Kriol

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Kriol	
Autoglossonym	often referred to as "English"
Other names	Roper River Kriol, Fitzroy Valley Kriol, Northern Australian Creole, Aboriginal English
Number of speakers	> 20,000
Major lexifier	English
Other contributing languages	Alawa, Marra, Ngalakgan, Wandarrang, Mangarrayi, Ngandi and Nunggubuyu (Roper River); Jawoyn, Dalabon, Rembarrnga, (Barunga/ Beswick); Jaminjung, Ngarinyman, Wardaman (Westside); Walmatjari, Jaru, Miriwoong, Gija (Kimberley)
Location	northern Australia
Official language of Australia	English

1. Introduction

Kriol is an English-lexifier creole language and the first language of approximately 20,000 Aboriginal people (Sandefur & Harris 1986: 179), a number which is still growing. It is spoken as a chain of dialects in Aboriginal communities across the north of Australia from the Gulf of Carpentaria in the East to the Kimberley area in the West, and from Darwin (North) to Tennant Creek (South). It is not generally found in most of Arnhem Land or the Daly River region. The language name Kriol was introduced by linguists; speakers often refer to the language as "English" due to the obvious English content in the lexicon as well as the general lack of acknowledgement of the variety in public contexts, services and media, leading to a general lack of awareness both of the name 'Kriol' and of its status as a language of considerable significance.

2. Sociohistorical background

Kriol, just like other English-lexified pidgin and creole languages of the Pacific, originates in the English-based pidgin used between the first colonizers and the indigenous inhabitants of the Sydney area (Troy 1993; Tryon & Charpentier 2004, Simpson 1996, 2000). From this stage some varieties of Kriol retain lexical items ultimately derived from a nautical jargon such as *pikanini* 'child' and *sabi* 'know', but also lexical items which can be traced to Aboriginal languages of New South Wales, such as *binji* 'belly' and *bogi* 'swim' (Harris 1986: 288). Also found in Kriol are grammatical features attested in early records of the Australian Pidgin, such as the suffix *–im* on transitive verbs and the nominal suffix *–bala* (Koch 2000). This pidgin subsequently spread inland and north. Some influence of Chinese Pidgin English is likely, since Chinese by far outnumbered European settlers in the Northern Territory for some years during the 1880s and 1890s (Harris 1986: 172). The records of the Australian Pidgin used in the Northern Territory in the late 19th and

early 20th century cited by Harris (1986) bear a close resemblance to Kriol as it is spoken today. A stabilization and standardization of the pidgin in northern Australia was brought about by the need for communication between the increasing numbers of Aboriginal people working on cattle stations, the (primarily) English-speaking pastoralists, and the non-English-speaking (e.g. Chinese) colonists. It would also have been used increasingly for communication between speakers of different indigenous languages, since the new patterns of settlement no longer corresponded to traditional networks of multilingualism, and mobility was considerably increased.

No ultimate agreement has been reached on the process that led to creolization, and consequently on the substrate languages which may have influenced Kriol. Most authors, e.g. Munro (2000: 248) and Harris (1986: 301-316), assume that creolization occurred early in the 20th century at an Anglican mission at Roper River (close to the present-day Ngukurr); for this reason Kriol is often referred to as Roper River Kriol. The mission included a school with a dormitory where children were effectively separated from adults for large parts of the day, needed a common language, and presumably adopted and creolized the existing pidgin. An alternative hypothesis to this abrupt creolization account suggests that the pidgin spoken in the Roper River area had already stabilized and linguistically expanded (Munro 2005: Ch. 2). Consequently, with increasing everyday use of the new contact language, there may not have been a clear-cut distinction between L1 and L2 speakers since many Aboriginal people would have acquired the pidgin/creole language early in their lives alongside a traditional language. World War II, as well as the fact that Aboriginal people were turned away from cattle stations once equal wages were introduced, increased mobility among the indigenous population even further. The use of Kriol as a *lingua franca* thus gradually replaced the traditional pattern of multilingualism in neighbouring languages, and a large-scale language shift to Kriol began (Munro 2000: 246).

3.   Sociolinguistic situation

Like the traditional Australian languages in the area, Kriol is mainly used in oral communication and only has a limited role in other domains. An orthography for Kriol has been developed by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, and some printed materials, mostly of a religious nature or aimed at children, exist. However, in education and the media, English is used exclusively, except for a bilingual program at Barunga community established in 1976, which lasted over 20 years. Acrolectal Kriol or English are used by many people, especially younger people, to communicate with outsiders. Interpreting services exist in limited domains such as the court and health services in some regional centres. Official recognition of the status of Kriol is hampered both by negative attitudes of non-indigenous, English-speaking people and the fact that it is perceived as a threat to the traditional languages by indigenous people (Schmidt 1990: 113).

While the Kriol varieties spoken in Ngukurr (Roper River) and Bamyili (Barunga) are the best-described ones (Sandefur 1979, 1991; Sandefur & Sandefur 1982, Graber 1987, Munro 2000, 2005), the existence of regional varieties is discussed by authors such as Glasgow (1984), Hudson (1985), Sandefur (1982b), Sandefur & Harris (1986) and Rhydwen (1993). The possibility that these result from differences in the substrate languages is raised by Munro (2000). On the basis of data from a selection of western, northern and eastern Kriol varieties (acknowledging the existence of at least seven regional varieties), Munro arrives at the conclusion that the differences are small and mainly concern the phonemic inventory (which in any case is subject to register variation), phonetics and prosody, and the lexicon (the latter partly because speakers generally use some words from local traditional languages in Kriol, as can also be seen in the examples below and in the glossed text). Her conclusions are confirmed by our own observations. Most of the grammatical sketch in the subsequent sections is based on the descriptions by Sandefur (1979) and Munro (2005) (Roper River and Barunga Kriol), Angelo (1998) (Roper River and Katherine

variety), Hudson (1985) (Kimberley Kriol), as well as our own unpublished materials on the Kriol spoken in Katherine and on a geographically intermediate variety, Westside Kriol spoken in the northern Victoria River District. Examples are taken from spoken and written narratives and conversations wherever possible.

