TIWI TODAY:
A Study of Language Change
in a Contact Situation
Volume 2
by
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A phrase is defined as a group of words which function as a unit, typically as a constituent of a clause, though phrases may be embedded within other phrases. In Tiwi there are: (i) noun phrases (NPs): attributive and possessive NPs (head-modifier types of phrases), co-ordinate and appositional NPs, (ii) prepositional phrases, encoding mainly locative, manner and temporal, (iii) other appositional phrases, encoding mainly locative manner and temporal, (iv) verbal phrases (already discussed in Chapter 4 as verbal complexes (see 4.3, p 426).

The phrases discussed in this chapter are nominal phrases, prepositional phrases and other appositional phrases. Only some of the phrases are discussed.

5.1 NOUN PHRASES

NPs in Tiwi are not as close knit as English NPs, in that the order of the constituents may vary and may even be discontinuous, i.e. with elements of the phrase being separated by other clause elements. The reason for the re-ordering of elements has not been studied in detail, but it would seem that elements which are in focus are often fronted in the phrase (see also 6.8, p 460).

5.1.1 ATTRIBUTIVE NOUN PHRASE

The structure of the attributive NP is basically the same in all styles and codes of Tiwi, but with some variations as to what can occur in each slot. The basic structure and ordering of the attributive NP is given in Table 5.1.
TABLE 5.1 NORMAL ORDER OF CONSTITUENTS IN ATTRIBUTIVE NOUN PHRASES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Limiter</th>
<th>Definitive</th>
<th>Demonstrative</th>
<th>Quantifier</th>
<th>Descriptive</th>
<th>Head</th>
<th>Exposition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TT/MT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>limiting adj</td>
<td>definitive</td>
<td>demonstrative</td>
<td>numeral</td>
<td>des adj</td>
<td>common noun</td>
<td>Mnr Ph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3.2.2, p129; 3.2.4, p142)</td>
<td>(3.3.4.2, p186)</td>
<td>(3.3.4.1, p182)</td>
<td>(3.2.6, p149)</td>
<td>(3.2.2, p129; 3.2.4, p142)</td>
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<tr>
<td>TT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mnr Cl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>predicative</td>
<td>indefinite</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3.4, p191)</td>
<td>(3.3.3, p177)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pronoun 2</td>
<td>indefinite</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3.3.3, p177)</td>
<td>pronoun 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The attributive NP consists of an optional head noun and normally no more than three modifiers. The modifiers usually occurring before the head noun (in the most common order) are: Limiter, manifested by the limiting adjectives (see 3.2.2, p129 and 3.2.4, p142); Definitive, manifested by definitives (see 3.3.4.2, p186); Demonstrative, manifested by demonstratives (see 3.3.4.1, p182); Quantifier, manifested by numerals (see 3.2.6, p149) or quantifying adjectives (see 3.2.2, p129 and 3.2.4, p142); and Descriptive, manifested by descriptive adjectives (see 3.2.2, p129 and 3.2.4, p142) (or English loan nouns,
used as adjectives, as in example 5-1(d)). The word classes occurring in each slot are discussed in Chapter 3.

The modifier following the head noun is called the Exposition and may be manifested by a relative clause, by a manner or locative phrase or clause, or by a group noun. There may be other types of phrases and clauses which may occur in this position (such as Temporal) but which are not apparent in my data. There are no examples of manner clauses occurring in this position in MT.

The head is given as optional, in that it need not be present in the phrase, being understood from the context. A minimal attributive NP consists of at least one of the constituents. It is not normal for a manner phrase or clause to stand alone as a noun phrase, but a relative clause may, as in example 5-1(h).

In general, in TT the modifiers agree in gender or number with the noun they modify or refer to (see 3.2.1, p 119), except for the manner and locative phrases and clauses, and English loan nouns used as adjectives, as in example 5-1(d). Relative clauses are normally introduced by relative pronouns which agree in gender or number with the noun to which they refer. These are: ngini(m), (ng)angi(f) and kapi or ngampi(pl) 'who, which'. There are some cases where there are clauses which behave as relative clauses, in that they are closely associated with a head noun, modifying it, but which do not have any relative pronoun, as in example 5-1(j).
(a) awarra kiyijini jarrangini
that(m) small(m) bull/buffalo
(def) (des) (head)
'That small buffalo'

(b) yingompa ngiya - mamanta
some my - friends
(quan) (head)
'Some of my friends'

(c) awinyirra anaki mirripaka
this(f) this(f) sea/salt:water
(def) (dem) (head).
'This salt water' (JD2.3-DK)

(d) yinjara simitiriyi purinjirringa
two(f) cemetery tree/pole
(quan) (des) (head)
'Two cemetery poles' (1.98-JW)

(e) awarra ngiya - rringani Milipuruwunila
that(m) my - father of:Milipuruwu:totem(m)
(def) (head) (expos - group noun)
'my father of the Milipuruwu totem'

(f) yingompa arikurtumurnuwi awungarra, Jiliyarti
some(pl) Tiwi:people here Darwin
(quan) (head) (expos - loc ph )
'Some Tiwi people here in Darwin' (TNg 4a-DT)

(g) yoni nginaki ngini kintang - awamini
other(m) this(m) who(m) foot - intens(m)
(lim) (dem) (expos - rel cl )
'This other one who has a big foot' (HPTF1.6-DK)
Some examples of attributive noun phrases with variant orders from that shown in Table 5.1 are:

e.g. 5-2

(a) (kapani) ngangi ju - wurim - ani kurrampali
    prep which(f) she:p-be:strong-p:hab house
    (expos - rel. cl.) (head)
    '(In) the houses which are strong' (Cil.11 -RA)

(b) pilayiki yirrara
    flag(m) two(m)
    'Two flags' (1.98 - JW)

It may be better to treat the definitives, demonstratives and the limiting adjectives, when they are used as limiters, as external to the attributive NP and in apposition to it (at least in TT). These words do behave very much like pronominals in many
respects, in that they can occur in apposition to other pronominals or frequently occur alone (as pronominals, not just as headless; noun phrases). Also, they may occur with kin-nouns or proper nouns, which are in themselves definite or specific. In this case it may be better to consider them as being in apposition to those nouns, as with other pronominals occurring with kin-nouns and proper nouns (see also appositional NPs 5.1.4, p 370).

e.g. 5-3 (TT)
(a) awarra Jalingayi
   that:one(m) J.
   (def)
   'That one, Jalingayi' (BMA1.8-DK)
(b) ngarra Kapijini
   he K.
   'He, Kapijini' (BMA4.7-DK)

In the speech of young children the definitives and third person pronouns seem to be falling together, particularly the masculine singular forms (see also 3.3.4.2, p 136).

e.g. 5-4 (CT)
arra nayi Fonta
he that(m) Fonta
that:one(m)
(def) (dem)
'He, that one, Fonta' (GP249-BB8)

In MT, the basic order of the constituents of the attributive noun phrase is the same as in TT, but there appears to be even greater freedom of movement in children's
speech. This may be due to the lack of development of 'style'. There is agreement in gender and number between some modifiers and the nouns they modify. Agreement in MT applies with the definitives (see 3.3.4.2, p186 and most of the TT-derived adjectives, as in TT (see 3.2.4, p142).

The agreement between demonstratives is being lost in the speech of children though it seems to be retained by older young people (see 3.3.4.1, p182). There are a number of English loan adjectives which do not show agreement with the nouns they modify. Also, some of the predicatives are used attributively in MT and these do not show agreement (see example 5-5(g)).

e.g. 5-5 (MT)

(a) yoni awarra murrukupuni
other(m) that(m) country
(lim) (def) (head)
'That other country' (MP22)

(b) yingati jupojirringa
lots:of wallaby
(quan) (head) (GP204-JT16)
'Lots of wallaby'

(c) naki arikulani kirila
this(m) big(m) gorilla
(dem) (des) (head)
'This big gorilla' (GP454-RJ12)

(d) athirra naki yipalinya
this(f) this woman
(def) (dem) (head)
'This woman' (GP147-DB12)
There are examples of the Exposition slot being filled by a relative clause in MT (in the speech of older young people, over 12 years), in which the relative pronoun agrees in gender or number with the noun to which it refers. Some of the forms of the pronouns are changed from the TT forms. The relative pronouns in MT are: ngini/yini(m) (TT: ngini); angi/anga(f) (TT: (ng)angi); kapi(pl) (TT: kapi/ngampi).
The Exposition slot in MT may be filled by a manner phrase (see 5.2.3, p 382) or a locative phrase (see 5.2.1, p 374), or purpose phrase (see 5.2.4, p 383, and also example 5-8(a)).

