer an in-depth analysis, other than to suggest that "it appears that the function of determiners is to indicate topic" (2004:112).

- (2) *Yu luk dis blakbala iya im wokwok.*
 2SG look PROX.DEM black.person here 3SG walk~PROG
 Look at this Aboriginal person here, walking [along].

In this section I will contest Sandefur’s analysis and offer an alternative syntactic description of *det*, as well as information about the frequency of *det* in discourse. I will refer to *det* in this section as a “determiner”, in order not to pre-judge the “demonstrative vs. article” issue.

In Sandefur’s (1979:95) account, Kriol has a set of four basic demonstratives. The first pair are adnominal demonstratives: *dis* ‘this’ (proximal), and *det* ‘that’, (distal). *Dis* and *det* also have plural forms *dislot* and *detlot*, used to indicate three or more of a kind. For dual referents, the Kriol dual marker *dubala* can be used in conjunction with *dis* or *det*. There are two pronominal demonstratives: *dijan* ‘this one’ (proximal) and *detwan* ‘that one’ (distal). I claim that *det* is not used to indicate deixis; instead *darran* has become the distal demonstrative best compared with the proximal *dis* (as reflected in table 4.1).² *Det* can be used in NPs that have plural referents. It is not well grouped with these demonstratives (although the plural forms *detmob* and *detlot* remain, as well as being plural, they have a different distribution to *det*).

Table 4.1 Pronominal and adnominal demonstratives

	Proximal	Distal
Adnominal	<i>dis</i>	<i>darran~dan</i>
Plural adnominal	<i>dismob~dislot</i>	<i>detmob~detlot</i>
Pronominal (adnominal)	<i>dijan~diswan</i>	<i>detwan~darran ~dan</i>

² This table includes a variety of demonstrative terms reflecting the phonology of heavy and light Kriol, the ones I have included here are phonologically the most common; they sit mid way between heavy and light forms.

Apart from *det*, each of the determiners just mentioned can be used in a deictic sense. That is, they are used to draw the listener's attention to something in the space surrounding the interlocutors (cf. Enfield 2003; Diessel 1999). In my data the demonstratives *dijan*, *darran* and *dis* often co-occur with an adverbial demonstrative. There are two adverbial demonstratives in Kriol: *iya* 'here' and *jeya* 'there'. The proximal demonstratives *dis* and *dijan* co-occur with the proximal adverbial *iya* to mean 'this one here', as shown in examples (3) and (4). Similarly, the distal demonstrative *darran* co-occurs with the distal adverbial *jeya*, to mean 'that one there', as in example (5).

- (3) *Dis blakbala iya.*
 PROX.DEM Aboriginal.person here
 This Aboriginal person here.

- (4) *Hu dijan iya?*
 Who PROX.DEM here
 Who's this?

- (5) *Darran-jeya bla mamiwan.*
 DIST.DEM-there POSS mother
 That [there] is [your] mother's.

The determiner *det* can also co-occur with an adverbial demonstrative. In the following examples, it is the adverbial demonstratives that cause the utterance to be deictic.

- (6) *Det wanim jeya, la bastap.*
 REC whatsit there LOC bus.stop
 The thing [over] there at the bus-stop.

Unlike the demonstratives, when *det* does not occur in a clause with an adverbial demonstrative, it does not have a deictic meaning. If for example, *det* is omitted in the

above example, the sentence still gives a deictic reading. On the other hand if *jeya* is removed, the sentences lose their deictic meaning, as shown in (7) and (8). In (7) the NP that includes *det* is referring anaphorically (much like English ‘the’) to a previously mentioned referent. The referent is present in the discourse environment, however it is on the speaker’s lap, and thus, if it were a deictic reference the speaker would use a proximal demonstrative (*dis* or *dijan*). In (8) the NP containing *det* is used to introduce a new generic referent, not present in the discourse environment.

(7) *Garrim det kiholda ai bin bayim.*
 with REC keychain 1SG PST buy
 With the key-chain I bought.

(8) *Det peipabaktri im gro la riba.*
 REC paperbark.tree 3SG grow LOC river
 The paperbark tree grows along the river/
 Paperbark trees grow along rivers.

As I discuss below in §4.2.1, demonstratives cannot be used in NPs with generic terms. Certainly in English it is not possible:

(9) **That Eucalyptus Ferruginea grows in the Top End.*

4.2 Semantics of *det*

The main function of *det* is to indicate familiarity between the addressee and the referent of the NP. It does not occur, however, if the noun phrase refers to a referent that is very familiar (for example *det Ngukurr* is never used by Ngukurr residents among themselves), or in the current focus of attention (*det* does not occur with personal pronouns). *Det* can occur in NPs that have both specific referents, such as those with personal names, as well as generic referents (see (8)). It has two main uses: it is found as part of an NP that introduces a new but familiar referent to the discourse, and in NPs that refer back to a referent recently mentioned, but not

currently under discussion (for example *det* occurs in NPs that reintroduce a referent that has been previously referred to using a pronoun). I call these two uses the “recognitional” use, and the “anaphoric” use respectively.

In section §4.2.1, I approach the description of *det* from a syntactic point of view. That is, by using different diagnostic tests I demonstrate that *det* does not fit neatly as a demonstrative. In §4.2.2 and §4.2.3 I examine *det* from the perspective of its role in discourse.

4.2.1 *Det* as an article

In this section I justify characterising *det* as an article rather than a demonstrative. In essence I am claiming that the primary function of *det* is to indicate something about the familiarity of the NP in the discourse, as opposed indicating something about the location of the referent of the NP.

It is possible that *det* did function as a demonstrative at some point in the history of Kriol (cf. Sandefur 1979:104: “Kriol does not have any determiners as does English”). Defining a grammatical item as a demonstrative or an article is not clear-cut. Many researchers have made the claim that demonstratives (especially the distal adnominal demonstrative) can grammaticalise over time into a definite article (cf. Greenberg 1978; Himmelmann 1996; Diessel 1999). However, at any one point in time a speaker must be construing the word as either a demonstrative or an article:

Given the fact that grammaticalisation, as an admitted language process, allows grammatical units to move from one category to another in the course of their evolution, we may want to search for reliable criteria to decide when a set of units has crossed the border of its original category to enter a new one. (Cyr 1993:196)

I will review three positions regarding how to differentiate demonstratives from articles. Firstly, I discuss the perspective of Himmelmann (1996) and Diessel (1999); secondly Lyons (1999); and finally, Hawkins (1978). Each of these approaches differs from the other, but nevertheless I show that from each perspective *det* is best classified as an article.

After surveying a number of unrelated languages, both Himmelmann (1996) and Diessel (1999) offer taxonomy of demonstratives said to be typologically universal. Diessel claims “demonstratives are deictic expressions serving specific syntactic functions. [As well as this] all languages have at least two demonstratives that are deictically contrastive, such as English ‘this’ and ‘that’” (Diessel 1999:2). The feature of demonstratives most relevant to this chapter is outlined below:

[D]emonstratives generally serve specific pragmatic functions. They are primarily used to focus the hearer’s attention on objects or locations in the speech situation [...], but they may also function to organise the information flow in the ongoing discourse. More specifically, demonstratives are often used to keep track of prior discourse participants and to activate specific shared knowledge. (Diessel 1999:2)

And Himmelmann (1996) claims:

In several languages, there are elements which share highly specific morphosyntactic features with distance sensitive demonstratives, *though distance is irrelevant to their semantics* [emphasis added]. (Himmelmann 1996:211)

In summary, after a typological overview Himmelmann (1996) and Diessel (1999) find that demonstratives may be used to keep track of prior participants, activate shared knowledge and in some cases distance may be irrelevant to their semantics. These features are also features of a definite article. Thus distinguishing between non-deictic demonstratives and articles is a complex problem. Rather than try and semantically characterise the distinction between articles and demonstratives, Himmelmann (1996) provides three diagnostic tests, which I will now apply to Kriol.

According to Himmelmann, only an article (not a demonstrative) can be found in the following three contexts discussed below in 1–3. (1996:210–11):

1. “In the *larger situational* use: demonstratives are generally not usable for first mention of entities that are considered to be unique in a given speech community (*‘this/that queen...’ *‘this/that sun’”). (1996:210)

Using *det* in this way is attested in Kriol, in narrative data from Minyerri (500kms southwest from the Ngukurr community), and speakers from Ngukurr accept sentence

(10) in elicitation. However it is unusual and is unattested in conversation between Kriol speakers. In this use it is as though the speaker is “over-emphasising” the topic of the sentence.³

- (10) *Det san bin kamap.*
REC sun PST rise
The sun rose [first mention].

The second of Himmelmann’s tests is the “associative-anaphoric” use:

2. “*Associative-anaphoric* use [is] exemplified by the following example, the speaker mentions a tree and then: “it’s like they have a microphone right next to **the** branch so you could hear him picking off [...]”. (1996:210)

Det is commonly used in this way. In the example below the speaker has been discussing a game of basketball. This is the first reference he makes to the umpire. Because a basketball game is under discussion, the umpire is considered to be familiar:

- (11) *Det ampiya bin gula la alabat.*
REC umpire PST yell LOC 3PL
The umpire yelled at them.

And finally Himmelmann’s third test states:

3. “[D]emonstratives are not possible in the subject position of generic statements such as ‘The mango season is in February and March’.” (1996:211)

Det is commonly found in subject positions in generic statements, as shown in (12); (30) below is another example.

- (12) *Det wetsison taim im Jenyuri en Febri.*
REC wet.season time 3SG January and February
The wet season is in January and February.

³ Perhaps like an English construction, “You know the sun, well it rose”.

I find that in each case *det* fits Himmelmann's criteria for an article and not a demonstrative. It is unclear if other forms that he has classified as "recognitional demonstratives" in Australian languages could be considered demonstratives according to his own criteria (cf. Himmelmann 1996:210-211).

As mentioned, Lyons (1999) also claims that demonstratives need not be deictic.⁴ He demonstrates that even in English, demonstratives need not be deictic:

(13) *I want a coat like that described in the book.* (Lyons 1999:19)⁵

He also states that Egyptian Arabic (and also French) has one demonstrative unmarked for deictic contrast, as well as having a definite article, hence there must be a distinction between the two, other than deixis (Lyons 1999:19-20; Mitchell 1962).

Instead of deixis, Lyons (1999) posits an elusive +DEM quality as the key to distinguishing between articles and demonstratives. He clarifies it thus:

The position I adopt here is that a demonstrative signals that the identity of the referent is *immediately accessible to the hearer*, without the inferencing often involved in interpreting simple definites. This may be because the work of referent identification is being done for the hearer by the speaker, for example by pointing, guiding the hearer's attention to the referent. (Lyons 1999:20, emphasis added)

On this account *det* could not be considered a demonstrative, as it occurs in NPs that introduce new referents to the discourse, when the referent is one that is familiar to interlocutors, but not one that is necessarily "immediately accessible to the hearer". That is, the referent is not usually salient within the speech environment, or one that has been referred to in the immediately preceding discourse.

⁴ He notes however, that other researchers, for example, Sommerstein (1972), Lyons (1975, 1977) and Anderson and Keenan (1985) maintain the only distinction between demonstratives and articles is that demonstratives are deictic (Lyons 1999:19).

⁵ While this is the example that Lyons uses, it is not a good example. The word 'that' in this construction is more like a complementiser, and it could not, for example, be replaced by 'this'.

Finally, Hawkins (1978) also attempts to characterise demonstratives relative to articles. He claims, “with a demonstrative the referent must be given in the linguistic or non-linguistic context”, thus the impossibility of (15) (in Lyons 1999:20).

(14) *I got into the car and turned on the engine.*

(15) **I got into the car and turned on this/that engine.*

Example (15) is not possible (according to Hawkins (1979)) because it refers to something that has not been explicitly mentioned, as a result the referent can only be inferred. Thus, in some ways Lyons (1999) and Hawkins (1979) offer similar accounts of the function and basic semantics of a demonstrative. *Det* is possible in a Kriol sentence equivalent to example (14), *Ai bin gedin la modiga en statimap det enjin*. This example is similar to (11) above.

In summary, the diagnostic tests offered in each of the three positions examined here (those of Himmelmann (and Diessel), Lyons and Hawkins) provide conclusive evidence that *det* is an article because it occurs in article-like constructions.

Phonology and frequency of *det*

There is also phonological evidence that *det* is an article and not a demonstrative. Lyons (1999:29) finds that demonstratives can receive primary stress, whereas articles are rarely stressed. Unlike *dis*, *detwan* and *darran*, *det* is never stressed, even when it is used in a sentence where a speaker is pointing or using other deictic cues.

Further evidence can be found in examining the frequency of *det* in discourse. Lyons (1999; see also Cyr 1993) claims that articles are far more common in spoken language than any demonstrative. In a thirteen-minute conversation of approximately 609 intonation units, the five interlocutors used the word *det* 79 times, and other demonstratives significantly less (see table 4.2).

Table 4.2 Frequency of *det* and deictic demonstratives in a 13-minute conversation

<i>Det</i> and deictic demonstratives	Frequency in discourse
<i>det</i>	79
<i>dis</i>	8
<i>dijan</i>	5
<i>detwan/darran/dan</i> ⁶	19

Despite the fact that *det* is an article, it is likely that a translation of the Kriol text into English would not yield a distribution of ‘the’ similar to that of *det*. This is because describing *det* as an article only partially describes its function. As mentioned, indicating definiteness is not obligatory in Kriol and many NPs are underspecified in that respect. Because of this, and other reasons outlined below I do not classify *det* as a definite article, but as a recognitional article. In the sections below I describe additional functions of *det*.

4.2.2 *Det* and topicality

I find that by examining *det* in discourse that it commonly occurs in “new topic” constructions. A “new topic” is a referent that has not been previously mentioned but is further discussed after its introduction (this is discussed in detail in §5.1.1). In Kriol, new topics are introduced to the discourse using a left-dislocated NP and almost always occur with *det*. Typically referents introduced to the discourse in such a way are referred to in subsequent utterances, that is they “persist” (cf. Givón 1983). Note the use of *det* in example (16).

- (16) *Det Rik en Juli, yu sabi dubala?*
 REC [name] and [name] 2SG know 3DU
 Do you know Rik and Juli?

⁶ I have included these three forms as allomorphs.

Bare, non-specific human reference nouns cannot occur as left-dislocated NPs. This construction may be ungrammatical because non-specific human NPs, unless they are generic, cannot be topics of conversation. Such nouns must co-occur with *det* or some other determiner. In example (17) the NP *boi* ‘boy’ is non-specific and non-generic, and therefore it is ungrammatical in this context.

- (17) **Boi*, *imin* *kaman* *dije*.
 boy 3SG.PST came this way
 ?Boy, came this way.

Det is used to indicate that the referent of the NP is (likely) familiar to the speakers, thus (16) is grammatically sound without *det*. As already mentioned, *det* does not occur in an NP if the referent of the NP is very familiar to the interlocutors, in such a case the NP remains bare. For example, when talking with a colleague from Ngukurr, we refer to his deceased wife (whom we both knew well) using a bare human status noun, *olgamen* ‘Elder woman’ (cf. §6.2). Typically such a referring expression would include *det* because the referent is intended to be familiar. In this context, however, including *det* in the referring expression would indicate that the interlocutors “can know who this referent is” rather than that they “do know who this is”. Thus including *det* as part of the NP would indicate an inappropriate unfamiliarity with the person under discussion. Perhaps a clearer example is that Kriol speakers from Ngukurr do not use the construction *det Ngukurr* when talking with other residents, however, residents from Minyerri do use the form *det Ngukurr* as the community is not as familiar.

An NP including *det* would likewise be pragmatically ill formed if the referent is completely unfamiliar to the interlocutors. In (18) the referent, a person called ‘Marlo’ is new to the discussion and also completely unknown to the addressees. Marlo is not from the local community, nor from the Northern Territory. She is not related to anyone present, nor has she ever been previously discussed among any of the addressees. Because the referent indexed by ‘Marlo’ is unfamiliar to the addressee(s) in (18), *det* is not pragmatically well-formed.

- (18) **Det Marlo im gada kaman dijei.*
REC [name] 3SG FUT come this.way
Marlo is going to come here.

After determining that (18) was ungrammatical I asked a Kriol speaker to demonstrate a well-formed phrase. The example below is the speaker's strategy of how to introduce a new referent to the discourse.

- 1.A *Marlo gada kaman dijei.*
Marlo FUT come this.way
Marlo is going to visit.
- 2.B *Hu darran dumaji? Bla yu fren?*
who DEM indeed POSS 2SG.POSS friend
Who is that? Your friend?
- 3.A *Yuwai.*
Yes.

In conclusion, NPs that become topics can only be (a) specific nouns, (b) generic nouns, or (c) presupposed/familiar referents. As a result, these are the kinds of NP in which *det* occurs. *Det* is unlikely to occur with referents that are particularly salient in the current discussion, unless the addressees have not yet identified the referent (for further discussion see §4.2.3). This is perhaps an unusual variety of NP types for an article to occur in. The features that *det* selects for in an NP can be explained with one positive semantic explication, namely, by using *det* in an NP the speaker is saying: 'I think that you know what this is'⁷ (or in the case of a human referent, or reference to a place: 'I think you know who this person is' or 'I think you know this place', respectively). This explains why it is possible to have definite, indefinite, specific and non-specific NPs occur with the same article. Each of these NPs has the possibility of being familiar to the interlocutors.

⁷ This kind of phrasing of a semantic explication is based on the natural semantic metalanguage, developed by Wierzbicka and colleagues. For further discussion and description of this theory see Wierzbicka (2003) and Goddard and Wierzbicka (2002) and §6.1.

The use of *det* is based on considerations of interpersonal pragmatics and information flow. The features of *det* can be further clarified using Himmelmann's paradigm of a "recognitional demonstrative". This is further examined in the next section.

4.2.3 *Det* as a "recognitional article"

Many Australian languages have a determiner category that Himmelmann (1996) calls a "recognitional demonstrative". This determiner category has similar properties to those I have described for *det*. Himmelmann (1996:230) defines "recognitional demonstrative" as a demonstrative used to identify a referent "via specific shared knowledge rather than through situational cues or reference to the preceding [...] discourse". He states that recognitional demonstratives are, in general, identical to the distal demonstrative in form. To avoid the terminological confusion that arises from suggesting recognitional demonstratives are demonstratives that behave like articles, I refer to Himmelmann's category and *det* as "recognitional articles".⁸

The following features are typical of a recognitional article (as defined in Himmelmann 1996:230), and each of these is also a feature of *det*. Firstly, recognitional articles only occur adnominally and cannot occur independently. Secondly, they are typically used when the speaker is introducing a new referent that the addressee is familiar with, but may not immediately identify. Thirdly, recognitional articles are often accompanied by further descriptive material.

One of the reasons recognitional articles are important in Kriol discourse is because speakers may introduce a referent using an NP containing non-specific terms, such as a human reference term (*boi* 'boy', *olmen* 'Elder man'), a 'whatsit' filler term (*wanim* 'whatsit'), or generic place term (*pleis* 'pleis') (cf. §6.2.3).

Det often persists until the referent of NP has been resolved by the addressee(s). For example, in (19) the determiner *det* co-occurs with all descriptive material about the place mentioned, until the place has been identified. This indicates to the

⁸ Himmelmann (1996:243) himself suggests that in terms of grammaticalisation, "it is likely the recognitional use of demonstratives would most likely move in the direction of definite articles". For further discussion of the grammaticalisation of demonstratives see Diessel (1999).

addressee that the place being referred to is familiar to them, and they should extend effort to identify the place.

- (19) 1.B *Weya dei oldei dens karburi.*
 where 3PL HAB dance corroborree
 Where they [always] dance corroborree
- 2.F *Weya weya karburi dei oldei dens?*
 where where corroborree 3PL HAB dance
 Where do they always dance corroborree [ceremonial dance]?
- 3.B *Jeya na la det pleis wen dei jidan-abat*
 There EM LOC REC place REL 3PL stay-around
 There at the place where they are stay/sit together
- 4.B *Det biges net jeya weya im jandap la rodwei*
 REC big fence there where 3SG stand LOC roadside
olawei net ol sekbeg.
 all.along fence old sackcloth
 The big fence that runs along the road, a long fence, [made from] old sackcloth.

As mentioned earlier, in a 13 minute conversation *det* occurred 79 times. Of the 79 times, 47 were used to mark the referent as part of an “identification scenario”, such as (19) above. These can be considered recognitional article uses of *det*. In each case, *det* occurred in NPs that had three characteristics: The referent of the NP was familiar to the interlocutors; it was the first mention of a new referent to the discussion, and discussion of this referent persisted in the following discourse. Often *det* occurred as part of further clarifying NPs added to assist the addressees in identifying the referent. In the example below, the speaker ‘F’, with the help of ‘B’ is describing a place to a third person. In this example *det* occurs twice as a recognitional article.

- (20) 1.F *langa det-*
 LOC REC
 to the
- 2.F (0.4) *wanim pleis abuji?*
 whatsit place [kinterm]
 what's that place [kinterm]?
- 3.B .. *wailaif,*
 wildlife
 wildlife park,
- 4.F .. ***det wailaif,***
 REC wildlife
 the wild-life [park]

Det was used 28 times anaphorically, as in example (21). This is roughly 38% of the time. In these instances *det* referred back to a referent in the preceding discourse. In the example below the speakers are discussing airplanes.

- (21) *Det feswan ai bin rekon bed!*
 REC first.one 1SG PST think bird
 I thought the first one was a bird!

Although I have stated that *det* is adnominal, in this conversation *det* occurred 4 times without a noun. In one instance this was the result of code switching to Aboriginal English. The phrase was: ‘you can’t say that’; this clause is demonstrably not Kriol, as Kriol speakers use the verb *tok* ‘say/talk’. The other three instances occurred when the speaker cut off mid way, or restarted the sentence. This is not surprising as there is often a pause of up to a second or more after *det* and before the noun. In example (20) above the pause between *det* and *wanim* was significant.

This data is evidence that *det* is best explained in relation to discourse function. In this conversation *det* occurred as a recognitional article more frequently than as an anaphoric article, over 60% of the time.

4.3 *Det* and creole article systems

4.3.1 *Det* and the specific/non-specific distinction

In this section I examine *det* in relation to the English definite article, as well as addressing Bickerton's (1981,1984) claim that creole articles encode the specific/non-specific distinction, not definiteness.

Articles in English have many functions, though a central function is to distinguish between definite and indefinite noun phrases (Lyons 1999; Hawkins 1978). Put simply, definite NPs are those for which the speaker assumes the addressee can identify the referent for the purposes of the conversation. English indefinite NPs realise referents that are not considered identifiable to the addressee.

As discussed in §3.2.2, Bickerton (1981, 1984) has claimed that creole languages generally encode a specific/non-specific distinction, rather than a definiteness distinction. The quote below is representative.

Virtually all creoles have a system whereby a definite article is used for presupposed-specific NP; an indefinite article for an asserted specific NP; and zero for a non-specific NP. (Bickerton 1981:56-7)

The difference between a definite referent and a specific referent can be characterised as a distinction between the knowledge of the addressee(s) and the knowledge of the speaker (Lyons 1999). A definite referent should be identifiable to the addressee; a specific referent only need be identifiable by the speaker. Bickerton provides the following examples of the specific/non-specific distinction from Guyanese Creole. Example (22) is a specific example, with *di* as the definite article. Example (23) is specific (but indefinite); the NP includes the indefinite determiner *wan*. (24) and (25) are two examples of non-specific phrases with zero determiner.

(22) *Jan bai di buk.*

John bought the book. [that you already know about]

[Guyanese Creole, Bickerton 1981:56]

- (23) *Jan bin bai wan buk.*
John bought a particular book. [Guyanese Creole, Bickerton 1981:56]
- (24) *Jan bai buk.*
John bought a book or books. [Guyanese Creole, Bickerton 1981:56]
- (25) *Buk dia fi tru.*
Books are really expensive. [Guyanese Creole, Bickerton 1981:56]

Recently, an edited volume by Baptista and Guéron (2007b) has brought into question the soundness of Bickerton's claim. After reviewing data from various unrelated creole languages (with a variety of substrate influences) they conclude:

[T]he NP systems of creole languages differ both from that of their source languages and that of other creoles in their particular use of bare nouns and determiners. Furthermore, even creoles with the same lexifier, [...], have quite distinct NP systems. (Baptista & Guéron 2007a:473)

Most contributors to the volume investigate the validity of Bickerton's claim and find that it is not supported by their data. However, since many authors outside of creole studies cite this claim by Bickerton as pertaining to all creoles, it is worthwhile offering further evidence that a specific/non-specific distinction is not universal to NPs in creole languages.

Let us consider how Bickerton's model applies to Kriol. An NP in Kriol can occur with no determiner, an indefinite article, or a recognitional ('definite') article, as predicted by Bickerton. The determiners *wan* and *wanbala* (from English 'one' and 'one-fellow') can be considered indefinite articles, and there is also the option of zero, i.e. no determiners. Zero determiner in Kriol indicates that the NP is underspecified and NP could be interpreted as definite, indefinite, specific or non-specific, depending on the context

Bickerton's account could partially apply to Kriol. In example (26) *det* occurs in the NP, which is both specific and presupposed or familiar. In example (27) the NP could be interpreted as non-specific ('a blank cassette tape'), as there is no determiner

preceding the NP. In example (28) the indefinite determiner *wanbala* is part of a specific, but unidentifiable (for an addressee), NP.

(26) *Ai bin bayim det teip.*
1SG PST buy REC cassette
I bought the cassette tape.

(27) *Yu gibit mi teip blenkwan.*
2SG give 1SG cassette blank
Give me a blank cassette tape.

(28) *Ai bin luk wanbala san jeya du.*
1SG PST look INDEF son there also
I saw a son (of mine) there too.

On further analysis and with a broader range of data however, it becomes apparent that Bickerton's account of a specificity distinction cannot adequately describe the distribution of determiners in the Kriol NP. Specifically, it does not account for the distribution of *det* or that bare nouns are underspecified for specificity and definiteness. For example, the determiner *det* can co-occur with nouns referring to a "kind" or a species ("generic referents" or "kind referents"). These are by definition non-specific (Hawkins 1978:215). Bickerton (1984:182) states "in creoles, generics, [...] and other non-specifics cannot be preceded by an article of any kind". The examples below are unequivocal evidence that *det* does not behave as Bickerton's account would predict. Examples (29) and (30) exemplify that [REC+generic noun] NP is a usual method of denoting a kind or a species in Kriol. In example (29) *det* co-occurs with an animate generic noun, and in (30) with an inanimate generic noun.

- (29) Womborrort⁹ *en* larrpurniny, *tu* *neim*. *Im*
 [wallaby.species] and [wallaby.species] two name 3SG

lib la keib, det larrpurniny
 live LOC cave REC [wallaby.species]

[Species name] and [species name] it has two names. It lives in caves, the Rock wallaby. [Ngalakgan and Kriol, Baker 2002]

- (30) *Det baramulk* *tri im gro la riba*.
 REC wild.cucumber tree 3SG grow LOC river

The Baramulk tree grows on riverbanks.

[Ngalakgan and Kriol, Baker 2002]

Det can occur with specific NPs as well as non-specific NPs. For example, *det* regularly co-occurs with proper nouns, such as place names and personal names, which are inherently specific, as in examples (31) and (32).

- (31) *Wan lil bilabong jeya la det Mishengoj*.
 INDEF small billabong there LOC REC [place.name]

There is a little billabong there at Mission Gorge [lit. ‘the Mission Gorge’].

[Kriol Munro 2004:112]

- (32) *Maitbi im jeya, pobala det Birna*.
 Maybe 3SG there poor.thing REC [name]

Maybe she’s there, poor thing Birna.[lit. ‘the Birna’]

Det is also clearly distinct from articles and demonstratives found in English, as demonstrated in examples (33)–(36).¹⁰

⁹ In examples (29) and (30) the underlined words are Ngalakgan species names.

¹⁰ Although it is very different from the English definite article, the determiner *det* is not necessarily typologically exotic. For example Lyons (1999:337) reports that in Greek the definite article can be

- (33) ?*They arrived in that Armidale.* [Munro 2004:114]
(34) **They arrived in the/a Armidale.* [Munro 2004:114]
(35) **She visited a/the Shirley on the weekend.* [Munro 2004:114]
(36) ?*She visited that Shirley on the weekend.*¹¹ [Munro 2004:114]

English NPs in general must be marked as either definite or indefinite. This is a significant distinction from the Kriol determiner system. In most Kriol constructions there is no obligatory determiner and the NP can solely consist of a noun, as in examples (37) and (38) (as mentioned in §3.2.2).