4. Phonology

The phonological system of Kriol is not unlike that of many of the indigenous languages spoken in the area. While most of these have between three and five vowels, Kriol has a five vowel system, with five diphthongs added (Table 1).

Table 1. **Vowels**

	front	*central*	*back*
close	i		u
mid	e		o
open		a	
Diphthongs: ei ai ou oi au			

The consonant inventory is presented in Table 2 in the practical orthography, with corresponding IPA symbols added where necessary. It distinguishes six places of articulation (plus, in some varieties, an interdental stop) and includes plosives, fricatives, nasals, laterals, a rhotic trill (also realized as a tap), and three approximants. Fricatives are not present in all varieties and registers. Words containing the labiodental fricative *f* may be realized with the labial stop *p* instead; similarly, the palatal stop *j* [c] may replace both the alveolar fricative *s* and the alveo-palatal fricative *sh* [ʃ] (consider the alternative realizations *joup* and *soup* 'soap' in the glossed text). Voicing is not distinctive (although orthographically, voiced stops are often employed representing an allophonic realization). The examples provided throughout this chapter retain the orthographic representation from their source.

Table 2. **Consonants**

	labial	*inter-dental*	*alveolar*	*retroflex*	*palatal*	*velar*	*glottal*
plosive	p~b	th* [t̪]	t~d	rt [ʈ~ɖ]	j [c]	k~g	
fricative	f		s		sh [ʃ]		h
nasal	m		n	rn [ɳ]	ny [ɲ]	ng [ŋ]	
lateral			l	rl [ɭ]	ly [ʎ]		
trill/tap			rr [r]				
approxim.				r [ɻ]	y [j]	w	

*in some varieties

Kriol phonotactics imposes relatively strict constraints on syllable structure. While syllables can be open or closed, word-initial consonant clusters are limited to combinations of a plosive followed by a liquid, rhotic or glide. The only other type of cluster attested in initial position is a combination of the alveolar fricative followed by a plosive (/st/, /sk/); however, this type of cluster is often reduced to a plosive. According to Sandefur (1979: 40), word-final consonant clusters do not exist in Kriol; however, the combinations /lp/ and /ks/ have been attested (although they too may be reduced); consider *elb* 'help' in example (6) and the reflexive pronoun *mijelp*.

5. Noun phrase and adpositional phrase

5.1 The structure of the noun phrase

The Kriol noun phrase consists of a head plus optional modifiers and determiners. Subclasses of nominals which can function as heads are nouns, nominalized adjectives, pronouns, and pronominal demonstratives.

As Table 3 shows, **personal pronouns** distinguish person (1st, 2nd and 3rd) and number (singular, dual and plural), and further make a distinction between inclusive and exclusive nonsingular 1st person, though this is subject to variation. Subject and object pronouns are distinguished in some positions of the paradigm, with regional, but also intra-speaker variation. Kriol has an invariant **reflexive pronoun** (*mijelp*) which in the western varieties is identical to the reciprocal pronoun; however, Roper River Kriol distinguishes between reflexive *mijelp* and reciprocal *gija*. **Possessive pronouns** are mostly identical with the subject pronouns except for the first person singular and a number of acrolectal forms; pronominal possessors are also often marked by adpositions (see §5.2 below).

A special feature of Kriol (as well as of its substrate languages and other indigenous languages of the area) is a juxtaposed inclusory construction where a nonsingular pronoun is conjoined with a noun phrase whose reference is included in the reference of the pronoun, as in (1).

(1) *Mindubala*   Namij   *kol-im* dardaga.
     1DU.EXCL   [subsection]   call-TR bloodwood.apple

    'Me and Namij call it *dardaga* (in our language, Ngaliwurru).'

    (Westside region, conversation; fieldwork Schultze-Berndt)

Table 3. **Personal pronouns**

	Subject	Object	Independent pronoun	Adnominal possessive
1SG	*ai, mi*[1]	*mi*	*mi*	*main, mi, mai*[4]
1DU.INCL	*yunmi*[1,2,3], *minyu*[4], *wi*[5]	*yunmi*	*yunmi*	*yunmi*
1DU.EXCL	*min(du)bala*[1,2,3,4], *wi*[5]	*min(du)bala as*[4]	*min(du)bala*	*min(du)bala*
1PL.INCL	*minolabat*[3], *wilat*[4], *wi*[5]	*as*[4], *minolabat*	*as, minolabat*	*as, minolabat*
1PL.EXCL	*mibala*[1,2,3,4], *wi*[5], *mela(bat)*[1,2,3,4]	*mibala, as*[4], *mela(bat)*	*mibala, mela(bat)*	*mibala, mela(bat)*
2SG	*yu*	*yu*	*yu*	*yu, yus*[4]
2DU	*yundubala*[1,2,3,4]	*yundubala*	*yundubala*	*yundubala*
2PL	*yubala*[3,4], *yumob*[1,2]	*yubala, yumob*	*yubala, yumob*	*yubala, yumob*
3SG	*im ~ i ~ hi*[5]	*im*	*im*	*im, is*[4]
3DU	*dubala*	*dubala*	*dubala*	*dubala*
3PL	*olabat, ol*[4], *dei*[5]	*olabat, ol*[4], *dem*	*olabat, dem*	*olabat, deya*[4]
REFL		*mijelp*[1,2], *jelp*[4]		
RECP		*gija*[1], *mijelp*[2], *jelp*[4]		