In TT, indefinite pronouns (see 3.3.3, pp 177-182) may occur in a nominal phrase in apposition to other nominal
elements. In MT, they may occur in appositional NPs or as part of an attributive NP. In Table 5.1 indefinite pronoun in is listed as occurring as the head of a phrase. This is the set: ə(rra)mukamini(m), ə(rra)mukamunga (f), etc., which is generally used to mean 'thing' when modified for example by an adjective or definitive, as in example 5-8. The second set (indefinite pronoun 2) is: niminaki, niminlayi which generally mean 'what do you call this thing/person?' or 'I've forgotten the name of this thing/person'. In MT, these forms seem to be used as a modifier, meaning 'some sort of', (in other words: 'I don't know the name of this type of thing'), as in example 5-9).

e.g. 5-8 (MT)

(a) nayi arrakamunga fo putim waranga awaji
that thing(f) for put stone there
(dem) (head) (expos - purp ph)
'That thing for putting stones there' (GP76-DB12)

(b) naki amukamini
this thing(m)
(dem) (head) 

(e.g. 5-9 (MT)

niminaki yikirri
some:sort:of food
(des)/(dem) (head)
'Some sort of food' (GP450-RJ12)

5.1.2 POSSESSIVE NOUN PHRASE

The possessive NP in TT is regarded as different from the attributive NP, in that there is an obligatory Possessor slot manifested by a pronoun (a normal personal pronoun, see
3.3.1.1, p 155, an emphatic pronoun, see 3.3.2.1, p 162, an alternate pronoun, see 3.3.2.2, p 166, or a possessive pronoun, see 3.3.2.3 p 170), an attributive NP, or an appositional NP. The only difference between an appositional NP which occurs as a Possessor and a general appositional nominal phrase (see 5.1.4, p 370) is that, in the former, one of the elements may be a possessive pronoun. Also, the former is embedded within a phrase and does not have a direct grammatical relationship to the verb of a clause. The Possessed Head may be a common noun (3.2.1 , p 119) or kin noun (3.2.5, p 146). The possessive pronoun agrees in gender or number with the Possessed Head (see 3.3.2.3, p 134).

e.g. 5-10 (TT)

(a) ngarra yintanga
    his name
  (possr: - norm pn) (possd: - com n)

(b) ngarra-mirani kiyijini, ngarra yintanga
    his -son small his name
  (possr: - appos NP) (possd: - com n)
  'His small son's name' (Os. Text 1, p 81)

(c) nginiwuta, murrintawi languwiji
    their(s) (m) white:men language (m)
  (possr: - appos NP) (possd: - com n)
  'Their, the white man's, language' (VWRT 2.8)

(d) nginiwutawa wuta - mantani
    their(m) their-friend(m)
  (possr: - poss pn) (possd: - kin n) (MGD)
  'Their male friend'
In some cases the Head is omitted and the phrase consists simply of a possessive pronoun.

e.g. 5-11 (TT)

nginingawila  
our(m)  
(possr: - poss pn)

'We should work at our (language).'  (VWRT-DK)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>Possessed Head</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>normal pronoun</td>
<td>common noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emphatic pronoun</td>
<td>kin noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alternate pronoun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possessive pronoun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attrib NP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>appos NP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In some cases the possessor is manifested by a minimal attributive NP, consisting simply of a kin noun or a proper noun.

e.g. 5-12 (TT)

(a) muwa - mantanga  nyirra - naringa
our(min)-friend(f)  her - mother
(possr: - kin noun) (possd: - kin noun)

'Your and my friend's mother'  (BMA 5.4)

(b) Purrukuparli  ngarra - mirani
P.  his - son
(possr: - prop n) (possd: - kin noun)

'Purrukuparli's son'

It would seem that in the possessive noun phrase there must be a pronoun indicating the person and number (and also
gender in the case of third singular) of the possessor. When a common noun occurs as the Possessed Head the pronoun occurs as the whole or part of the Possessor slot. When a kin noun occurs as the Possessed Head the pronoun occurs as part of it though there may also be another pronoun in the Possessor slot (as in e.g. 5-10(d)).

The order of possessor and possessed may be reversed though it does not seem very common.

e.g. 5-13

alawura
boss(m)

ngininginjila
your(sg):poss(m)

(possd: - com n) (possr: - poss pn)

'Your boss'

(The order of possessor and possessed may be reversed though it does not seem very common.

e.g. 5-13

alawura
boss(m)

ngininginjila
your(sg):poss(m)

(possd: - com n) (possr: - poss pn)

'Your boss'

The elements of the possessor may be split, with part of an appositional phrase occurring before the possessed head (particularly a normal personal pronoun) and part following the head. It is even possible for the possessor and possessed to be separated by other clause constituents. However, when a normal personal pronoun occurs as a possessor it always occurs before the possessed head (normally immediately before it).

e.g. 5-14 (TT)

(a) ngarratuwu yirruma (Wilinjuwila), awarra
he:too totem:name(W) that(m)

(possr: - alt pn)(possd: - com n)(possr: - attrib NP)

ngiya-rringani
my - father

'As for my father's totem (it was Wilinjuwila),'
(b) wiyika (nga-mpungoghi), awinyirra awurnanka
intestines we(incl)-pull:out that(f) goose(f)
(possd: - com n) (possr: - attrib NP)
'(We pull out) the intestines of the goose.'

(c) ngarra tuwara yirrikipayi
his tail crocodile
(possr:-poss pn)(possd:-com n) (possr: - attrib NP)
(possr: - appos NP)
'The crocodile's tail' (Os., p 75)

When the Possessive Noun phrase is split in this way
would seem that the final element serves as a reminder of
the identity of the possessor (compare with the split
appositional phrases described in 5.1.4, p 370).

In MT, there are a number of examples which are similar
to the structure of the possessive noun phrase in TT, as in
examples 5-15(a-d). However, there are a number of cases
where there is a demonstrative and/or a descriptive
adjective occurring before the possessed head, as in
examples 5-15(e) and (f). This seems to occur only when the
Possessor is manifested by a possessive pronoun. Also,
there is an example of a co-ordinate NP (see 5.1.4, p 370) as
the Possessed Head (example 5-15(g)). The structure of the
possessive noun phrase in MT is given in Table 5.3. It will
be noted that there are no examples of emphatic pronouns or
alternate pronouns as possessors. The order may be
reversed, as in TT, except in (1).
### Table 5.3: Possessive Noun Phrase in MT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+ Possessor</th>
<th>+ Possessed Head</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) poss pronoun</td>
<td>(12) attrib NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poss pronoun</td>
<td>attrib NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>normal pronoun</td>
<td>co-ord NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attrib NP</td>
<td>common noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>appos NP</td>
<td>kin noun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**E.g. 5-15 (MT)**

(a) **nyirra**  
her  
(possr: - norm pn) (possd: - com n)  
'Her name'

(b) **Fonsi arra**  
Fonzy his  
home  
(possr: - appos NP) (possd: - com n)  
'Fonzy's home'

(c) **naki Marisa**  
this Marisa  
her - mother  
(possr: - attrib NP) (possd: - kin noun)  
'This is Marisa's mother'

(d) **nyirra - naringa**  
her - mother  
this(f) girl  
(possd: - kin n) (possr: - attrib NP)  
'The mother of this little girl'

(e) **angilawa**  
my  
big (f) car  
(possr: - poss pn) (possd: - attrib NP)  
'My big car'

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1. **e.g. 5-15 (MT)**
2. **(a) nyirra**  
3. **yintanga**  
4. **her**  
5. **(possr: - norm pn) (possd: - com n)**  
6. **'Her name'**
7. **(b) Fonsi arra**  
8. **thaputha**  
9. **Fonzy his**  
10. **home**  
11. **(possr: - appos NP) (possd: - com n)**  
12. **'Fonzy's home'**
13. **(c) naki Marisa**  
14. **thirra-naringa**  
15. **this Marisa**  
16. **her - mother**  
17. **(possr: - attrib NP) (possd: - kin noun)**  
18. **'This is Marisa's mother'**
19. **(d) nyirra - naringa**  
20. **anaki kijinga**  
21. **her - mother**  
22. **this(f) girl**  
23. **(possd: - kin n) (possr: - attrib NP)**  
24. **'The mother of this little girl'**
25. **(1.57-MP22)**
26. **(e) angilawa**  
27. **arikulanga mutika**  
28. **my**  
29. **big (f) car**  
30. **(possr: - poss pn) (possd: - attrib NP)**  
31. **'My big car'**  
32. **(EP941-DB6)**
5.1.3 CO-ORDINATE NOMINAL PHRASES

In TT, nominal phrases are joined in three different ways: by simple juxtaposition; by the use of wuta and the use of ami(n)tiya.

The use of ami(n)tiya 'and' is not mentioned by Osborne and appears to be a recent innovation. Most of the examples of it joining elements in a nominal phrase in TT are given by either women or younger men. Godfrey says that wuta is used more commonly by older people, though ami(n)tiya is used as a sentence conjunction. The way in which wuta, which also means 'they', is used has probably also recently changed or is in the process of change.

These three ways of conjoining in nominal phrases are also used in MT, though the use of a conjunction, either wuta/wurra or ami(n)tiya/amataya is more common than no conjunction.