- (37) *Minbala bin gu la shop.*
1PL.EXCL PST go LOC shop
We went to the shop [the local shop/or a shop unknown to addressee].
- (38) *Ai bin bayim yidaki.*
1SG PST buy yidaki
I bought a yidaki (dijeridoo).

When a Kriol speaker uses the word *det* in a noun phrase, it is clear that the speaker is motivated by discourse pragmatics, rather than grammatical obligation. Consider a scenario where two people are in a room, one of them has a key, and is being directed to put it into a specific bowl. A Kriol speaker could say *yu purrim la det bol* ‘put it in the bowl’; but would more commonly say, *yu purrim la bol* ‘put [it] in [a/the] bowl’, omitting *det* altogether. The speaker could indicate the bowl deictically by the use of an adverbial, such as *jeya*. The Kriol determiner *det* differs from the English article

used with the “simple definite, generic, possessive and proper noun”, *det* also occurs in all of these contexts, although it is optional.

¹¹ The last example (36) is acceptable in some dialects of English (J. Simpson p.c. Brisbane, July 2006). It can express a sense of shared knowledge between the speaker and addressee(s). It can also topicalise the referent.

‘the’ as it is not obligatory. I have shown in §3.2.2 that NPs in direct case functions (subject and object) can omit *det* but still be interpreted as specific and familiar.

In summary, I have found that Kriol is yet another example of counter evidence to Bickerton’s claim. The Kriol determiner system clearly differs from those found in English, the substrate languages, and (at least some) other creole languages. This is unsurprising, as other researchers (e.g. Baptista & Guéron 2007a; Déprez 2007), find creole determiner systems to differ from both the substrate influences, the superstrate influence as well as Bickerton’s model.

4.4 *Det* and the substrate languages

Munro (2004) examines the structural influences that English and the substrate languages have had on Kriol. She proposes that the Kriol construction, *det*+PROPERNAME in particular is the result of influence from the substrate languages, not English.

Munro (2004:119 citing a manuscript version of Baker 2008) notes that there are “article-like” determiners attested in at least three substrate languages: Nunggubuyu, Marra and Ngalakgan. In Nunggubuyu and Ngalakgan there is a distinction between two forms of a noun-class prefix (Heath 1984, Baker 2008). Baker (2008:153) claims that in Ngalakgan “the topic prefixes occur on nouns which are topics, including generics”, as in (39).

- (39) *Jandah-gah gu-yongon, nu-gu-dugurlah*
tree-LOC 3SG-lie:PRES NC:m-DEF-common.ringtail.possum¹²

It lives in trees, the [common] ringtail possum [Ngalakgan, Baker 2002:78]

Munro notes that much like Kriol uses *det*, Ngalakgan, Nunggubuyu and Marra commonly use these noun-class markers on personal and place names (Munro 2004:109–110). The data suggest that Ngalakgan, Nunggubuyu and Marra are

¹² Abbreviations used in Baker’s data that are not found elsewhere in the thesis: m – masculine noun class, NC - noun class, PRES - present.

employing noun-class markers to indicate a familiar new topic. Much like *det* in Kriol, these noun-class markers can occur with a specific NP, such as a personal name, or a non-specific NP, such as a generic noun (Baker 2008:78).

Thus, *det* has features similar to these noun-class topic markers (see also Stirling & Baker 2007). Such evidence strongly suggests that some discourse functional features have been adapted into Kriol from the substrate languages. In English the definite article ‘the’ does not occur with new topics, with personal names or place names:

(40) ?*The shopping centre, it’s bustling this time of day.*

(41) **The John, do you know him?*

(42) **I went to the New York.*

Himmelmann identifies recognitional demonstratives in a number of Australian Aboriginal languages. One of these languages, Nunggubuyu, is a substrate of Kriol. He identifies *panya* in Yankunytjatjara (Goddard 1983:54), and *nhenge* in Mparntwe Arrernte (Wilkins 1989:121), as recognitional demonstratives.

Evans (2003b) identifies a set of special demonstratives in Bininj Gun-wok¹³ dialects. He notes that in Gundjeihmi, a Bininj Gun-wok dialect, the demonstrative *nawu* is “close to the recognitional demonstrative described by Himmelmann” (Evans 2003b:297).

The functions of these demonstratives [...] are for first mentions or first re-mentions of participants that should be readily identifiable once linguistic identification is made through naming. [...] Because identification is mediated by labeling rather than pointing or anaphoric reference, [it] is never used without some further descriptive material [...]; syntactically therefore it is always adnominal and never pronominal. (Evans 2003b:297)

¹³ Bininj Gun-wok is a close genetic relative of some of the Kriol substrate languages, namely Ngandi, Ngalakgan, and Nunggubuyu.

Nawu can be used with generic nouns, as well as in right-dislocated constructions (Evans 2003b:297). Further to this, *nawu* can be used with proper names, including personal names. Evans claims that one of its main functions is to introduce new but familiar topics to the discourse, as shown in (43).

- (43) *Aleng* *al-wanjujuk* *ba-m-durnd-i* “*Maih na-wu,*
she II-emu 3PL-hither-return-PP animal MA-REL¹⁴
gunj *na-wu* *bonj andi-wo,* *gunj* *andud.*”
kangaroo MA-rel ok 2a/1-giveIMP kangaroo then
‘The emu came back. “Right, that animal, that kangaroo, give it to me/give me some then!” [Emu has just returned, and these are her first words.]
[Bininj Gun-wok, Evans 2003b:297]

Evans (2003b:297) suggests that the word ‘that’ in Aboriginal English, and in English used by non-Indigenous Australians when talking with Aboriginal Australians is similar to *nawu*.

[The use of *nawu* is similar to] the use of ‘that’ for entities identifiable in some way (e.g. ‘I talked to that Peter Wellings’ or ‘they bin come back with that school truck’), where ‘that’ would be rendered by a definite article in Standard English (or by zero in the case of a proper name).

The example used here of ‘that’ from Aboriginal English corresponds in usage to *det* (although the actual concurrence between Kriol *det* and Aboriginal English *that* in different varieties would need to be examined in detail).

¹⁴ Abbreviations used in Evans gloss that are not found elsewhere in the thesis include: II - noun class II, PP - past punctual/perfective, MA -masculine gender , 2a/1 - second person augmented on first person.

4.5 *Det* and the continuity of Aboriginal discourse practices

In this section I discuss the features of recognitional articles in the context of conversational data and cultural norms. I suggest that the usage patterns are partly the result of a cultural value of some importance to Kriol speakers. Recognitional articles give interlocutors the opportunity to add descriptive material after introducing a topic. Speakers can use this opportunity to identify people referred to in the conversation in relation to other interlocutors or significant places.

Identifying a referent using various types of descriptive material places a greater emphasis on relationships between people and places, rather than solely on naming people as individuals (cf. Garde 2003 on “Social Deixis” for a comprehensive analysis).

Anthropologist Cowlshaw (1999) discusses the consequences of English naming systems being imposed on Aboriginal groups. Cowlshaw writes in relation to Rembarrnga, though I would extend the relevance of her observations to Kriol.¹⁵

Whitefellas [sic] wanted to use names as public instruments, to call them out, to say them to relatives, to make them represent one unique individual, rather than to shade one person’s identity into the space of her sister as happened with designations by subsection or kin terms. (Cowlshaw 1999:172)

The identification scenarios below unfold in a manner that requires an understanding of kinship terms and relationships, local landscape, past events, and familiarity with the physical characteristics of different people to identify the referent. There is little reference to English names, despite the large number of people identified as kin to help locate the referent. These kinds of scenarios are typical of Kriol discourse. Note the use of *det* in NPs referring to unidentified, but apparently familiar referents in (44).

¹⁵ Rembarrnga is a non-Pama-Nyungan language from Arnhem Land. It is a possible substrate influence on Kriol as there is a Rembarrnga population in the Ngukurr area. It is also closely related to Ngalakgan, a substrate language of Kriol.

- (44) 1.B *Ai bin dalim-im Beswick-mob bin jeya, bigmob,*
1SG PST tell-3SG Beswick-COLL PST there many
det yu braja du tolwan,
REC 2SG.POSS kinterm also tall
I told her the Beswick-group were there, a lot of them, your brother
too, ‘that brother of yours’, the tall one [was there]
- 2.B *garri pikanini,*
with child[ren]
- 3.F *wanim neim?*
what name
What’s his name?

A kinterm *braja* ‘brother’ is used here. Rather than uniquely identifying a referent, this NP containing a kinterm is used to identify the relationship between the referent and the addressee. The speaker qualifies by describing a physical characteristic of that referent. Finally, she adds that he has children. It seems there isn’t any difficulty in resolving this referent, and his name is never mentioned.

Schegloff (1996) distinguishes two kinds of referring expressions: recognitional and non-recognitional.¹⁶ He claims that “recognitional reference forms are such forms as convey to the recipient that the one being referred to is someone that they know (about)” (1996:459). Non-recognitional referring terms are those that are typically used in indefinite referring expressions. Since speakers place importance on identifying people and often places via shared knowledge they often use seemingly “non-recognitional” reference terms, such as human status nouns, generic terms for places, descriptive phrases and other forms designed to draw on the addressees’ shared local knowledge at first reference. Thus the clearest distinction between a reference form that is “recognitional” and those that are “non-recognitional” in Kriol is the use of *det*.

¹⁶ Schegloff (1996) is discussing person reference terms, however, I claim that this is equally relevant to place reference and perhaps other forms of reference in conversation.

This is exemplified in (1), a conversation between two interlocutors. B is trying to describe a person to F and to ascertain F's kinship relationship to this person. The excerpt is taken from the middle of a longer conversation (see §6.3.1 for a further discussion of this example, and of person reference in general).

An NP with *det* is used in an NP to introduce the referent in line 2, and it occurs again in lines 3, 8 and 10.

- (1) 1.B *en* *Jumpi?*
 and [nickname]
- 2.B (1.0) *abuji* *yu* *sabi* ***det*** ***olgamen?***
 [kinterm] 2SG know REC Elder
 You know that Old Woman?
- 3.B (1.0) ***det*** ***olgamen*** *najasaidriba*
 REC Elder [place.name]
 The Old Woman [that lives on the] other side of the river
- 4.B ... *femli* *bla* *wi*
 family POSS 1PL
 part of our family
- 5.F ... *hu?*
 who?
- 6.B ... *wan* *Tilbun bin* *oldei* *jidan*
 one [surname] PST HAB live
 [Where] a person from the Tilbun family used to live [there]
- 7.F ... *hu?*
 who?
- 8.B *wanim* *yumob kalim* ***det*** ***Badi?***
 what 2.COLL call REC [nickname]
 what do [your kingroup] call Badi
- 9.F *hu?*
 who?

- 10.B *Badibadi* *det* *najasaidriba*,
 [nickname] REC [place.name]
 Badibadi from [place].

The determiner *det* plays a key role in these scenarios. It encourages the addressee to consider the co-occurring NP as familiar. *Det* continues to occur in NPs with new qualifying information about the referent until the referent is resolved. It is interesting to note that *det* does co-occur with English proper names. This would indicate that English names, although they indicate a specific referent, often require further qualifying material in Kriol to be identified. This is unexpected from a non-Indigenous point of view. However, this implication is supported by this report from Garde (2003) on his observations on the use of English names by Bininj Gun-wok (or Kunwok) people of Arnhem Land (see detailed discussion in §6.2.3):

European names can sometimes be quite useless as recognitionals and are not viewed with the same sensitive propriety that Aboriginal given names have. It should not be assumed that because a European name has been used that recognition has been established in the mind of the addressee(s). With certain individuals it took me some time to realize that when others were addressing me, they used a non-Aboriginal given name to refer to particular people but amongst Aboriginal people such names were rarely or never used. On one occasion I was having a conversation with a BK speaker and I referred to a well-known community elder by his given 'Balanda' [non-Aboriginal] name. My addressee looked at me confused and asked who did I mean? After some further descriptive information, my addressee replied 'Oh you mean NICKNAME' (where nickname is a Bininj Kunwok name used by others to refer to this person). It was then that I realized that some Aboriginal people's non-Aboriginal given names were it seemed only used in reference to these people by Balanda [non-Aboriginal people] in non-Aboriginal contexts (dealing with institutions, health clinic, welfare agencies etc). (Garde 2003:356)

The recognitional article features of *det* could be considered grammatical evidence that referring practices in Kriol have been influenced by traditional Aboriginal culture. In this section I have shown that by investigating the discourse and cultural context of the use of *det*, its use and significance can be more fully explained.

4.6 Summary

This chapter has provided a description of the Kriol determiner *det* and some comparison with article systems from the substrate languages, English and creole languages. In section 4.1 I demonstrated that *det* is best classified as a non-deictic determiner. Section 4.2 offered an analysis of the features of *det*. *Det* was found to be an article with discourse-determined functions—as an anaphoric and recognitional article. Section 4.3 showed that Kriol differs from the account offered by Bickerton (1981) of article systems in creole languages. Finally, section 4.4 analysed conversational data within a cultural context, revealing further insights into the use of *det* in referring practices.

To summarise, *det* plays a role in managing information flow and interactional pragmatics. Its use is governed, at least in part, by cultural referring practices.

From a theoretical perspective, this study has drawn on three different approaches, syntactic, semantic and talk-in-interaction frameworks. Combined, they have shown that the determiner *det*, although related to the English demonstrative *that* in phonological form, has been semantically and pragmatically reshaped to fit the interactional demands of Kriol speakers. This study is also evidence that not only lexical items, but also grammatical function terms can be influenced by the cultural norms of language speakers. It is likely that previous analyses of Kriol have fundamentally misconstrued the function of *det* because the form of the word so closely resembles a demonstrative in English.

Chapter Five

Referring expressions and information structure

In this chapter I examine the role of referring expressions in discourse structure using concepts and methods from the study of information structure. This approach ties discourse function with sentence structure, and investigates such concepts as “topic” and “focus” as well as “accessibility” (see §1.3). Lambrecht (1994:2) asserts that “without looking at the linguistic and extra-linguistic contexts certain properties or structures of sentences found in a given language cannot be understood”.

The study of information structure rests on the assumption that cognitive constraints require that certain conventions in interactional pragmatics—such as how information is introduced to the discourse—are formalised into language structure. It assumes that speakers take into account an addressee’s assumed “state of knowledge” when forming utterances, and configure their utterances accordingly. Chafe summarised it thus:

Not only do people’s minds contain a large store of knowledge, they are also at any one moment in certain temporary states with relation to that knowledge. Language functions effectively only when the speaker takes account of such states in the mind of the person he is talking too. It is only, for example, when the speaker adjusts what he says to what he assumes the addressee is thinking of at the moment that his message will be readily assimilated by the addressee. (Chafe 1976:27–28)

Chafe (1976; 1994) and others (cf. Du Bois 1987, 2003; Fox 1987; Ford, Fox and Thompson 2002; Ariel 1990, 2001) have shown that the form of the NP a speaker chooses to “refer with” encodes information about how “accessible” that referent is to the addressees (see §5.1.2 for a discussion of “activation states” and “accessibility”). For example, when a person uses a pronoun, they are assuming the referent is very “accessible” to the addressees. That is, they are assuming that the addressees will not have any trouble identifying the referent. Thus, a researcher can assume that when a

pronoun NP is used its intended referent has normally been mentioned in the preceding dialogue, or is part of the speech context (cf. Ariel 1990).

One of the central goals of information structure research is to describe the ways in which different languages manage references to things already under discussion, as opposed to references to things that are newly introduced to the discourse. This entails examining the form of a referential expression as well as its position within the clause. It also entails examining features of the noun phrase (such as definiteness), and observing the context of the utterance (such as what referents have been previously referred to in the discourse).

There is a substantial literature on information structure in English and European languages (Bresnan 2001; Chafe 1987; Givón 2001; Gundel et al. 1993; Kiss 1996; Lambrecht 1994; Prince 1981, 1997; Vallduví & Vilkuna 1998). There is a growing body of literature in this area of research with regard to Australian Aboriginal languages, including those that are substrate languages of Kriol (§1.1.2).¹ However, to date there has been no description of the information structure of Kriol (with the exception of short works by Graber (1987a,b)).

In this chapter I present an original description of Kriol clause structure by investigating the correlation between clause structure, referring expressions and pragmatic function. I examine sentence structures that differ from canonical constructions, specifically those utterances that include left and right-dislocated referring expressions, as well as the fronting of constituents. The study of information structure in any language characteristically involves a discussion of the concepts of “topic” and “focus” (outlined in §5.1). The data I have analysed from Kriol, however, does not map neatly onto these concepts. As a result, I discuss topic and focus and how they manifest in Kriol, and in later sections I describe various phenomena in Kriol.

Left and right-dislocated NPs are perhaps the most common marked constructions found in Kriol dialogue. After an overview of these in §5.2, I present a short empirical study in §5.3, which shows a correlation between the activation state of a

¹ Mushin (2005), Bowe (1990), Swartz (1991), and Blake (1983) have all contributed to the study of word order in Australian languages; also see Mushin and Baker (2008) and Heath (1984, 1986).

referring expression and its position in the utterance. I find that left-dislocated NPs convey the most “newsworthy” information in the utterance, and typically introduce new information to the discourse (however, contrastive information is found here too). Right-dislocated NPs almost invariably encode “activated” referents; they are also used to introduce referents that do not go on to be further discussed in the discourse.

§5.4 is a description of other aspects of information structure in Kriol, including the role of “fronting” in Kriol clause structure, as well as *wh*- questions. In §5.4.2 I examine the clitic *na* and find it to have two distinct roles in Kriol discourse, both related to conveying information about the discourse status of the NP (or clause) it occurs with: namely contrastive focus and focus.

The concepts of topic and focus are important in the theoretical framework of information structure, for this reason they are treated here. In Kriol, however, the data is best examined on its own terms.

5.1. Concepts used in the study of information structure

In this section I discuss the literature on information structure—sometimes referred to as “information flow” or “discourse and grammar”. I include a description of the concepts of topic and focus, and discuss how they apply to Kriol data.

5.1.1 Topic and topic prominence

The literature on information structure, information packaging, and discourse and grammar identifies topic as a key concept (cf. Chafe 1976; Myhill 1992; Mushin & Baker 2008; Lambrecht 1994; Givón 1983; Li & Thompson 1976). Topic has been defined in various ways. For example, Lambrecht (1994:131) states:

A referent is interpreted as the topic of a proposition if [...] the proposition is construed as being about that referent, i.e. as expressing information which is relevant to and which increases the addressee’s knowledge of this referent.

In other words, if an interlocutor were asked what they were talking “about”, their answer would indicate what the topic of the proposition (or discourse) was. There are a number of other terms that are used to discuss the “aboutness” of a proposition, for example, “theme” (cf. Prague School of linguistics, Halliday 1994), and to some extent “old news” and “old information” (Chafe 1976). Lambrecht (1994) makes a further distinction in regards to “sentence topic” and “discourse topic”. Sentence topic is the current topic of the sentence, marked overtly, typically occurring in the form of a pronoun. Discourse topic is what the set of utterances following the current one is about (e.g. “Topical” NPs discussed in §5.3 refers to discourse topics).

Bickerton (1993) and others (cf. Byrne & Winford 1993) have suggested that in general, creole languages do not have a clearly defined topicalisation device, and that “such things are convenient to have [...], but languages can get along without them [...], what all [creole] languages do have is some focusing device (or devices)” (Bickerton 1993:194). In general, however, there is a little research on information structure in creole languages (cf. Smith 2002 for some discussion of narrative structure in Tok Pisin).

Topic prominence vs. subject prominence

There are various ways in which a language can indicate topic. In some languages, the topic of the sentence is indicated morphologically (such as by the suffix *-wa* in Japanese), or by a fixed word order construction (where the new topic is left-dislocated) (Li & Thompson 1976). Such languages are considered “topic prominent”. The concept of “topic prominence” includes the idea that grammatical processes (organisation of grammar) accord great importance to the concept of topic. In such languages the new topic has little or no relation to the predicate of the clause, and it need not be an argument related to the verb. Thus, topic is more relevant than subject in the grammatical description of the language. Alternatively, languages such as English rely on other less consistent devices, such as prosody, word order and pragmatic cues. Li and Thompson (1976) suggest that such languages are “subject prominent”: that is the subject of the clause is most commonly also the topic.

I will now demonstrate that Kriol is best considered a subject prominent, rather than a topic prominent, language. That is, I show that in Kriol there is no single

specific morphological or syntactic construction that has the designated function of indicating topic. Often the topic of a Kriol clause is not explicitly indicated in any way. In this sense Kriol is similar to English which does not consistently indicate topic using morphological markers.

In a topic prominent language, a speaker mentions a topic, usually left-dislocated, and then adds a comment about the topic. In these languages the topic is not syntactically related to the predicate. Example (1) is English, a subject prominent language and (2) is an example of topic prominence in Japanese. In the English example the subject can still be considered a default (unmarked) topic of the sentence; however, unlike the example in (2), the topic NP is a complement of the verb (cf. Lambrecht 1994:134).

(1) *John hit Mary.*
Subject Predicate [English, Li & Thompson 1976: 459]

(2) *Gakkoo-wa buku-ga isogasi-kat-ta.*
School-TOP I-SUBJ busy-TMA²
School [topic], I was busy [comment].
[Japanese, Li & Thompson 1976: 462]

In Kriol there are sentence structures that are used to indicate topic such as (3). Unlike canonical topic prominent languages, when an NP is left-dislocated in Kriol the main clause includes a resumptive pronoun, as in example (3).

(3) *Det bigeswan hawus yu bin lukim-im?*
REC huge house 2SG PST look-3SG
The huge house, have you seen it?

In Kriol a left-dislocated NP is always co-referential with a resumptive pronoun in the main clause. The left-dislocated NP agrees with the pronoun in number and person.

² Abbreviations used in this gloss not found elsewhere in the thesis: TMA - 'tense/mood/aspect', TOP - 'topic', SUBJ - subject.

This clause construction has been previously noted in Sandefur (1979), Sharpe (1985), Munro (2004) and Nicholls (2008).

The use of a co-referring resumptive pronoun indicates that the left-dislocated noun phrase maintains a relationship with the verb, albeit indirectly. That is, the left-dislocated NP must be co-referential with the subject or object of the verb. In topic NPs of topic prominent languages there is not necessarily any such relationship between the topic NP and the verb; see example (2) (see also Kroeger 2004:142-147 for further discussion).

Li and Thompson (1976) identify various features that can be used to distinguish between subject prominent and topic prominent languages. In Li and Thompson's terms, notwithstanding its use of topic constructions, there is further evidence that Kriol is a subject prominent language. For example, Li and Thompson maintain that dummy subjects are only found in subject prominent languages. Kriol sentences can contain dummy subjects, as the bolded pronoun demonstrates in (4), indicating a predilection for subject NPs.

- (4) ***Im*** *hotwan tidei.*
3SG hot today
It's hot today.

In conclusion, although in Kriol there is a distinct “new topic” construction involving a left-dislocated NP (cf. §5.2.2), a description of Kriol grammar requires the concept of subject. The discussion of topic in Kriol relies on interpreting intonation units and grammatical patterns that are not necessarily consistently morphologically marked. Thus, in Kriol, a speaker can indicate the topic of a sentence syntactically using a left dislocated phrase and a resumptive pronoun (see §5.2.2 for further discussion). However, speakers have more freedom (than say in Japanese) in regards to when and how they indicate the topic of a sentence.

Myhill (1992) discusses the concept of “unmarked topics”. He claims that when a topic is unmarked its syntactic and pragmatic structure correlate. I have found that in Kriol the unmarked topic is found in subject position.

5.1.2 Focus

Lambrecht (1994:207) summarises the properties of focal elements as:

[T]he portion of a proposition that cannot be taken for granted at the time of speech. It is the unpredictable and non-recoverable element in an utterance. The focus is what makes an utterance into an assertion.

A focus construction does not necessarily consist of “new” information” (Lambrecht 1994:286). Vallduví and Vilkuna (1998) distinguish two kinds of focus: “rheme” and “kontrast”. Rheme corresponds to the concept of “new information”. Kontrast occurs when speakers select a referent that contrasts with some possible presupposed referent(s) (1998:80-81). It is the phrase that is selected “contrary to some predicted or stated alternative” (Halliday 1967, cited in Lambrecht 1994:287). Chafe (1976:34) notes that the only necessary factor in “contrastive focus” (this is akin to kontrast) is that the “speaker assumes that a limited number of candidates exist in the addressee’s mind. ... Often the number is one, often it is larger, but when it is unlimited it fails to be contrastive” (cf. Bolinger 1965, cited in Chafe 1976:34). In Australian Aboriginal languages, focus (both rheme and contrastive focus) have been associated with the left-most position in the sentence (Mushin 2005; Simpson & Mushin 2008).

In Kriol the concept of focus does not map neatly onto a specific construction or morpheme. It can be indicated in various ways (see for discussion §5.4.1, §5.4.2, and §5.2.2.). For example, as reported in many Australian languages, NPs in focus can be fronted in Kriol (see line 8):

- (5) 1.D *wi gin gibimat telivishon,*
1PL can give television
We give out televisions [to others],
- 2.D *wi gin gibimat bidiyo,*
1PL can give video.machine
We give out video machines [to others],

3.B *enijing, yuwai,*
anything yes
Yeah, anything,
[4IUs]

8.B *Mani du wi gibit wi-*
money too 1PL give 1PL
And money, we also give [share] money-

Focus can also be indicated using left-dislocated NPs, which I describe in detail in §5.2.2. In §5.4 I discuss the canonical focus constructions—wh- questions in Kriol—and find that interrogative phrases are typically found in the leftmost position of the clause. A further method to indicate focus in Kriol is the clitic *na*, discussed in §5.4.2), which can focus a clause or indicate contrastive focus.

5.1.3 “Activation state”: Given and new

There is a large amount of literature that discusses the distinction between “given” (or “familiar”) and “new” (for example: Chafe 1976; Prince 1981; Gundel et al. 1993; Givón 1983; Ariel 1990; Lyons 1999; Diessel 1999; Himmelmann 1996). Chafe (1976:30) notes:

Given (or old) information is that knowledge which the speaker assumes to be in the consciousness of the addressee at the time of utterance. So-called ‘new information’ is what the speaker assumes he is introducing into the addressee’s consciousness by what he says.

There is strong evidence that referents can be activated to various degrees and that various activation states are reflected in the choice of referring expressions (Ariel 1990, 2001; Gundel et al. 1993; Prince 1981; Givón 1984). “Accessibility” refers to the degree to which a referent is part of the addressee’s memory, such as “familiar” (known to the interlocutors) and “new” (unknown to the interlocutors). Ariel (2001), in a discussion on “accessibility theory”, offers this explanation:

[T]he human language, specifically the referential system, is responsive to facts about human memory, where memory nodes are not equally activated at any given time. Some are highly activated, others only mildly activated, and in between, the range of activation is infinite in principle. [...] the basic idea is that referring expressions instruct the addressee to retrieve a certain piece of Given information from his memory by indicating to him how accessible this piece of information is to him in the current stage of discourse. (Ariel 2001:29)

These are key concepts in analysing information structure. The assumption behind them is that objects, concepts and ideas which are already part of a person's memory are easier to "access" (identify) when another person mentions them. Once a referent has been referred to, it is considered "activated" in the interlocutors' minds (see §1.3). A referent can also be activated in an interlocutor's consciousness because it is in the immediate speech environment. For example, the speakers and other interlocutors are referents that would be considered activated to some degree during a conversation.

Givón (1989) and others (Ariel 2001; Chafe 1976) claim that speakers prefer more attenuated phrases, such as pronouns, for referents that are currently under discussion. Further to this, NPs that are too attenuated or not attenuated enough for the context can cause problems for the interlocutors in identifying the referent. For example, if a stranger approaches someone and says: "She's feeling fine today", the addressee would be justifiably confused. This is because pronouns are typically used to refer to someone already under discussion. On the other hand if my brother approaches me and says: "this woman, from Taree, Cr. Helen Hannah called, she wants to know if...", other interlocutors, including myself, may be confused to learn that he is talking about our mother. The speaker has used an NP that is not attenuated enough for such a familiar referent.

One way to clarify the concepts under discussion is to imagine referential expressions as a set of files held in the mind. At any one time a file can be "open" (active); recently open (semi-active), unopened but existent (familiar), or completely non-existent and created anew as the referring expression is introduced (Givón 1989, 2005). Interlocutors prefer shorter referring expression to reference more activated "files".