[1] Roper River, [2] Westside, [3] Barunga, [4] Kimberley, [5] Acrolectal form

Kriol **demonstratives** display a proximal/distal contrast and form three sets (Table 4). While adnominal demonstratives are only used in the function of determiner in a noun phrase, pronominal demonstratives have both a pronominal and an adnominal use (the latter more frequent for the proximal form). The adverbial demonstratives are illustrated in (23) below.

Table 4. **Demonstratives**

	Pronominal	Adnominal	Adverbial locative	Adverbial directional
PROX SG	*dijan ~ diswan*	*dij ~ dis*	*hiya*	*dijei*
PL	*dislot ~ dislat*	*dislot ~ dislat*		
DIST SG	*tharran ~ jarran ~ jadan*	*that ~ jet ~ det*	*theya ~ jeya ~ deya*	*tharrei*
PL	*thatlot ~ jatlot ~ jatlat*	*thatlot ~ jatlot ~ jatlat*		

When used as **determiners**, demonstratives usually precede the head noun. In the adnominal set, only the proximal form has a spatial deictic value; the form corresponding to the pronominal distal form, *that ~ jet ~ det,* functions in a very similar fashion to a definite article (as well as being used for text deixis). While it is very frequent, it is not used obligatorily in all definite contexts, but only if the identification of the referent is actually at stake and/or the referent is topical (Nicholls 2010). It also occurs with generic NPs and inherently definite NPs such as proper names. The use of the demonstrative determiners is illustrated in (2) (see also examples (18) and (20)).

(2) *Wal* **dijan** **lilboi** *gemen* *im=in* *ged-im* *long-wan* *stik*
    well   PROX   little.boy not.real 3SG=PST get-TR long-ADJ stick

   en *puk-um* *la* **jad** **hol** *weya* **jad** **frog** *bin* *stak.*
   and stick-TR LOC DEM hole where DEM frog PST stuck

'Well, this little boy got a long stick and pushed it down into the hole where the frog was stuck.' [*gemen* (< Engl. *gammon*) marks the proposition as unreal, in this case as a reported dream] (Roper River region, written narrative; Galmur & Willika 1996)

The determiner *wan,* identical to the numeral 'one', can be considered an indefinite article, although again, it is not obligatory in indefinite contexts. Sandefur (1979: 104) considers it a marker of indefinite specificity, having the sense of 'a certain' (see example (6)).

Number marking is variable in Kriol. It is the norm with human nouns and rare with inanimates, but not obligatory in either context. Plural-marked nouns do not co-occur with numeral quantification. Plurality is usually marked by a special plural determiner *ola* (and variants) as illustrated in (4), or by the plural suffix *-lot ~ -lat* on demonstratives (see Table 4). Reduplication to express plurality is only found with a subset of human nouns, and with modifying adjectives regardless of the animacy of the referent, as in (4).

Kriol also has a collective plural suffix *-mob,* usually only found in noun phrases with human reference. The host noun can be a kin term, a place name, a group designation or a demonstrative. It can also be a proper noun, in which case the resulting noun has an associative plural reading ('X and others associated with him/her').

(3)   *Len-kanjil-mob* *thei* *jabi*.
     land-council-COLL 3PL know

'The land council people know (about this).'

(Westside region, conversation; fieldwork Schultze-Berndt)

In all varieties, the most frequent **word order of adjective and noun** in the noun phrase is adjective-noun, but the reverse order is also attested, as shown in (4). Most adjectives in Kriol take one of the two suffixes *-wan* (general) or *-bala* (only in NPs with animate reference, numerals and

in some lexicalized expressions), which can also be used to derive adjectives from nouns. Numerals likewise precede the noun.

(4) *Thei*   *bin* *bay-im-bat*   *[ola* *nyuwan-nyuwan*   *modiga]*   *na.*
     3PL   PST buy-TR-PROG   PL   new:ADJ.RED   car   SEQ

     Yu   *luk*   *[olkain*   *modiga* *nyuwan-nyuwan]* *la*   *B.*
     2SG see   all.kinds   car   new:ADJ.RED   LOC B.

'They bought new cars then. You look at all the cars that are new at B.'

(Katherine region, spoken narrative; Angelo et al. 1998a)

The possessor in an adnominal possessive construction can either be a juxtaposed pronoun or proper noun (Munro 2005: 180), or an adpositional phrase (see §5.2 below). These constructions are used for both alienable and inalienable relationships. Both possessor-possessum and possessum-possessor orders are attested; the former is illustrated in (5).

(5)   *MIbala*   *kantri*   *NA!*[1]
        1PL.EXCL   country   FOC

'Our country!' (Westside region, conversation; fieldwork Schultze-Berndt)

5.2 Adpositional phrase types

Kriol prepositions and their functions are listed in Table 5. Prepositional phrases function as locative, benefactive and instrumental/comitative adjuncts (see examples (6), (11), (28) and the glossed text), as prepositional objects e.g. of 'give' verbs and perception verbs (see examples (21) and (19)), and as predicates in verbless clauses (see example (16)). The dative marker also functions as a marker of non-finite purposive clauses (see §8,4).