(i) Juxtaposition

This applies particularly when a number of nominal elements are joined, though it may also be used when there are only two elements.
e.g. 5-16 (TT)
(a) naki milipukani, kirimpika jukorringa,
this mangrove:worm crab mussel
'These mangrove worms, crabs and mussels'  (TNg 5c.10)
(b) nuwa kakirijuwi nuwa wurrukurrunya wi
you (pl) children you(pl) teenagers
'You children and you teenagers'  (FP 11.10)

e.g. 5-17 (MT)
arripilayin kapala
'aeroplanes and boats'  (GP1843-PP23)

When there is a long list of items, these may simply be
listed without any conjunction until the last two items, or
the conjunction may occur between only some items. This is
particularly common in MT.

e.g. 5-18 (MT)
yiya, Wali Jon, Jeyimi, Tampurra, amataya Fonta
'I, Ronald John, Jamie, Tampurra, and Fonda
(GP515-ST9)

(ii) Conjoined with wuta

Osborne says that 'human nominals are coordinated by
means of the personal pronoun wuta 'they', inserted either
at the beginning of the sequence, or between each member of
the sequence, or both.' (Os., p 72). It may still be used
in this way but it also seems to have changed position in
most cases, occurring between the nominals, meaning 'and'.
It may also occur with non-human nouns, and even inanimate
nouns. It would seem that wuta originally occurred
initially before a co-ordinate nominal phrase, meaning 'they', being in apposition with it (see also 5.1.4, p 370).

e.g. 5-19 (TT)

(a) *wuta, yingoti wuninga, awuta (ngintiwunipirnani)*
they bush:honey possum these (we:would:kill:them)
'We would get) bush honey and possum,' (CWD2.2)

(b) *(yinkiti ngirripungipirnani) wuninga wuta yilinga*
food we:would:kill:out:there possum and carpet:snake
and bush:honey
'Ve would get food out there,) possum, carpet snake and
bush honey.' (CWD1.9)

The use of *wuta* or the changed form *wurra* as 'and' is
fairly common in the MT spoken by older young people, but there
are only a few examples of it used by younger children.

e.g. 5-20 (MT)

(a) *athirra yipalinya wurra arra janimani*
that(f) woman and that(m) Chinese:man (GP118-DB12)

(b) *Wali Jon wurra Kempiyen wurra Fonta*
Ronald John and Campion and Fonda (GP298-BB8)

(iii) Conjoined by ami(n)tiya

Although the use of *ami(n)tiya* as 'and' joining two
nominal elements in a co-ordinate NP may not be considered
really 'proper' Tiwi by older people, I am considering it
as a feature of TT, since it occurs quite commonly in texts
given by people of 40-50 years of age. It is probably a
feature of the less traditional style of Tiwi. It would seem
that the use of *ami(n)tiya* as a sentence conjunction mean­
ing 'and' (not described in the thesis) has been extended
to cover the conjoining of co-ordinate NPs, possibly influenced by the English use of 'and'.

e.g. 5-21 (TT)

(a) murrintawi amitiya arikurtumnuwi
whitemen and Tiwi:people
'White people and Tiwi people' (TNg 5a.5)
(b) kuwinawini yiyawungarri amintiya yinkiti
money whatever and food

The use of ami(n)tiya or the changed form, amataya is very common in MT, both as a conjunction in an NP and as a sentence conjunction (not described in the thesis). It appears to be more commonly used than wuta/wurra.

e.g. 5-22 (MT)

kijinga thaluwarra amintiya kijinga tres
small(f) trousers and small(f) dress
'A small pair of trousers and a small dress'

(GP1935-LB33)

See also examples 5-15(g), 5-18, 5-25.

(iv) Partial co-ordinate NPs

A phenomenon which appears in TT is the occurrence of a nominal element which refers to part of the nominal argument of the clause. It may occur alone or in apposition to a first or second person augmented pronoun. In either case there is a first or second augmented person marked on the verb, so that the other referent of the NP argument is clear from the verb.

e.g. 5-23 (TT)

(a) nuwa, nganginaki (ngimpipirtimi) ...
you(aug) this:one(f) you(aug):are:promised
'You and this one are promised ...' (BMA7.4)
Although the last example is given by a young person it occurs in a book of written stories which have been edited extensively, and so is probably not typical of MT. In all cases in the MT data, the pronoun part of the co-ordinate NP is also included.

e.g. 5-24 (MT)

(a) *ya-matawi amataya yiya* (awa ko moliki)
my - friends and I we go swim
'My friends and I went swimming.'

(b) See also 5-17(a, b).

(v) Other Co-ordinate NPs

In a co-ordinate NP in MT, the items may sometimes be interspersed with *kiyi*, which is an abbreviated form of the TT sentence conjunction *ninkiyi*. However, when it is used in these phrases it seems to be more of a 'gap-stopper', used much as 'um' is in English.

e.g. 5-25

*yiya, amataya ya-rtingani* (kiyi) Majiya, (Majiya)
I and my -father (um) Marcia (Marcia)

(kiyi) Isato amataya Pili Manji amataya ya-matani
(um) Isador and Billy Manji and my-friend(m)

amataya wan murrutani (kiyi anturiyi .....)
and one whiteman um we:went .... (GP50-
(GP50-DB12)
5.1.4 APPOSITIONAL AND COMPLEX NPs

NPs may be very complex, with phrases being embedded within other phrases or with a number of nominal elements joined appositionally. This is more common in TT than in MT where there does not tend to be much embedding. This could be seen as a symptom of language death (cf Hill, 1973). However, it could also be seen as a general feature of child language.

e.g. 5-26 (TT)

Apuyati, naki Anjilim amintiya muwa - mantanga
A. this(m) A. and our(min) - friend(f)

nyirra-naringa, wuta yuwurrara (ywunturortighi
her- - mother they two he:fathered:them
awarra Pukipiyapirayi)
that(m) P. (BMA6.4)

'Apuyati, this one known as Anjilim, and our friend's mother, these two were fathered by Pukipiyapirayi.'

Complexity in NPs to the degree given in example 5-26 is not common in TT. However, appositional NPs are quite common. There are two types of apposition (i) where there is elaboration of the preceding elements in such a way that each succeeding element becomes more specific (this also applies with other types of appositional phrases, see 5.2, p372). (ii) where there is a summing up of the preceding elements by the use of (17) a pronoun or a pronoun phrase. This latter applies especially when the preceding phrase is a long one as in example 5-26, but it may also occur where the phrase is not so long, as in example 5-28(a). The discourse reasons for the uses of these different types of phrases have not been studied.
As with other nominal phrases, the appositional NP may be discontinuous, with other clause constituents intervening between the different parts.

In the elaboration type of apposition the final part of the phrase may occur finally in the clause, often as new information or as a reminder of whom is being talked about.

(i) Elaboration
e.g. 5-27 (TT)

(a) ngarra, ngini yipaningimiringarra, awarra
he who(m) he:whiteman:lived that(m)
ngawa-rringani
our -father (FP1)
'He, \{who lived (here) as a whiteman\}, our father'
\{who was a whiteman\}

(b) nyirra-morti, awarra kijini jarrangini
her- son that(m) small(m) bull
'Her son, that bull-calf' (CBC2.3)

(c) nyirra (waya arikulanga jiyimiringarra) awinyirra
she now big(f) she:lived that(f)

| 18 |
| ngangarra | ngiya-mirani |
| his(f) | my - son |

'She (was then grown up), the one (promised to) my son!' (BMA3.8)

(ii) Summary
e.g. 5-28 (TT)

(a) ngiya-naringa, nyirra (jiyimiringarra nankitagha)
my- mother she she:lived here
'My mother (lived here).' (BMA1.5)

(b) See example 5-26.

Both these types of apposition occur in MT.
(i) Elaboration:
e.g. 5-29 (MT)
(a) wurra, kapinaki (karluwu peyiti) kapinaki kakijuwi
they these not fight these children
'They're not fighting), these children,' (GP1541-EP20)
(b) taringa, puliyalinga arikulanga ...
snake(f) poisonous:snake big(f)
'A snake, a big, poisonous snake, ...' (GP388-JVT10)
(ii) Summary
e.g. 5-30 (MT)
(a) tha-rringani, arra (kilim awanari?)
your(sg)-father he kill how:many
'Your father, (how many did he kill)'
(b) wulimawi amitiya wulikamuwi, wurra ...
old:men and old:women they
'Old men and women, they ...'

5.2 OTHER TYPES OF PHRASES
There are a number of other types of phrases in both TT and MT. Just as nominal arguments of the verb can consist of appositional NPs, so other clause constituents can consist of appositional phrases. In general, where this is the case each succeeding element becomes more specific, as with the elaboration type of appositional NPs. Also, as with NPs, these phrases may be discontinuous.
e.g. 5-31 (TT)
(a) Locative:
nyirra awungarruwu, Maluwu ji - ni - ri - mi
she at:that(dist):place Maluwu she:p-dir-cv-be/go
'She came from over there, at Malawu,' (BWA5.5-OK)
(b) **Time:**

nuwa nguyi, yintaghi ngi - mpi - ni -
you(pl) future later you(pl)- np- dist:time-
wungili - kuruwala

initiation:-sing
song

'In the future, later on, you will sing initiation songs.'

(c) **Locative (discontinuous):**

nankitawu ningani nga - watu - wunji - rraki
there today we(incl)- morn - dur - group

- rrapijingi, kuyi tawunuli
- meet prep town:hall

'We will meet there in a group this morning, in the town hall.'

(e.g. 5-32 (MT)

(a) **Locative:**

kiyi ponpon yuriyi nakurrawu, ka thaputha
then Bonbon he:went over:there to home

'Then Bonbon went home.'

(b) **Locative (discontinuous):**

wuta kurrijakayi waya awarruwu kreshim warta
they Japanese then at:that:place(dist) crash bush

'Then the Japanese crashed way over there in the bush.'

(c) **Manner:**

nyi - rra - muwu nginingaji naki, nginingaji ngiya
you(pl)-emph - sit like this like me

'You sit like this, like me.'