5.2 Left and right-dislocated NPs: An analysis of activation state

In this section I investigate left and right-dislocated NPs using the functional discourse approach developed by Gundel et al. (1993; also see Lambrecht 2001 for a discussion of dislocation). This framework assumes that the activation state of a referent influences the form of an NP. I extend this approach and show that the activation state of a referent also influences the position of the NP encoding it in the utterance in Kriol.

5.2.1 Right-dislocated NPs

In Kriol a new referent is typically introduced using a lexical NP. In subsequent mentions the referent will be referred to using a pronoun. However, at times the speaker may wish to re-introduce an activated referent overtly. In such circumstances a speaker typically uses a right-dislocated lexical NP.

This construction consists of a pronominal NP in the main clause followed by a lexical NP, with an intonation break between the two. The right-dislocated NP may be co-referential with the object of the clause, as in examples (6) and (7), or with the subject of the clause, as in (8)–(10).

- (6) *Ai nomo tokin la im, det boi.*
 1SG NEG speak LOC 3SG REC boy
 I am not talking to him, the boy.

- (7) *Mi dalimbat-im, main san.*
 1SG tell-3SG 1SG.POSS son
 I'm telling him, my son.

- (8) *Gardi maidi im jeya, pobala det B.*
 EXC maybe 3SG there poor.thing REC [name]
 Oh! Maybe B. is there.

(9) *Im gon na, darran.*
 3SG gone EM DIST.DEM
 She's already gone, that one.

(10) *Imin kaman bihayin, det Brad.*
 3SG.PST come after REC [name]
 He came after us, Brad.

Researchers have identified various discourse pragmatic features typical of right-dislocated NPs across languages—most notably, high accessibility. New participants are rarely introduced to the discourse in this position (Lambrecht 1994; Mushin 2005:272). Lambrecht (1994:203) states that the “high accessibility of the referent is a general condition for the appropriate use of the antitopic [i.e., right-dislocated] construction across languages”. In Kriol, when a new referent is introduced using a right-dislocated NP it rarely persists in the discourse, that is it does not become topical. Further to this, right-dislocated constructions are typically unstressed lexical NPs, and they do not contribute contrastive information to the discourse (cf. Lambrecht 1994). Researchers have found that speakers use right-dislocated NPs to “disambiguate or identify participants [already under discussion]” (in Mushin 2005:272).

Each of these statements applies perfectly to right-dislocated NPs in Kriol. Most significantly, in Kriol such a noun phrase is almost invariably topical and highly accessible. This makes sense as the referent is referred to firstly using a pronoun in the main clause and only then using a lexical NP. Right-dislocated NPs can be used to clarify the identity of a referent under discussion or to reintroduce a lapsed referent or a referent that is non-linguistically salient (for example, a person or object in the discourse environment).

(11) is an example of a right-dislocated noun phrase in Kriol. The speaker uses the right-dislocated NP to clarify whom the pronoun *mela* 1PL (in line 3.) refers to. Three of the referents of the pronoun *mela* are (current) discourse participants and one, *mami* ‘mother’, is the current topic of discussion. Although these four people are familiar to the interlocutors, they are not the current focus of attention, and have not

been previously mentioned. By using a right-dislocated NP the speaker implies that the referents of that NP are familiar or even activated by the context—and then clarifies them. The four referents referred to in the right-dislocated NP are not further discussed as a group. However, the referent of *mami* continues to be discussed.

- (11) 1.B *trai gu luk jeya la* <XXX>.
 try go look there LOC [unknown].
 check over there at the [XXX].
- 2.F *det wanim jeya... la bas stop*.
 REC whats.it there LOC bus stop
 the whatsit there at the bus stop
- 3.B *mela bin lib- mela bin kaman-na garri bas-*
 1PL PST leave 1PL PST come-EM by bus
 because we left- we just arrived on the bus-
- 4.A *..m*.
- 5.B *dis dubala, (0.2) en mi en mami*.
 REC 3DU and 1SG and mother
 these two and me and [your] mum.

To summarise: right-dislocated NPs are used to clarify referents already under discussion, or to re-introduce a referent that has been previously discussed but that the speaker judges is not the current focus of attention. Lambrecht (1994) and others would consider such a referent to be “partially activated”.

New information can occur in a right-dislocated NP if the construction introduces a referent that is as yet unidentified, as in (12). However, in such circumstances this construction introduces referents that do *not* go on to be further discussed. In the examples below ‘the boy from New Zealand’ is the man who drove the interlocutors to a park; the topic under discussion is the park in (12).

- (12) *Im from wanim, Nyu Ziland det boi ngabi*
3SG from whatsit New Zealand REC boy Q
He was from New Zealand, wasn't he?

In §5.3 I analyse the function of right-dislocated NPs in relation to activation state.

5.2.2 Left-dislocated NPs

Left-dislocated NPs are composed of a left-dislocated adjunct that is co-referential with a pronoun in the main clause. The dislocated NP can be co-referential with either the subject, as in (13), or the object, as in (14).

- (13) *Det yu braja, wanbala talwan boi, imin jeya.*
REC 2SG.POSS brother INDEF tall man 3SG.PST there
Your brother, a tall man, he was there.

- (14) *Det bigmob bed, yu bin luk alabat?*
REC many bird 2SG PST look 3PL
The group of birds, did you see them?

Left-dislocated NPs are more frequent in discourse than right-dislocated NPs and have a variety of functions. They can be divided into three groups, all of which represent a “newsworthy” piece of information; new topic constructions, focus constructions, and contrastive constructions.

As I show below (§5.3.2), NPs whose referents are activated (that is, already mentioned) can be found in the left-dislocated position if those referents are in the process of being identified by other speakers.³ That is, if a speaker is using a new topic construction to introduce a referent, that referring expression may occur in the left-dislocated position until its identity is resolved. This is described in detail in

³ In §5.3.7 I discuss the issue of whether these referents of such NPs are truly “activated” (in the addressees’ mind), or if they are only activated in the operationalised sense of having been previously mentioned. This issue is significant when examining Kriol referring expressions.

chapter Six, see also §4.4. Kriol speakers at times use vague terms for first mention of a referent, e.g. ‘the old man’ or ‘your brother’ and interlocutors may take some time to identify the referent.

New topic constructions

New topic constructions (mentioned in §5.1.1) are those left-dislocated NPs used to introduce new topics to the discourse; i.e. referents (persons, ideas or events) that have not been previously mentioned in the conversation and that persist in subsequent intonation units. The referent is typically referred to using a pronoun in at least two subsequent intonation units (cf. Givón 1983).

In new topic constructions the left-dislocated NP often contains the recognitional article *det*, as in examples (13) and (14) (cf. chapter four). The left-dislocated NP must be definite. Also intrinsic to this construction is the “comma” intonation, i.e. a pause and a restart of the intonation contour after the left-dislocated NP.

- (15) *Nil, im marid na.*
[name] 3SG marry EM
Neil, he is married.

However, this construction also occurs without the comma intonation. When eliciting statements from Kriol speakers, I found a clear preference for adding a pronoun to the sentence, such as the third person singular pronoun *im* in the examples below. A sentence such as (16) would often be corrected by the addition of a co-referential pronoun, as shown in (17).

- (16) *Wamut gada kaman dijei.*
[name] FUT come this.way
Wamut will come here.

- (17) *Wamut im gada kaman dijei.*
[name] 3SG FUT come this.way
Wamut, he will come here.

As mentioned in §1.1, Kriol has been recently used in the production of a major literary work: a complete translation of The Bible: *Holi Baibul* (2007). Significantly, the new topic construction described here for spoken language has been continued into the written language. The decision to use these constructions in a formal written text is testimony to their integral status in Kriol information structure. In the written version there is no comma used between the dislocated NP and the main clause, perhaps suggesting that the pronoun is becoming grammaticalised into a new topic marker.

- (18) *Wal dijan im stat garrim det stori blanga God..*
 PART PROX.DEM 3SG start with REC story about God
 Well this starts with the story about God...
 [Holi Baibul: Jenasis:2007:1]

- (19) *Det stori blanga Nowa en det bigbala fladwada im iya du.*
 REC story about [name] and REC big flood 3SG here too
 The story of Noah and the Flood is also here.
 [Holi Baibul: Jenasis:2007:1]

Contrastive constructions

A second function of left-dislocated NPs in Kriol is to introduce contrastive information. In example (20), line 2, the NP *blakwan* ‘black [one]’ contrasts with the previous referent *munanga* ‘white people’. In this example there are two left-dislocated NPs that are both co-referential with a pronoun in the clause.

- (20) 1. *Munanga wani jinggabat bla alabat du, bobaga,*
 White.people want think DAT 3PL too, poor thing
 White people want to think about them too, poor things,
2. *alabat, ola blekwan dei aut la wanim, komyuniti... yuno?*
 3PL PL black. 3PL out LOC what's-it, community Q
 Them, the black [people] they're out in the what's-it, community, you
 know? [DA_2BR_71-2]

In example (21), the speakers are trying to think of the name of a cyclone. One interlocutor suggests a name, and in a left-dislocated phrase the speaker expressively re-affirms that this is the name of the cyclone. The stressed focus clitic *na* provides further evidence of this (see §5.4.2). When stressed, this clitic only occurs in contrastive focus constructions.

- (21) 1.B *Wi gat wanbala iya na, indit?*
1PL have one here EM Q
We have one here now, don't we? [a cyclone]

[...][Speakers trying to think of the name of the cyclone]

- 2.B *Danja na, Saiklon Mei, imin la Pot Makatha, dijei na.*
DEM EM Cyclone May 3SG.PST LOC Port McArthur DEM EM
That's the one now, Cyclone May, it was at Port McArthur, near us.

[DA_2BR_164-8]

Summary

The most newsworthy piece of information occurs in the left-most position (the first position) in Kriol, in two distinct categories:

New topic constructions introduce a definite, familiar referent, often using the recognitional article *det*. They typically include an intonation break between the dislocated NP and the clause. A new topic persists in the discourse for at least two or more intonation units as a pronoun. This construction operates on the basis that the most newsworthy piece of information occurs first. The **contrastive focus** also operates on the basis that the most newsworthy information occurs first. It may include the contrastive focus clitic *na* and is used to contrast a referent with another, even when both are currently under discussion.

I discussed the roles of right-dislocated NPs in §5.2.1. Below is a schematic overview of the roles of left and right-dislocated NPs in Kriol.

LD NP = “newsworthiness” (i.e. less activated referents)

- new topic - this is the position where prominent persisting/important referents are introduced. These NPs often include the recognitional article *det*. In this construction there often is an intonation boundary between NP and clause.
- contrastive focus

RD NP = “non newsworthiness” (i.e. more activated referents)

- reactivation of topic
- new topic/ new information that does not continue to be discussed.
- clarification of a topic

Fig. 5.1 Schematic summary of the roles of left and right-dislocated NPs

Unlike left-dislocated NPs in English discourse, left-dislocated NPs in Kriol do not have to be familiar to the speakers. Downing (p.c. in Kim 1995:281) and Kim (1995) claim that in English the left-dislocated NP must be a referent that the other interlocutors know exists. Kim (1995:285) also claims that in English left-dislocated NPs are usually identifiable and often a member of a category evoked by a previously mentioned referent. This is also not the case in Kriol.

In the section below I provide a quantitative analysis of left and right-dislocated NPs in Kriol and their relation to activation status.

5.3 A quantitative study of left and right-dislocated NPs

In the previous discussion, I have only loosely classified left and right-dislocated NPs as either activated or new. In this section I undertake a more fine-grained analysis to investigate to what extent these NPs are activated in a speaker’s mind. In the data set of seven recordings of spontaneous discourse data, including four conversations, two narrative texts and a transcription of a public community meeting, there were 160 clear instances of right or left-dislocated NPs. The results, while not conclusive, show clear tendencies. The left-dislocated construction was slightly more frequent, occurring 85 times. It was usually used to introduce new information. The most

common canonical examples use a comma intonation and the determiner *det* in the left-dislocated NP (new topic constructions).

Rather than a binary distinction of “old” vs. “new”, Gundel et al. (1993) posit a “Givenness Hierarchy”. This is a hierarchy of six activation states, identifiable by their distinct structure in English. Below is a schematic representation of the hierarchy (Gundel et al. 1993:275)⁴.

In focus > Activated > Familiar > Uniquely identifiable > Referential > Type identifiable

Fig. 5.2 English Givenness Hierarchy

The “cognitive states” higher on the hierarchy imply all of the cognitive states below. Gundel et al. (1993) claim that different NP types in English correlate to these states, and these states can be defined in terms of these NPs. For example, the definite article ‘the’ in English generally correlates with any noun phrase from the category “uniquely identifiable” and above. The indefinite article ‘a’ is used for NPs that are “type identifiable” and the recognitional ‘that’ for those familiar and above. Their hypothesis is that speakers use distinct definite and demonstrative forms to indicate the activation state of the NP.

It is widely recognised that the form of a referring expression, like such other aspects of language as word order and sentence intonation, depends on the assumed cognitive status of the referent, i.e. on assumptions that a cooperative speaker can reasonably make regarding that addressee’s knowledge and attention state in the particular context in which the expression is used... (Gundel et al. 1993:275)

There are, however, two interrelated problems with this hypothesis. Gundel et al. (1993) demonstrate one of these in a cross-linguistic study where it becomes apparent that not all languages make use of these 6 distinct categories. For example, Chinese and Russian do not make use of articles, which demonstrates that while the framework may possibly be cognitively real for speakers of English, it cannot be assumed to be so for speakers of other languages.

⁴ Similar hierarchies have been developed by Ariel (2001), Givón (1989), Prince (1981), and others.

The second part of the problem lies in accurately re-creating the results that Gundel et al. achieved. In each case (each language) an empirical scheme of measurement must develop out of a qualificational analysis of NPs on a case-by-case basis.

I have extrapolated Gundel et al.'s Givenness Hierarchy theory to fit the design of Kriol information packaging. The categories I have devised for measuring the activation state of Kriol NPs move roughly from most attenuated (typically those referents considered to be currently under discussion), which are usually pronouns; to those that are the least attenuated, that is, NPs which include relative clauses, and other qualitative descriptive material, these are usually indefinite. To create a similar hierarchy in Kriol, I have changed two terms to avoid terminological confusion. I modified "In focus" used by Gundel et al. (1993) to "Topical", and "Referential" to "Descriptive".^{5 6}

Topical>Activated>Familiar>Uniquely identifiable>Descriptive>Type identifiable

Fig. 5.3 Kriol Givenness Hierarchy

In the sections below I outline the method for coding each of the dislocated NPs by describing each of the levels of the hierarchy. I coded all of the NPs in the data set twice to make sure the criteria were suitably objective.

Topical NPs

NPs were coded as topical if they referred to an entity that was currently under discussion and that could reasonably be considered to have an active representation in the interlocutors' minds. In terms of empirical measurement they must have been mentioned in at least the last intonation unit. In Kriol the referent will usually have

⁵ Gundel et al. define "in focus" thus: "The referent is not only in short-term memory, but is also at the current center of attention. This status is necessary for appropriate use of zero and unstressed pronominals." (Gundel et al. 1993:279). That is, NPs that are "in focus" are current topics of discussion.

⁶ A description of each of the categories of Gundel et al.'s Givenness Hierarchy as it pertains to NPs in English can be found in Gundel et al (1993) pages 275-283.

been introduced in a previous left-dislocated phrase, as this is where new topics are typically introduced. For example, in line 1 the ‘Elders’ are introduced in a discussion about the Dreaming story of hailstones. Later in line 15 they were referred to using a pronoun, thus the right-dislocated NP in line 16 was coded as ‘topical’. In the intervening lines the speakers discussed the story about the Hailstone Dreaming that ‘Elders’ had told them.

- (22) 1.A *Bat wi neba bin askimbat ola olpipul,*
 but 1PL never PST ask PL elders,
 2.A *yuno bla song,*
 you.know for song
 But we never asked the Elders, you know, for the songs...

[Lines (3-14) are a discussion of the story of the Hailstone Dreaming.]

- 15.A *bat dei bin dalimbat mi stori-na*
 but 3PL PST tell 1SG story-EM
 but they told me [a/the] story
 16.A *wi neba bin askimbat alabat dem olpipul*
 1PL never PST ask.TRS 3PL 3PL elders
 We were never asking them, those Elders

[DA_2BR_253-66]

Activated NPs

This category includes NPs that have been mentioned at some point in the last 20 IUs (after Givón’s 1983 framework), when there was no significant change in topic between the two mentions.⁷

⁷ In this framework Givón created a quantifiable measure for “topic continuity”. He claimed that the maximum “referential distance” for topic continuity between mentions of a referent was 20 clauses. This number was somewhat arbitrarily assigned, although this framework does provide the benefit of a quantifiable approach in a notoriously murky area of research, and it is widely cited and adopted.

In the example below the speaker refers to the same participant again after an interval of 9 IUs. The left-dislocated NP in line 10 was coded as activated.

(23) 1.A *Imin tok imin weit bla wan yunbala na.*
 3SG.PST say 3SG-PST wait for one 2PL EM
 she said she would wait for one of you

[Lines 2-9 omitted]

10.B *en mami,*
 and [kinterm]
 and [your] mother

11.B *det ...*
 REC
 the

12.B *B. B. bin gubit im mani*
 [name] PST give 3SG money
 B.B. gave her some money

Familiar NPs

Unlike the first two categories, the referent of a familiar NP need not have been mentioned as part of the current conversation. This category includes those referents that are easily available to speakers, such as general world and cultural knowledge (e.g. the sun, the local store, the local river crossing). Coding for this category requires knowledge of local customs, events and geographical features. It is sufficiently familiar to include NPs that include the recognitional article *det*. However, *det* occurs in NPs with different activation states as well. In example (24), the left-dislocated NP “the floodwater” has not been mentioned for over 25 IUs. It refers to a very big flood that was previously under discussion. It was coded as familiar.

- (24) *Bobala det fladwada distaim na imin gu raitap.*
 Poor.thing REC floodwater this.time EM 3SGPST go up
 Oh dear this time the water went right up. [DA_10R_321]

Uniquely identifiable NPs

In this category I include those NPs that can be assumed by the speaker to be easily inferred from other aspects of the conversation (what Prince (1981:236) calls “inferrables”). This includes referents such as the referee and players when a basketball game is under discussion. It also refers to particular places, or things, that an interlocutor might assume to exist (such as a maternity ward when a hospital is under discussion), but have no specific knowledge of until mentioned by an interlocutor. Typically *det* occurs in uniquely identifiable NPs. In example (25), the speaker introduces two wards of the hospital that have not previously been mentioned. Both left-dislocated NPs were coded as uniquely identifiable.

- (25) *En det madernidi wad en det wad tri,*
 and REC maternity ward and REC ward three
dubala bin seif.
 3DU PST safe
 And the maternity ward, and ward three, they were safe [from the flood].
 [DA_1BR_157]

Descriptive NPs

Gundel et al. (1993) refer to this category as “referential”; however I have termed it “descriptive”. This category is used for NPs that are described by the speaker for the hearer, who does not necessarily know of such a thing beforehand. It still has a specific referent. Often these NPs include a relative clause (since these NPs are less familiar, they are less attenuated). Examples (26) and (27) are example of left-dislocated descriptive NPs.

- (26) *Nathalot dem smol kids, lil-lilwan biginini bin*
 different.PL DEM small kids little kids PST
gajim det nidul.
 get REC needle
 Another group, all the small kids, little children, they got the needle.
 [DA_2BR_122a]

- (27) *Wen det graun im wetwan...*
 When REC ground.3SG wet
 When the ground [around here] is wet...
 [DA_2BR_137]

Type identifiable NPs

This category includes NPs such as those referring to indefinite referents. NPs in this can include the indefinite expression *wanbala*. They cannot include the phrase *det* and are generally less attenuated than any other phrase. This category includes generic terms for every day items and indefinite entities. Example (28) is a left-dislocated type identifiable NP.

- (28) *Wanbala frij, kol friza, imin flot pas.*
 INDEF fridge cold freezer 3SG.PST float past
 A fridge, a cold freezer, it floated past.
 [DA_1BR_192]

5.3.1 Results

Dividing left and right-dislocated NPs into these categories returned interesting results in Kriol. In general, the referents of right-dislocated phrases were Topical or Activated, that is, the referents were currently under discussion. As hypothesised, the majority of left-dislocated NPs were not considered to be activated, that is they were either Familiar or below on the hierarchy.

Table 5.1 Activation state and right and left-dislocated NPs

	Topical	Activated	Familiar	Uniquely identifiable	Descriptive	Type identifiable	other	total
left-dislocated	4	22	18	19	14	8	0	85
right-dislocated	24	29	6	1	3	0	3	66
other ⁸	0	1	3	4	0	0	1	9

In §5.2 above I provided some rationale for the anomalies on this table.⁹ However, the high number of Activated left-dislocated NPs requires further discussion.

As mentioned, the left-dislocated NPs are often used to introduce people to the discourse (as topics of conversation). In Kriol, however, it may be some 2 or 3 IUs before the referent is identified. In these instances the referent will continue in the left-dislocated position until the speaker assumes the referent has been identified. In accordance with the need to operationalise the categories of the hierarchy, these NPs are coded as activated after the first mention. For example in (29) the left-dislocated NP in line 2 was coded as activated, although there is no evidence that the addressee had identified the referent.

- (29) 1.B *Det dubala drankenmanbala bin kambek*
REC 3DU drunk.man PST return
The two drunken men came back

⁸ The NPs in example (1) are examples of left and right-dislocated NPs that fell into the “other” category. It was unclear if these are left-dislocated NPs in the same sense as those with a co-referring pronoun.

- (1) 1.B *if det Ritharrngu, maitbi im na,*
if REC [language] maybe 3SG EM
As for Ritharrngu maybe he (a man currently under discussion) [could help].
- 2.B *im na bin anda wandim duim det Ritharrngu.*
3SG EM PST DESID want do REC [language.name]
he would have wanted to do it, the Ritharrngu [language work].

⁹ Specifically, that there are situations where right-dislocated phrases can introduce new information, and left-dislocated NPs can introduce activated information.

2.B *Yu femli dubala jeya drankenwan, dubala bin kamat*
your family 3DU there drunk 3DU PST arrive
Your family, the two drunks there, they arrived

This study reveals a problem with this framework, and perhaps frameworks that investigate the accessibility of a referent. The problem is that in Kriol speakers may use a non-specific referring term at first reference, and that referent may remain unidentified by other interlocutors for a time. In such a case, the referent “should” be coded as activated (and in my data any referents that had been recently mentioned were coded as activated). However, if said referent has not been identified by the addressees it is obviously not “activated” in their mind. Thus there should be a cognitive state correlating with a referent that addressees know is identifiable, but that they have not yet identified (cf. §4.6.1). While this study is useful, it is limited in this respect. It would be interesting to further investigate Kriol using a precise coding class “activated once resolved” to tease out the anomalies. This would be an excellent area for future research.

By undertaking this analysis I have demonstrated the complexity of concepts such as activation state, and highlighted the difficulty with objective analysis. However, the results are robust, and they clearly indicate that the activation state of an NP influences its position within the utterance.

5.3.2 Discourse types

Another interesting characteristic of Kriol information structure is that different types of discourse reveal slight differences. For example, for this study I used 4 conversations, as well as a transcript from a community meeting and two oral histories (i.e. narrative accounts). In the context of a narrative performed for the sake of recording, and in a large meeting where the speaker is talking to 50 plus people, the speakers appear to be using different strategies than those speakers in the conversations. In these two genres (oral history and community meeting) the speakers made little use of right and left-dislocated forms. Instead phrases were short and repetitive:

- (30) 1.C ... *yu gada jingabat, wandim ai gada ^du,*
 2SG FUT think what 1SG PST do
 You have to think: what shall I do,
- 2.C *yu lagijat,*
 2SG thus
 like that
- 3.C (2.4) *wanim ai gada du,*
 what 1SG FUT do
 What will I do,
- 4.C *^yu gada disaid,*
 2PL PST decide
 You have to decide,
- 5.C ... *^wi kan disaid fo ^yu,*
 1PL NEG decide for 2PL
 We can't decide for you,
- 6.C (1.2) *mela kan disaid fo yumob,*
 1PL NEG decide for 2.COLL
 We can't decide for you,
- 7.C (1.4) *mela kan ^tink bla yumob,*
 1PL NEG think for 2.COLL
 We can't think for you,
- 8.C (1.2) *yu got yu on tinkings,*
 2 got 2 own thinking.box
 You have your own thinking box,
- 9.C ... *yu gada tink yuself,*
 2SG FUT think 2SG.REFL
 You have to think for yourself

In the context of anticipating the cognitive state of the other interlocutors, this makes sense. The speaker is not anticipating a discussion in real time about a particular

referent, and he/she can take their own time to introduce and discuss the referent as they please.

5.4 Further features of information structure

In this section I examine some other canonical manifestations of information structure in Kriol. In §5.4.1, I discuss word order and fronting, including a description of wh-questions and their answers. In §5.4.2 I describe the functions of the focus clitic *na*.

5.4.1 First position: Word order and fronting

Literature on the “first position” indicates that it is the most “newsworthy” position in the sentence, that is, it is the most likely place to find new or contrastive information (cf. for example, Simpson & Mushin 2008). In Kriol speakers can use the leftmost position within a clause to introduce new information, contrast referents, or bring a particular part of the sentence into focus as demonstrated in the examples below (32)–(34), the fronted terms are bolded. The NPs below are not left-dislocated, as there is no co-referential pronoun (cf. §5.2.2), between the main clause and the fronted NP. In the examples below the left most part of the phrase need not be a definite NP. That is to say these are not “new topics” being introduced. Instead they are the most “newsworthy” or “immediate” part of the clause occurring as the first constituent.

- (31) **Tomson**, *dis* *boi* *iya* *na* *en* *im* *sista* *en* *braja*.
 [surname] PROX.DEM boy here EM and 3SG [kinterm]and[kinterm]
 Tomson, this boy is, and his sister and brother [are as well].

- (32) **Tumatj** *det* *wada* *bin* *kamap*.
 too.much REC water PST rise
 Very high the water has risen. [DA_10R_44a]

- (33) **Klaud** *imin* *meigimbat* *en* *imin* *boldanboldan* *rein* *la* *wi*.
 cloud 3SG.PST make and 3SG.PST fall~PROG rain LOC 1PL
 Clouds it [the cyclone] is making and rain is falling on us. [DA_2BR_169]

- (34) 1.B *Weya dei oldei dens karburi.*
where 3PL HAB dance corroborree
Where they [always] dance corroborree
- 2.F *Weya weya karburi dei oldei dens?*
where where corroborree 3PL HAB dance
Where do they always dance corroborree [ceremonial dance]?

This initial position in Kriol is open to any constituent of the clause. In this way Kriol has a more flexible word order than English and has a stronger correlation with its substrate influence (which are considered largely non-configurational).¹⁰ The substrate languages of Kriol are generally morphologically complex, agglutinating languages, and speakers can manipulate word order to indicate pragmatic and discourse functions.

Despite its analytic nature and more rigid word order, Kriol information structure bears some resemblance to that of its substrate influences. An example of this is the fronting of the most significant constituent of the clause at will. This runs contrary to the belief that:

Languages rich in word structure (morphology) may make more or less use of fixed phrase structure forms (syntax). But languages poor in morphology overwhelmingly tend to have rigid, hierarchical phrase structures. [...] Morphology competes with syntax. (Bresnan 2001:6)

The description of the Kriol NP in chapter 3 (§3.2) is further evidence that speakers use pragmatic conventions that are culturally appropriate, such as breaking the NP into chunks, using some variable word order within the NP, even when their language has an isolating analytic structure which lacks a “rich morphology”.

¹⁰ Further research would be needed to more thoroughly demonstrate this claim. However, the preliminary findings indicate that it is the case.

Wh- questions and word order

In this section I provide a brief overview of how wh- questions are formed in Kriol. Wh- questions in English usually involve placing the wh- word at the front of the utterance and inverting the subject and auxiliary verb, as in examples (35) and (36).

(35) *Where is he?*

(36) *What is that?*

It has been claimed that in creole languages word order does not change even where wh- constructions are used. Bickerton generalises for all English-based creoles when he says, “questions marked by a change in word order in English are marked intonationally in English creoles. Emphasis often marked by an intonational feature in English can only be marked structurally in English creoles” (1993:191). The wh- word in an utterance is considered to be a canonical example of a focused constituent. As a result it is significant, if the wh- word is or can be fronted, as it is an example of how a language indicates focus (Lambrecht 1994:283).

In Tok Pisin fronting of wh- phrases is not typical (Sankoff 1993:121). As a result, when the wh- phrase replaces a non-subject phrase as in examples (38) and (39), the wh- phrase can remain *in situ*.