(6)   *Wanbala*   *frog* *bin*   *singat-singat*   *bla* *elb.*
        one/INDF frog PST   call.RED   DAT help

'A frog kept calling for help.' (Roper River region, written narrative; Galmur & Willika 1996)

An adnominal use is only attested for dative adpositional phrases in possessive constructions. The prepositional adnominal possessive construction is illustrated in (18) (in the order possessor-possessum) and in (21) (in the order possessum-possessor). Exceptionally, the dative marker in this function can also appear as a postposition. This structure appears to be more frequent in the Western varieties, and among younger speakers. Hudson (1983: 71) claims that it is the result of substrate influence from the surrounding traditional languages which mark possession using a dative case suffix on the possessor. A postpositional phrase is illustrated in (7).

(7) *Trisa*   *fo*   *dedi*   *bin* *kam.*
    Theresa   DAT/POSS   father PST come

'Theresa's father came.' (Kimberley region, Hudson 1985: 72)

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[1] Stressed *NA* is used as a focal marker in Kriol, in this case emphasising the ownership of the land in question.

Table 5. Prepositions

Category	Forms	Functions
location	*la, langa, na, nanga*	location, goal, recipient, addressee, object of some perception verbs
source	*burrum[1], brom, from[4]*	movement away, consecutive action
dative	*blanga, bla, ba[5], blanganda[4], fo[4], bo*	possessive (also as postposition), benefactive, purposive
associative	*garram, gat, garra*	instrument, accompaniment, mode of transport

[1] Roper River, [2] Westside, [3] Barunga, [4] Westside (younger speakers) and Kimberley, [5] Katherine region

6. Verb complex

6.1 Verbal morphology

In Kriol, tense, aspect and mood marking is achieved by means of preverbal auxiliaries or particles (see §6.2 below). Verb morphology is limited to reduplication, an invariant suffix *-im ~ -i* on most transitive verbs, a number of "adverbial suffixes" (listed in Table 6) with mainly spatial/directional meanings, and a progressive aspectual suffix *-(a)bat.* Their order is V-TR-ADV-PROG, as illustrated in (8). The transitive marker is derivational, in that it can create transitive verbs from intransitive verbs (e.g. *ran* 'run' > *ranim* 'run into', *weik* 'be awake' > *weikim* 'wake s.o.'), and also from nouns (e.g. *totj* 'torch' > *totjim* 'set alight') (Hudson 1985: 38; Meyerhoff 1996).

(8)　　*Hi*　　*weik-im-ap-bat.*
　　　　3SG　　wake-TR-up-PROG

'She is waking her up.' (Westside region, conversation; fieldwork Schultze-Berndt)

A second progressive suffix *-in ~ -ing* only appears on intransitive stems and precedes any adverbial suffix, as shown in (9). If one considers the adverbial suffixes derivational based on their meaning, this position could be regarded as evidence for the derivational (or in fact, lexicalized/frozen) status of *-in ~ -ing.*

(9)　　*Afta dina*　*wi*　　*bin*　**kam-in-ap**　　*raid-ap*　　*langa jat -*
　　　　after lunch　1PL.EXCL　PST　come-PROG2-up　right-up　　LOC　DEM

　　　　wadagolum –　　*jat*　*surij*
　　　　what's.it.called　　DEM　sewerage

'After lunch we went right up to the sewerage ponds.'

(Roper River region, spoken narrative; Sandefur & Sandefur 1982: 63)

In fact, the more productive *-(a)bat* marker could also be considered a derivational marker of lexical aspect (aktionsart) rather than an inflectional suffix. It is linked to verbal pluractionality and plurality of participants (e.g. Hudson 1985: 40-41) and is often labelled "continuous" or "iterative" in descriptions of Kriol.

Reduplication of the verb, likewise, indicates iteration or duration of an event, but also plurality of participants. The first function is illustrated in (6) above; plurality of participants is illustrated by

katim-katim in the glossed text. These examples also show that reduplicated forms include the transitive marker and any adverbial suffix in the reduplicant; this constitutes additional evidence for the derivational status of these suffixes (the progressive marker however is not reduplicated, e.g. *jendap-jendap-bat* 'be standing up'). Reduplication may co-occur not only with the progressive marker but also with preverbal particles marking imperfectivity and habituality (see 6.2).

Table 6. **Adverbial suffixes on verbs**

Form	English etymon	Function	Examples
-an[1]	on	spatial meaning on verbs of manipulation	*putiman* 'put s.th. on'
-ap	up	spatial meaning on verbs of motion and manipulation, also marks telicity on some verbs of goal orientation	*klaimap* 'climb up', *kamap* 'move towards deictic centre', *falarimap/gadjimap* 'catch up', *kaburrumap* 'cover up', *draundimap* 'drown s.th. completely'
-(a)ran	around	spatial meaning, mostly on verbs of motion	*wokaran* 'walk around', *lukaran* 'look around'
-(a)wei	away	spatial meaning on verbs of motion	*ranawei* 'run away', *andimwei* 'hunt s.o. away'
-at	out, at	spatial meaning, also marks telicity on some verbs of completion	*kamat* 'come out', *teikimat* 'take out', *wetinimat* 'extinguish', *lukinat* 'look at, watch'
-bek	back	spatial meaning of return; also retaliation or reciprocation	*ranbek* 'run back', *kambek* 'return', *shainimbek* 'shine a light back at someone'
-dan	down	spatial meaning; also cessative meaning	*randan* 'run down(wards)', *boldan* 'fall', *nakimdan* 'knock over', *breikdan* 'break down'
-oba ~ ova[4]	over	metaphorical / lexicalised uses	*jampoba* 'disregard, bypass (rightful ownership)' *teikoba* 'take over (unjustly)'
-op ~ ap ~ of	off	spatial meaning	*jampof* 'jump off' *gidof* 'dismount, alight'