There are prepositional phrases in TT and MT occurring
in various clause constituents, such as locative, manner and temporal. In TT, there are only about eight to ten prepositions and only the main ones of these are discussed here: kapi (or variant ngampi), kaghi (or variant kangi), kapani and kuyi, whose basic functions are to introduce prepositional locative phrases, nginingaji 'like', which normally introduces prepositional manner phrases, and karri 'when', which introduces temporal phrases (or clauses). (20) In MT, some of the TT prepositions have been lost while others are changed in form and/or meaning. Some of the TT locative prepositions have had their meaning extended to cover other grammatical relations. This is discussed briefly in 5.2.4, p. 383, and in more detail in the appropriate sections in Chapter 6. There are some English loan prepositions introduced as well, such as from 'from', and fo/fu 'for'.

Besides the prepositional phrases, there are other types of phrases in some of the clause constituents. The phrases in this section are discussed under the headings Locative Phrases, Temporal Phrases, Manner Phrases and other prepositional phrases.

5.2.1 LOCATIVE PHRASES

The prepositions kapi and ngampi appear to be variants of one another, often varying from speaker to speaker. The same speaker may use both, even in the one text. Similarly, kaghi and kangi are variants of one another.

The semantic reasons for the use of kapi/ngampi versus kaghi/kangi are difficult to determine from the small amount of TT data at my disposal, as both sets seem to be used
indiscriminately to mean 'to, at, in, on, near, over' etc. However, Godfrey, with the aid of an older TT speaker, has established that the criterion for distinction is basically proximity, \textit{kapi/ngampi} being used for distant locations and \textit{kaghi/kangi} for close locations, the distance being relative. Also, \textit{kaghi} and \textit{kangi} are used when there is a directional prefix, \textit{(wu)ni-}, meaning 'to here' on the verb (see 4.2.4, p28). There are some examples in the data where these criteria still seem to be applied, as in the examples in 5-33.

e.g. 5-33 (TT)

(a) nginayi a - wunji - ngi - rriti kapi purinjirringa
\textit{that(m) he:np-dur - cv - stand prep tree (dist)}
'That (distant) one is standing near the tree'

(b) kaghi kukuni awungarra ngi - mpi - ri - ki - yamukurughi
\textit{prep water here we(excl)-np - cv -eve - make:camp}
'At the water here we will make camp in the evening.'
\textit{(CWD 2.5)}

(c) papi a - mpi - ni - yi - m - ami kangi tingiwinini
\textit{come:out she - np -loc -icve - do-mv prep hollow:log}
'She is starting to come out of the hollow log.' (9.70-TP)

However, there are a number of examples given even by older people where the choice of the preposition is arbitrary, perhaps where distance is not very relevant to the clause and the speaker can choose either preposition.

e.g. 5-34 (TT)

(a) a - wunyayi kapi purinjirringa
\textit{he:np-find prep tree}
'He finds him at the tree' (NgY 8)
(b) wu - ru - muwu kangi mirriparinga
they:np-cv - live prep mangroves
'They live in the mangroves' (NgY 4)

It would seem that while there may have been semantic
criteria for the use of these prepositions in older TT, the
distinction is being lost among some speakers, particularly
younger men and women. The three variations in example
5-35 were given by the same speaker (a man of about 50)
as meaning the same.

e.g. 5-35 (TT/LTT?)
taringa papi ji - ni - ri - mi kapi
snake come: she:p-dir-cv - do ngampi
out
kangi

hollow:log

'The snake came out of the hollow log.' (9.70-JP50)

The preposition kangi becomes ka before personal
pronouns beginning with ng (see 3.3.2.1, p 162).

e.g. 5-36 (TT)
pi - nu - wuriyi ka ngawula
they:p-dir - go ka
prep our

'They came to our (place),'

The preposition kapani generally means 'towards' or
(23)
'following along'.

e.g. 5-37 (TT)
(a) pakinya yu - wuriyi kapani Jikilawila
first he:p - go towards Jikilawila

'First he went towards Jikilawila (country),' (MGD)
There are a few examples of a preposition, kuyi, which is used in TT (usually meaning 'in') but which is not found in MT.

E.g. 5-3g (TT)

nankitagha ningani ngawatuwunjirrakirrapijingi
here today we:are:meeting:together:in:morning

kuyi tawunuli
in town:hall

'We will meet here today, in the morning, in the town hall!' (C11.5)

In MT there are very few examples of kangi and none of ngampi or kaghi. However, there are two prepositions which are normally used: kapi and ka. The use of ka, as an abbreviation of kangi before pronouns beginning with ng, in TT, has been extended in MT (as in examples 5-39(b) and 5-40(b) cf 3.3.2.1, note (51), p 122). Looking at a wide spectrum of data from various speakers, I cannot discern any overall semantic criteria for using one form rather than the other, though some individuals may have some such criteria. It does not seem to depend entirely upon the age of the speaker, either, though younger children tend to use ka more than kapi.
In MT, it is common to find a preposition, kapi or ka, used with a locative word, particularly by children under about 12, where, in TT, the locative word is used alone.

In MT, the English loan preposition prom or from is used extensively, normally with a locative sense. (For another sense see 6.9.5 , p474).
In all varieties of Tiwi a prepositional locative phrase may occur following a positional locative word, such as yilaruwu 'inside', kuriyuwu 'up, above' (see 3.5.1, p194).

**e.g. 5-42 (TT)**

yipapurti kuriyuwu kapi yinguka
he:went:up above prep sky
'He went up into the sky,'

**e.g. 5-43 (MT)**

(a) yi - marriyi yilaruwu ka keyp
he:p - take inside prep cave
'He took (him) into the cave.'

(b) tha putim yilaruwu ka sink
you(sg) put inside prep sink
'Put (it) in the sink.'

5.2.2 TEMPORAL PHRASES

A temporal phrase in TT may be a phrase expressing duration or a prepositional phrase specifying a certain time. The first type of phrase consists of a nominal which expresses a period of time and a quantifier. Some of these
temporal nominals are TT words such as wumunga 'day, period of 24 hours,' TT words with an extended meaning such as pakitiringa 'year' (primary meaning: 'rain'). Other words are English loans such as wik(i) 'week'. In some cases the nominal is omitted where it can be understood from the context, as in example 5-44(b).

e.g. 5-44 (TT)

(a) yi - pamurrum - ani yirrara pakitiringa
he:p - work - rep two years
'He had worked for two years.' (TNg3b.7)

(b) natinga ngintirimajirripani
one(f) we:p:sleep:hab
'One (night) we would sleep (there),' (CWD 1.9)

For temporals of this type in MT the English loan preposition fu or fo 'for' may occur. As in English, this preposition seems to be optional. There are too few examples in the data of this type of temporal to determine which form is more common and whether the phrase with the preposition is taking over from that without the preposition.

e.g. 5-45 (MT)

(a) ngiya payipayi ngirim ngira ngirrima tey ...
I sleep I:do three days
'I will sleep (for) three days ...' (6.87-MD12)

(b) ngawa awungarruwu fu tu wik
we there for two weeks
'We will stay there for two weeks!' (9.73.2-GM30)
The second type of temporal phrase is derived from temporal clauses, in which karri is the subordinate temporal conjunction, meaning 'when' (see 6.9.3, p 472). The karri may be followed by a nominal or a predicative, or by the name of a day of the week or month of the year. These may be regarded as temporal clauses, meaning 'when (it was/is/will be) ...', but in a number of examples it is difficult to determine just what an overt subject would be, except perhaps the third masculine pronoun ngarra, as 'dummy' subject. Since there is no subject pronoun given in these situations, illustrated by the examples in 5-46, they are regarded as phrases, with the karri used as a preposition, which can be translated by 'on, in, at'. These phrases would seem to be recent innovations, particularly those with the days of the week and months of the year, so they are probably best regarded as LTT rather than TT even though they are normally used by older people. They also occur in MT.

e.g. 5-46 (TT/LTT)

(a) ngirramini ngini karri pukaringini
    story about at/when mass/church
    'A story about at mass' (TNg2b-DT)

(b) pi - ni - ri - ki - pakupawurli karri waniyarti
    they:p-dir - cv - eve - go:back when Friday
    'They came back on Friday evening!' (TNg4c-DT)

e.g. 5-47 (MT)

    karri satutey moliki yintirimi ka winga
    when Saturday swim we:did prep sea
    'On Saturday we went swimming in the sea!' (GP437-PJ12)
In MT these phrases are extended, in that karri may occur with a temporal word, which in TT requires no such preposition.

e.g. 5-48 (MT)

karri thapinamini anturiyi with fata
when night went with Father
'At night we went with Father,' (GP37-DB12)

There are some other types of temporal phrases in TT or LTT, for which I have found no MT equivalents to date, such as with nginingaji, which is normally used as a preposition in manner phrases and clauses (see next subsection and 6.9.4, p 473), as in example 5-49(a). An example of another type of temporal phrase is also given here, 5-49(b).

e.g. 5-49 (TT/LTT)

(a) nginingaji namurruputi api ...
about supper time well ...
'About supper time, well ...'