(37) **Husat** *i-lukum* *yu?*

Who saw you?

[Tok Pisin, Sankoff 1993:121]

(38) *Yu mekim wonem long maunten ia?*

2SG do what on mountain DET

You were doing **what** on the mountain?

[What were you doing on the mountain?] [Tok Pisin, Sankoff 1993:121]

(39) *Yu kam wantaim husat ia, na em i-no kam?*

2SG come with who REC and 3SG NEG come

You were talking with **whom**, and he didn't arrive?

[Whom were you talking with, who didn't arrive?]

[Tok Pisin, Sankoff 1993:121]

Unlike Tok Pisin, in Kriol, *wh-* words (*weya* ‘where’, *wanim* ‘what’, *hu* ‘who’, *wotaim* ‘when’, *wotfo* ‘why’) begin the question—they are fronted, regardless of their grammatical function. This may make it atypical in light of other English based creoles, but typical of its substrate languages (Baker p.c. UNE, Armidale Dec. 2009). Unlike in English, in Kriol there is no inversion of the subject and any part of the verb complex. This is not immediately obvious, because Kriol doesn’t use a verb ‘to be’, see example (40). In the future tense, however, it becomes clear that the future marker *gada* ‘will’ (41), is not inverted, nor is the past tense marker *bin*.

(40) *Weya ol yu tings?*
 where all 2SG.POSS things
 Where are all your things?

(41) *Wotaim yu gada kaman?*
 When 2SG FUT come
 When will you arrive?

(42) **Yu gada kaman wotaim* (unattested) [*in situ*]
 2SGFUT come when
 You will arrive **when?**

Solomon Island Pijin is similar to Kriol in that it requires movement of the *wh-* word to the front of the utterance. Examples (43) - (45) are SI Pijin (Beimers 2008:255, ex. 337). In SI Pijin the *wh-* word typically includes the focus clitic *nao*. In the next section I examine the focus clitic *na* in Kriol. Despite some similarities, the Kriol clitic *na* does not typically occur with *wh-* question words.

(43) *Wanem nao mi duim nogud ya?*
 what FOC 1SG do.TRS bad QN¹¹
 What bad thing did I do? [SI Pijin, Beimers 2008:255]

¹¹ Abbreviations found in Beimers (2008) glosses not found elsewhere in the thesis: FOC - focus, QN - question, SRP - subject referencing pronoun.

- (44) *Wataem nao yu kam long hia?*
 when FOC 2SG come LOC here
 When did you get here? [SI Pijin, Beimers 2008:255]

- (45) *Hu nao bae hem-i help-em mi?*
 who FOC FUT 3SG-SRP help-TRS 1SG
 Who will help me? [SI Pijin, Beimers 2008:255]

This evidence suggests that not all English-based creoles in the Pacific region use the same methods to achieve focus. It is clear that Kriol, like SI Pijin, uses word-order (and perhaps other methods) to indicate pragmatic function. They do not, as Bickerton (1993) suggests, rely entirely on intonation to highlight new or salient information.

5.4.2 The clitic *na*

In Kriol the clitic *na* can indicate focus, and contrastive focus (it is glossed as EM ‘emphasis’ to capture both senses of the clitic). The clitic has not been grammaticalised into Kriol, that is, it is never syntactically required.

The clitic *na* is historically derived from the English word ‘now’. It generally indicates that the immediately preceding part of the sentence, either an NP or verb is in focus. Although Graber (1987a) predicted that *na* will occur most commonly after verbs, in my data the overwhelming majority of tokens occur after NPs, and most of these tokens occurred at the end of an intonation unit. When *na* occurs at the end of an intonation unit it can modify the entire preceding clause. In terms of a temporal meaning ‘now’, *na* is all but semantically bleached of this interpretation. Occasionally *na* can be found with temporal meaning “just now”; but this is not the only meaning *na* conveys. The temporal meaning is often indicated when the clitic follows the verb and is slightly stressed, as in (46).

- (46) *Mela bin kaman-na garrim bas.*
 1PL PST arrive-EM by bus
 We just arrived by bus.

Graber (1987a:1) notes, “the most common function of *na* appears to be giving prominence to an event or state. Its functions are characterized as “interpersonal,” representing some aspect of the speaker’s judgment”.¹²

Graber (1987a) distinguishes functions of *na* based on its intonation. He claims that when *na* bears the primary stress in an intonation unit the immediately preceding word is focused. When *na* bears only secondary stress and occurs at the end of an intonation unit, it gives prominence to the entire clause. My analysis differs from Graber’s, although not significantly. For example, I show that when *na* has primary stress it acts as a contrastive focus clitic. I find that when *na* when has secondary stress it is used to focus the clause or phrase that precedes it.

Stressed *na*

Stressed *na* is a kind of focus clitic, it is used to emphasise a referent that contrasts with a presupposed referent. It is a contrastive focus marker. Unlike unstressed *na*, stressed *na* is regularly found on answers to questions. Stressed *na* can also occur when a speaker is making a distinction between one place/person and another, in a contrastive sense (cf. König 1991). It is clearly not the kind of focus clitic found on new information, as it often occurs on pronominal demonstratives and pronouns. Typically pronominal demonstratives and pronouns are used to refer to referents that are currently under discussion.

The examples below demonstrate the contrastive use of the focus clitic *na*. It gives the reading of: ‘this not any other’ (cf. Goddard 2001, regarding the wording of this paraphrase).

(47) 1.F *Weya weya karburi dei oldei dens?*
 wherever corroborree 3PL HAB dance
 Where [corroborree] do they always dance?

2.B *Jeya NA la det pleis jeya wen dei jidanabat*
 there EM LOC REC place there COM 3PL sit
There at the place where they sit

¹² The form *na* can also occur as a preposition; in such cases it is a phonological variant of the preposition *langa* or *la*.

(48) 1.A *Roger imin duim?*

[name] 3SG.PST do

Did Roger do [it]?

2.B. *Yuwai im NA*

yes 3SG EM

Yes he did

(49) 1.N <E *and my two brothers are drinkers too- as well*, E>

2.N: *ai nomo wandim alabat gada get wanina,*

1SG NEG want 3PL FUT get whatsit

I don't want them to get whatsit,

3.N *get kild darrei samweya la rod,*

get kill.PST that.way somewhere LOC road

get killed somewhere on the road

4.N *den hu gada krai?*

then who FUT cry

Then who will cry?

5.N *wi wi NA gada krai bla alabat.*

1PL 1PL EM FUT cry for 3PL

Us, we will be the ones to cry for them.

As demonstrated in the examples above, typically the NP with the clitic *na* is fronted. However, speakers can also leave the NP *in situ* as demonstrated in the examples below.

(50) *Imin tok imin weit bla wan yunbala NA,*

3SG.PST talk 3SG.PST wait for one 2PL EM

She said she would wait for one of you [not anyone else]

(51) 1.Q *Weya dei jidan?*

Where 3PL live

Where do they live?

2.A *Dei jidan iya-NA*
3PL live here-EM
It is here that they live [not somewhere else]

(52) 1.Q *Weya det S na?*
Where REC [name] EM
Where is S?

2A *Jeya NA la Hojsandan*
there EM LOC [place.name]
There, at Hodgson Downs

The contrastive focus clitic *na* does focus the word preceding it as Graber describes. However, it creates focus because it introduces unexpected, contrastive information, rather than new information.

***Na* as a focus particle**

Finally, the particle *na* can occur as an unstressed focus marker. The unstressed *na* functions to highlight significant places, actions or people.

In the example below, the previous two paragraphs of the narrative contains only one instance of *na*. In the following section there are six instances of *na*. The speaker has moved from setting the scene and describing the characters and the situation, to the point of describing what happened as a result: significantly the places he visited and the things he learnt. The speaker is describing a “coming of age” story and places he visited and things he learned are of utmost significance. In all of these examples *na* is unstressed.

Melabit bin wo:k, stat elibala from Ngilibiji, mela bin wok, lanchtaim mela bin la Magalawa **na** fishingbat, mela gajimbat bakara en brim, main dedi bin kukembat, from jeya **na** ai bin lening olawei. From Magalawa mela bin goin on la Gayarinji krosing **na** wal imin ful det riba, rait ap, mela bin jidan dis said, gajimbek peipabak **na** meigim lil bakhaus **na**, mela bin gajim du fok wadi en purum natha reil ontop, meigim bakhaus **na**, mela bin silip deya la Gayaring dis said, bikos imin fulap det wada.

We walked, started early from [place], we walked, lunchtime we were at [place] **na** fishing, we getting turtle and bream, my dad was cooking it, from there **na** I was learning all the way. From [place] we went on to [place] **na**, the river was high, right up, we just stopped on this side, getting paperbark **na** make little bark house **na**. We got two forked sticks and put a rail along the top, make a bark house **na**, we slept there at [place] on this side, because the river was high.

Further to this, the clitic *na* can occur with a similar function to stressed *na* but in a ‘weaker’ sense. That is, it can be used to indicate the speaker is referring to ‘this thing just mentioned, not any other’. However, when unstressed it doesn’t carry the implication that the speaker is contrasting it with a presupposed referent. Instead it indicates that the speaker wishes to emphasise who or what it is they are referring to, as in examples (53) and (54).

- (53) *Dis siknes gadim dubala neim ‘Rheumatic Fever’ and ‘Rheumatic Heart Disease’, en im min laik ‘nogudbala hat’. Big mob blakbala pipul wen alabat yang dei gajimbat **dis kain siknes na**.*

This sickness has two names, ‘Rheumatic Fever’ and Rheumatic Heart Disease’. It means like ‘your heart is not well’. A lot of Aboriginal people when they are young contract **this kind of sickness [na]**.

- (54) *Dis kainaba bala bektiriya ‘Strep A’ im oldei jidei la throt la pipul onli wen wi abum so throat wi abum lilbit ‘Strep A’ bektiriya jeya la throat. En im leigim guinguin la skin weya im gadim barapbarap skin (so la skin) im grau myself from det kain du. **Det bektiriya na** im jidan la draibala so, nomo la jililitj so.*

This is kind of bacteria, Strep A, lives in peoples throats. When we get a sore throat we have a bit of Strep A bacteria. Bacteria likes to go in the skin through sores, it can grow in sores too. **The bacteria [na]** lives in dry sores, not ones with pus.

Unstressed *na* after verbs

In the conversation text I analysed the most commonly occurring form of *na* was the unstressed variety. Although *na* can be found following almost any constituent of the sentence (excepting determiners, conjunctions and other purely functional words), the unstressed *na* only occurred following verbs a handful of times. When *na* does not

carry primary stress (i.e. contrastive), it does not usually occur on the first constituent of the sentence. Example (55) is from Munro, examples (56) and (57) are from my own data. This is an almost complete list of a verbs occurring with *na* in the available data.

- (55) *Gardi, munanga gada luk na darran jeya,*
 EXC white.person FUT look EM DIST.DEM there
yunmi gada gu la kot.
 1/2 FUT go LOC court

Goodness, a white person will see that [one/carcass] there, [and] you and I will have to go to court. [Munro 2004:156]

- (56) *Laik distaim wi bin gubekgubek na*
 like this.time 1PL PST return~PROG EM

[It was] This time [of the day] we were going back,

- weitfo- bla trein la geitwei.*
 wait for for train LOC gateway

Waiting for the train at the gateway.

- (57) *Maitbi dei finish na.*
 maybe 3PL finish EM

Maybe they are already finished.

In conclusion the clitic *na* can be used to bring emphatic contrastive focus to a NP in Kriol discourse when it bears primary stress. It is used to create contrast between one or more NPs for example *na* is often found on answers to questions. When it bears secondary stress it can occur on verbs and at the ends of clauses to give prominence to that clause.

The focus clitic *na* has an important role in Kriol interactional pragmatics. It is used in Kriol to help orient the interlocutors to important parts of the information structure, both new and old.

5.5 Summary

In this chapter I have described various aspects of information structure in Kriol. I have investigated word order in Kriol, *wh*- questions, left and right-dislocated NPs as well as the clitic *na*. In section §5.2 I analysed the left and right-dislocated NPs by adapting the Givenness Hierarchy (after Gundel et al. 1993) to Kriol. The results indicate a tendency for left-dislocated NPs to be less activated in the discourse context. Right-dislocated NPs were typically used to refer to referents already under discussion. I found that the Kriol data cannot be effectively described without taking into account the activation state of mentioned but unidentified referents (which would be coded as “activated” in Gundel et al.’s approach). Each of these investigations has added new insight to the complexity of information structure in Kriol.

In Kriol, like traditional Australian languages “the initial (left-most) position is considered the “most newsworthy”. In Kriol this position is used to introduce new topics and contrastive information. It is also the case that the right-dislocated position “is not used to introduce new information but to supplement preverbal information (or information in the main clause)” (Mushin 2005:256). That is, in Kriol NPs that occur in this position are used for reactivation of a topic, providing new information that does not go on to be further discussed, or clarifying a topic.

These constraints on information structure in Kriol are much like the constraints identified by Mushin (2005) in some traditional Aboriginal languages. However, the morphology of Kriol, for example the clitic *na* and the importance of word order to indicate grammatical function, prohibit Kriol from using other common features of information structure in substrate languages (such as free word-order and noun phrase ellipsis).

Chapter Six

Aspects of communicative practice

When I began fieldwork in Ngukurr in 2004, I was struck by the difficulty I had in learning to communicate in Kriol. The problem wasn't with learning to pronounce or remember words; the lexicon was English based. The difficulty lay rather in understanding the concepts the words represented, and learning to comprehend the situations I found myself in. In terms of managing successful communication, this is a non-trivial problem.

In this chapter I describe aspects of referring expressions and communicative practice in Kriol, including, where relevant, details about the social culture in Ngukurr. In particular I examine speech practices related to person reference and information exchange. The research is largely based on conversational data, however, it does include discussion of some observed social practices, as well as data arising from consultation with speakers regarding cultural matters.

To communicate effectively, speakers of any language must not only master the structure of the noun phrase and the intricacies of clause structure, but also the subtleties of the interactional styles relevant to their speech community.

What two or more people must have to communicate is ... the ability to orient themselves verbally, perceptually, and physically to each other and to their social world. ... How agents situate themselves relative to one another and their context may have real consequences for their ability to communicate. (Hanks 1996: 229)

Communicative practice is a way of considering language research that places emphasis on contextualising the language and describing it as a social fact (Hanks 1996). Some theorists see this area of research as pertinent to descriptive linguistic theory. Silverstein (1975) notes:

... [A] theory of rules of use, in terms of social variables of the speech situation ..., is an integral part of a grammatical description of the abstract sentences underlying them. (Silverstein 1975:167 quoted in Senft 2009: 10)

Including the cultural context in linguistic description has its roots in the works of some of the founders of modern linguistics, for example, Sapir (1983) and Boas (1911; also Whorf 1956). These seminal researchers saw grammatical description and cultural ethnography as complementary components of a larger research goal.

Language research began in the USA ... as part of anthropological fieldwork, and the point of fieldwork was to get to culture. Culture was the destination; language was the path; grammar and dictionary marked the trail. (Agar 1994:49, also quoted in Senft 2009:8)

Finding methodical means to analyse interactional style and gathering relevant data are not easy tasks. Nonetheless, inroads have been made in two main research traditions: (i) “universalist” approaches, which assume the existence of universal principles and apply them to each language and culture, such as those championed by Grice (1975, 1989) and Brown and Levinson (1978); and (ii) “culture internal accounts of speech practices” (Goddard 2006:1), such as those methods used by Gumperz and Hymes (1986) in ethnography of speaking, Duranti’s (1997) approach to linguistic anthropology, Hanks’ (1996) communicative practice approach and the cultural scripts method advocated by Wierzbicka and colleagues (Wierzbicka 1985, 2003).

In this chapter I use the theoretical perspective taken by those who advocate culture-internal accounts of speech practices, in particular, the cultural scripts method. However I also consider some theoretical concepts from “universalist” literature.

In §6.1, I provide a discussion of some communicative norms in Kriol and further detail regarding the cultural scripts framework.

In §6.2 and §6.3 I examine person reference in interaction. This area of research lies at the intersection of social structure and language usage. As noted in §2.3, an interactional style distinct from English has been noted for traditional Aboriginal languages (cf. Walsh 1991,1997; Garde 2003, 2008; Blythe 2009; Trudgen 2000;

Lieberman 1985), as well as Aboriginal English (Eades 1985; Harkins 1994; Koch 1985). I show that in the area of communicative practice, person reference in Kriol demonstrates unmistakable evidence of a continuity of discourse practices from the traditional Aboriginal languages. I also examine the considerable differences between Kriol and Anglo Australian English (cf. Wierzbicka (2006) for a discussion of Anglo Australian interactional style).

In §6.4 I discuss “information exchange”. This section includes a description of speech practices related to information seeking and the dissemination of knowledge. Much like person reference in Kriol, this is another area of research where language data is best explained with reference to the social and cultural norms in the community. In Kriol, Elders (senior authoritative members) in the community rely on oral traditions to teach others about important and sensitive matters, including information of a secret/sacred nature. This information (related to ceremonies, songs, places and people) is not freely available to all members of the community. Consequently there are observable speech practices related to negotiating the restrictions placed on the dissemination of knowledge.

Research that clarifies the pragmatic differences between English and Kriol is important to the Kriol speaking language community, who struggle with the language barrier between themselves and mainstream Anglo Australia. In terms of communication, Kriol speakers are disadvantaged in almost all contexts where English is the dominant language. This includes education, legal and medical contexts (mentioned in §1.2.3). This problem arises not only because of the grammatical differences between Kriol and English, but also because communicative practices, such as those discussed in this chapter, are significantly different. For two parties to understand each other their communicative practices must be at least partially commensurate (Hanks 1996:229). Unfortunately, English speakers, and sometimes Kriol speakers themselves, do not realise the enormous differences in communicative practices between the two language groups and often find themselves unable to communicate. In fact those people who are equally capable of communicating in English and Kriol, must be bicultural, as well as bilingual.

Thus, this chapter provides important insight into how referring expressions are realised in the socio-cultural context of the language. This kind of description

requires ethnographic description, which unlike language data, is of a more subjective nature. However, it is no less important to understanding and successfully describing referring expressions than the grammatical description included in chapter three.

6.1 Communicative norms and cultural scripts

As mentioned, throughout this chapter I will use the cultural scripts method as a technique for ethnographic description and as a way of explicating the claims I make regarding person reference and information exchange strategies in Kriol. Cultural scripts can be defined as follows (cf. Goddard 2006:5; Wierzbicka 2002; see also Goddard & Wierzbicka 2004):

The term ‘cultural script’ refers to a technique for articulating culture-specific norms, values, and practices in terms which are clear, precise, and accessible to cultural insiders and outsiders alike. (Goddard 2009:68)

They are “representations of cultural norms which are widely held in a given society and which are reflected in language” (Wierzbicka 2002:401).

Cultural scripts consist of short texts composed of using simple words which are considered to be semantic primes, i.e. maximally simple words, with no culturally specific meaning. As a result they can be easily translated into different languages. In particular, they can be rendered equally in English and in Kriol; for example, *pipul* ‘people’, *jingbat* ‘think’, *sabi* ‘know’, and *tok* ‘say’ (see Appendix 2 for a list of Kriol and English semantic primes).

The cultural scripts method has its roots in the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) semantic theory (Wierzbicka 1996; Goddard & Wierzbicka 2002; Peeters 2006; Goddard 2008; and other works) but for the present purposes, it is not necessary to discuss the larger claims of this theory. The key advantages of the method, are, first, that it provides a way of formulating cultural norms without reliance on English-specific terms (such as ‘kinship’, ‘community’, ‘clan’, ‘tribe) which could skew or distort the indigenous perspective; second, that cultural scripts can be directly rendered into Kriol and can therefore be discussed directly with Kriol consultants; and third, that if a set of scripts is predictive of attested Kriol speech

practices and satisfies the native speaker intuitions of Kriol speakers they can be considered to capture the “insider perspective” of Kriol speakers themselves.

Scholars have used the cultural scripts method to describe speech practices in a number of different languages and cultures. Some examples include: Ameka (1994, 1990) on Ewe, Yoon (2004, 2006) on Korean, and Goddard (1992) on Yankunytjatjara.

The mainstream ethnography of communication research tradition distinguishes between “norms of interaction” and “norms of interpretation” (Saville-Troike 1989:154-55; see also Hymes 1972). Both of these concepts have analogues in the cultural scripts framework. Norms of interaction are those “rules” which govern the use of speech applicable to the communicative event: they are “prescriptive statements of behaviour, of how people ‘should’ act, which are tied to the shared values of the speech community” (Saville-Troike 1989:154). Norms of interpretation “provide all of the other information about the speech community which is needed to understand the communicative event” (Saville-Troike 1989:155). In the cultural scripts method norms of interpretation and norms of interaction correlate with “high-level scripts” and “low-level scripts”, respectively.

Low-level scripts are those that detail actual speech practices or interactive routines, like Hymes’ “norms of interaction”. For example, in Kriol, I will show that speakers prefer to associate a person with other people and places, than use a person’s name (§6.2.2). Furthermore, there are situations in which using someone’s name would be culturally proscribed. Using the cultural scripts method one could propose a mini low-level script as follows to capture this piece of shared social knowledge in the Kriol-speaking community regarding speech practices. This script is elaborated and discussed in §6.2.3:

everyone here knows: at many times it is not good to say someone’s name [m]¹

High-level scripts can be defined as follows:

¹ In this cultural script I have used the word ‘name’, which is a semantic molecule (hence the [m]). A semantic molecule is a complex word or concept that could be further explicated (Goddard & Wierzbicka 2007) but which functions as a semantic unit in explications.

[H]igh level cultural scripts] are not about interaction as such, they articulate broad cultural themes which are typically played out in detail by way of whole families of related speech practices, which themselves can be captured in detail by means of more specific scripts. (Goddard & Wierzbicka 2007:113)

High-level scripts correlate with the concept of norms of interpretation. That is, they provide the social-cultural information relevant to understanding the speech event. For example, a high-level script would be one that states something about how social structure can influence speech practices. In the following section I provide an example of a high-level script in Kriol.

6.1.2 Kinship/togetherness as a cultural value in Ngukurr

As mentioned, in the Ngukurr community, as in many Aboriginal communities in the region, there is a classificatory kinship system. This system extends to include all members of the local community, “adopted” non-Aboriginal people, and people from other Aboriginal communities. Every person has a kinship relationship to every other person, based on clan and skin subsections inherited from one’s parents (see previous mentions in §2.3.2 and §3.5, also see Appendix 1 for a schematic overview of the kinship system used in Ngukurr). As a result, the Kriol kinterm *mami* ‘mother’ can refer not only to one’s mother, but also to her sisters and any other woman that shares the same skin subsection name as her. There may be tens or hundreds of people that are subsumed under kinterms such as *mami* ‘mother’, *sista/baba* ‘sister’, *braja/baba* ‘brother’, and *san* ‘son’.

In terms of socialisation, in Ngukurr caregivers routinely instruct their children on kinship relationships to people they encounter in the community. Young children rarely learn the names of people around them, and by the time they are three or four years of age they can use the classificatory kinship system to discuss and address other people. Further to this, children generally master the triangulation of kinterms (e.g. “if you call her grandmother and I call her mother, then I call you daughter”) at a young age.

When a newcomer arrives in Ngukurr the most important part of being introduced, or introducing oneself, is establishing relevant kinship relationships. When meeting

someone in the community it can be helpful to find out how both parties relate to a third person. For example, if X calls Betty *gagu* ‘mother’s mother/mother’s mother’s sisters’ and Y calls Betty *baba* ‘sister’, then by virtue of the kinship system it follows that X calls Y *gagu*. Kinship relationships are central to communicative practice and speakers routinely refer to themselves and other people via kinship relationships, thus reinforcing the sense of close community.

Not only do speakers prefer to relate to others as ‘kin’, the community as a whole is explicit about “togetherness” being important. Despite the seven or so competing language groups in the community (see §1.2.3), Kriol was chosen to appear on the community council logo. The phrase on the logo is typical of Kriol speakers’ summation of the community; working together is paramount, despite the differences between different clans and language groups.

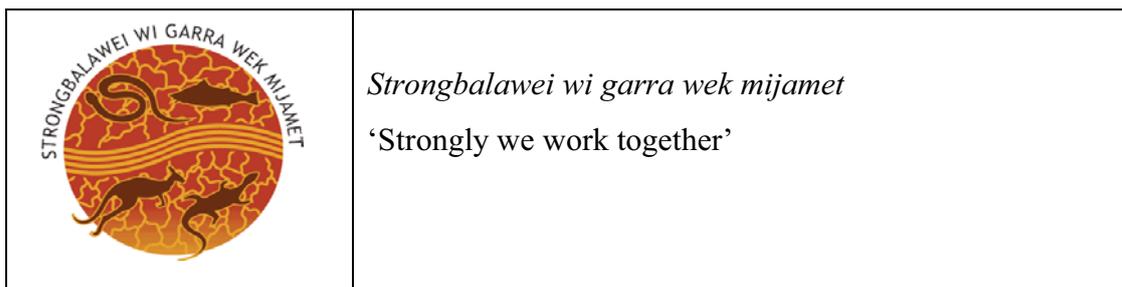


Fig. 6.1 Ngukurr Council Logo

Similar principles are evident in conversational data. The quote below is a typical example of community meeting rhetoric:

- (1) *Bikos yumob holmob mai releishons, <E my famlies, my nephews, my nieces, my children, E> burrum main sholda burru main binji, main braja en sista.*²

Because you, all of you are my relations, you are all my family, my nephews and nieces, my children, from my shoulders [father’s father’s sisters] from my belly [children], my brother and sister.

² "<E...E>" denotes a code-switch to English.

The excerpt below is from a conversation in which the speakers are discussing fighting between some young people in the community. A typical way to end discussions about conflict or lack of harmony is to place stress on the inter-relatedness of community members:

- (2) 1.D ... *dets wan ting gud abat blekpi pul,*
REC one thing good about Aboriginal.people
That's one good thing about black people,
- 2.D *um wi <X blakbala XX>*
um we <X> Aboriginal people <XX>
- 3.B *bla wi blakbala iya la dis kantri,*
about 1PL Aboriginal.people here LOC PROX.DEM country
about us the Aboriginal people in this area
- 4.D *iven- .. wi bi-.. en .. as-*
even PL X and X
even we [X] and [X]
- 5.B *en ebriweya,*
and everywhere
and everywhere
- 6.D *wi relayded ebriwei yuno,*
1PL relate.PST every.way Q
we are all inter-related, you know
- 7.B .. *yuwai,*
yeah

These observations on the social culture of Ngukurr can be combined into a cultural script. Cultural script [A] attempts to capture the essence of the beliefs Kriol speakers hold regarding “togetherness” and “family” (cf. Priestly 2008 for cultural scripts relevant to “interrelatedness” in a Papuan language). It avoids using complex concepts from English, such as “togetherness”, “unity”, “kinship” or

“interrelatedness”. The unusual phrasing of cultural scripts is a compromise between readability and maximal translatability. The script below was partially developed in Kriol (see [A1]) and each of the components has been verified with Kriol speakers as a check on its authenticity.

[A] High-level cultural script related to kinship/togetherness

- a. people here know that people here think like this:
- b. when I want to say something to someone,
- c. it is good if this person can know that I know this:
- d. “people here are all part of one thing
- e. people here know many things about people here”

[A1] High-level script related to kinship/togetherness [Kriol version]

- a. ola pipul iya alabat sabi dijei im gudwei bla jingabat:
'people here think it is good to think like this:'
- b. wen mi wandim tok samting la samwan
'when I want to say something to someone'
- c. im gudwan bunju dijan samwan gin sabi ai sabi dijan:
'it is good if this someone can know that I know this':
- d. pipul iya holmob pat bla wan ting
'people here are all of one thing'
- e. pipul iya sabi bigmob ting bla pipul iya
'people here know many things about people here'

The first line in [A] is typical of cultural scripts, it is stated from the insider perspective. While clearly not every person in Ngukurr thinks the same way, people within the community are aware that people think like this—even if they themselves choose not to think in this way. This script helps account for the use of kinship terms, and the last component helps explain the motivation for using descriptions (such as where a person lives, or who they are related to) as a means of identification (see §6.2.2). The script implies situating a person in the socio-cultural sphere is socially

valued. Using a personal name to identify someone presents the referent as an isolated individual, and may convey the assumption that the interlocutor doesn't know anything much about this person, or his or her family (as mentioned in §4.5).

6.2 Person reference in interaction

One of the key features of human languages is the ability to refer to third persons using names and descriptors. All languages must find some way to achieve person reference; typically it is one of the key functions of noun phrases.