[1] Roper River and Barunga Kriol, [4] reported for Kimberley Kriol

6.2 Tense, aspect and mood marking

The core of the Kriol verb complex maximally consists of a tense marker$_1$, an aspectual/modal$_2$ auxiliary or particle, a phase marker or adverbial$_3$ and the main verb$_5$ which may be (albeit rarely) preceded by a function verb$_4$ in a serial verb construction. These appear in fixed order, as illustrated in (10). An overview of all preverbal markers is provided in Table 7.

(10) *Dei* **bin$_1$ oldei$_2$** *trai$_3$ go$_4$ plei$_5$ na.*
    3PL PST HAB try go   play SEQ
    'They kept on trying to go and play.' (Katherine region, spoken narrative; Angelo et al. 1998a)

The only tense marker, *bin,* marks past tense; present tense is unmarked. Two habitual markers coexist in all Kriol varieties, *oldei/olwei* (and variants) which can be combined with the past tense marker (as in (10)), and *yusda* (and variants) which always has past time reference and is not

compatible with *bin*. Verbal quantifiers and other adverbials can appear within the verb complex, e.g. *ol* 'all' in (19).

Markers with future time reference also have a modal meaning. For the auxiliary *garra* (and variants), shown in (17), this is a meaning of obligation. *Wana* (and variants), illustrated in (12) and (28), has a desiderative, optative or potential meaning, and, unlike *garra,* is also compatible with the past tense marker.

Other preverbal modal markers include *labda*, which expresses deontic necessity and also co-occurs with the past tense marker as shown in (11).

(11) *Mela*   **bin** **lafda**   *wok-wok*   *la*   *woda.*
     1PL.EXCL PST   NECESS   walk.RED   LOC water

'We had to walk in the water.' (Katherine region, spoken narrative; Angelo et al. 1998a)

Additional modal markers occur in sentence-initial position, e.g. *masbi* marking epistemic necessity ('must').

Table 7. **Preverbal Tense-Aspect-Mood markers.** A hyphen (–) in the position 1 column indicates incompatibility of the position 2 marker with the past tense marker.

Position 1: Tense	Position 2: Modality/ Aspect	Position 3: Phase etc.	Position 4: Voice	English etymon	Function
bin, -in				been	past
-l[5]				I'll, will	future
	oldei, olwei(s) ~ olas[4], ala ~ ola			all day, always	continuative, habitual
–	*yusdu ~ yusta*			used to	past habitual
	wana ~ wanda[4] ~ andi[1], a			want to	desiderative, optative, future
	labta ~ labda ~ lafta ~ lafda			(will) have to	necessative
–	*garra ~ -rra ~ gata ~ gota*			got to	potential, obligation, future
–	*beta*			(had) better	necessative
–	*gin ~ ken*			can	ability
–	*shudbi, shuda*			should (have)	counterfactual
		trai[1], trainda[4]		try(ing) to	attempt
		stil		still	continuation
		jas		just	limitation
		stat		start	inceptive
		stap		stop	cessative
		kip[1,4], kipgon[4]		keep going	durative
		nili, gulijap[1]		nearly, close up	'almost'
			git	get	passive

[1] Roper River and Barunga Kriol, [4] Kimberley Kriol, [5] Only combines with 1st person pronouns *ai* and *wi* (Hudson 1985: 30)

6.3 Negation

Clausal negation is achieved by one of two invariable negative particles, *no(mo)* and *neba ~ neva*, which immediately precede any other element of the verbal complex. The difference between the negators is poorly understood and seems to vary according to region and also according to age (Hudson 1985: 32). In Roper River Kriol and in the speech of older people in the Victoria River region, *nomo,* illustrated in (12) and (29), is the more general negative marker and is also used in prohibitive contexts.

(12) *Nekstaim   yu   **nomo**   **wani**   go   stil-im-bat.*
next.time   2SG   NEG   POT   go   steal-TR-PROG

'Next time you should not steal', 'Don't go stealing any again.'

(Roper River region, spoken narrative; Sandefur & Sandefur 1982: 65)

In Westside Kriol, *neba ~ neva* is only used with past reference, either in past habitual contexts or in past contexts with relevance at speaking time. (Note that negation is not compatible with the past habitual marker *yusdu ~ yustu*.)

(13) *Wi   **neba**   get-im   tilib   na.*
1PL   NEG   get-TR   tea   SEQ

'We didn't buy any tea (and therefore don't have any now).'

(Westside region, conversation; Fieldwork Schultze-Berndt)

In certain negative contexts, specific markers are employed which have English negative auxiliaries as source items. These are *din* (< *didn't*) as infrequent, acrolectal alternative to the general negator and past tense marker, *don* (< *don't*) in prohibitive function, and *kan* (< *can't*) marking negative ability.