(b) ngini yoni waniyarti

{that other Friday
{which(m)

'On (the) next Friday'

5.2.3 MANNER PHRASES

The prepositional manner phrases are introduced by nginingaji, meaning 'like', which also functions as a subordinate conjunction with a manner clause (see 6.9.4, p 473). The manner phrases, like the prepositional temporal phrases, are probably derived from
clauses, only in this case it is the predicate which is omitted, not the subject as with temporal phrases. These occur in all varieties of Tiwi. (MT: nginingaji/yiningaji.)

e.g. 5-50  (TT)
ngawa awungani nga - ma - ta - ami
we like:that we(incl)-sbve- emph.- be
nginingaji wuta, ngawa - mamanta
like them our - friends
'We should be like them, our friends,' (IBGl.11-DK)

e.g. 5-51  (MT)
(a) wutatuwu kakijuwi nginingaji nuwa
they:too children like you(pl)
'They (were) children like you (are)' (GP1829-PP23)
(b) wurra yusim thaliwarra yiningaji nuwa
they use trousers like you(pl)
skul poy
school boys (GP1558-EP20)
'They use trousers like you school boys (do),'

5.2.4 OTHER PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

There are prepositional phrases occurring in other clause constituents, particularly in MT. In TT (or perhaps LTT) there are only two or three such types of phrases. One of these is use of the locative prepositions, kapi/ngampi and kaghi/kangi with the addressee, following the verb stem -mi when it means 'say'. This is probably a LTT use rather than TT. It is certainly extended in MT, though with the prepositions kapi and ka. This
Another type of prepositional phrase is a complement phrase following a verb of speech or a word meaning 'story'. In TT the preposition used in ngini, which, as pointed out earlier, is used as a complementiser and general subordinating conjunction elsewhere (see 6.9.7, p 479). In MT the preposition may be ngini/yini or apat. In all cases it may be translated as 'about'.

**Example:**

- **TT**
  - (a) naki yoni ngi - mpi - yi - wa - yalam - ami
    - this(m) other(m) I - np - icve - word - load - mv
    - ngini awinyirra arntongi
    - about that(f) jabiru
    - 'I am starting to record this other (story) about that jabiru.'  
      (JD1.1-DK)
  - (b) ngirramini ngini nyirra, ngawa - naringa
    - story about her our - mother
    - 'A story about her, our mother (Mary)'  
      (TNg3c-DT)

- **MT**
  - (a) nginja telim ngawa stori ngini Majiya
    - you(sg) tell us story about Marcia
    - 'You tell us a story about Marcia'
  - (b) yiya tok apat naki
    - I talk about this
    - 'I am talking about this.'  
      (GP1535-EP20)

In MT there are prepositional phrases for other grammatical relations such as: indirect object (kapi or ka), benefactive (with fo/fu), purpose (with fo/fu), and accompaniment (with wutili or with(i)). These are discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.
(1) There are some other types of nominal phrases, not discussed here for lack of space, such as the 'goal-oriented' noun phrase, discussed by Osborne (Os., p 75) and a pronoun phrase, basically consisting of a plural pronoun, and a modifier, usually a quantifier. e.g. ngawa yuwurrara 'we two'

(2) There are some other types of phrases which are trivial, such as kawunga yatiwani 'facing one-sided' 'facing the same way'

(3) The splitting of phrases by other clause elements occurs in some other Aboriginal languages, such as Walmatjari (Richards, 1979, p 123).

(4) A 'group' noun is not described as such in Chapter 3, but by this I mean a noun indicating people of a particular region or totem. These are normally marked by the suffix -la (see 3.6, p217).

(5) These also occur as prefixes to demonstratives (see 3.3.4.1, p132) and possessive pronouns (3.3.2.3, p170).

(6) This NP is actually embedded in the prepositional locative phrase.

(7) This phrase is part of a co-ordinate NP, the first part being the phrase in example 5-1(d). The order of numeral and head may perhaps be reversed for stylistic effect or perhaps because 'flags' is in focus in the second phrase.

(8) It is only the plural limiting adjective which is used as a quantifier, meaning 'some' or 'a number of'.

(9) Some children have not acquired gender distinctions for adjectives (or definitives, as mentioned earlier), and in most cases the feminine form of the adjective is generalised. (Normal MT forms: yoni(m), nyonga/yonga(f) 'other').

(10) Presumably pronoun phrases may also occur as possessors, but there are no examples in the data (see note 1).

(11) When a kin noun occurs as the possessed head the possessor is normally not manifested by a normal personal pronoun, since the kin noun is already prefixed by such a pronoun or by an abbreviated pronoun. However, Godfrey says she has had some examples of this, mainly with ngiya 'my', ngawa 'our'. e.g. ngiya ngi-yuwani my my-young:brother

(12) Presumably this could be expanded to include Quantifiers, Exposition etc., though the Possessor may take the place of the Definitive, since there are no examples of definitives when there is a possessor.
(13) This is only of the type: attrib NP, normal personal pronoun, e.g. 5-15(b).

(14) The feminine form of the possessive pronoun is generalised in MT (except in the speech of older young people, older than about 20), for all genders (see 3.3.2.3, p170).

(15) Private communication.

(16) The context implies 'Tiwi people' but Godfrey says (private communication) that in TT it generally refers to all peoples. So this would seem to be a changed meaning (the speaker was a woman in her forties). (See also example 5-1(f)).

(17) See note (1).

(18) This is a possessive pronoun formed by prefixing nga(ngi)-(f) to the normal personal pronoun ngarra 'he/his' (see 3.3.2.3, p170).

(19) In TT, and generally in MT, 'like this' would be the anaphoric pro-manner word awungani (or MT: awani), see 3.5.3, p212.

(20) Most of these prepositions also introduce corresponding subordinate clauses (see 6.9, p465).

(21) Pilling notes that napi [possibly ngapi] is a dialectal variation used by people from a certain camp (Pilling, 1970, p266).

(22) Osborne has just kapi (or ngampi) and kaghi (or ka) as having 'entirely general locative/directional meaning' (Os., p76). These are the only prepositions he discusses.

(23) These examples and meanings are from Godfrey, as there are very few examples in the TT data I have. kapani seems to be kapi + the verbal repetitive suffix -ani, and perhaps there is a sense of 'repetition' or 'continuity', as with the verbal suffix.

(24) It is not clear what the exact meaning of the aspect suffixes, yi- 'inceptive', -ami 'movement' and -ani 'repetitive/past habitual' are in this example (cf 4.2.8, p298).

(25) Godfrey says (private communication) that it is not usual for the subject to be omitted in non-verbal clauses.

(26) ngini, as well as being the masculine singular form of the relative pronoun (see 5.1.1, p350), functions as a general conjunction and complementiser (see 6.9.7, p479).
6.1 OVERVIEW

I am defining a clause as a group of words which function together as a unit, having one main predication (verbal or non-verbal). It may function alone as a simple sentence or as part of a larger, more complex sentence. A clause may occur within one of the constituents of a sentence or another clause; for instance as a relative clause within one of the nominal arguments of a clause (see 5.1, p350, and 6.9.1, p466), as a temporal clause within the Temporal constituent of a clause or sentence (see 6.9.3, p472) or as a complement clause following verbs of speech, wanting , etc. (see 6.9.7, p479).

In TT there may also be two logical predications encoded in the verb, when a verbal or stative incorporated form occurs in the nucleus structure of the verb (see 4.2.2.1(b), p254). However, these can be regarded as adding a dimension of meaning to the verb or clause. In most cases they are similar to Lateral constituents (see below and discussion in 4.2.2.1(b), p254), being similar to participial phrases in English, such as 'being frightened'.

e.g. 6-1 (TT)
nuwatuwu yingompa nyi - rra - makirring - uriyi
you(pl):too some you(pl):-emph-fright - go
imp
'Some of you go {in fright.'
(because you are frightened.' (CIL.8-RA)
6.1.1 SUMMARY OF CLAUSE TYPES IN TT

Clauses in TT may be classified two-dimensionally:
(i) According to mood, i.e. indicative, subjunctive, imperative/hortative and interrogative. The differences between these are not very significant and are discussed more fully in sub-sections 6.3, 6.6 and 6.7; (ii) according to the type of Predicate structure. There are three main types of predicates, giving rise to three main types of clauses: (a) active verbal clause with a predicate consisting of a verb or a verbal complex, as described in 4.3, p 325; (b) a stative verbal clause with a predicate consisting of a Complement plus a verb; (c) a non-verbal clause with a predicate consisting of just a Complement. Each of the types (a) and (c) can be sub-divided according to the relationship of the nominal arguments to the predicate.

The term 'predicate' is used as a syntactic term, as it is normally used in tagmemics rather than logic (cf Longacre, 1964, p 35f with Lyons, 1977a, p 148f). Longacre distinguishes centred and non-centred clauses. The former are those which 'contain bound subjects with their predicates and such subjects must occur whether or not a substantive phrase also expresses subject elsewhere in the clause' (ibid, p 35). Non-centred clauses are ones in which the predicate does not contain a bound subject. In TT, verbal clauses are centred clauses while non-verbal clauses are non-centred.

The active verbal clauses can be sub-divided into: transitive, ditransitive, semi-transitive and intransitive clauses. A transitive clause has a verb which requires a
second nominal argument, and this argument, the direct object (DO), is obligatorily marked on the verb by a direct object person prefix (or by the choice of a transitive subject-tense-object prefix, in the case of third singular objects, see 4.2.2.1(a), p 249 and 4.2.3.1, p 273). A semi-transitive clause has a verb which requires a second nominal argument but this argument, the Secondary Object (SO), is not coded by a verbal prefix. A ditransitive clause has a verb which requires three nominal arguments, of which two are coded on the verb by person prefixes, the subject (S) and the direct object, while the third, the secondary object, is not coded. The direct object is animate (being the recipient or source, depending on the verb) and the secondary object is normally inanimate. An intransitive clause is one which requires only one nominal argument, the subject (S).