There are a variety of ways of encoding references to people; for example names, personal pronouns, titles, kinship terms, or descriptions. In Kriol, as in other languages, the use of a pronoun typically indicates that the intended referent of the NP is accessible to the interlocutors. In chapter three I discussed the distribution of pronouns (see §3.2). In this chapter I examine lexical NPs; that is, noun phrases that are not pronominal. In the quote below Schegloff (1996:464) is (likely) referring to dialogue in the English language; however, I believe it to be true of interaction in most languages, including Kriol:

[i]n conversation persons for the most part talk recurrently *to* the same recipients *about* the same things, including the same persons... (Schegloff 1996:464)

This statement is especially pertinent in a small community where everyone knows everyone else well. Speakers develop habits for referring to others which include a wide variety of constructions, for example nicknames, descriptors and indefinite pronouns. Apart from assembling a table of the pronouns used in Kriol, no research has yet investigated how speakers achieve person reference in Kriol (cf. Mühleisen 2005 for a discussion of person reference in Caribbean creoles). There is evidence that Kriol speakers carry out person reference in significantly different ways to Anglo English speakers (Nicholls 2007).

6.2.1 Theoretical concepts relevant to person reference

As person reference in language is universal, there are some characteristic preferences in relation to person reference that can be considered to be universal to all languages, regardless of cultural differences. Sacks and Schegloff (1979:17-18) suggest that speakers exhibit two clear preferences when referring to people in conversation: a preference for achieving *recognition* and a preference for *minimisation*. A third preference is also discussed in the literature; namely a preference for *association* (Brown 2007:199; Stivers et al. 2007:14). *Recognition* is the speaker's desire for the other interlocutors to recognise the person the speaker is referring to. This is considered the most important preference, as the central aim of referring expressions is that they be interpretable to other interlocutors. *Minimisation* (or "economy") is the tendency for speakers to make economical use of referring terms. In many languages this means using a pronoun, a name or a kinterm, rather than a long description. A long description or full proper name would assuredly achieve recognition, however too much information can be confusing (e.g. using a full proper name, and description when a first name would be sufficient, cf. §5.1.2). As a result, there is tension between being brief and achieving recognition.

The third preference that speakers universally display is a preference for *association*. That is, speakers routinely refer to other people using an association with themselves or another interlocutor where relevant, e.g. 'my wife', 'John's sister', etc. (Stivers et al 2007:14). Each of these preferences can be identified in interactional speech; and each preference competes with the others. Stivers et al (2007) state that achieving recognition takes precedence. However, there is no one fixed way of achieving person reference, and the claim that "recognition takes precedence" cannot be taken in an unqualified fashion. For example, Garde (2008) has shown that speakers of the Australian Aboriginal language Bininj Gunwok have a preference for circumspection and association, often at the expense of minimisation (cf. §4.5). That is, speakers prefer to use non-specific kinterms or other non-specific terms to refer to third persons. This can cause ambiguity, but in the Bininj Gunwok speech community, speakers not only tolerate, but even expect circumspection when referring to third parties and identifying themselves. Likewise, in §6.2.3 I show that

Kriol speakers will often avoid naming some people even at the expense of recognition.

In section 6.2.2 many of the examples seem to slightly circumvent the preference for recognition, as often a referring term is not a unique referring term. In the terms of Stivers et al (2007), the widespread use of kin terms suggests that Kriol speakers value association over minimisation and to some extent, recognition.

As discussed in §4.5, Schegloff (1996) distinguishes *recognitional* and *non-recognitional* referring terms. Recognitional terms are used when the speaker expects the other interlocutors to identify the specific individual under discussion. Each language has its own set of terms that are considered to be normally recognitional. For example, for English Schegloff (1996) suggests the following prototypical recognitional and non-recognitional forms of reference.

Two common forms of recognitional reference are (personal) name and [...] recognitional descriptors [...] such as “the woman who sits next to you”, or “the guy you bought your car from,” etc. The prototypical non-recognitional reference forms are expressions such as “someone”, “this guy”, “this woman”, etc. (Schegloff 1996:459)

Schegloff finds that in English, speakers prefer to use recognitional terms, such as names, rather than descriptive phrases. For example, an English speaker would prefer to name a familiar person than use a phrase such as “the girl next door” to describe her (cf. Stivers et al 2007:12). Considered in terms of the preferences for recognition and minimisation this makes sense.

As demonstrated in chapter Four, in Kriol one indication interlocutors have that a noun phrase is recognitional is the presence of the determiner *det*: it indicates that the referent indexed by the noun phrase is one that the interlocutor can identify. This gives speakers the freedom to use such circumspect (and, Schegloff would say, prototypically non-recognitional) terms as: *det sambadi* ‘REC somebody’, *det olgamen* ‘REC elder.woman’, or even the indefinite *det wanbala main sista* ‘REC a sister of mine’, even when indexing familiar, recognitional, persons. Clearly Schegloff’s prototypes are not universal, and the equivalent phrases in other languages may or

may not be recognitional.³ In the following section I outline the most common forms of person reference in Kriol.

6.2.2 Forms of person reference

Common ways of referring to third persons in Kriol include: (i) bare kinterms, (ii) possessed kinterms, (iii) human status nouns, (iv) indefinite pronouns, (v) nicknames, (vi) English and Aboriginal names, (vii) surnames, (viii) place/personal names with the collective suffix *-mob*, (ix) descriptions, (x) demonstrative pronouns and (xi) body part terms. This is not an exhaustive list but it includes most strategies found in my data. Other possibilities include language group names, clan or skin names, and teknonymy.⁴ It is worth noting that in many of the examples provided below, the speaker uses more than one of the aforementioned forms; for example, a pronoun as well as a name, or a place name as well as a collective surname.

(i) **Kinterms** can be used to refer to almost any familiar human referent. In the conversational data I have collected, most people are referred to by a kinterm at first mention.

(3) *Abuji, yu dalim main baba gada luk jeya insaid.*
[kinterm] 2SG tell 1SG.POSS brother FUT look there inside
Grandmother, you tell my brother to look inside.

There are times when speakers use a vocative form (unpossessed form) to refer to a third person. In such cases it is taken as given that the *propositus* is the addressee.⁵

³ Although I have specified that these are English specific prototypes, Schegloff does not explicitly make such a distinction. It is not clear if he wrote these prototype constructions intending for them to be universal to all languages; however, since it has been shown that some languages (for example Bininj Gunwok (Garde 2008) and Tzeltal (Brown 2007)), use other referring terms more typically, I interpret this quote to apply just to English.

⁴ See Garde (2008) for a discussion of similar set of referring terms from a traditional Aboriginal language (Bininj Gunwok), and also Stanner (1937).

⁵ I use the term *propositus* to refer to a person who is the reference point in relation to which the expression should be interpreted (cf. Brown 2007).

- (4) *Mami bin jeya bat im gon la kokonatri.*
mother PST there but 3SG go.PST LOC palmtree
[Your] mother was there but she went to the palm tree.

(ii) In **possessed kinterm** expressions the propositus is sometimes the addressee even when the speaker him or herself has a close kinship relationship to the referent.

- (5) *Yu gada visit la yu mami, im sik.*
2SG FUT visit LOC poss.2SG mother 3SG sick
You should visit your mother, she's sick.

In example (5) the speaker was talking to me (we are in the same subsection, so I call her sister), and she was referring to her own actual mother. In example (6) below the speaker is addressing her own son, and referring to another son.

- (6) *Det yu braja du talwan.*
REC 2SG.POSS brother as.well tall
And your tall brother as well.

At times speakers use themselves as the propositus, as in examples (7) and (8) below. In example (8) the speaker is addressing a large audience, which perhaps explains why she uses an ego-oriented kinterm.

- (7) *Mi dalimbatim main san.*
1SG tell.3SG 1SG.POSS son
I'm telling my son.

- (8) *Mai mit bin tok wen nobodi iya*
1SG.POSS [kinterm] PST talk when nobody here
tokin agens ting, lika.
speak against whatsit alcohol

My husband spoke out when nobody here was talking out against whatsit, alcohol.

When referring to a third person it is possible to use the person's child as the propositus:

- (9) *Det bla Shila baba.*
REC POSS [name] [kinterm]
Sheila's sibling.

(iii) **Human status nouns** are a particularly non-specific way of referring to a person. Generally they only specify the gender, and perhaps the life-stage of a person or their ethnicity. Kriol speakers regularly use these nouns to refer to people familiar to both themselves and other interlocutors. In Kriol it is acceptable to refer to people present in the speech environment using human status nouns. In example (10), the speaker is referring to someone she calls brother. Because the speakers are grown siblings of opposite gender they avoid talking, or referring to each other directly.

- (10) *Ai nomo tokin la im det boi.*
1SG NEG talk LOC 3SG REC boy
I don't talk to that boy.

- (11) *Munanga bin gibit im.*
whiteperson PST give 3SG
[A] white person gave it [to him].

(iv) **Indefinite pronouns** such as *sambadi* “somebody/someone” and *najawan* “other one” are commonly used as referring expressions. As mentioned, despite being non-specific, such pronouns can be found in both recognitional and non-recognitional referring expressions (see §4.3). The recognitional referring expressions are those that contain the recognitional article *det*, such as (12).

(12) *Det sambadi, Etna bin gu.*
REC someone [name] PST go
Someone, Etna went.

(v) **Nicknames** in Kriol often make reference to the physical attributes of a person. For example, *Balajago* in (13) means something like ‘leftie’.⁶ Much like kinterms, the use of nicknames indicates some familiarity, and possibly some affection. In some cases, a person acquires a nickname that is derived from the name of a Dreaming animal relevant to that person, as in (14).

(13) *If ai luk **Balajago** iya tiday...*
if 1SG see [nickname] here today
If I see Balajago here today ...

(14) *En gibit la ... **G.** indit ol, ... T.H..*
and give.[it] to [wallaby] TAG Elder [name]
And give it to Wallaby, the respected T. H.

(vi) (English) **names** in most cases make reference to a third person, and in almost all cases the name is accompanied by further descriptive material, or *det*. Typically the person referred to by name is younger than the speaker or around the same age. (12) is an example of an English name. Kriol speakers have both English and Aboriginal names. Aboriginal names are at times also used for person reference however this is fairly unusual. I know very few Aboriginal names of people in Ngukurr, and I would never use them in public. Aboriginal names are often linked with Dreaming sites, animals or events and are treated with great sensitivity.

(vii) **Surnames** in Ngukurr are also used as person reference terms, in the form of “this Smith here” (i.e. person from the Smith family), see example (15). Family surnames in Ngukurr, although anglicised, roughly correspond to traditional clan

⁶ *Balajago* translates as ‘left-hand’ in Marra, one of the substrate languages of Kriol (Heath 1981).

groups, and thus they indicate significant information about an individual (not just his fathers' surname), and include a large group of people (not just a nuclear family).

(15) *La mi en dis Joj iya luk.*
LOC 1SG and PROX.DEM [surname] here look
To me and this George here, look.

(ix) The **collective suffix** *-mob* is often used in conjunction with English surnames, proper names or place names, and in some cases with adverbial demonstratives to refer to a group of persons (see §3.2.3).

(16) *Sambala Tomson-mob jeya la top.*
Some [surname]-COLL there LOC top
Some of the Thompsons [are] there at the top [an area of Ngukurr community].

(17) *Ola Fiji-mob jeya.*
all [place.name]-COLL there
All the Fijians [that are] there.

(18) *Maitbi from detmob darrei o maitbi from...*
maybe from REC.COLL that.way or maybe from
Could be from the people over that way, or maybe from...

(x) **Demonstrative pronouns** such as *dijan* 'this.one', *darran* 'that.one', are also typical forms of person reference in Kriol.

(19) *Drunkenbala darran.*
drunk DIST.DEM
That [person's] a drunk.

(xi) **Body part terms** can be used to refer to kin Kriol, although it is uncommon in my data. This kind of person reference has been described in Ngandi, Ritharrngu and

Nunggubuyu (Heath 1978, 1980, 1984). (Example (20) is reproduced from (1) for convenience.)

(20) *Bikos yumob holmob mai relaishons*, <E my families, my nephews, my nieces, my children E>, *burrum main sholda burru main binji, main braja en sista...*

because you, all of you are my relations, <E you are all my family, my nephews and nieces, my children, E> from my shoulders [father/fathers sisters] from my belly [children], my brother and sister...

In summary, Kriol person reference forms range from specific, such as English names and nicknames, to those significantly less specific, such as kinterms, demonstratives, and indefinite pronouns such as *sambala* ‘someone’ and *najawan* ‘other one’. Some of the referring terms are found in English, and others are typical of the substrate languages.

6.2.3 Person reference without names

An English-speaking newcomer to the Ngukurr community is usually immediately struck by the difference in person reference practices. For example, in (21) the speaker is referring to someone she calls sister; that is, a person in the same skin subsection as herself.⁷ When pressed, rather than mention her sister’s name, she uses her sister’s son as a propositus.

(21) 1.O *Wanbala main sista bin win deya twelbthausin*
one 1SG.POSS sister PST win there twelve.thousand
dei bin tok.
3PL PST talk
One of my sisters won twelve thousand there they said.

⁷ The word *kal* ‘call’ in Kriol is culturally significant. It is used to describe the relationship between kin when there are no blood ties, as in “he calls her ‘mother’”.

2.B *Hu bin [duwum]?*

who PST [do]

Who did?

3.O *Det bla Greg mami.*

REC POSS [name] mother

Greg's mum.

4.B *mm.*

Right.

[DA_1OR_BR_306-8a]

In the substrate languages of Kriol, and in other traditional Aboriginal languages, kinship relationships imply specific behaviours when interacting (Heath 1978, 1984; Heath, Merlan, & Rumsey 1982). In particular there are a number of “taboo” relationships in Ngukurr that entail specific restrictions in interaction. The relationship between ‘sons’ and ‘mothers-in-law’, for instance, necessitates careful respect and avoidance (see also Garde 2008:208). People in this relationship (actual or due to skin subsections) become very uncomfortable if made to speak to each other or say each other’s names, hear each other’s names, look directly at each other, or be in close proximity. Adult opposite-gender siblings also try to avoid saying each other’s names or making any direct contact, such as touching each other or looking directly at each other.

In example (22), the speaker avoids naming her deceased mother-in-law. As in many Aboriginal societies, Kriol speakers avoid saying a person’s name after the person has died, sometimes for many years. Reference to people that have recently passed away (especially in company of close relatives of that person) is typically very circumspect. Taken in this light it makes sense that the speaker uses a non-specific term to refer to his deceased mother-in-law. In this instance the speaker prefers to use a human status noun, *olgamen* ‘respected elder woman’.

- (22) *Laik... laik det olgamen kantri, det reindrimin na.*
 like like REC Elder.woman country REC rain.dreaming EM
 Like... Like the [respected] woman's country [i.e. speaker's deceased
 mother-in-law], the rain dreaming [place]. [DA_2BR_209]

In the two examples above the speakers avoid using the proper name of the person they are referring to. From an Anglo English speaker's perspective, the referent could be much more efficiently and unambiguously referred to by using their proper name. However, I show that even when these taboos are not in play, Kriol speakers prefer to use kinterms and descriptive terms to refer to second and third persons.

In my data there were no instances of speakers addressing another interlocutor using an English name. English names do not have the same status in Kriol as in English. They are not usually the most salient term for referring to an individual. Kriol speakers may or may not know the English names of people, even those close to them. For example, many people I met and worked with could not remember my name; but no one forgot my skin subsection or how I was related to him or her.

A sample of the terms used to refer to second and third persons in conversation further validates the claim that names are not the most common form of referring in Kriol (see table 6.1). From 138 tokens (of lexical NPs), 25 were proper names used to refer to a referent intended to be recognitional; this is only about 18% of the total. Five of these tokens referenced a well-known musician from the community (his full name was used in every case). Kinterms, place names or other qualifying material accompanied another four of the names used. Kinterms, possessed and unpossessed, were used in about 30% of the instance, (42 tokens), and descriptions about 26% of the time (sometimes it is not clear when a descriptive reference is intended to be recognitional). A further 12% of the time, the collective suffix occurred with a place name.

Table 6.1 Sample of second and third person recognitional referring terms

	Kinterms	Descriptions	Names	[place]- <i>mob</i>	others	Total
Tokens	42	34	25	16	21	138
Percentage of total	30%	26%	18%	12%	14%	100

6.2.4 Cultural scripts for person reference without names

The cultural script below uses three components to describe the knowledge of cultural practices discussed above. The components have been discussed at length with an Elder Kriol language consultant and with other Kriol speakers. The Elder states at times hearing another person's name (especially the name of an older close family member) is like "being slapped in the face". While English names can be used by younger members of the community to refer to other young people, all Kriol speakers are aware that using someone's name can indicate disrespect and that often it is necessary to use other means to achieve person reference. One should add other information about the referent if possible, such as a kinterm, or a place associated with the person.

[B] Cultural script for "how *not* to refer to other people"

- a. people know that people here think like this:
- b. at many times it is not good to say someone's *neim* 'name' [m]
- c. because of this, at many times when I want to say something to someone about someone else,
- d. if I want this someone to know who this someone else is,
it is not good to say this other someone's *neim* 'name' [m]⁸

[B] is a low-level cultural script. That is, it describes a specific speech practice (roughly, "name avoidance") rather than the underlying motivation behind the speech practice. The first component in the cultural script is the same as the corresponding line in script [A]. It implies that a particular social group with which the interlocutors identify has certain interactional norms, which are generally understood by the people in this group. Component b. states that in many situations (i.e. 'at many times'), 'it is not good to say someone's *neim* 'name''. Component c. explains that when a speaker wishes to identify an intended referent for an interlocutor it is not good to use the person's name to identify them.

⁸ It is worth noting that the equivalent term in Kriol *neim* is likely to have some semantic differences to the English concept of 'name'.

The following script, [C], is also a low-level cultural script, in a sense it is a companion to [B]. The kinterms used in this script are examples of the kinds of terms a person could use for reference in Kriol (see §3.2).⁹ The script indicates kinship terms are a valued strategy for achieving reference in Kriol. It also specifies which kinterms should (ideally) be used, i.e. addressee oriented kinterms. This script grew out of discussion with Kriol speakers about “good” ways to talk about other people.

[C] Cultural script for “how to refer to/identify other people”

- a. people here know that people here think like this:
- b. when I want to say something to someone about someone else,
if I want this person to know who this other person is, it is good if I can think like this:
- c. I know that you can say about this other someone:
“this someone is my *mami*, (my *nis*, my *san*, my *amuri*...)”
- d. because of this, when I say something about this other someone, I can say to you: “this someone is your *mami*, (your *nis*, your *san*, your *amuri*)”
- e. it is good if I can say things about this other someone in this way

Component b. “it is good if I can think like this” indicates that using kinterms is a preference, rather than a necessity. Components c–d. attempt to model a speaker’s thought process whereby the third person referent is linked to the addressee using kinterms. The final component, e. affirms that this is a “good” way of achieving person reference. Implicit in this script is that a speaker knows the relationship between a referent and the other interlocutors, i.e. “I know that you can say about this other someone: this someone is my ...”. This is an important feature of the script because it is connected to a component in the high-level script [A]: “people know

⁹ They include kinship terms from generations above and below the speaker: *mami* ‘mother’, *nis* ‘brother’s daughter’, *san* ‘son/sister’s sons’ and *amuri* ‘father’s father’. Ideally each of the Kriol terms used in this script, *mami* ‘mother’, *nis* ‘sibling’s daughter’, *san* ‘son/sibling’s sons’ and *amuri* ‘father’s father’ would also be explicated using simple paraphrases.

many things about other people here” about assumed “togetherness/unity” as a cultural value in Ngukurr.

While script [C] offers a concise explication of a preference for using addressee oriented kinterms, there are a large variety of ways in which a speaker can refer to third persons and other interlocutors in Kriol. In §6.3 I provide a model for achieving person reference in Kriol.

6.3 “Doing” person reference in Kriol

6.3.1 An “identification scenario”

With the variety of non-specific referring terms in use, and some restrictions and preferences to avoid the use of names, the question arises:—“How do speakers manage to convey who they are referring to?” One way to answer this question is to examine what happens when referring goes wrong—what happens when an interlocutor cannot identify a referent. Garde (2003:Ch 9) provides a similar example of referring problems in a traditional Aboriginal language, Biniñ Gunwok. In this section I present an excerpt from a conversation where one speaker is having considerable difficulty in successfully referring to what should be a referent familiar to the addressee. This small passage includes examples of many of the referring expressions described in §6.2.2 (an excerpt from the same passage was discussed in §4.5). It is an exposition of how to “do” referring to people in Kriol without using the name of the person, even when the going gets tough.

The excerpt in (23) consists of 16 utterances, presented here with added comments. It begins with the first reference to the person under discussion. The speakers are two women around 55 years old. B and F have known each other and lived in the same community for most of their lives. Their relationship to one another is a reciprocal one – they call each other *abuji* ‘father’s mother/son’s child’.

BR is trying to establish what F’s kinship relationship is to another woman who lives on the other side of the river. It is significant in itself that she is not trying to establish the name of this referent; in fact, the referent’s name is never mentioned.

In the first line, B addresses F by her nickname, a dysphemism that makes reference to a limp. In line 2, B addresses F again using the kinterm *abuji*, ‘father’s mother’, and goes on to make an enquiry about her knowledge of a third person. Although B wishes F to identify the referent, she starts with a very non-specific human reference noun, i.e. *olgamen* ‘elder woman’, and waits.

(23) 1.B *en Jalban?*
 and [nickname]
 and [nickname]?

2.B (1.0) *abuji yu sabi det olgamen?*
 [kinterm] 2SG know REC elder.woman
 [kinterm] you know that [respected] elder woman?

The unknown person is thus introduced to the conversation with a human status noun *olgamen*, coupled with the recognitional article *det*. Only after a pause does the speaker elucidate further. This suggests that perhaps she hoped the interlocutor F would recognise the referent simply from the noun phrase *det olgamen*. After the pause (one second), B adds more information, indicating where the referent lives (i.e. ‘the other side of the river’). Then she adds that this *olgamen* is close family of both women.

3. B (1.0) *det olgamen najasaidriba,*
 REC elder.woman [place.name]
 The elder woman [who lives at] [place.name],

4. B .. *femli bla wi?*
 family DAT 1PL
 part of our family?

At this point F engages in the conversation by asking ‘who?’. B introduces the surname name of a family member who used to live where this elder woman lives.

5. F .. *hu?*
 who?

6. B ... *wan Tilbun bin oldei jidan,*
one [surname] PST HAB live
a person from the Tilbun family used to live there,

After a further pause F asks again, 'who?'.

7. F ... *hu?*
who?
8. B *wandi yu-mob kalim det Badi?*
What 2SG-COLL call REC [nickname]
what do you call Badi?

Next B introduces a nickname for the referent, again accompanied by recognitional article *det*. B repeats the nickname, *Badi*, and where the referent lives, *najasaidriba*. She pauses and since F makes no rejoinder, adds further information.

9. F *hu?*
who?
10. B *Badibadi det najasaid.riba,*
[name~name] REC [place.name]
Badibadi from the other side of the river,

In line 11 below B mentions another person's house (using their name) indicating that the referent lives in the vicinity of this person's house. After waiting and receiving no response, B mentions a significant community and family event, the funeral of someone F calls *mami* 'mother/mother's sister'. She adds that this person was there along with her own sibling at the funeral.

11. B (0.6) *darrei la Biri kemp*
that.way LOC [name] house
over there near Biri's house

12. B (0.6) *yu sabi imin kaman bla main baba bla gu*
2SG know 3SG.PST come PURP 1SG.POSS sibling PURP go
bla mami fyunral?
for mother funeral
you know, she came for my sibling to go to [our] mother's
funeral?

After yet another pause, B indicates the point of her questions. She wants to know what F's kinship relationship is to this woman. At this point she starts referring to F using a second person collective pronoun *yumob*, thus indicating that she is referring not only to F but to all of F's skin subsection.

13. B (1.5) *yu-mob anti ngi?*
2-COLL [kinterm] Q
Your aunty isn't she?
14. B *goh wanim yu-mob kalim im,*
or whatist 2-COLL call 3SG
or what do you call her?
15. B ... *yumob baba?*
2.COLL [kinterm]
Your sister?
16. F ... *yuwai main anti dan.*
yes 1SG.POSS [kinterm] DIST.DEM
Yes I call her aunty.

Finally, (in line 16) F indicates that she has identified the referent. Stating that she calls the woman in question *anti* 'father's sister'.

Despite the seemingly protracted nature of this identification scenario, it is not extraordinary in Kriol. Speakers show an unmistakable preference for associating people to other places, people and events. This is evidence that in regards to person reference in Kriol, association takes precedence over minimisation, and to some extent, recognition.

It is examples such as the one above that led me to ask speakers how best to refer to people in Kriol. The scenario given below was “play acted” by a language consultant, G. Blitner, to teach me the best way to *tok* ‘talk’. Other Kriol speakers were present and appeared satisfied with the account he provided.

6.3.2 A guide to achieving person reference

G. Blitner suggested that the best way to *tok marlmarl* ‘speak respectfully/politely’ was to follow the steps outlined below. He describes a *marlmarl* way of referring as when the speaker “chooses the words that make it suit – make it *gud-binji* ‘feel good/right’, perhaps what is termed ‘polite’ in English (Blitner, p.c. Ngukurr 2006). As a further example of the meaning of *marlmarl*, the consultant gave this sentence and translation:

(24) *Imin marlmarl det biding.*
3SG.PST sweet REC building
He made the building look good.

The consultant’s account presents, in essence, a hierarchy of referring terms that start off vague and non-specific and slowly narrow their scope, layering the various descriptions, until a social and environmental network has been described, and the referent has been located within it.

This language consultant asserts that there are well-defined practices for achieving person reference, practices which not only demonstrate the speaker’s knowledge, but also display their respect for the people concerned (the addressees and the referents).

A *marlmarl* identification scenario

1. At first reference a pronoun or a human status noun is ideal. In this example the person is also associated with a language group (Marra):

1.A *im tok Marra gudwei.*
3SG speak Marra well
He/She speaks Marra well.

2.B *hu?*

who?

2. If this is unsuccessful, the speaker can try an addressee-oriented kinterm:

3.A *yu mami, im tok Marra.*

2SG.POSS mother 3SG speak [language.name]

Your mother, she speaks Marra.

4.B *hu mami? wijan wan?*

who mother which one

Which mami? Which one?

3. If further clarification is required, the speaker locates the referent relative to a place significant to that person (usually where the intended referent lives).

5.A *dan-jeya im slip jeya la silbasiti.*

DIST.DEM-there 3SG sleep there LOC [area.name]

The one that way, she lives in ‘Silver City’.

6.B *hu mami slip la silbasiti?*

who mother sleep LOC [area.name]

Which mother that sleeps in Silver City?

4. If at this point the referent is still unidentified, consultants tell me the best option is to include the name of a person close to that person, especially the names of their children (if possible).¹⁰

¹⁰ This may not be possible if any persons present are in an avoidance relationship with the person to be named. For example, if people in opposite gender siblings, or mother-in-law/ son-in-law relationships to the child were present.

7.A *sabi dan-jeya im slip langa Erni kemp.*
know DIST.DEM-there 3SG sleep LOC [name] house
You know, that one there she sleeps at Erni's house.

5. At the end of this identification scenario, speakers say the referent's name without embarrassment. However, since an associative relationship has by now been well established between this person, places and other people, the referent's identity has been recognised by means other than naming.

8.B *ago! yuwai, mami Cherry.*
EXC yes mother [name]
Oh! Yes, mother Cherry.

9.A *yuwai mami Cherry.*
yes mother [name]
Yes (that's right), 'mami' Cherry.

This is of course an idealised and elicited example of how to refer to people in Kriol, but taken in conjunction with the spontaneous excerpt above in X, as well as my own observations provides a basis to conclude that speakers not only think it is "polite" to refer in such a way, but do routinely use these practices.

I will now attempt to capture the speech practice described in this section in a final cultural script regarding person reference. This script is a template for the kinds of things a speaker can say when reference to a person has not been successful. In Kriol the onus is largely on the speaker to explain whom they are referring to, as the protracted example in §6.3.1 demonstrates. The addressee only needs to make minimal effort, as the speaker works through various alternative means to explain whom they are referring to.