6.4 Serial verbs

Serial verb constructions in Kriol are limited to a few types involving either continuative, causative or motion verbs in first position (Meakins 2010: 21). A continuative serial verb construction involving *jidan* 'sit, be, stay' as V1 is illustrated in (14); motion serial verb constructions in a purposive or sequential function are shown in (10) and (12); another example is *kam getim* 'come and get' in the second last line of the glossed text.

(14) *Dei   bin   jidan   dringk-im-bat   deya.*
3PL   PST   CONT   drink-TR-PROG   there
'They were there drinking.' (Katherine region, spoken narrative; Angelo et al. 1998a)

7.   Simple sentences

7.1 Verbless clauses: ascriptive and locative constructions

Kriol has a number of **verbless clause types** with nominal or adjectival predicates which in present tense do not require a copula; past tense is marked with *bin* just as in verbal clauses. According to Sandefur (1979: 123), the copula *bi* occurs in the future tense, but this is not attested in any other available data (cf. also Hudson 1985: 90, who however regards *bi* as an acrolectal feature).

Ascriptive and **equative** clauses consist of a subject noun phrase and either an adjectival or nominal predicate.

(15) *Bat   thad   nyu-wan Wulis   im   gud-wan   du,   ngabi?*
but DEM   new-ADJ Woolworth's   3SG   good-ADJ   too   TAG

 'But the new Woollies is good too, isn't it?'

(Katherine region, spoken conversation; Angelo et al. 1998a)

Locative clauses combine a subject noun phrase with a prepositional phrase serving as predicate. They can be verbless, as in (16), or feature stative verbs like *stap* 'live, stay' or *jidan* 'sit, be, stay' which could be said to be taking on a copula-like function (17) (compare also (14)).

(16) *Im   [la   thet   natha   beg.]*
3SG LOC DEM   other   bag

   'It's in the other bag.' (Westside region, conversation; fieldwork Schultze-Berndt)

(17) *Wi   garra **jidan**   la   woda   olagija.*
1PL FUT sit/stay   LOC water   forever

   'We may have to live in the water forever.' (Roper River region, spoken narrative; Sandefur & Sandefur 1982: 61)

7.2 Verbal clauses

A **verbal clause** consists of a predicate, the verb, and noun phrases or prepositional phrases which serve as arguments (subject, object, or indirect object), or adjuncts. **Intransitive clauses** consist of a subject and the verb; adjuncts may be added to express the location or time of the event. Subject pronouns in Kriol are generally obligatory in independent clauses in the absence of a full NP subject, except in imperatives. Examples (6) and (11) above illustrate intransitive clauses.

Transitive clauses consist of a subject, verb and object where grammatical relations are indicated by word order, the unmarked order being SVO (see e.g. (2), (4), (13), and (18)).

(18) *Dij   kamel   im   lik-im-bat   bo   dat   kanggaru   irrahol.*
PROX   camel   3SG   lick-TR-PROG   DAT   DEM   kangaroo   ear
'This camel is licking the kangaroo's ear.'
(Westside region, picture description; fieldwork Meakins)

Semi-transitive clauses involve a prepositional phrase rather than an unmarked NP as the object. Most frequently, the verb is one of speaking or perception, and the prepositional object is marked with the locative preposition *la(nga)*, as in (19).

(19)   *Dei   bin   ol   lug-in-at   **la**   **im**.*
3PL   PST   all   look-PROG2-at   LOC   3SG

   'They were all looking at him.'

   (Roper River, spoken narrative; Sandefur & Sandefur 1982: 61)

A small group of verbs (including 'give') head **ditransitive clauses**. The first type of ditransitive clause is a double object construction where theme and recipient are both unmarked (20). In the

second type, the recipient is encoded by a prepositional phrase with the locative preposition *la(nga)* as in (21). These variants pattern in much the same way as English. The order is generally recipient–theme.

(20)　*Dat　gel　im　gib-it-bat　　dat　man　　　jumok.*
　　　　DEM　girl　3SG　give-TR-PROG　DEM　man　　　smoke/tobacco

　　　　'That girl is giving the man tobacco.' (Westside region, picture description; fieldwork Meakins)

(21)　*Gib-it-bek　　langa　im　thet　taka　blanga　im.*
　　　　give-TR-back　LOC　　3SG　DEM　food　DAT　　3SG

　　　　'Give him his food back!' (Westside region, spoken narrative; fieldwork Schultze-Berndt)

Passive clauses are formed by combining the grammatical verb *get ~ git* with a form of the lexical verb which lacks the transitive suffix and often appears to be a frozen form of the corresponding English participle, a form which does not occur in any other construction (Sandefur 1979: 137; Hudson 1985: 106). The agent, if overtly expressed, is demoted to an adjunct prepositional phrase marked by the source preposition *brom*. Apart from the agent prepositional phrase, the construction is analogous to the adjectival inchoative construction which also involves *get ~ git,* as in *git kwait* 'become quiet'.

(22)　*Yu　　bin　git　　ben.*
　　　　2SG　PST　PASS　burn(ed)

　　　　'You got burned.' (Westside region, elicited example; fieldwork Schultze-Berndt)

Existential clauses involve the verb meaning 'have', *got ~ gatim ~ gata ~ garram*, in combination with an expletive subject. (Note however that Hudson (1985: 92-93) identifies the form *garra(m)* with the instrumental/comitative preposition and treats these as verbless clauses).

(23)　*Samwe　　raun　　hiya **i**　**gata** keib　theya.*
　　　　somewhere　around　　here　3SG　have　cave　there

'Somewhere around here there is a cave.'