The distinction made between transitive, ditransitive, semi-transitive and intransitive at clause level is different from that made between transitive, and non-transitive (feminine and general) verb stems in the verbal construction. Transitive verb stems occur in both transitive and ditransitive verbs. Non-transitive verb stems (both feminine and general) occur in semi-transitive and intransitive verbs, though, in general, feminine stems tend to be in semi-transitive verbs (see 4.2.2.1(a), p 249). These clause types and the reasons for separating them are discussed more fully in 6.3.1.1, p 423, and 6.3.2.1, p 427.

The non-verbal clauses can be divided into sub-types according to the relationship between the Subject and the
Predicate, which consists solely of a complement. A stative non-verbal clause expresses a relationship between the Subject and Predicate of 'being' (location, description or identification) and a possessive non-verbal clause expresses a relationship of 'having'. There is no difference in the surface structure of this latter type of clause with the non-verbal stative clauses expressing identification. The non-verbal clauses are related to the stative verbal clause and to some semi-transitive verbal clauses with verbs of 'having' respectively. These are discussed in more detail in 6.5, p 450.

6.1.2 SUMMARY OF CLAUSE TYPES IN MT

As in TT, the distinction between clauses in MT on the basis of mood is not very significant and the differences are discussed in 6.3, 6.6 and 6.7. With regard to the other dimension, that of Predicate structure, there are still three main clause types but the actual predicate structures vary from those of TT.

In MT, the active verbal clause has a predicate consisting of an independent inflected verb or a Verbal Complex, as in TT, or a free form verb. There may also be an optional aspect word, which is closely tied to the verbal construction, viz. sat/stat 'start to' or tra/tray 'try to' (see 4.3.3, p 340). In MT, there is no distinction between transitive and semi-transitive clauses, since the direct object prefix has been lost from the verb (see 4.2.4, p 285). A transitive clause in MT is one which has a verb which requires two nominal arguments, the subject (S), and the direct object (DO). A ditransitive clause is one which has
a verb requiring three nominal arguments, the subject, the secondary object or object (the thing 'given') and the direct object or indirect object (the 'recipient') (see 6.3.2.2, p 433 regarding the differences). An intransitive clause requires only one nominal argument, as in TT. These clause types are discussed further in 6.3.1.2, (p 425) and 6.3.2.2. (p 433).

6.2 CLAUSE CONSTITUENTS

The clause constituents in all varieties of Tiwi can be 'layered' in groups depending upon their relationship to the predicate. There are arguments which can be further grouped into core and non-core arguments, and there are Lateral constituents. The definitions and criteria for the arguments of a clause vary between TT and MT and these are discussed in the next sub-sections.

The Lateral constituents 'convey specific information about the circumstances of the action expressed in the predicate' (Glasgow and Garner, 1980, p 41), but, in general, are not arguments of the verb and, in the case of TT, are not usually marked on the verb. These lateral constituents are basically the same for TT and MT, though the manifestation of them may differ. These constituents are: locative (L), temporal (T), manner (Mnr), modal (Md1), negative (Neg) and reason (Reas). Locative may be considered an argument of the clause with verbs of motion but there is no formal difference between these manifestations of locative from locative in other clauses (except for location 'from' in MT; see 6.2.3.1, p 413).

Most of the non-predicate constituents of a clause may
occur as appositional phrases, as discussed in Chapter 5 (5.1.4, p 370, and 5.2, p 372). Normally in these cases, each succeeding element within that constituent becomes more specific in meaning (see examples 5-31, 32, p 372). These appositional phrases may be interrupted by other clause constituents, but the reason for this is not always clear without more extensive investigation (some reasons are discussed briefly in 6.8, p 460).

6.2.1 ARGUMENTS OF THE CLAUSE IN TT

In TT, the clause may consist of just a verb, since most of the arguments of the verb may be indicated in the verb in some way (or, where they are not, they may be clear from the context), or there may be references to the arguments of the verb externally to the verb.

Some of these nominal arguments are encoded in the verb by a prefix indicating the person and number (and in the case of third person, also gender). These are: subject (S), direct object (DO), and indirect object (IO). These arguments are referred to as core arguments. Other arguments, referred to as non-core arguments, are either: (i) required or implied by the semantics of the verb but are not encoded on the verb by a personal prefix, viz secondary object (SO) and instrument (In); (ii) signalled within the verb by the presence of the concomitative marker, thus showing they are required by this particular form of the verb, viz. concomitative (Con) (cf 4.2.2.1(c), p 261).

All these nominal arguments of the verb may occur externally to the verb as an unmarked nominal phrase
(5.1, p 350), a personal or impersonal pronoun (3.3.1-3, p 354), a definitive or demonstrative (3.3.4, p 382),
a pronominal phrase (note (1)), Chapter 5, p 395) or a combination of some of these as an appositional NP (5.1.4, p 370). The pronominalisation of arguments is discussed in a little more detail in 6.8.1, p 400.

6.2.1.1 CORE ARGUMENTS

(i) Subject. The subject (S) is the nominal argument which is required in the intransitive clause. Dixon labels the two nominal arguments required in the transitive clause A and O, where A is the transitive subject and O is the transitive object (Dixon, 1980, p 286). In TT S and A fall together and are denoted by S. Neither have case-marking and they cannot be distinguished by word order differences (see 6.8, p 400). Moreover, they are encoded on the verb by the same set of prefixes, in general (see 4.2.3.1, p 273). This is another feature in which Tiwi differs from most Australian languages, particularly Pama-Nyungan languages (Dixon, 1980, p 286). The term S refers to the first nominal argument required in all verbal clauses and which is encoded on the verb in the first and second prefixes (see Table 4.3, p 237). This applies to those clauses which require just one nominal argument (viz. active intransitive clauses and stative verbal clauses) and those which require two or three nominal arguments (viz. active transitive, semi-transitive and ditransitive clauses).
e.g. 6-2 (TT)

(a) active itr:
   \textit{ji} - pangurlimayi
   she:p - walk
   'She walked!'

(b) stative verbal:
   winga \textit{ji} - pungi - mangi - ma
   sea she:p - away - water - become
   'It became salt water out there!'

(c) active tr:
   \textit{ji} - mini - pirni
   she:p - me(DO) - hit
   'She hit me!'

(d) active semi-tr:
   \textit{ji} - kirimi wangatunga
   she:p - make bark:basket
   'She made a bark basket!'

(e) active ditr:
   \textit{ji} - min - takirayi kunawini
   she:p - me(DO) give money
   'She gave me money!'

The term 'S' is extended to cover the nominal argument in non-verbal clauses which identifies who or what is being talked about. The term S is used because of the relationship between stative non-verbal clauses and stative verbal clauses. In the latter case the same verbal subject prefixes are used as in active clauses (see 6.4.1, p\textsuperscript{+13}, and also 6.5.1, p\textsuperscript{+CS}). There seems no reason to call this nominal argument by another term.
In the non-verbal clauses the subject may be manifested by an expanded NP, but it is more usual for it to be manifested by a single word, such as a noun, pronoun, definitive or demonstrative, with a quality or state etc. being given in the predicate.

**e.g. 6-3 (TT)**

(a) *ngarra, muwa-mantani yijana*

he our-friend(m) sick

'Our friend is sick.'

(b) *(karri) ngiya kirijinga*

when I small(f)

'(when) I was a girl'

**(ii) Direct Object (DO).** The DO is defined as that nominal argument required by certain verb stems (transitive) and which is indicated on the verb by a DO prefix (see 4.2.4, p 285) for all persons, except third minimal in which case the subject-tense prefix also encodes the gender of the DO as well (see 4.2.3.1, p 273). The DO may occur overtly in the clause as well, cross-referenced to the verbal prefix. There may also be an incorporated form in the nucleus structure of the verb referring to the DO (see 4.2.2.1(b), p 284). The DO occurs in transitive and ditransitive clauses.

The DO normally has the role of patient or, in the case of ditransitive verbs, recipient or source, depending upon the verb. (This is discussed further in 6.3.2.1, p 427).

**e.g. 6-4 (TT)**

(a) *pi - rri - wun - unyayi awuta nyarrinari*

they:p-p-them(DO)-find those(def) goose

'They found the geese.'
(iii) **Indirect Object (IO).** The IO is the nominal argument to which the IO prefixes on the verb refer (6). Although 'indirect object' is used here, the senses in which it is used in TT are much wider than those normally covered by the term. The IO may encode benefactive (as in example 6-5(a)), purpose (as in example 6-5(b)), the addressee with certain verbs of speech (6-5(c)), the patient (6-5(d) and (e)), or the person talked about (6-5(f)).

The IO prefix is often the only indication of the presence of an IO in the clause, but there may be an overt expression of the IO in the clause as well and/or an incorporated form in the nucleus of the verb (see 4.2.2.1(b), p 254).