- [D] Cultural script for preferred ways identify a third party
- a. people know that people here think like this:
 - b. when I want to say something to someone about someone else,
if I want this someone to know who this someone else is, I can say one of
many things like this about this other someone:
 - c. “this someone is an *olgamen*, (*olmen*, *yanboi*, *yangel*...)
 - d. this someone is your *mami*, (*your nis*, *your braja*, *your amuri*...)
 - e. this someone lives in this place
 - f. this someone is this other person’s *mami*, (*dedi*, *mit*...)
 - g. this someone was at this place Y when X happened”

Components c–g. of this script outline the various referring strategies described in the ‘idealised’ speech routine above. Each of these components suggests a method of referring. The first component, c., suggests the use of a human status noun, e.g. *olgamen* ‘Elder woman’. Component d. suggests an addressee-oriented kinterm, e.g. *yu mami* ‘your mother’. Component e. suggests the use of a place relevant to the person, such as the part of town they live in. Component f. suggests using a third person as the propositus for a kinship statement, and finally g. makes reference to an event that this person may have taken part in or witnessed. Each of these components can be applied on its own, or in conjunction with the other components to achieve person reference.

In summary, Kriol has distinct referring practices for achieving person reference. These practices provide a means of maintaining important cultural and social traditions related to kinship, and other values inherent in the ancestral languages. Kriol is a living tool of social maintenance, and despite the enormous differences between this English-lexified creole and the substrate languages, there is a clear continuity of discourse practices in relation to person reference.

6.4 Information exchange

Essential to communication is not only knowing the cultural strategies for enacting person reference, but also how to talk about places, ideas, concepts and events. In

Ngukurr there are restrictions as to who can discuss (or even mention) certain places, ideas, concepts and events. In this section I present cultural scripts relevant to the dissemination of information in Kriol, including asking and answering questions.

In Kriol there is often a level of circumspection that a naïve listener may not notice. For example, I was taking language consultants (people who worked at the Ngukurr language centre) into town for a meeting. Stopping at a language consultant's house, two teenage girls jumped into my car. Despite my explaining to them that they couldn't come with us, they didn't introduce themselves, or indicate in any way why they were there. Other people were walking past yelling at them occasionally. With a couple of language consultants in the other seats, I left the community, assuming that the young women wanted to visit family in another town, and feeling annoyed and frustrated with them, and with my inability to understand the situation. Nearly 300kms down the road one of them muttered something to no one in particular indicating that she wasn't ready to marry; only then I realised the two girls were fleeing an arranged marriage.

This kind of revelation was not unusual for me in Ngukurr. I would often assume I knew peoples' motivations or understood what they were telling me, only to find days or weeks later that I had completely misjudged a situation.

This is in part because in general Anglos may feel they have a right to know about other peoples' motivations and intentions (especially when their own professional or personal space is affected).

An (Aboriginal) teacher from the local school once asked me why some Anglo English speakers were so 'nosy' or *gulakantri* 'often annoyed or telling people off/officious'. He was referring to other teachers always wanting to know why he wasn't on time to class, or why he missed a number of days of work (apparently without any excuse). The fact is that in Ngukurr many people lead dual lives. They may be busy with ceremonial matters (travelling, organising, etc.) or with family related problems (no one to look after the children in the house, very sick parents etc.), as well as with their "everyday job" such as teaching, working on languages or at the Art Centre. In such cases as those I have mentioned above, it is likely that it is no-one else's business (especially not the business of an unrelated Anglo person) to know these

details. It is up to others to respect that there was a reason for the absence, and not to ask questions.

I believe that this general reluctance to share and seek information in many contexts is the manifestation of some larger underlying cultural scripts regarding the regulation of information.

6.4.1 Secret/sacred knowledge

Some knowledge is personal or of a family nature. Other kinds of information in Ngukurr are considered secret or sacred. This pertains to information about certain kinds of ceremonies, geographical sites, stories, images and objects, and in some cases the names of people or places. Within the community only certain people, such as traditional owners or initiated men, are qualified to know about these things. Even when something is not secret or sacred, there are often areas of knowledge that specific people are in a position to teach and discuss. For example, while working on a language spoken in Ngukurr, Ritharrngu, one of my consultants, even though he was fluent in the language, much preferred to work with his *mami* ‘mother/mother’s sister’ present, because she was the authority (in that area) of the language. This Elder woman was largely silent, except for occasional interjections, while I worked with the younger man.

Another example can be found among the list of objectives of the Diwurruwurrjaru Aboriginal Corporation (Katherine Regional Aboriginal Language Centre). A stated goal of the language centre is: “the education of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in Aboriginal Language and Culture *subject to the divulging of secret/sacred information*”. (item 6 p.2: emphasis added)

Not only are there things of a secret/sacred nature in Aboriginal culture, at times, many people do not know what these things are. As a result, people can be very circumspect about asking for information about many topics, in case they allude to a place, person, object, ceremony or story that they are not to know about. These kinds

of restrictions on information are an important part of understanding the lack of explanation (and requests for explanation) above.¹¹

[E] Cultural script motivating speech practices for secret/sacred matters

- a. people here know that people here think like this:
- b. some places/things are like this:
- c. many people can't know a lot about these places/things, like people can know about other places/things
- d. some people can't know anything about these places/things
- e. very bad things can happen if these people know anything about these places/things

Since 'and' as well as 'or' are not part of the natural semantic metalanguage, that is, they are not considered to be maximally simple words, they are not included. Instead of repeating the component I have used the shortcut of '/'; however, it would also make sense to make this into two cultural scripts, one relevant to places, and the other to things. In all other respects the two scripts would be the same. Component c.

¹¹ Another example of restrictions on information exchange, relevant to a large number of Aboriginal communities, can be found in the ATSilIRN (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Library and Information Resource Network) protocols. These protocols discuss the sensitivity of language material, and acknowledge that not all information can be freely disseminated:

[T]hese sensitivities [discussed] have greatest force when the materials include records and/or depictions of secret and/or sacred information which may have been recorded with or without permission. There are both published and archival materials, which contain secret or sacred information which should not be made generally available. An item need not be on open access to everyone just because it has been published. For example, the Arrernte people of Hermannsburg were outraged when a copy of Spencer and Gillen (*The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, Macmillan, 1904) fell into the hands of uninitiated youths and children because it includes photographs and descriptions of artefacts and ceremonies of a sacred nature... [there are] labels, notes in the catalogue indicating that the contents are 'For initiated males only' or include 'Women's business'. (ATSilIRN (The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Library and Information Resource Network) Protocols (cf. <http://www.aiatsis.gov.au/>)).

introduces the concept of secret/sacred places/things as being distinct from other places and things, in that people “can’t know” about them the way they know about other places/things. The implication is that there are different kinds of knowledge. In component d. it becomes clear that some people don’t know anything at all about these places and things, such as, perhaps young women in relation to secret men’s ceremonies. Finally component e. indicates the consequences of people accessing restricted knowledge, namely that “very bad things” can happen. Despite the vagueness of this description the script simulates the circumspection required when discussing secret/sacred issues.

Cultural script [F] below describes the speech practices related to [E] above. In particular, this script indicates that even if a person does know about something, it does not necessarily follow that they are at liberty to tell others about it. In many instances the responsibility of disseminating information to the relevant people at the right time belongs to specific people, and others cannot usurp this responsibility. This ties in with other more general speech practices, such as for example, a speaker’s prerogative of not answering a question that has been posed to them, or taking some time (days or even weeks) to reply to a question.

[F] Cultural script regarding ‘owners of information and talking for others’

- a. people here know that people here think like this:
- b. some people know many things about some places/things
- c. these people can say things about these places/things to other people
- d. it can be bad if some other people say things about these places/things
- e. some people can’t know about these places/things

The first few components indicate that there are some people with superior knowledge to others. These particular people can say things about the things that they know. In component d. the script indicates that other people are not at liberty to tell others about such things, and that “it can be bad” if they do. The final component e. shows that this information is restricted, and some people shouldn’t know anything about it.

6.4.2 Eliciting information *gudwei* in Kriol

Eades (1982, 1985) describes how Aboriginal English speakers prefer not to give information about a topic unless offered information first. An indirect as opposed to a direct question, e.g. “He worked on the station hey?” elicits information, whereas “Where did he work?” fails (Eades 1985:103–4, see also 1982, 1992, 1993, 2006, and Koch 1985). Linguistic evidence suggests that Kriol speakers are also most comfortable with this strategy. The tags *ngi*, *ngabi* and *indit* occur at the end of statements, and typically elicit information regarding the statement they co-occur with, as in demonstrated in (25), (27) and (28). Another common word used to elicit information is *maitbi* ‘maybe’; see (26).¹² In each of the examples below, one interlocutor seeks affirmation of some information (effectively asking a question). The speaker makes a statement including *maitbi* ‘maybe’ or *indit*, *ngi* or *ngabi* with rising intonation to prompt a response from other interlocutors. Often the statement is a guess, rather than the speaker’s opinion.

(25) 1.O *Dei stil gadim olwan-olwan kopi jeya, ngi?*
 3PL still get old~PL copy there Q
 They still have old copies there, don't they?

2.D <E Yeah E>. [DA_10R_166]

(26) B *Gaja! Maldi im dina!*
 good.grief maybe 3SG lunch
 Good grief! Maybe it's lunch (time)!
 [speaker is asking the researcher the time] [DA_2BR_323]

In my data this kind of information seeking most commonly occurred with regards to places, as demonstrated in the examples below.

¹² The words *ngi*, *ngabi*, *indit* and *matibi* likely have additional functions in Kriol.

- (27) 1.D (0.4) *en dei bin barn alabat ngi?*
 and 3PL PST burn 3PL Q
 and they burnt them, right?
- 2.D (0.4) *yuwai,*
 yeah
- 3.D *ba <?la> Ropa Ba?*
 bar LOC [place.name]
 at Roper Bar?
- 4.D ... *o weya?*
 or where
 or where?
- 5.B *nomo, la Ruinsiti,*
 NEG LOC [place.name]
 No, in the Ruined City,
- (28) 1.B *mela bin sidan ladet... F., detsaid det grid,*
 1PL PST stay like.that [place.name] that.side REC grid
 we lived at the F., that side of the grid,
- 2.B *weya det O.. ngi?*
 where REC [place.name] Q
 where that O. is, isn't it?
- 3.O *ontop.*
 above
 Above (it).
- 4.B mm.
 right, yes. [DA_1OR_BR_24-6a]

The two following low-level cultural scripts describe the speech practice of offering information as a way of eliciting/prompting information. As with all cultural scripts included here, these scripts have been vetted by native Kriol speakers. The first script,

[G], offers a description of how not to elicit information, and script [H] describes a good/or effective way to do it.

[G] Cultural script “how not to ask for information”

- a. people here know that people here think like this:
- b. when I want someone to say something to me,
because I want to know something about something,
- c. at many times it is not good if I say to this someone:
“I want to know something about this”

[H] Cultural script for “asking questions/prompting information”

- a. people here know that people here think like this:
- b. when I want someone to say something to me,
- c. because I want to know something about something,
- d. at many times it can be good if I say something like this about it:
“maybe it is like this”

These two scripts differ most significantly in the last two components. In [G] components d–e. summarise what not to say, i.e. to express something like “I want to know about X” by asking a direct question. According to the script it is not good to do this. In [H] component d. offers a prototypical example of the information-prompting speech routine described: “maybe it is like this”. It includes a statement, as well as a qualifying particle “maybe”.

What I have presented in this section covers only a small part of a large and complex system of information exchange. These cultural scripts are supported by the conversational data and consultation with speakers. As well as this Eades (1982, 1985, 1991, 1992, 1993, 2006), Koch (1985) and others have found that Aboriginal interactional style (of Aboriginal English speakers) in relation to information exchange can significantly impair communication with Anglo Australians in courtroom situations and other legal contexts. These scripts offer a starting point for discussion regarding a complex area of research in Kriol which has not been previously examined. In terms of bridging the divide between standard Australian

English and Kriol, they provide a simple verifiable starting point for learning and teaching interactional style in Ngukurr.

While there are few comprehensive investigations into speech practices in Aboriginal communities, what information is available largely corresponds to the cultural scripts I have proposed here for Kriol (cf. Eades 1985; Walsh 1991, 1997; Liberman 1985; Trudgen 2000; McGregor 1991).

6.5 Discussion

To summarise, Kriol speakers have a distinct pragmatic style for person reference. This pragmatic style places utmost emphasis on associating the person under discussion with the other speakers present, with places and with other known people. Speakers prefer not to explicitly single out individuals at first mention. Doing so can lead to embarrassment and is considered inappropriate. If the referent is not recognised by other interlocutors, the speaker works through strategies that locate the referent more and more precisely within the social and environmental structure, until they are eventually identified. This method of referring draws on considerable interpersonal and cultural knowledge.

The quote below (produced in part in §4.3) is relevant to the current discussion.

The use of English names made it more difficult for Rembarnga to adhere to their practice of discarding and adjusting names to a changed social landscape when someone died (Biddle 1996). [...] [This became] a world where [white] strangers could confer a specific name on a specific individual which could be used in any circumstance. Whitefellas [sic] wanted to use names as public instruments, to call them out, to say them to relatives, to make them represent one unique individual, rather than to shade one person's identity into the space of her sister as happened with designations by subsection or kin terms. (Cowlshaw 1999:172)

What I describe here, while very different from Anglo English referring practices (cf. Sacks & Schegloff 1979; Schegloff 1996, 2007), is somewhat similar to referring practices described in another Australian Aboriginal language, Bininj Gunwok (Garde 2003, 2008). Both of these languages display a tendency to avoid referring to

people using their individual English names. Garde (2008:203-4) says of Bininj Gunwok:

Circumspection extends important influence over choice of referring expression, and in particular, a dispreference for the use of proper names.

Garde suggests that this kind of circumspection could well be common to all Aboriginal languages (2008:204). In Kriol, some level of circumspection also extends to reference to things other than people, such as reference to places and objects. In §6.4 I showed that Kriol speakers utilise specific speech practices when prompting and disseminating information.

In conclusion, Kriol is an English lexified language, with radically different morphology and syntax to traditional Aboriginal languages; however, it clearly adheres to similar principles of pragmatic style in regards to person reference and information exchange. Walsh (1997:17) claims, and I think that Kriol is a good case in point, that:

A distinctive interactional style may well be the last thing to survive from Aboriginal language after nearly all the vocabulary and the details of the grammar are lost.

The syntactic structure and the English derived lexicon of Kriol lend themselves to the impression that Anglo English speakers could easily master Kriol. I hope that this chapter gives the reader some reason to believe that Kriol is manifestly an Aboriginal language. Those wishing to engage with Kriol speakers would do well to learn about culture and social customs, and not assume mutual intelligibility.

One final point regarding interactional style in Kriol; rather than consider the aspects of communicative practice said to be analogous to those found in other Aboriginal languages as “substrate influence”, consider them in terms of continuity of discourse practices.

At the heart of communicative practice is the understanding that language exists as a social fact, and that speech routines develop out of specific recurring contexts, adapting over time to suit the needs of the social community. Thus, it is not surprising that speech practices in Kriol are comparable in many ways to what we know of Aboriginal languages, and that they differ markedly from those found in English.

Chapter Six: Aspects of communicative practice

Although it has long been suggested that substrate languages influence creoles; to consider communicative practices in terms of the continuity of a social culture is a recent innovation. In this chapter I have shown the advantages of using such an approach in describing speech practices.

Chapter Seven

7.1 Summary

The aim of this thesis was to provide an integrated description of how Kriol referential expressions are structured and how they are used in spontaneous talk to meet communicative needs. Further goals were to contribute to the grammatical description of Kriol, to provide insight into the interactional style of its speakers, and to contribute to the literature on discourse in the Australian Aboriginal context. Each chapter of the thesis contributed original and substantial description of referring expressions and referential practice in Kriol.

In Chapter One I provided an overview of the socio-historical context of Kriol. I noted that Kriol developed over a number of generations. Thus, it is likely that there was a considerable overlap of speakers using the substrate languages and Kriol simultaneously, allowing for the continuity of discourse practices from the substrate into the creole language. I noted the importance of research into Kriol from the point of view of Ngukurr residents who are socio-economically disadvantaged in Australia. This is due, in part, to communicative difficulties and the low status of Kriol. The chapter also included an overview of the theoretical tools used in the thesis, including a discussion of descriptive linguistics, discourse analysis, information structure, person reference in interaction and ethnography of speaking

Chapter Two provided a sketch grammar of Kriol, including an overview of the orthography, clause structure and word classes, as well as a discussion of the interactional style of Aboriginal languages. In particular I discussed Walsh's (1991, 1997) framework of Dyadic vs. non-Dyadic interactional style, and found that Kriol speakers are comfortable with the features Walsh describes for traditional Aboriginal languages.

Chapter Three examined the constituents and the configuration of the noun phrase. I identified and described a number of significant features, some extensions from the work of Munro (2004) and Sandefur (1979), some original analyses that arose from my own research. For example, I used the concept of fused head to describe the

common occurrence of NPs in Kriol that have no noun. I showed that adjectives and quantifiers in Kriol occur as modifiers of the head of the NP, but when the head is absent they act as fused heads. This construction can only occur when the referent of the fused head NP is already established in the discourse. I showed that some aspects of word order within the NP are flexible (for example, adjectives may occur after nouns, within the same intonation unit), and that speakers may use many coreferential NPs (separated by intonation) when referring to a single referent, much as Heath (1986) found for Nunggubuyu. I described two possessive constructions in Kriol, one of which is ambiguous between a dative and possessive reading. I demonstrated that there is some variability in the word order of such constructions. I examined the distribution of pronouns in Kriol and found that there is a complementary distribution of the first person singular pronoun based on the tense of the clause, and that speakers use inclusory pronominal constructions, much like those found in the substrate languages—as well as other pronominal constructions similar to inclusory constructions.

In Chapter Four I analysed the determiner *det*. Using diagnostic tests I demonstrated that *det* is best classified as a recognitional article, as opposed to a demonstrative. In pursuit of a comprehensive explanation of the role of *det*, I utilised concepts from discourse analysis, such as “familiarity”, as well as features such as definiteness and specificity, and found *det* to be a recognitional article; that is, it is used when a speaker intends to indicate that the referent is familiar, but not immediately accessible to the other interlocutors. As a result of cultural habits of referring indirectly or circumspectly to show “respect” to other interlocutors and to the referents themselves, speakers often use generic or other non-specific terms when referring to familiar persons or other referents. *Det* is used in such NPs to indicate that the referent is familiar, even where the noun itself may be a generic term such as *olgamen*, *gel*, *boi*, or a non-specific term such as *sambala* or *samwan*. By using excerpts from conversation I demonstrated the functions of *det* and offered some comparison to articles found in the substrate languages, as well as in other creole languages.

Chapter Five is an exposition of the tools of information structure applied to Kriol. Part of this chapter included an empirical study examining left and right-dislocated

NPs using a framework described in Gundel et al. (1993). One of the assumptions of this framework is that the referent of an NP can be activated to different degrees, and that these activation states can be discerned and coded. I showed that the Kriol data requires us to recognise an additional “mentioned, but not identified” activation state. I showed that left-dislocated NPs typically introduce new material (as well as contrastive information). That is the referents referred to in these NPs had not typically been previously referred to or implied. I found that right-dislocated NPs almost always refer to entities that are already “active” in the discourse. Thus I demonstrated a correlation between the activation state of a referent and its position in the clause.

In Chapter Five I also discussed the concepts of topic and focus in Kriol. I found that there is no one specific construction, morphological or syntactic, that is used consistently to indicate these functions, but that there are a number of different ways. In the case of topic, I found that Kriol has a new topic construction. In terms of focus and contrastive focus, I have shown that in Kriol, fronting (i.e the leftmost position) is typically used for introducing new information or contrastive information. The leftmost position is the site of canonical focus constructions, such as *wh*- questions, and highlighted material. There is also a focus clitic *na*. When stressed it indicates contrastive focus, when unstressed it provides prominence or emphasis to the preceding constituent or clause.

In Chapter Six I described aspects of communicative practice in Ngukurr by examining person reference and information exchange. The first section of the chapter examined person reference in interaction in the context of the social and cultural values and preferences of Kriol speakers. I found that kinterm NPs are the unmarked form of reference, that speakers are comfortable with non-specific references to third persons, and that there are identifiable strategies for indicating the identity of a person while avoiding using a proper name. I outlined the forms used in person reference in conversation and found them to be similar to those found in the substrate languages, and substantially different from English.

In §6.4 I discussed some aspects of information exchange in Kriol, including the asking and answering of questions. I noted that there are kinds of information in Kriol that are not freely available, such as secret sacred information, and that much

knowledge had “owners” who have a responsibility to disseminate it (or to oversee someone else undertaking this task). Other people may not discuss this information freely, and in the case of secret/sacred information some members of the community are prohibited from knowing anything about it. I suggested that speakers have a preference for offering information on a topic before asking about it (after Eades 1985); this may be linked with the restrictions on information in the community. I also suggested that the aspects of interactional style identified in Chapter Six are best described in terms of continuity of communicative practice from the substrate languages.

The description of referring expressions and referential practice provided in this thesis has provided many insights into the language. For example, I have shown how Kriol has semantically reshaped aspects of the English lexicon, including function terms (such as *det*), to suit the needs of its speakers and that it has constructions that indicate the level of accessibility of a referring expressions (such as left and right-dislocated noun phrases) and to indicate topic and focus; and that speakers have tailored the language to replicate aspects of traditional Aboriginal languages important to the social and cultural integrity of the community.

In summary, while there is still much work to be undertaken, in this thesis I hope to have laid the foundation for further research into Kriol grammatical structure, discourse structure and conversational style and communicative practices.

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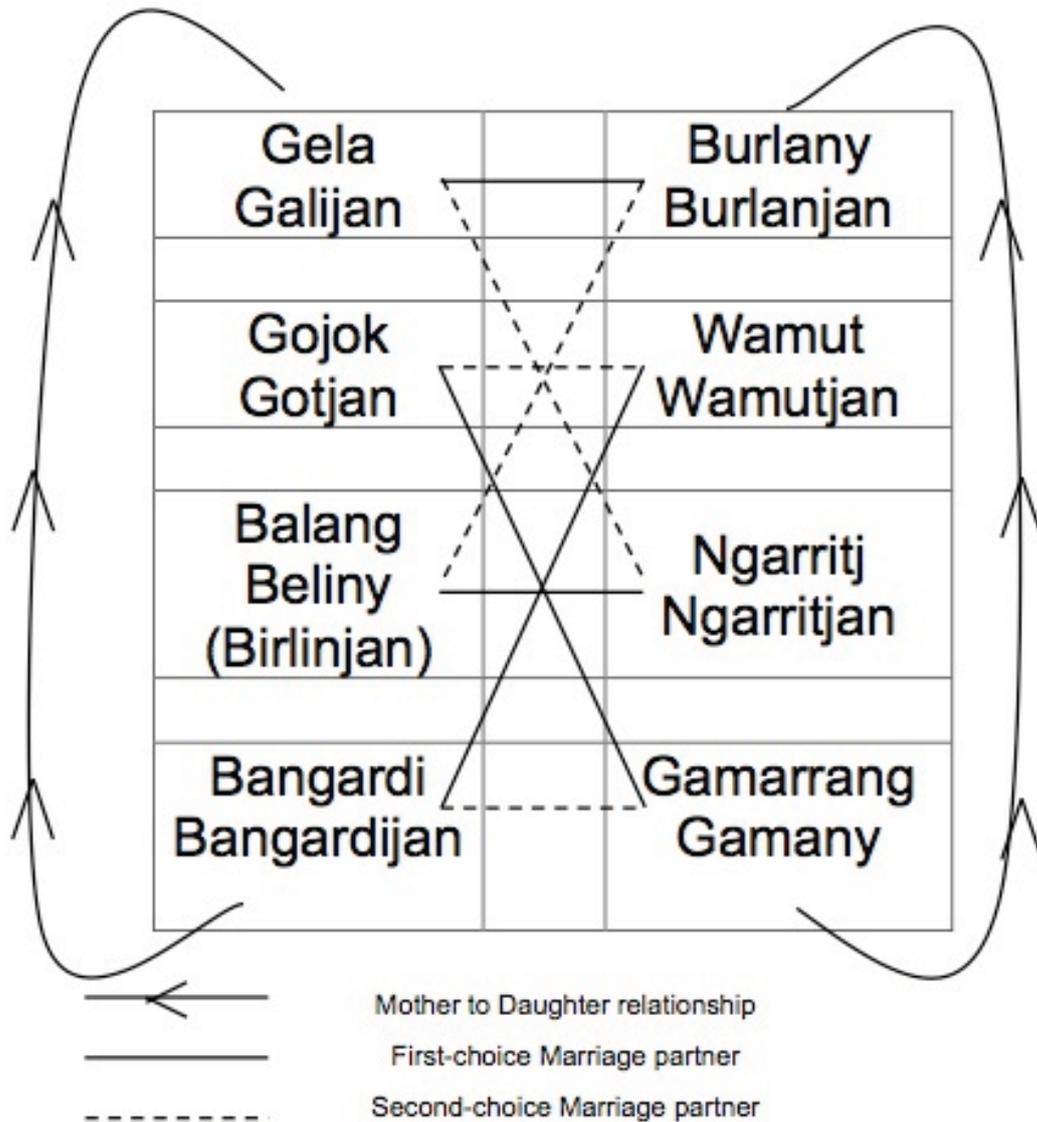
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Appendix 1

Classificatory kinship system in Ngukurr
 (Diwurruwurru-jaru Aboriginal Corporation 2006)



Appendix 2

Table of Kriol and English “Semantic Primes”

KRIOL	ENGLISH	
MI, YU, SAMWAN, SAMTING/TING, PIPEL, BODI,	I, YOU, SOMEONE, SOMETHING/THING, PEOPLE, BODY	Substantives
DIJAN, SEIMWEI, DIFRENWAN/ NAJAWAN	THIS, THE SAME, OTHER/ELSE	Determiners
WANBALA, DUBALA, BIGMOB, SAMBALA, HOLOT/OL	ONE, TWO, MUCH/MANY, SOME, ALL	Quantifiers
GUDWAN, NOGUDWAN	GOOD, BAD	Evaluators
BIGWAN, LILWAN	BIG, SMALL	Descriptors
JINGGABAT, SABI, WANDIM, FIL, LUK, IRRIM/LIJIN	THINK, KNOW, WANT, FEEL, SEE, HEAR	Mental predicates
TOK, WED, TRUBALA	SAY, WORDS, TRUE	Speech
DU, HEPEN, MOBIM, TATJIM	DO, HAPPEN, MOVE, TOUCH	Actions, events, movement, contact
JIDAN, JEYA, ABUM, [?]	BE [SOMEWHERE], THERE IS, HAVE, BE [SOMEONE/SOMETHING]	Location, existence, possession, specification
LIB, DAI	LIVE, DIE	Life and death
WEN, DISTAIM/NA, BIFO/BATHTAM, AFTA, LONGTAIM, LILBIT/ SHOTAIM, LILBIT LONGTAIM, MOMEN	WHEN/TIME, NOW, BEFORE, AFTER, A LONG TIME, A SHORT TIME, FOR SOME TIME, MOMENT	Time
WEYA/ PLEIS, IYA, ONTOP, ANDA, LONGWEI, GULJAP, WANSAID, INSAID	WHERE/PLACE, HERE, ABOVE, BELOW, FAR, NEAR, SIDE, INSIDE	Space
KAN, MAITBI, GIN, DUMAJI, BUNJU/IF	NOT, MAYBE, CAN, BECAUSE, IF	Logical concepts
BRABLI, MOWA	VERY, MORE	Augmentor, intensifier
KAINDABA, PAT	KIND, PART	Relational substantives
LAGIJAT	LIKE	Similarity

Transcription KC_1

Appendix 3: Transcriptions of Kriol data. KC_1 and KC_2

\$ Kriol Conversation: KC_1
 \$ 5 speakers aged 30 years and over,
 \$ 4 Kriol speakers
 \$ SN is the researcher
 \$ Length 3mins 58 seconds
 \$ Sound file available at:
 \$ <http://www-personal.une.edu.au/~snicho5/index.html>

Bessi mami bin jeya bat im gon
 GLOSS [kinterm] PST there but 3SG gone
 \$ [kinterm] was here but she's gone

Bessi (0.2) la kokonatri,
 GLOSS LOC palm.tri
 \$ to the palm tree

Bessi irrim mi na,
 GLOSS listen 1SG EM
 \$ listen to me

Bessi (1.0) ai bin dalim-im,
 GLOSS 1SG PST tell-1SG
 \$ I told him

Bessi yu luk-
 GLOSS 2SG look
 \$ you look

Bessi kam iya,
 GLOSS come here

Bessi kam iya.
 GLOSS come here

Flora (0.6) trai luk jeya insaid la wani-
 GLOSS DIR luk there inside LOC whats.it
 \$ look inside the whatsit

Bessi mi taipim-im,
 GLOSS 1SG record -3SG
 \$ I'm taping it

Bessi mi dalimbat-im main san.
 GLOSS 1SG tell-3SG 1SG.POSS [kinterm]
 \$ I'm telling my son

Flora <E looking for Angelina loo,E>
 GLOSS looking for [name] -lu
 \$ looking for Angelina

Flora (1.1) main-gel?
 GLOSS POSS-girl
 \$ my girl

Flora .. yu bin-

Transcription KC_1

GLOSS .. 2SG PST
 \$ did you

Jim ..ao

SN Hello

Flora <E... did she say anything to you?E>

Bessi main boi,
 GLOSS 1SG.POSS boy
 \$ my boy

Flora <E going? E>

Bessi wal na kaman en sidan la mi.
 GLOSS PART EM come and stan LOC 1SG
 \$ come and stand over here

Flora <E she going? E>

SN najing ai bin luk afta-

Bessi dale na.
 GLOSS that.side EM
 \$ that side

SN ai bin kambek bla luk bat imin..-
 nomo

GLOSS 1SG PST arrive PURP look but 3SG.PST NEG

Jim <X>

SN imin guwei na,

Bessi [<X> mela bin] getof jeya la det kokonatriimin jidan.
 GLOSS 1PL PST get.off there LOC FAM palm.tri 3SG.PST sitdown
 \$ we got off (the bus) over by the palm tree

Bessi ..mi weit iya bla alabat,
 GLOSS ..1SG wait here PURP 3PL
 \$ "I'll wait here for them"

Bessi imin la la minbala.
 GLOSS 3SG.PST QUOT LOC 1PL.EXCL
 \$ that's what she said to us

Flora bigmob from Beswick bin jeya,
 GLOSS many from Beswick PST there
 \$ a big group from Besiwck were there

Bessi ai bin dal-ai bindalim-im Beswick-mob bin jeya,
 GLOSS 1SG PST tell- 1SG PST tell-3SG [place]-COLL
 PST there
 \$ I told, I told her the Beswick-group were there

Flora aidano hu-mob,

Transcription KC_1

GLOSS 1SG.NEG.know who-COLL
 \$ I don't know who

Bessi (0.3) mob det yu braja du
 talwan,
 GLOSS COLL FAM 2SG [kinterm] also tall
 \$ and your brother as well, he's tall

Bessi (0.5) garrim pikanini.
 GLOSS with children
 \$ and has children

Flora 0.5 wanim neim?
 GLOSS whatsit name
 \$ whats his name

Bessi ah.