(Westside region, conversation; fieldwork Schultze-Berndt)

Polar questions are not marked by segmental means or by word order. Impressionistically there is a prosodic difference between declarative and interrogative clauses, but the prosody of Kriol varieties has not been described.

7.3 Information structure and marked word order

The word order can be changed in order to indicate specific types of information structure. For example, **contrastive object focus** may result in object-initial word order (an example is *soup ai bin meikim* 'soap (is what) I made' in the glossed text). Similarly, interrogative phrases in **information questions** are usually fronted, as in (24) (although in situ interrogative phrases also occur).

(24)   *En*   **wot** *im=in*   *du*   *theya,*   *dijan*   *dog?*
       and   what 3SG=PST   do   there   PROX   dog

     'And what did he do there, this dog?' (Westside region, Frog Story; fieldwork Schultze-Berndt)

Topicalized structures are frequent in Kriol. The topic constituent can be left-dislocated or right-dislocated, and is invariably represented by a coreferential pronoun in the core clause (Hudson 1985: 78, Nicholls 2010). Left-dislocated topics are often subjects, in which case the word order is still SVO, but the construction can be recognized because of the coreferential pronoun, as in (2), (3), (15), (18), and (20). Example (24) illustrates a right-dislocated topic/subject (*dijan dog*).

8. Complex sentences

8.1 Relative clauses

The most frequent equivalent of a relative clause in Kriol is probably most adequately described as an adjoined relative clause or general subordinate clause (as is the case for some of the traditional languages of the area). It is marked by *we ~ weya* and can receive either a modifying or a temporal or spatial interpretation. In modifying function, it can also be separated from its (semantic) head noun, as shown in (25), although in most instances it immediately follows it. Less frequent is a relative clause construction without subordinator, immediately following the head noun. Both types of relative clause contain a resumptive pronoun which is coreferential with the head noun.

(25) *Tubala kam-in hiya*   *[we*   *im=in*   *hab-im*   *tubala*   <u>*marrug*</u>*].*
     3DU   come-PROG2 here   SUBORD 3SG=PST have-TR   3DU   hidden

   'The two are coming here, the ones that he (a white man) had kept hidden away.' (*marrug* is a Jaminjung word.) (Westside region, spoken narrative; fieldwork Schultze-Berndt)

8.2 Complementation

Complement clauses of *reken* in the sense of 'think' (or as a speech verb) and of *wantim* 'want (something)' do not take a complementizer. The latter are rare and possibly acrolectal. Speech verbs usually take direct speech complements.

(26) *Wal*   *jad lilboi im=in*   *reken [frog bin*   *lik-im-bat*   *feis*
     well   DEM little.boy 3SG=PST   think frog PST   lick-TR-PROG   face

     en   *pul-um-bat*   *heya.]*
     and   pull-TR-PROG   hair

   'Well the little boy thought that the frog was licking his face and pulling his hair.' (Roper River region, written narrative; Galmur & Willika 1996)

8.3 Coordination

Clausal coordination is achieved, like in English, by a conjunction preceding the second clause. Conjunctions are coordinating *an ~ en* 'and' (24), disjunctive *o* 'or', and adversative *bat* 'but' or *ani* (< English *only*); the latter is illustrated in (27).

(27) *Ai* *bin* *wanta* *meik-im* **ani** *no* *mani.*
    1SG PST POT   make-TR   only/but no   money

'I wanted/was going to make it, but (had) no money.'

(Westside region, conversation; fieldwork Schultze-Berndt)

8.4 Adverbial subordination

Finite adverbial subordinate clauses are preceded by a conjunction (Table 8) with no change in word order in the subordinate clause (examples (28) and (29)). In non-finite adverbial clauses, the subject is deleted and understood to be coreferential with the subject of the main clause, as illustrated by the purposive clause (introduced by *bla*) in (28).

(28) *Yu* *wandi* *girr-im* *jat* *faiya* *bla* *mibala*,
    2SG POT   get-TR DEM fire   DAT 1PL.INCL

    bikos *mibala* *wand-im* **bla** *gug-um-bat* *taga.*
    because 1PL.INCL want-TR   DAT cook-TR-PROG food

'You should get that fire for us, because we want it to cook our food with.' (Roper River region, spoken narrative; Sandefur & Sandefur 1982: 61)

(29) *Wal* *wi* *nid* *sam-bala* *mo* *evrrithing* *yet,*
    2SG 1PL need some-ADJ2 more things   still

    dumaji *wi* *nomo* *gada* *matj* *evrrithing.*
    because 1PL NEG   have much things

'Well we still need more things, because we don't have many things.'
(Katherine region, spoken narrative; Angelo et al. 1998b)

Table 8. **Conjunctions used in finite adverbial subordination**

Form	English etymon	Function
dumaji	too much	causal
bikos	because	causal
ib	if	conditional
buji	suppose	conditional
wen	when	temporal
we(ya)	where	locative (also relative clause)

Coherence in discourse is often achieved in other ways than syntactic coordination or subordination. For example, temporal precedence ('after', 'before') is usually expressed by lexical means in juxtaposed clauses, not by subordination, as in (30). Conditionality can be expressed by juxtaposition with rising intonation in the first clause and falling intonation in the second; this is the prosodic contour of (31).