Although benefactive and purpose are not normally arguments of the verb (cf Dixon, 1980, p 297f), they are considered as such in TT, since, when they are present in a clause they are cross-referenced on the verb with the IO prefix, indicating person and number (and, in the case of third singular person, gender, see Table 4.8, p 286). Here 'benefactive' and 'purpose' are semantic terms and 'IO' is the syntactic term. The beginning of a change is discussed on the next page where the IO is not necessarily marked on the verb.
(a) ngu - mpu - nginji - kuruwala
   I - np:f - you(IO) - sing
   'I will sing for you.'

(b) mintawunga nga - murr - uriyi
   stringy bark(f) we(incl)-her(IO) - go
   'We go for stringy bark.'

(c) ngarra awarra yi - mpu - rrupujinga - mi
   he that:one he:p - us(IO) - talk - say
       ngini "......" (FP2.5-RA)
       that "......"
   'He said to us "......".'

(d) a - mpu - nginji - rrangurliya
   she - np - you(Sg) - hold:shoulders
       (IO)
   'She is holding you by the shoulders.' (G.40-DK)

(e) kulinjila pu-tu - mirri - kupur - ani
   wallaby they:p-p:f - her(IO) - spear - p:hab
   spear
   jipojirringa wallaby (HCW1.3)
   'They would spear the wallaby with a wallaby spear.'

(f) awarra mu - rrupujinga - mi
       (wu+-mi-)
   that:one(m) they:np+him(IO) - talk - say
   'They talk about that one.'

The IO prefix is mutually exclusive with the DO prefix, and, in general, the IO does not occur in transitive clauses, but it may occur when the DO is third singular person. (See 4.2.3, p 273).

The IO does not appear in any of the examples of
ditransitive clauses in my corpus, except in example 6-7(c)
(where it occurs as a prepositional phrase) but it may occur
in intransitive and semi-transitive clauses. In some cases
it would seem that the IO prefix on the verb is optional
where there is an overt expression of the IO externally to
the verb. This may be a recent innovation.

e.g. 6-6 (TT)
(a) pu - rr - uriy - ani nyarringari
    they:p-p- go - p:hab goose(f)(IO)
    'They would go for geese!' (cf example 6-4 (b))
(Ngy 1)

Another feature which appears to be a recent innovation
is the use of a prepositional phrase, with the 'locative'
prepositions kapi/ngampi or kaghi/kangi, for the external
form of IO. In all the examples I have where the IO is such
a prepositional phrase there is no IO prefix on the verb.
This seems to be the beginning of the change apparent in MT,
where there is never an IO prefix and the grammatical
relations, covered by the IO in TT, are given by a
prepositional phrase (see 6.2.2, p 402, and Table 6.1, p 421).

e.g. 6-7 (TT)
(a) yi - pakilinga kaghi yingoti
    he:p-climb prep honey
    'He climbed for honey.'
(b) "..." ngiya ngi - ri - mi kapi ngiya - mamanta
    I I - cv - do prep my - friends
    '"..." I said to my friends.'
6.2.1.2 NON-CORE ARGUMENTS

(i) **Secondary Object (SO).** The SO is a nominal argument required by certain verb stems but which is not indicated on the verb by a personal prefix. It may occur in the verb as a nominal incorporated form (as in example 6-8(a)) (see also 4.2.2.1(a), p 249) or expressed overtly in the clause, externally to the verb. The SO tends to be inanimate, while the DO tends to be animate. The SO occurs in ditransitive and semi-transitive clauses. In some cases there is no reference to the secondary object in the clause at all but it has to be inferred from the context (as in example 6-4(b) p 396, where 'her' is understood from the previous sentences).

**e.g.** 6-8

(a) awu ngarratuwu naki yoni ngi-mpi-yi -
    and he:in turn this(m) other(m) I-np:f-icve -
    wa - yalam - ami...
    words - load - mv

    'And here's another story. I am recording (about the jabiru).'
    (JD1.1-DK)

(b) Yirrikati yi - kirimi mampunga
    Y. he:p - make canoe

    'Yirrikati made canoes.'
    (Os., p 63)
(ii) **Concomitative.** The concomitative is the nominal argument of the verb which is signalled by the concomitative marker, `ma-`, on the verb. This is discussed at some length in 4.2.2.1(c) (p. 120) but some of the discussion is re-iterated here. This prefix, `ma-`, may immediately precede a form, `ji(ngi)-`, which means 'in, on' and in this case the concomitative generally has the role of conveyance or vehicle, though in some cases it seems that what is referred to by the concomitative is actually 'in' or 'on' the person referred to by the Subject, as in example 6-9(d).

When the prefix `ma-` occurs without the form `ji(ngi)-` the role of the concomitative is generally accompaniment, though the range included in TT is wider than in English, including things which are carried, as in example 6-9(a). In general, the concomitative refers to an object or person in close association with one of the other major nominal arguments of the clause, normally S or DO.

The concomitative may be manifested overtly by a NP or pronominal, externally to the verb, and/or by an incorporated form in the verb. (When there is `ji(ngi)-` present there is only one example in the data of such an incorporated form (see 4.2.2.1(c), p. 120, and example 4-36(c), p. 264). In some cases there is no overt reference to the concomitative and the meaning has to be inferred from the context as in example 6-9(e) or from one's knowledge of the situation, as in example 6-9(g). The concomitative
has been found in all active verbal clause types in the data except the ditransitive.

**e.g. 6-9**

(a)  **a - wuni - marri - kiji - ja manjanga**

he:np-dir-con.m - stick- go big:stick

'He is bringing a big stick!'  
(Lit: 'he is coming with a big stick')  
(9.6-JP50)

(b)  **karrikuwani yi - rri - marri - muwu  tayikuwanga**

nobody  he(p)-sbve-con.m - live many(f)

'Nobody marries a lot of wives.'
(Lit: 'nobody lives with many (feminine things/persons'))

(c)  **ngawa kinukuluwi kiyija  pi - rri - muwunu**

we old:people little:bit they:p-p-us(DO)

- ma - jumori

-con.m - leave

'They left us with a little (of the old ways).'
(FPl.4-RA)

(d)  **"yayi, yayi" ji - yi - ma - ju - wurtingi**

oh  oh  she:p-cv-con.m-in - because:of(?)

- m - ani **awinyirra**

(con)

- do-p:hab that(f)

"Oh, oh" she would say because of that (spear) in her.'  
(HCW2.1)

(e)  **Kiyi pi - ti - ri - marr - unga - mini tuwara**

then  they:p-p:her(DO)-cv-con.m- grab -p:hab tail

'Then they would grab her tail (with the spear still in her),'  
(HCW2.2)

(f)  **ngawa kapala nga - ri - ma - jing - uriyi**

(con)

we boat  we(incl)-cv-con.m-in - go

'We go in a boat.'  
(NgY 29)
(g) jarrikarlani mu - wati - pa - ma - ji - papirraya
turtle you:& I-morn-emph-con.m-in-go:down
'You and I will go down in the morning (in a boat)
for turtle.' (JD1.5-DK)

(iii) Instrument (In). In TT there are very few
instances of an instrument expressed in a clause. Where it
does occur, it is manifested by a NP, which has no
cross-reference to the verb. Instrument has been found in
all active verbal clause types, except ditransitive, and in
the stative semi-transitive clause.

e.g. 6-10 (TT)
(a) a - wunji - kurungumi arlukuni
he:np-dur - dig digging:stick
'He is digging with a digging stick.' (3.69-JW)

(b) pajungoni pi - ri - kirim - ani nyitawa manjanga
die/dead they:p-cv-make -p:hab her:emph big:stick
'They would kill her (i.e. wallaby) with the big stick.'
(HCW2.6)

6.2.2 ARGUMENTS OF THE CLAUSE IN MT

In MT, where the subject is encoded on the verb, a
clause may consist of just a predicate or a number of other
constituents, as in TT. Where there is an uninflected free
form verb a clause consists of at least a subject and
(20)
predicate.

As in TT, the constituents of the clause can be
'layered' but the criteria for classing constituents as core
arguments, non-core arguments or lateral constituents are
different. Core arguments are those which are required by
the semantics of the verb, i.e. subject (S), direct object (DO) and indirect object (IO). In MT there is no object marked on the verb and so the distinction between direct object and secondary object, which exists in TT, is lost. These non-core arguments in MT are: benefactive/purpose (B/Pur), instrument (In), accompaniment (Accomp), and vehicle (Veh). The lateral constituents are the same as those in TT, viz. locative (L), temporal (T), manner (Mnr), modal (Mdl), negative (Neg) and reason (Reas). These are discussed further in 6.2.3, p 412.

In MT most of the non-core arguments and also the IO are expressed in the clause by prepositional phrases, not by unmarked nominal phrases or pronominals as in TT. A brief description of the core and non-core arguments is given here:

6.2.2.1 CORE ARGUMENTS

(i) **Subject.** In MT the definition of S is the same as that given for TT (see 6.2.1.1(i), p 393), viz that nominal argument which is encoded by the first one (or two) prefixes on the verb, in a verbal clause containing an inflected verb.

e.g. 6-11 (MT)

(a) itr: \((\text{ng})\text{arra} \quad \text{kalikali} \quad \text{vi-mi}\)

he \quad \text{run} \quad \text{he:p-do}

'He ran.'