Jim (0.6) maidi <XXX>?
 GLOSS maybe

Jim ..Birna.
 GLOSS [name]
 \$ Birna

Bessi ah im nomo jeya,
 GLOSS EXC 3SG NEG there
 \$ well he isn't there

Bessi imin-
 GLOSS 3SG.PST
 \$ s/he

Bessi maidi ibin <XXXX>
 GLOSS maybe 3SG.PST
 \$ maybe

Flora trai luk jeya insaid.
 GLOSS DIR (try) look there inside
 \$ have a look inside

Andrew <X trai X> luk im iya du.
 GLOSS DIR look 3SG here also
 \$ try look she was here too

Andrew (0.5) imin tok imin weit bla wan yunbalana.
 GLOSS 3SG.PST say 3SG PST wait for 2PL EM
 \$ she said she would wait for one of you

Bessi (0.9) eh eh,
 GLOSS EXC hey!
 \$ hey listen

Andrew (0.2) blaX> T.L. o yu=.
 GLOSS for [name] or 2SG

Transcription KC_1

\$ for you or T.L

Bessi (0.7) biges beil main,
 GLOSS big bail POSS
 \$ a big bag of mine

Bessi .. biges beg,
 GLOSS beg bag
 \$ a big one

Bessi .. anda mami beg jeya-gin la wanim,
 GLOSS and-for mum[kinterm] bag there-gin LOC whatsit
 \$ and one of your mother's bags are there at

Bessi (0.6) Christian Outreach centre.

Andrew (0.4) ngi,
 GLOSS Q
 \$ really?

Bessi (0.9) tru ones.
 GLOSS true honest
 \$ they are

Flora ... bat DEI mait purrim la- wani.
 GLOSS .. but 3PL might put LOC what
 \$ they might put it in the

Bessi en mami,
 GLOSS and [kinterm]
 \$ and (your) [kinterm]

Bessi det,
 GLOSS FAM
 \$ well

Bessi (0.9) B.B bin gibit-im mani,
 GLOSS [name] PST give-3SG money
 \$ B.B. gave her some money

Bessi ... bla-
 GLOSS for

Bessi ..bla pei bla di--
 \$ for pe- for di-

Bessi .. bla petrol bla fuel.
 GLOSS for petrol for fuel

Flora ... yuwai.
 GLOSS yeah

Bessi mami gadim,
 GLOSS [kinterm] got
 \$ your [kinterm] has it

Transcription KC_1

Bessi maitbi T.L bin gajim?
GLOSS maybe [name] PST got
\$ maybe T.L picked her up

Bessi <X> yu trai gu chek jeya,
GLOSS 2sg DIR try go check there
\$ have a look there

Bessi bat nobodi jeya la det ... kokonat.
GLOSS but nobody there LOC FAM coconut
\$ but nobody is there under the coconut

Flora nomo T.L.,
GLOSS NEG [name]
\$ no T.L

Flora (0.7) naja-mob du abuji,
GLOSS another-COLL also [kinterm]
\$ another mob too [kinterm]

Bessi <X X>

Flora yu-
GLOSS 2sg
\$ you

Bessi ... yu braja du wanbala talwan boi,
GLOSS 2sg.POSS [kinterm] also tall boy
\$ and your [kinterm], a young tall one
Flora ... [<XX>] jeya.
GLOSS there

Bessi (0.5) imin jeya la target
GLOSS 3sg.PST there LOC [super.market]
\$ he was in Target

Bessi imin dalimbat mi bla yu,
GLOSS 3sg.PST tell 1sg about 2sg
\$ he told me about you

Bessi en imin si mami,
GLOSS and 3sg.PST see [kinterm]
\$ and he saw (your) [kinterm]

Bessi ai bin luk mami jeya <XXX> autsaid,
GLOSS 1sg PST see [kinterm] there outside
\$ "I saw [kinterm] there <XX> outside"

Flora gabu trai luk jeya=.
GLOSS EXC DIR look there
\$ hey have a look there

Bessi imin la.
GLOSS 3sg.PST QUOT
\$ he said

Transcription KC_1

Flora (0.6) trai luk jeya la det ... wanim
 GLOSS DIR look there LOC FAM whatsit
 \$ have a look there in the whatist

Bessi wanim.
 GLOSS whatsit
 \$ whatsit

Flora wanim.
 GLOSS whatsit
 \$ whatsit

Andrew trai luk jeya du detmob Fiji-mob du
 jeya.
 GLOSS DIR look there also FAM.COLL [name]-COLL also
 there
 \$ have a look over there some Fijians are there too

Bessi (0.6) jeya na la det-
 GLOSS there EM LOC FAM
 \$ over there at the

Jim (0) Beswick.
 GLOSS Beswick
 Bessi (1.0) en mi- <X>
 GLOSS and 1SG
 \$ and I

Bessi yu kam en gajim-im,
 GLOSS 2SG come and get-3SG
 \$ you come and get (him)

Jim G. naja du dei kamanapbat na.
 GLOSS [name] also 3PL come EM
 \$ G. is also coming

Bessi (0.9) bla sevis.
 GLOSS PURP service
 \$ for service

Andrew eh=.
 GLOSS yeah

Andrew (0.4) ola Fiji-mob dei- dei jeya.
 GLOSS all [name]-COLL 3PL 3PL there
 \$ all the Fijians are there

Bessi ... maidi baba-mob M.-mob.
 GLOSS ... maybe [kinterm]-COLL [name]-COLL
 \$ your [kinterm]-group, M.-(group)

Flora (TSK)

Andrew (0.9) <XnajingX>
 GLOSS NEG

Transcription KC_1

\$ no

Jim (0.5) <XX> dubala kamanap <X>.
 GLOSS 3DU arrive
 \$ those two are coming

Flora (1.7) (H)

Flora <V gardi main,V>
 GLOSS EXC 1SG.POSS
 \$ goodness my

Jim jeya na la det ... pleis na ngi?
 GLOSS there EM LOC FAM ... Place EM Q
 \$ there at the place right?

Bessi trai gu luk jeya la <XXX>
 GLOSS DIR go look there LOC
 \$ check over there

Flora det wanim jeya ... la bus stop.
 GLOSS FAM PRON there ... LOC bus stop
 \$ the whatsit there at the bus stop

Jim <XX?>

Bessi(0.6) becos ai bin lib-mela bin lib, melabinkaman na garri
 bas.
 GLOSS because 1SG PST leave-1PL PST come EM bus
 \$ because I left- we left- we just arrived on the bus

Andrew ..m.

Flora (COUGHS)

Bessi dis dubala?
 GLOSS FAM 3DU
 \$ these two

Flora (COUGHS)

Bessi (0.2) en mi en mami.
 GLOSS and 1SG and [kinterm]
 \$ and me and (your) [kinterm]

Bessi (0.8) mani imin,
 GLOSS money 3SG.PST
 \$ money he

Flora (0.8) abuji,
 GLOSS [kinterm]
 \$ [kinterm]

Bessi gibit la im.
 GLOSS give LOC 3SG
 \$ gave it to her

Transcription KC_1

Andrew yuwai,
GLOSS yes

Bessi du,
GLOSS also

Bessi .. munanga bin gibit im.
GLOSS whiteperson PST give 3SG
\$ a white person gave it to her

Andrew dijan na la wes.
GLOSS this.one EM LOC West
\$ this one in the West

Bessi (0.4) bla fyuel.
GLOSS for fuel

Flora (1.1) abuji.
GLOSS [kinterm]
\$ [kinterm]

Flora (0.2) yu dalim main baba gada luk jeya
insaid.
GLOSS 2SG tell POSS sibling[kinterm]FUT look there inside
\$ you tell my brother to have a look inside

Andrew oah.

Flora (0.3) dumaji.. wanbala <X> san du.
GLOSS because a [kinterm] also
\$ becayse a [kinterm] (was there) too

Bessi <X> trai luk <X> jeya>
GLOSS DIR look there

Andrew (0.5) wijan,
GLOSS which.one?

Andrew (0.2) <XXX> la wes(?).
GLOSS LOC west
\$ to the West

Andrew <XXX>

Andrew @@@@

Flora im token la im. imin token la im <XXX> du=.
GLOSS 3SG talk LOC 3SG 3SG.PST talk LOC 3SG XX also
\$ he's talking to him he was talking to him too

Bessi <F> wal tada from mi,F>
GLOSS PART bye from me

Flora (1.7) <X> nomo token la im det
boi.
GLOSS NEG talk LOC 3SG FAM boy

Transcription KC_1

\$ <X> not talking to the boy

Bessi eh-ehF>,

Andrew yuwai siyu mami.
 GLOSS yes bye [kinterm]
 \$ yeah see you [kinterm]

Bessi <F yu gada gajim main enijing.F>
 GLOSS 2SG FUT get POSS anything
 \$ you will get my stuff

Bessi (0.8) iflance-mob nomo wanim doin enijing la chech said yu
 GLOSS if [name]-COLL NEG PRO doing anything LOC church-stuff 2SG

dalim lance gu pikimap jeya la
 christian.outreach.senta,
 GLOSS tell [name] go pick-up there LOC [name]

\$ if Lance group don't want to do anything at the church
 tell him to go and pick up my things

Bessi bla minbala beg.
 GLOSS for 1pl.exc bag
 \$ our bags

Andrew (0.3) oah.
 \$ oh

Bessi ... main biges beg dijan,
 GLOSS POSS big bag this.one
 \$ I have a big bag

Bessi (0.5) en bla mami lil-wan beg.
 GLOSS and for [kinterm] little bag
 \$ and (your) [kinterm] a small one

Flora pobala main lil braja.
 GLOSS PART POSS little [kinterm]
 \$ poorthing my little [kinterm]

Andrew <XXXX>

Bessi (0.8) <F tada na god bless yu F>.
 GLOSS bye EM
 \$ bye God Bless You

Environment/notes ((car engine starts))

Bessi (0.8) <F drive slowly F>.

Andrew (H)@(H)@

Bessi <F E happy to see you again E F>.

Transcription KC_1

Flora traia luk jey bla Andersen.
GLOSS DIR look there for [name]
\$ have a look there for Anderson

Bessi <Fmain boi yu gana gaji telivishon
ebrijing
GLOSS poss boy 2SG FUT(modal?) get television-type things
bla yu from Hodgson en bringem bek.F>
GLOSS poss 2SG from [place] and bring back
\$my
boy you will get (the) TV and all your stuff from
Hodgson
Downs and bring it back

Bessi (0.9) weya ol yu tings,
GLOSS where all 2SG things
\$ where are your things where are all your things

Bessi .. yu bringembek from Hodsondan.
GLOSS 2SG bring.back from [place]
\$ bring them back from Hodgson Downs

Environment/notes ((AO has walked away from the car))

Andrew <XXXX>

Bessi <F ah F> yu kan wan gibit bek la alabat,
GLOSS 2SG NEG want give back LOC 3PL
\$ you can't give it back to them

Bessi ... dei bin rabish yu=.
GLOSS 3PL PST 'badmouth' 2SG
\$ they badmouthed you

Andrew (2.2) en weya det gel imin abum <XX>?
GLOSS and where FAM girl 3SG.PST have
\$ and where is the woman he was with

Bessi (0.2) ah im darrei na <X>.
GLOSS ah 3SG that.way EM
\$ he's over there

Flora im jeya na=.
GLOSS 3SG there EM
\$ she's over there

Bessi (0.3) imin <X> sambadi indit?
GLOSS 3SG.PST someone, Q
\$ he's <X> somebody isn't it

Andrew <F sorry F>

Bessi k or wanim?
GLOSS or what

SN nomo im rait wan ka jeya ai bin- (Hx)@
GLOSS NEG 3SG right INDEF car there 1SG PST

Transcription KC_1

\$ No its ok, a car there I was,

Andrew nomo im <XXX>
 GLOSS NEG 3SG
 \$ not him

Bessi ... Bil,
 GLOSS [name]
 \$ Bil

Bessi im marid na
 GLOSS 3SG married EM
 \$ he's married

Bessi (0.4) M.
 GLOSS [clan.name]
 \$ [clan.name]

Flora danja M. bla-
 GLOSS that.there [clan.name] POSS
 \$ that [clan.name] for

Flora .. wanim,
 GLOSS whatsit
 \$ whatsit

Bessi (1.0) bla j. san.
 GLOSS for [name] [kinterm]
 \$ J.'s [kinterm]

Flora (1.0) bla j. san.
 GLOSS DAT [name] son[kinterm]
 \$ he's J.'s [kinterm]

Flora ... braja.
 GLOSS [kinterm]
 \$ [kinterm]

Andrew oh: det,
 GLOSS EXC FAM
 \$ oh that

Andrew (0.8) amur<X>i.
 GLOSS [kinterm]
 \$ [kinterm]

Bessi ah pobala main sista,
 GLOSS EXC poorthing 1SG.POSS [kinterm]
 \$ poorthing my [kinterm]

Bessi weya.
 GLOSS where
 Flora mi anda daliy-im <X>.
 GLOSS 1SG DESID tell-3SG
 \$ I should tell him

Flora jeya.

Transcription KC_1

GLOSS there
 \$ there

Flora mi anda da--
 GLOSS 1SG DESID tel-
 \$ I should tel-

Flora mi andi daliyi alabat <XXXX>
 GLOSS 1SG DESID tell-3SG 3PL
 \$ I should have told them

Andrew ah dubala <XXXX> na.
 GLOSS ah 3DU EM
 \$ oh those two <XXXX>

Flora (0.8) gardu abuji from Fiji alabat jeya.
 GLOSS EXC [kinterm] from [place] 3PL there
 \$ woah [kinterm] some of them are from Fiji

Bessi (0) yuwai,
 GLOSS yes

SN (0.9) <E hey? E>

SN (0.8) <E im rait if I'm recording you all talking, E>

Bessi yuwai im rait.
 GLOSS yes 3SG right
 \$ yeah its ok

Andrew yuwai im rait,
 GLOSS yes 3SG right
 \$ yeah its ok

Flora <XXX>

Andrew kipgoin.
 GLOSS carry.on
 \$ carry on

Bessi yu jandim dan la yu ... fren.
 GLOSS 2SG send down LOC 2SG.POSS friend
 \$ you can send it to your friend

Bessi yu boifren la sout australiya.
 GLOSS 2SG boyfriend LOC [place]
 \$ your boyfriend in South Australia

SN hee@ hee @ hee=.

Andrew ha@ ha@ ha@

Bessi <XXX>

Flora <sam> <sam> sambala,

Transcription KC_1

GLOSS some

Bessi ah pobala main beibi,
GLOSS ah poorthing 1SG.POSS baby
\$ poorthing my baby

Bessi tada main san.
GLOSS bye POSS [kinterm]
\$ see you my [kinterm]

Flora sambala Fiji-mob,
GLOSS some [place]-COLL
\$ Some Fijians

Flora .. jeya langa beswick,
GLOSS there LOC [place]
\$ there at Beswick

Flora (0.7) gudtaim dei havingbat jeya,
GLOSS good.time 3PL have.PROG there
\$ they're having a good time there

Flora ... servis.
GLOSS service
\$ (at the) service

SN dei bin faindim det olgamen,
GLOSS 3PL PST find FAM elder.woman
\$ Did they find the Elder woman,

Flora (0.8) nah im gu luk na im san,
GLOSS NEG 3SG go look EM 3SG [kinterm]
\$ she has gone to look for her [kinterm]

Bessi najing,
GLOSS NEG
\$ no

Bessi im kan luk.
GLOSS 3SG NEG.ABIL look
\$ he can't see (her?).

Flora gu luk bla im.
GLOSS go look PURP 3SG
\$ go and look for her

Bessi maidi darrei with dem others.
GLOSS maybe that.way with 3PL others
\$ maybe she is there with the others

Bessi .. dem Beswick-mob.
GLOSS 3PL [place]-COLL
\$ the Beswick-group

Bessi over there du la det nathapleis,

Transcription KC_1

GLOSS over there also LOC FAM other.place
 \$ other there at the other place

Bessi weya dei oldei dens karburi.
 GLOSS where 3PL HAB dance corroborree
 \$ where they dance corroborree

SN (0.6) <P yuwai P>.
 yeah

Flora ... weya weya karburi dei oldei dens?
 GLOSS where where corroborree 3PL HAB dance
 \$ where do they always dance corroborree

Environment/notes ((car indicator on- stopped at lights))

Bessi jeya na la det pleis jeya wen dei jidanabat.
 GLOSS thereEM LOC FAM place there COM 3PL sit.around
 \$ there at the place that they sit in

Bessi (0.3) det biges net,
 GLOSS FAM big net
 \$ there is a big net

Bessi jeya wen im jandimap la roadwei, olawei
 GLOSS there COM 3SG stand LOC road.side, all.the.way
 \$ there that runs along the side of the road

Bessi .. net.
 GLOSS net
 \$ net

Bessi (0.8) ol sekbeg,
 GLOSS old hessian
 \$ old hessian

Flora gardi maidi im jeya pobala det Birna,
 GLOSS EXC maybe 3SG there poor.thing FAM [name]
 \$ Oh! she could be there, poorthing Birna

Flora because det- ... im san,
 GLOSS because FAM 3SG [kinterm]
 \$ because- her [kinterm]

Bessi ah,

Bessi maitbi T.L. bin gajim-im,
 GLOSS maybe [name] PST get-3SG
 \$ T.L. could have picked her up

Flora im san bin toktok la im,
 GLOSS 3SG [kinterm] PST speak LOC 3SG
 \$ her son talk ed to her

Flora jeya wanbala from Beswick,

Transcription KC_1

GLOSS	there	one	from	[place]			
\$	there's	someone	from	Beswick			
Flora	ai	nomo	sabi	hu	im-	hu	dan,
GLOSS	1SG	NEG	know	who	3SG	who	
	that.one						
\$	I	don't	know	who	it	is,	who
							that
							is
Bessi	na	det	longwan	talwan	boiwan	san,	
GLOSS	na	FAM	long	tall	boy.MOD	[kinterm]	
\$	or	my	tall	skinny	[kinterm]		
Bessi	im	..	bla	minbala	maidi	bla	..
GLOSS	3SG		POSS	1PL.EXC	maybe	for	
\$	he,	he	is	our	whatsit	doctor	son
Bessi (1.2)	maitbi	bla	ro--				
GLOSS	maybe	PURP					
\$	maybe	for					
Andrew	ah	iya	ya	Roja-mob,			
GLOSS	ah	here	??	[name]-COLL			
\$	oh	here	is	the	Roger-group		
Andrew	ola	jem	kambek	burru	wes,		
GLOSS	PL.DEF	3PL	come.back	from	West		
\$	they	all	came	back	from	out	West

Transcription KC_2

\$ Kriol Conversation: KC_2
 \$ 4 Speakers aged 40 years and over,
 \$ 3 Kriol speakers
 \$ SN is the researcher
 \$ Length 9 mins 12 seconds
 \$ Sound file available at:
 \$ <http://www-personal.une.edu.au/~snicho5/index.html>

Andrew .. Roja na din <X> pobala oah.
 GLOSS ... [name] XX X poorthing oh
 \$... [name] <X> <X> poorthing.

Bessi .. pobala main san.
 GLOSS .. poorthing 1SG.POSS [kinterm]
 \$ Poor thing my [kinterm].

Flora (0.8) oah, pobala main,
 GLOSS (0.8) EXC poorthing 1SG.POSS
 \$ poorthin my,

Andrew .. Roja din <XXX>?
 GLOSS .. [name] X XXX
 \$.. Roger

Bessi .. yuwai,
 GLOSS .. yes,

Flora .. <Cyuwai im na,C>
 GLOSS .. yes 3SG EM
 \$.. yes that one,

Flora po: ba: la:..
 GLOSS poor.thing
 \$ poor.thing.

Bessi aidano weya <XX>,
 GLOSS 1SG.NEG.know where X
 \$ I don't know where <XX>,

Bessi (1.8) maitbi dei bin jakemdan rok na,
 GLOSS (1.8) maybe 3PL PST throw.down rock EM
 \$ maybe they moved here,

Bessi jus fo holideitaim.
 GLOSS just for holidays.

Bessi (0.5) biges ting gada hap- <X>
 GLOSS (0.5) huge thing FUT happen
 \$ something big is going to happen-

Andrew dan-ja gon,
 GLOSS that.one gone
 \$ that one's gone.

Bessi (0.5) yuwai
 GLOSS (0.5) yes

Bessi (0.5) jeya det gel indit?
 GLOSS (0.5) there FAM girl Q
 \$ there's that girl, isn't it

Transcription KC_2

Bessi behein,
GLOSS back.there
\$ back there,

Andrew (1.4) nomo maitbi darran na marrid <X>,
GLOSS (1.4) no, maybe DEM.EM married
\$ no, maybe that one's married,

SN wotfo det.. thing,
GLOSS why FAM thing
\$ why is that there,

Flora gel jeya na yalobala gedin marid,
GLOSS girl there EM yellowfella getting married
\$ the 'yellowfella' girl there is getting married,

Bessi (0.9) darran jeya Bobi oldei marid la ..
 indit?
GLOSS (0.9) DEM there [name] HAB married LOC... Q
\$ Bobi is married to .. isn't he?

Bessi main dota,
GLOSS 1SG.POSS [kinterm]

Bessi .. Karen Ropa.
GLOSS .. [name]
\$ Carol.

SN im munanga dan nomo yalobala.
GLOSS 3SG white.person DEM NEG person.of.mixed.decent
\$ that is a white person, not a 'yellowfella'.

Andrew ... im marid la darran na.
GLOSS ... 3SG married LOC DEM EM
\$... s/he is married to that one.

Bessi (2.8) im bos maidbi dan,
GLOSS (2.8) 3SG boss maybe DEM
\$ That could be the boss,

SN (3.8) <P hey watchout P>

Flora (7.3) maidi det Rodri bin tok sam wanim,
GLOSS (7.3) maybe FAM [name] PST talk some whatsit
\$ Maybe Rodri spoke some whatsit,

Flora najawei la det boi, Greyam.
GLOSS different.way LOC FAM boy, [name]
\$ differently to Graham.

Flora (1.3) maidi jidanabat hiya, haibala.
GLOSS (1.3) maybe sit.PROG here, high
\$ (1.3) Maybe she is sitting here with this group.

Flora (2.9) imin gubek darrei na,
GLOSS (2.9) 3SG.PST go.back that.way EM
\$ (2.9) s/he went back there,

Flora maindim bif(?) pikanini jeya,

Transcription KC_2

GLOSS looking.after food(?) children there
 \$ looking after food (for) the children there,

Flora .. dubala lukimbat oldei,
 GLOSS ... 3DU look.PROG HAB
 \$.. those two always watching,

Bessi Nunggubuyubala,
 GLOSS [clan.name].MOD
 \$ A Nungguybuyu [person],

Bessi dis blakbala im wokwok.
 GLOSS PROX.DEM black.person, 3SG walk
 \$ this blackfella walking here.

Flora ... gardi pobala:;
 GLOSS ... EXC poorthing
 \$... Oh! Poorthing,

Bessi (0.6) dei bin ab bigmob la cot du,
 GLOSS (0.6) 3PL PST have group LOC court too
 \$ There was a lot of them at court too.

Flora (0.5) oh bigesmob iya: C>,
 GLOSS (0.5) oh large.COLL here
 \$ Oh there is a big group here,

Flora (2.6) pobala main gel yu luk iya,
 GLOSS (2.6) poorthing 1SG.POSS girl 2SG look here
 \$ (2.6) poorthing 'my girl' look here,

Flora mela bin oldei kaman wek, la dis hai bilding
 iya.
 GLOSS 1PL PST HAB come work, LOC PROX.DEM tall building
 here
 \$ We used to work here, in this high building.

Environment/notes NOISE

Bessi gluv compartmen,
 GLOSS glove compartment
 \$ the glove compartment,

Flora .. <Cpobala::C>
 GLOSS .. poorthing

Flora mela bin oldei wek jeya: C>.
 GLOSS 1PL. PST HAB work there
 \$ We used to work there.

Flora (0.4) najing na?
 GLOSS (0.4) nothing EM
 \$ not any more?

SN wotaim yu bin wek jeya?
 GLOSS why 2SG PST work there
 \$ when did you work here?

Flora (0.7) <E all through my li- E>

Transcription KC_2

Flora oah yu luk Emili,
GLOSS EXC 2PL look [name]
\$ hey look, Emily

Andrew @ @@ @

SN @ @@

SN (Hx)

Flora (0.5) Emili,
GLOSS (0.5) [name]
\$ Emily

Flora (0.4) Ha Eeey, @
GLOSS (0.4) EXC
\$ Hey!

Flora Emili dan jeya?
GLOSS [name] DEM there
\$ that's Emily there

Flora bla .. A. J. sista.
GLOSS DAT .. [name] [kinterm]
\$ she's Andrew Jonathan's [kinterm]

Flora (1.4) hei hu darran?
GLOSS (1.4) hey who DEM
\$ hey who is that?

Andrew .. cachinga,
GLOSS .. EPIPH
\$ [swear.word]

Bessi im gon na darran,
GLOSS 3SG gone EM DEM
\$ she's gone now

Bessi maitbi T.L. bin gajimim.
GLOSS maybe [name] PST get-3SG
\$ maybe Terry Lowis picked her up

SN jeya im:,
GLOSS there 3SG
\$ there she is

Environment/notes ((car horns beep))

Bessi (0.9) tada X main san,
GLOSS (0.9) see you my [kinterm]

Flora ... pobala main braja:,
GLOSS ... poor.thing 1SG.POSS [kinterm]

Bessi .. po lil boi main beibi,
GLOSS .. poor little boy 1SG.POSS baby
\$ poorthing my little baby boy

Transcription KC_2

Flora garrim hu we- garrim munanga,
GLOSS with who we- with white.person
\$ With who? With a white person?