(30) *Wal* *mibala* *bin* *go* *na* *luk-aran.* *Luk.*
    well 1PL   PST go SEQ look-around look

    Orait **afta** **jat** *mibala-* *ai* *bin* *gow-in* *na.*
    allright after DEM   1PL   1SG PST   go-in SEQ

'We went and looked around, just had a look. Then/afterwards we– I went in.' (Roper River region, spoken narrative; Sandefur & Sandefur 1982: 81)

(31) *Yu   gaj-i   thet imyunaiseishin   kwik-bala,   yu   rait.*
    2SG get-TR   DEM immunisation   quick-ADJ2   2SG right

'If you get the immunisation quickly, you are all right' (Katherine region, spoken narrative; fieldwork Angelo)

Sequences of events can be expressed by juxtaposed clauses where the subject can be deleted if co-referent with the previous subject. Sequentiality of events, but also topic shift is also frequently indicated by the particle *na* (Graber 1987). Both phenomena are amply illustrated in the glossed text.

Glossed Text

Making soap on a cattle farm

This is a short extract from a longer account (told to Eva Schultze-Berndt in Kriol, Ngarinyman and Jaminjung) by the late Eileen Roberts Nangala and the late Dolly Badbarriya Nangala of their tasks as young women on cattle stations in the Victoria River region, when Aboriginal people worked as stockmen and domestic labourers for little or no wages. At the time of the recording (1999), both speakers lived in Bulla, 270km west of Katherine, Northern Territory; both had mostly lived on Auvergne Station in the vicinity before Bulla was established in the 1960s. Eileen Roberts, the main speaker in this segment, was of Ngarinyman descent and was 65-70 years old at the time of the recording, and Dolly Badbarriya was of Gajerrabeng descent and was approximately 70-75 years old. Transcription and translation is by Eva Schultze-Berndt.[2] The text is published here with permission of Eileen Robert's descendants.

1. ER: *[…] En   soup ai   bin   oldei meik-im-bat   soup *
    […] and   soap 1SG   PST   HAB   make-TR-PROG   soap

    *meik-im-bat,   mijelb *
    make-TR-PROG   self

    '[...] And I used to make soap, make it, by myself.'

(interruption)

2. ER: *Joup! Joup ai   bin   meik-im..   bi:g-wan .. dram-<u>gula</u> *
    soap soap 1SG   PST   make-TR   big-ADJ   drum-LOC

    'Soap! Soap I made in a big drum,' (*-gula* is one of the locative case markers in Ngarinyman)

3.   *miks-im   na::,   bil-im-ap   dram-<u>gula</u> *
    mix-TR   SEQ   fill-TR-up   drum-LOC

    'mixed it, filled it into a drum,'

4.   *en   katim-katim   na   alibala *
    and   cut:TR-RED   SEQ   morning

    'and cut it up the next morning,'

---

[2] The following transcription conventions are used: Elements from Ngarinyman (a locative marker and an uninflected verb) are marked by underline. A line in the transcription represents an intonation unit. Final (falling) intonation contour is marked by a backslash (\), a non-final intonation contour by a comma (,). Iconic (i.e. expressive rather than phonemic) lengthening of a segment is marked by a sequence of colons (::). Short pauses are marked by a sequence of dots (..).

5.   *gata gajijwata   mijelb,   soup *
           with caustic.soda   self   soap

           '(made it) with caustic soda, by myself, soap.'

(interruption by clarification question)

6. DB: *Wi   bin   oldei   meik-im-bat   ron sop, yuno *
          we   PST   HAB   make-TR-PROG   own soap you.know

          'We used to make our own soap, you know.'

7. ER: *Soup! woshing soup ai   bin   meik-im *
          soap   washing soap 1SG PST   make-TR

          'Soap, I made washing soap!'

8. DB: *Bla   guluj *
          for   clothes

          'For clothes.'

9. ER: *Yu   put-um   gajijwata,   yu   put-um   resel,*
          you   put-TR   caustic.soda   you   put-TR   resol

          put-um   fet,
          put-TR   fat

          'You add caustic soda, you add resol/resin, add fat,'

10.   *ani   yu   miks-im   na,   gata gajijwata *
          ADVERS   2SG   mix-TR   SEQ   with caustic.soda

          'but you mix it then, with caustic soda,'

11.   *meik-im   stiki-wan,   en   teik-im-at   na,*
          make-TR   sticky-ADJ   and   take-TR-out   SEQ

          *put-im   la   dram *
          put-TR   LOC   drum

          'make it sticky, and take it out then, (and) put it in a drum.'

12.   *DB: Kapjaid-im *
          capsize-TR

          'Turn it over.'

13.   ER: *Kapjaid-im *
          capsize-TR

          'Turn it over.'

14.   *kat-im   na:::,   wan im   drai   na,   kat-i::::m*,
          cut-TR SEQ   when 3SG   dry   SEQ   cut-TR

          liv-im   la   san,
          leave-TR   LOC sun

          'cut it, when it is dry, cut it and leave it in the sun,'

15.   *rait, mibala   bin oldei   teik-im* <u>walyag</u> *la   shop na*,
            right 1PL.EXCL PST HAB   take-TR   inside   LOC   shop SEQ

           *fo .. sel-im   na *
           for   sell-TR   SEQ

           'right, we used to take it into the shop then to sell it.' (*walyag* is a Ngarinyman word)

16.   *ole boi bin oldei   kam get-im joup fo   wosh-im   kloth*,
           PL boy PST HAB   come get-TR soap for   wash-TR   clothes

           'the (stock) boys used to come and get soap to wash their clothes,'

17.   *from thokkem, penjene,   evrithing *
           from stock.camp pensioners everything

           '(people) from the stockcamp, pensioners, all of them.'

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