Bessi garrim munanga iya im waif,
GLOSS with white.person here 3SG wife
\$ with his white wife

Flora <X gubara gubara guX> munanga,
GLOSS <X ??? X> whiteperson

Bessi det < X?shaipi kan kamat?X>,
GLOSS FAM < XX X XX>

Andrew @@@ @@@,

Bessi pobala?
GLOSS poorthing

Andrew @@@ @@@@

Bessi nomo gadim kemp detwan blekwan jeya pobala.
GLOSS NEG have home FAM black there poorthing
\$ He doesn't have anywhere to live, that blackfella there

Andrew oh: n-
\$ oh

Flora stokman.
GLOSS stockman

Bessi bla dijan na Lisa bin kaman olawei from
GLOSS for DEM EM [name] PST come down from
Darwin
\$ Lisa came down from Darwin for this

Bessi (0.6) ibin i-invited to come la dis shao na,
GLOSS (0.6) 3SG.PST invited to come LOC PROX.DEM show EM
\$ s/he was invited to a show

Bessi dei bin oopenimap.
GLOSS 3PL PST open
\$ that they opened

Flora .. yu luk garakgarak batam,
GLOSS .. 2PL look [bird.name] first
\$ hey look at that bird

Flora (1.2) iya luk,
GLOSS (1.2) here look

Flora (3.3) cachinga dubala nomo luk?
GLOSS (3.3) EXC 3DU NEG look
\$ dammit you two aren't looking?

Flora (2.6) det Rik and Juli,
GLOSS (2.6) FAM [name] and [name]
\$ Rik and Juli

Transcription KC_2

Flora yu sabi dubala,
GLOSS 2SG know 3DU
\$ do you know them?

SN ... no.

SN (0.4) hu darran-jeya,
\$ who is that

SN (1.0) weya dei jidan,
\$ where do they live

Bessi dei jidan iya na.
GLOSS 3PL live here EM
\$ the live here

Flora (1.0) dubala from Ropa?
GLOSS (1.0) 3DU from [place]
\$ those two from Roper

SN ... Ropa,
\$ [place.name]

Bessi if det,
GLOSS if FAM
\$ if the,

Bessi Ritharrngu maitbi im na
GLOSS [language.name] maybe 3SG EM
\$ Ritharrngu maybe he (could help)

Bessi im na bin anda wandim duim det Ritharrngu,
GLOSS 3SG EM PST DESID want do FAM
\$ [language.name]
\$ he would have wanted to do it, the Ritharrngu (work)

Andrew yuwai,
GLOSS yes

Bessi .. det Rik-rik
GLOSS .. FAM [name]
\$.. Rik

Flora det Rik,
GLOSS FAM [name]
\$ well Rik

Flora na bla det langwij aidalimyu,
GLOSS EM for FAM language 1SG.tell.2PL
\$ he is something in terms of Ritharrngu

Flora Ritharrngu,
GLOSS [language.name]

Flora oah.
GLOSS oh.

SN (0.8) im sabi det langgus,
GLOSS 3SG know FAM language

Transcription KC_2

\$ he can speak the language

Bessi yuwai?
GLOSS yes

Andrew yeah,
GLOSS yes

Andrew ibin ebriweya det Ri-
GLOSS 3SG.PST everywhere FAM <X>
\$ he's been around

Bessi from beibitaim ibin tok,
GLOSS from baby.time 3SG.PST talk
\$ he spoke it from when he was a baby

Bessi (1.4) <E he's everywhere too, E>

Andrew ... yuwai?
GLOSS ... yes

Bessi <E here and there, E>

Flora en wijan na cahchinga <XXX>,
GLOSS and which EM EXC
\$ which one dammit,

Bessi nekstaim wi gada luk im purimbat
wait.laidi,
GLOSS next.time 1PL FUT look 3SG put white.lady
\$ next time we see him he might have a white woman

Bessi gardi,
GLOSS EXC
\$ Oh!

Andrew @ @

Flora <X> hu dijan iya?
GLOSS who this.one here
\$ who is this here

Andrew @ @ @ @ @

Bessi @@@

Flora cachinga:,
GLOSS EXC
\$ dammit!

Bessi (9.8) gardi dei bin kadimbat tri,
GLOSS (9.8) EXC 3PL PST cut tree
\$ woah they cut up a tree,

Flora (0.9) gardi det lil yelobala bin kadimbat-
GLOSS (0.9) EXC FAM small yellofella PST bring
\$ hey that yellowfella brought

Flora wa- wanim,
GLOSS -whatsit

Transcription KC_2

Flora Fiji-boi,
GLOSS Fiji-person
\$ a Fijian

Flora ..wanim,
GLOSS ..whatsit

Flora (1.0) bon(?) wanim,
GLOSS (1.0) X whatsit

Flora (0.5) <E oh you live here E>

SN ... <(Hx)> @

Bessi ((SOFTLY SINGING))

Flora <XXX>

Flora <E we have that side E> <X wini X>,

Flora (1.0) yu luk <XX>
GLOSS (1.0) 2sg look XX
\$ look!

SN <E too fast to fast,E>

Flora oah.
GLOSS oh

Flora ... fas draiva.
GLOSS ... fast driver

Flora (3.6) bat ibin taikibat melabat det wanbala boi,
GLOSS (3.6) but 1sg.PST take 1PL FAM one boy
\$ well he, that boy, he took us

Flora ngabi?
GLOSS Q
\$ didn't he?

Flora (1.9) det
GLOSS (1.9) FAM
\$ the

Flora (0.5) boi na yalo- wal- yalobala abuji
yestidei.
GLOSS (0.5) boy EM yellow ? yellowfella [kinterm]
yesterday
\$ young man, yellowfella, [kinterm], yesterday

Flora (0.6) im from -
GLOSS (0.6) 3sg from
\$ he's from

Flora wanim,
GLOSS whatsit

Flora (1.4) Nyu Zilan det boi ngabi?
GLOSS (1.4) New Zealand FAM boy Q

Transcription KC_2

\$ New Zealand, that boy, isn't he?

Flora (0.6) det lil-
 GLOSS (0.6) FAM small
 \$ the small

Bessi -yuwai.
 GLOSS -yes

Bessi (0.4) Nyu zilinda,
 GLOSS (0.4) New Zealand

Bessi maori,
 \$ Maori

Bessi (1.0) im-
 GLOSS (1.0) 3sg
 \$ he

Bessi (0.6) wokin la wailaif,
 GLOSS (0.6) wek LOC wildlife
 \$ work in the wildlife (park)

Flora laik laik yu me <XX>.
 GLOSS like like 2sg 1sg
 \$ like your

Bessi <XX XX>,

Bessi .. yu luk ai bin gajim det-
 GLOSS .. 2sg look 1sg PST get FAM
 \$ hey look I got a police whatsit

Flora laik A.
 GLOSS like [name]
 \$ like A.

SN .. yuwai,
 \$ yeah

Flora (0.5) A. FAM heya eh?
 GLOSS (0.5) [name] FAM hair eh
 \$ A. has that hair hey!

Environment/notes ((B holds up her key chain as we drive past Police Station.))

Bessi kiholda main gad pleisman wanim,
 GLOSS keychain 1sg.poss with police whatsit
 \$ my keyholder with police whatsit

SN @@

Bessi luk,
 GLOSS look

Bessi (0.9) kiholda bla pleisman-wan.
 GLOSS (0.9) keychain for police
 \$ a policeman's keychain

Transcription KC_2

Bessi .. kida,
GLOSS .. joke

Bessi ... <Q XX Q>

SN @@

Bessi (0.6) ai bina gajim main,
GLOSS (0.6) 1sg MOD get 1sg.POSS
\$ I should get some

Bessi dumaji pleijiman wekin la wi jeya,
GLOSS because policeman work LOC 1PL there
\$ because we have police out at Roper

SN <(Hx)>

Bessi .. gat det,
GLOSS .. with FAM
\$ with the

Bessi (0.4) kiholda ai bin buyim.
GLOSS (0.4) keychain 1sg PST buy
\$ keychain I bought

Flora (0.7) if ai luk balajago?
GLOSS (0.7) if 1sg see [name]
\$ If I see Balajago

Flora (0.5) iya tiday oh,
GLOSS here today or

Flora (0.7) <XXX XXX XX>

Flora dalimim nomo jendibek det boi,
GLOSS tell.3sg NEG send.back FAM boy
\$ tell him not to send that boy back

Flora (2.7) im gurrumbala Balajago-mob na det,
GLOSS 3sg <UNKOWN> [name]-COLL EM FAM
\$ he < UNKOWN> the Balajago group

Flora ..wanim.
GLOSS ..whatsit

Flora (1.0) det Bil,
GLOSS (1.0) FAM [name]
\$ and Bill

Flora .. Bil-Bil,
GLOSS ..[name] REDUP
\$ Billy

Flora (2.8) nomo gedimbat Bil married.
GLOSS (2.8) NEG get [name] married
\$ he's not getting married

Bessi ibin chanjimat main,
GLOSS 3sg.PST change mind

Transcription KC_2

\$ he changed his mind

Bessi im,
GLOSS 3SG
\$ he

Bessi (0.4) wanim,
GLOSS (0.4) whatsit

Bessi .. dalimbat mi ai gada married la S.
GLOSS.. tell 1SG 1SG FUT marry LOC [name]
\$ told me "I will marry S"

Bessi (1.9) im kaman jeya S. ,
GLOSS (1.9) 3SG come there [name]
\$ she came there

Bessi ... gada tok la im.
GLOSS ... FUT tok LOC 3SG
\$ will talk to him

Bessi (1.0) yu bin breik yu nek to <X X>
GLOSS (1.0) 2SG PST break 2SG neck to
\$ you broke your neck to

Andrew we-

Andrew weya det Sheena na?
GLOSS where FAM [name] EM
\$ where is Sheena these days

Andrew .. na r-

Bessi im mi beta <XXX>
GLOSS 3SG 1SG better
\$ he I'm better

Flora jeya na la <XXX>
GLOSS DEM EM LOC
\$ there at

Flora <X X > Hodsondan.
GLOSS XX [place.name]
\$ Hodgson Downs

Bessi im la Hodson dan <XgabaX>?
GLOSS 3SG LOC [place] [name]
\$ s/he is at Hodgson Downs

Flora Yigayi,
GLOSS EXC

Andrew (0.6) la hu im married,
GLOSS (0.6) LOC who 3SG marry
\$ who did she marry

Andrew <Q dumaji. Q>
GLOSS because

Bessi det Bil im Manggura,

Transcription KC_2

GLOSS FAM [name] 3SG [clan.name]
 \$ Bill he is [clan.name]

Bessi (0.4) bla Jimi san,
 GLOSS (0.4) for [name] [kinterm]
 \$ he is Jimi's [kinterm]

Flora darran na bla Jimi-wan san,
 GLOSS DEM EM for [name]-MOD [kinterm]
 \$ that guy is Jimi's [kinterm]

Andrew oh yeh det,
 GLOSS oh yeah FAM
 \$ right that

Andrew ... nunkuna-wan,
 GLOSS <UNKOWN>-MOD

Andrew ngabi?
 GLOSS Q
 \$ isn't that right

Bessi yuwai.
 GLOSS yes

Flora yuwai darran na.
 GLOSS yes DEM EM
 \$ yeah, thats the one

Flora oldei kaman from darrei oldet,
 GLOSS HAB come from that.way all.FAM
 \$ come from there all the

Flora bla la Balajago-mob jei
 GLOSS for LOC [name]-COLL 3PL
 \$ Balajago group they

Bessi en im gadim beibi en waif-mo-
 GLOSS and 3SG have baby and wife-X
 \$ and he has a baby and a wife

Bessi jeya la Numbulwar ibin-
 GLOSS there LOC [place] 3SG.PST
 \$ there in Numbulwar he was

Bessi imin,
 GLOSS 3SG.PST
 \$ he was

Flora ibim libum waif bla im jeya,
 GLOSS 3SG.PST leave wife for 1SG there
 \$ he left his wife there

Bessi janggarda alabat,
 GLOSS <X> 3PL
 \$ <UNKOWN> them

Flora yang gel
 GLOSS young girl
 \$ a young woman

Transcription KC_2

Bessi (1.0) mo yangga than main dota,
GLOSS (1.0) more young than 1SG.POSS daughter
\$ younger than my daughter

Bessi minbala grey hed na main,
GLOSS 3PL.EXCL. grey hair EM 1SG.POSS
\$ we are all grey-haired now, my

Bessi ... pikanini.
GLOSS ... child
\$ children

Bessi .. <XX>

Flora (0.6) pobala main lil braja jeya,
GLOSS (0.6) poorthing 1SG.POSS young [kinterm] there
\$ poorthing my [kinterm] there

Flora ai bin luk im fais.
GLOSS 1SG PST look 3SG face
\$ I saw his face

Bessi pobala main san,
GLOSS poorthing 1SG.POSS [kinterm]
\$ poorthing my [kinterm]

Bessi maik mi sori main gran main nefyu.
GLOSS make 1SG sorry 1SG.POSS grand 1SG.POSS
[kinterm]
\$ it makes me sad my gran- my [kinterm]

Andrew wen ibin <X shaip X> ibim dalimofim <X X>
GLOSS when 3SG.PST X X 3SG.PST tell-off X X
\$ when he was he told him off

SN yu luk det dubala plein.
\$ look, two planes

Bessi ... yuwai ai bin dalimof det,
GLOSS ... yes 1SG PST tell-off FAM
\$ yeah I told her off

Andrew eh,

Bessi ..S.
GLOSS ..[name]
\$ S.

Flora eh-eh,
GLOSS EXC
\$ hey listen

Flora yumob luk dubala jet,
GLOSS 2SG-COLL look two planes
\$ you two look at those two planes

Flora iya lu:::k,
GLOSS here look
\$ here look!

Transcription KC_2

SN thribala iya,
 \$ three planes!

Flora thribala luk,
 GLOSS three look
 \$ three! look at them

Bessi wal wi na <XXX> fobala,
 GLOSS PART 1PL EM <XXX> four
 \$ well us <XX> four

Flora iya,
 GLOSS here

Flora <Loh fo iya luk?L>
 GLOSS oh four here look

Bessi fo- fo-mob iya.
 GLOSS four four-COLL here
 \$ the four of us

Flora wan tu:.,
 GLOSS one two

Bessi <XXXX> darrei lida,
 GLOSS <XXXX> that.way ahead
 \$ ahead of us

Flora thri fo.
 GLOSS three four

Bessi jets
 GLOSS jets
 \$ planes

Flora gardi,
 GLOSS EXC
 \$ woah

Flora bobala alaba::t.
 GLOSS poorthing 3PL
 \$ I feel sorry for them

Andrew (0.7) fo jehet,
 GLOSS (0.7) four plane
 \$ four planes!

Flora minbala bin andi flai lagijat wen,
 GLOSS 1PL.exc PST MOD fly like when
 \$ we should have flown like that when

Flora .. det-mob Japanis .. plein bin iya.
 GLOSS .. FAM-COLL Japanese .. plane PST here
 \$ when the Japanese planes were here

Andrew < XX>

Transcription KC_2

Flora (1.8)	bobala	maitbi	dei	bin	<XX>
GLOSS (1.8)	poorthing	maybe	3PL	PST	
\$	maybe they				
Andrew	<X	dei	gada	gu	X>-
GLOSS		3PL	FUT	go	
\$	they will go				
Andrew	dei	gada	gu	la	Dawin,
GLOSS	3PL	FUT	go	LOC	[place]
\$	they are going to Darwin				
Andrew	maitbi,				
GLOSS	maybe				
Andrew	bobala,				
GLOSS	poorthing				
Flora	jeya	na	ebridei	dei	taikof,
GLOSS	there	EM	everday	3PL	take-off
\$	there everyday they take off				
Bessi	yuwai,				
GLOSS	yes				
Flora	..	jeya	la	Dawin.	
GLOSS	..	there	LOC	[place]	
\$	in Darwin				
Bessi (0.8)	yu	kan	hardli	irim,	
GLOSS (0.8)	2SG	NEG	hardly	hear	
\$	you can hardly hear				
Bessi	...	wanim,			
GLOSS	...	whatsit			
Bessi	onli	onli	for	eyastrip	nois.
GLOSS	only	only	for	airstrip	noise
\$	you can only hear the airstrip noise				
Flora	det	wisel	na.		
GLOSS	FAM	whistle	EM		
\$	and the whistle				
Flora	noisi	pleis,			
GLOSS	noisy	place			
\$	it's a noisy place				
Flora	det	Dawin.			
GLOSS	FAM	[place]			
\$	Darwin				
Bessi	...	yuwai.			
GLOSS	...	yes			
Flora	...<TSK>				
Bessi (0.9)	dumaji	bed	bin	gu	<X>.

Transcription KC_2

GLOSS (0.9) because bird PST go <X>
 \$ because birds went
 Flora ai bin rekon bed main gel,
 GLOSS lsg PST think bird lsg.POSS girl
 \$ I thought it was a bird

Flora @ <(Hx)>

Flora .. det feswan ai bin rekon bed.
 GLOSS .. FAM first lsg PST think bird
 \$ I thought the first one was a bird

SN bigwan bed dan @@
 \$ it was a big bird

Flora iya luk natha bed,
 GLOSS here look another bird

Flora im kaming
 GLOSS 3sg coming
 \$ its coming

Flora (1.0) maitbi dei landing?
 GLOSS (1.0) maybe 3PL landing
 \$ are they landing

Flora <XX> en dei gada taik of agin,
 GLOSS and 3PL FUT take off again
 \$ and they'll take off again

Flora gabu.
 GLOSS EXC
 \$ woah

Flora maitbi dei finish na.
 GLOSS maybe 3PL finish EM
 \$ are they finished

Bessi la grabel,
 GLOSS LOC gravel
 \$ to the heaped gravel

Bessi (0.5) weya dei miximapbat maigimbat grabel,
 GLOSS (0.5) where 3PL mix make gravel
 \$ where they mix it up and make gravel

Bessi ol-
 GLOSS old-

Flora <COUGHS>

Bessi ol along det rod na
 GLOSS all along FAM road EM
 \$ all along the road

Bessi ..wi gada luk bla w-
 GLOSS ..1PL FUT look for w-
 \$ we have to go and look for
 Bessi .. bla bak,
 GLOSS .. for bark

Transcription KC_2

Bessi (0.5) skin,
GLOSS (0.5) bark

Andrew .. yuwai,
GLOSS .. yes

Bessi ... bla ajij anti?
GLOSS ... PURP ashes [kinterm]
to find ashes [kinterm]

Bessi (1.2) dubala bin faindimbat rabish-wan balnga las nait,
GLOSS (1.2) 3du PST find useless ash last night
\$ those two found some useless ash last night

Flora (0.9) gardi main ge::l.
GLOSS (0.9) EXC 1SG.POSS girl
\$ my girl.

Bessi nogudwan blekwan.
GLOSS bad black
\$ bad black (ash)

Flora en wanbala boi det,
GLOSS and one boy FAM
\$ and this guy

Flora <E man when he took us to that E>,
Flora wanim main gel,
GLOSS whatist 1SG.POSS girl
\$ that place

Flora (0.6) <TSK>

Flora ... lang det,
GLOSS LOC FAM
\$ to the

Flora (0.4) wanim pleis abuji,
GLOSS (0.4) whatsit place [kinterm]
\$ whats that place [kinterm]

Bessi .. wailaif,
GLOSS .. wildlife
\$ wildlife guy

Flora .. det wailaif,
GLOSS .. FAM wildlife
\$ the wild life park

Andrew <XXX>

Flora ibin draivim wan toyota,
GLOSS 3SG.PST drive a car
\$ he drove a Toyota [car]

SN ... yuwai,
\$ yes

Flora melabat thribala bin la det pak,
GLOSS 3PL three PST LOC FAM park

Transcription KC_2

\$ the three of us went to the park

Bessi < XX XX XX X>

Flora <X X X>

Flora dis Bessi .. dubala,
 GLOSS FAM [name] two
 \$ Bessi here, these two

Flora wi bin dalim bla luk olawei,
 GLOSS 1PL PST tell for look all.the.way
 \$ he told him to look out along the way

Flora en iting?
 GLOSS and eating
 \$ and eating

Environment/notes Bessi talking with A in the back.

Bessi < XXXX>

Flora <E he didn mind E>,
 SN im gadim det beibi du langa gu,
 \$ he has a baby too to go

Andrew < X X X X aligaita,
 GLOSS crocodile

SN bla det lilwan-
 \$ a little

SN blanga < XX X>
 \$ for

Bessi mela bin <XXX>
 GLOSS 1PL PST XXX
 \$ we were <XX>

Flora nomo,
 GLOSS NEG
 \$ no

Flora nomo det-
 GLOSS NEG FAM
 \$ no the

Flora .. i-ibin kaman behein det,
 GLOSS 3SG.PST come later FAM
 \$ he came later

Flora ... y- yu,
 GLOSS 2SG
 \$ your

Flora yu ah wanim,
 GLOSS 2SG ah whatsit
 \$ your um whatsit

Transcription KC_2

Flora ... det B.,
GLOSS FAM [name]
\$ Brett

Flora .. yu wa-
GLOSS .. 2SG ?
\$ your

SN yuwai,
\$ yes

Flora kamanap behein im,
GLOSS come later 3SG
\$ he came later

Flora wal ibin gu fes,
GLOSS PART 3SG.PST go go first
\$ well he went first

Flora wi bin gu luk fo det bak.
GLOSS 1PL PST go look for FAM bark
\$ we went to look for the bark

Flora (0.5) <E he can understand too E> det man,
GLOSS FAM man

Bessi <XXX> train,
GLOSS train

Bessi ... train lil train.
GLOSS ... train small train

Bessi (3.0) ola.wei,
GLOSS (3.0) all.the.way

Bessi<XX> mela bin askimbat jeya na la im wanbala bin ranranolawei <X
X>.
GLOSS 1PL PST ask there EM LOC 3SG one PST go all.the.way
\$ we asked him there a train went all the way around (the park)

Flora oah goli det,
GLOSS EXC EXC FAM
\$ golly that

Flora <XXXXXXX> wan.
GLOSS MOD

Bessi (4.0) mela bin gu ebriwei gudboi jeya na la det
<XX>,,
GLOSS (4.0) 1PL PST go everywhere PART there EM LOC FAM
\$ we went everywhere, there on that..

Bessi .. en wailaif,
GLOSS .. and wild.life
\$ and wild life

Flora <TSK>

Flora ... <TSK>

Transcription KC_2

Flora ... through-

Flora thru la skrab ol kain of anemal
gudboi?

GLOSS through LOC scrub all kinds of animal PART
\$ all through the scrub all kinds of animals

Bessi mela bin claimap la brij du,
GLOSS 1PL PST climb LOC bridge also
\$ we went over a bridge too

Bessi ngabi,
GLOSS TAG
\$ didn't we

Flora ... oah.

Bessi (0.7) wanim im bin kal dumaji,
GLOSS (0.7) whatsit 3SG PST [name] because
\$ what was it called

Bessi .. rainfores kantri,
GLOSS .. rainforest country

Flora nomo.
GLOSS NEG
\$ no

Andrew oah.

Flora laik dis taim wi bin gubekgubek na.
GLOSS like FAM time 1PL PST go.back EM
\$ about this time we were heading back

Bessi <XXX> ol oba <X deia deia X> blakbrim?
GLOSS all over blackbreem
\$ there were lots of black bream

Bessi im ol kain det.. balngayi,
GLOSS 3SG all kinds FAM delicious
\$ all kinds of delicious

Bessi .. ai should have bin bringimap my lain ai binanagaji <@ wanfish
>,
GLOSS .. 1SG should have PST bring my line MOD get a fish
\$ I should have brought my lin I might have caught a fish

Bessi <XXX@@X>

Flora yuwai,
GLOSS yes

Flora (1.7) ol kain enimal gudboi,
GLOSS (1.7) all kind animal PART
\$ all different animals

Bessi (0.8) la Beri Spring,
GLOSS (0.8) LOC [place] [name]
\$ at Berry Springs

Transcription KC_2

Bessi (1.4) Beri Spring indit,
GLOSS (1.4) [place] [name] TAG
\$ Berry Springs, isn't it

Flora bout dis taim wi bin heding bek na
ey
GLOSS about DEM time 1PL PST heading back EM
\$ around this time we were heading back, hey

Flora wait fo bla train la gaitwei.
GLOSS wait for for train LOC gateway
\$ (we had to) wait for the train at the gateway

Bessi (0.7) yuwai.
GLOSS yes

Flora ... wi bin oldei abum raid la
train.
GLOSS ... 1PL PST HAB have ride LOC
\$ train
we spent all day riding the train

SN (0.9) @

Flora taik as a <Xwek X>,
GLOSS take as a

Bessi <X dei sed XX dem enimalX>.
GLOSS 3PL say said XX 3PL animal
\$ they say XX the animals

Flora (3.3) weya dis pas wanim,
GLOSS (3.3) where PROX.DEM pass whatsit
\$ where's the pass

Flora (1.5) jet gada teikof mo o najing,
GLOSS (1.5) plane FUT take.of more or NEG
\$ will more planes take off

Flora (1.8) det-mob <XX>
GLOSS (1.8) FAM-COLL
\$ those guys

SN najing,
\$ no

SN maitbi dei gada stap na.
\$ they're stopping now

Flora (0.6) mhm.

Flora (2.0) maitbi dei nagap na,
GLOSS (2.0) maybe 3PL tired EM
\$ maybe they're tired now

Flora dumaji dei flai:: ol dei garrim eroplein.
GLOSS because 3PL fly all day with plane
\$ because they spend all day in the plane

Flora (0.6) maitbi dei oldei eksersais,

Transcription KC_2

GLOSS (0.6) maybe 3PL HAB exercise
 \$ maybe they were doing exercises

Flora (0.9) dei gon <XnyulipX> jeya abuji,
 GLOSS (0.9) 3PL gone there [kinterm]
 \$ they've gone <X X > there [kinterm]

Bessi (1.9) main abuji <X X >
 GLOSS (1.9) 1SG.POSS kinterm

Flora oah Gordon-mob jeya abum gudtaim feloship.
 GLOSS oh [name]-COLL there have good.time fellowship
 \$ all of Gordon's groups are having a great time at Fellowship

Flora (0.4) <XX>

Bessi < E thats good E>

Flora (0.6) maitbi ai gada gu jeya dijan iya.
 GLOSS (0.6) maybe 1SG FUT go there DEM here
 \$ I will go too

Bessi <XX> pulambat wi med raja la wanim Ropa.
 GLOSS take.out 1PL mad ?? LOC whatsit [place]
 \$ take out our made <??> at Roper

Flora yuwai.
 GLOSS yeah

Bessi .. la feloship pleis.
 GLOSS .. LOC fellowship place
 \$ at the fellowship place

Flora (2.0) <X WailX> im kan du det Batam.
 GLOSS 3SG NEG do FAM PART
 \$ well he can't do that

Bessi <XXXXXX> - jeya.
 GLOSS -there

Flora <X wal im kan sei det X> abuji,
 GLOSS PART 3SG NEG say FAM [kinterm]
 \$ he can't say that [kinterm]

Flora (0.9) det gel main amuri Vera bin tok,
 GLOSS (0.9) FAM girl 1SG.POSS [kinterm] [name] PST talk
 \$ my granddaughter Violet said

Flora lagijat no wanda drankenwan ibin gu
 GLOSS like.that NEG wonder drunk-MOD 3SG.PST go
 \$ there
 \$ that, no wonder the drunk person was there

Flora .. gudjing ai nomo bin jeya det taim.
 GLOSS .. good.thing 1SG NEG PST there FAM time
 \$ good thing I wasn't there that time

Bessi (0.4) yuwai ,
 GLOSS (0.4) yes

Transcription KC_2

Bessi ai bin irim det stori,
GLOSS lsg PST hear FAM story
\$ I heard that story

Flora (0.5) ai bin anda dalimof-im det lil
fetleg.
GLOSS (0.5) lsg PST MOD tell-off-3sg FAM small
fat.leg
\$ I would have told him off

Flora (3.0) kaman iya bokimbat.
GLOSS (3.0) come here <UNKOWN>
\$ come here <UNKNOWN>

Flora (4.8) bulumbat mad rash.
GLOSS (4.8) making mad rush
\$ making a mad panic

Flora (0.8) bedro im jeya na ibin lagijat gardi:,
GLOSS (0.8) [name] 3sg there EM 3sg.PST like.that EXC
\$ Pedro is there now and he said that

Bessi ... melabat <XX> bla taikim.
GLOSS ... 1PL for take
\$ we < X> for taking

Bessi (1.0) <X> kilim main braja.
GLOSS (1.0) hit 1sg.POSS bother
\$ hit my [kinterm]

Bessi (8.2) bobala main braja im <XX>
GLOSS (8.2) poorthing 1sg.POSS [kinterm] 3sg
\$ poorthing my little [kinterm] he