(b) tr: \((\text{ng})\text{arra} \quad \text{kilim} \quad \text{vi-mi} \quad \text{ngiya}\)

he \quad \text{hit} \quad \text{he:p-do} \quad \text{me}

'He hit me.'
In clauses containing no inflected verb but a free form verb occurring alone, the term 'S' is extended to cover the NP which precedes the verb. This NP would be cross-referenced to the inflected verb if there was one, and is the actor or agent with an active verb and the experiencer with a stative verb (in general).

e.g. 6-12 (MT)

(a) \( \text{itr: arra} \) \( \text{kalilaki} \)
\[ S \] he run

'He is running'/'he ran.'

(b) \( \text{tr: arra} \) \( \text{kilim yiya} \)
\[ S \] he hit me

'He is hitting me.' or 'he hit me.'

Again in MT non-verbal clauses the subject is that NP which identifies the object or person being talked about. It is equivalent to the S of TT non-verbal clauses and normally precedes the predicate, as in TT.

e.g. 6-13 (MT)

\( \text{(ng)arra} \) \( \text{kijini} \)
\[ S \] he small(m)/boy

'He is small.' or 'He is a boy.'

As in TT, S may be manifested by a NP (5.1, p 350), a pronoun (3.3.1-3, p 350f), a definitive or a demonstrative (3.3.4, p 312).

(ii) **Direct Object.** In MT the DO is the second nominal argument semantically required by certain verbs. Since the DO person is no longer marked on the verb the DO is pronominalised more than in TT. The normal position of
the DO in MT is following the verb, though in MT this may vary where there is an inflected verb (see 6.8.2, p 463).
The DO occurs in transitive clauses and as the second object in ditransitive clauses. The DO may be manifested by a nominal phrase or by a pronominal. When the object is third person and can be understood from the context it may be omitted (see 6.3.2.2, p 433).

e.g. 6-14 (MT)
(a) ju - wunga naki kirritawini
    she:p-get this bread
    'She got this bread.'

(b) viva kilim yi - mi
    me hit he:p-do
    'He hit me.'

In casual MT or in Children's Tiwi, where there is no inflected verb, there is fairly rigid word order SVO.

e.g. 6-15 (CasMT/CT)
(a) arra kilim awa
    he hit us
    'He is hitting us!' or 'he hit us'

(b) nyirra meykim tunga
    she make basket
    'She is making a basket!' or 'she made a basket.'

Some cases of DO in MT are equivalent to one of the functions of the concomitative in TT, for instance the verb stem -marriyi 'take' in MT is derived from the concomitative marker marri plus the stem -uriyi 'go'
(see 4.2.2.2, p 266).
(iii) **Indirect Object.** The IO is the third nominal argument required by ditransitive verbs, such as verbs of 'giving' or some verbs of speech (see also 6.3.2.2, p.433). In the clauses containing such verbs it is regarded as a core argument. In ditransitive clauses the IO may occur as a prepositional phrase with either of the prepositions kapi or ka (see 5.2.4, p.333) or it may occur as an unmarked NP or pronominal (see 6.3.2.2, p.433, for examples of the IO in ditransitive clauses).

The IO may also be a non-core argument in some intransitive clauses (depending upon the verb). The verbs in these clauses are mainly English loan verbs which take such an indirect object in English, as in examples 6-17 (a, b).

The verb stem -mi, meaning 'say' or the loan verb sey (plus an auxiliary with the stem -mi 'do' (see 4.3.2.2, p.339)) also takes an IO. In these cases the IO is always a prepositional phrase with the prepositions kapi or ka, as in 6-17(c).

*e.g. 6-16 (MT)*

yi - marriyi yipalinya ta keyp
     DO
he:p-take   woman   prep cave
'He took the woman to the cave.'

*e.g. 6-17 (MT)*

(a) awa lap yintirimi ka Reyshel
we laugh we:did at Rachael
'We laughed at Rachael.'  (Ng33-SM12)

(b) arra poyntim kapi yirrikipayi
he point at crocodile
'He is pointing at a crocodile.' (SB119-IM10)
(c) nuwa kalu tok ka ngiya
you(pl) not talk to me
'You are not talking to me.' (GP1571-EP20)

This second function of the IO corresponds to one of
the functions of the IO in TT (see 6.2.1.1 (iii), example
6-5(c), p 397).

6.2.2.2 NON-CORE ARGUMENTS

(i) Benefactive/Purpose. In general, there is no
formal distinction between benefactive and purpose, both
being manifested by a prepositional phrase with the English
loan preposition fo or fu 'for'. There are some examples
in the older young people's speech where a purpose is
manifested by an unmarked NP following a verb of motion, as
in the less traditional style of Tiwi discussed in
6.2.1, p 391, and shown in example 6-6(b).

e.g. 6-18 (LTT/MT)

(a) ngu - witha vikiti
I - go:now food
'I am going for food.' (9.12-MD12)

(b) ju - wuriyi opireyshin
she:p-go operation
'She went for an operation.' (9.78-CP19)

Benefactive/purpose occurs in all active verbal
clause types in MT, except the ditransitive.

e.g. 6-19 (MT)

(a) yi - kirim - ani jurra fu ngawa
he:p-make-p:hab(?) church for us
'He built a church for us.' (GP777-JN12)
(b) awa luk ran yintirimi fo kapinaki
   (B/Pur)
   we look around we:did for these
   'We looked around for these people.'
   (NG213-ST10)
(c) wuta pu - nu - riyi fu poting
    (B/Pur)
    they they:p-dir-go for voting
    'They came for voting.'
    (9.85-AP28)
e.g. 6-20  (CasMT/CT)
(a) thirra kijimi wan fo thirra
    (B/Pur)
    she get one for her
    'She got one for her.'
    (NG56-AM12)
(b) arra weyt fu ngawa
    (B/Pur)
    'He is waiting for us!'
    (GP1222-boy)
(c) arra ku waya fu jupojirringa
    (B/Pur)
    he go now for wallaby
    'He is going now for wallaby.'
    (7.43-TP8)

There are a few examples (3 or 4) where the
prepositions, ka or kapi, are used to express purpose but
this does not seem to be a general trend. These examples are
given by children and they may be cases of hyper-correction,
a TT derived preposition being given instead of the English
(24)
derived one.
e.g. 6-21  (MT)
(a) arra tray luk aran kapi awurra yingopa men
    (B/Pur)
    he try look around prep those other(pl) men
    'He tried to look around for those other men.'
(b) thirra kam jimi naki kapi wununga
    (B/Pur)
    she come she:did this/here prep possum
    'She came here for possum!'  (CP8)
(ii.) Accompaniment. The accompaniment in MT is equivalent to one of the functions of the concomitative in TT (see 6.2.1.2 (ii), p 400). There are basically two ways of showing accompaniment in MT: by the use of prepositions wuta or wurra and with (i) ([wiˈt(a)])

wuta or wurra is derived from the third plural pronoun, which is used in TT (or in LTT) as a conjunction meaning 'and' in co-ordinate NP's (see 5.1.3, p 365). This does not seem to be used by young children (as is also the case with the conjunction, wuta/wurra). The accompaniment normally follows the verb or is final in the clause, and occurs only in intransitive clauses.

e.g. 6-22 (MT)

(a) nginanki waki awujikimi wuta ngarra-mirani (Accomp)
   this:one(m) work he:is:doing with his - son
   'This man is working with his son.'

(b) ngarra yi - nuriyi ningani wuta awinvirra vipalinya (Accomp)
   he he:p-come today with that(f) woman
   'He came today with that woman.' (9.85-AP28)

(c) arra jiyita peyiti wurra naki arra kopra (Accomp)
   that(m) cheetah fight with this this(m) cobra (def) (dem) (def)
   'The cheetah fought with this cobra.' (GP-DB12)

The English loan preposition with (i) is also used in MT, mainly by children.

e.g. 6-23 (MT/CT?)

(a) karri thapinamini anturiyi with fata (Accomp)
   when night we:went with Father
   'At night we went with Father.' (GP37-DB12)
As with purpose, there are some cases of younger children using the general preposition ka to indicate accompaniment.

There are some cases in which it is difficult to tell whether the prepositional phrase with with functions as an accompaniment or as an instrument, since accompaniment is normally animate and the nouns in these particular cases are inanimate. They occur with the verbs pley, wulijini or pokayini, all meaning 'play' and are similar to English expressions with this verb.

Some older young people gave this type of clause (in 6-25) but with the preposition wutiriyi or wutili/wutiliyi derived from a TT word wutiriyi which seems to mean 'mixed up' or 'together'. This is also used for instrument in MT (see 6.2.2.2 (iv), p 411).
e.g. 6-26 (MT/LTT?)

wulijini wu - timuji - ngi - mi wutiliyi malipininga
play they:np-together-cv-do with bike
'They are playing together with the bike.' (7.17-MW25)

(iii) Vehicle. Vehicle is another argument in MT which is equivalent to one of the functions of the concomitative in TT (see 6.2.1.2 (ii), p 400). This is manifested in MT by a prepositional phrase with the general preposition ka.

e.g. 6-27

(a) yi - nuriyi Jipilayi ka mutika (Veh)

-he:p-come J. prep car

'Jipilayi came by/in the car.' (9.77-CP19)

(b) awa ko waya ka pas (Veh)

-we go now/then prep bus

'We went then by/in the bus.' (GP392-JW10)

(iv) Instrument. In MT the instrument may occur as an unmarked NP, as in TT (see 6.2.1.2(iii), p 402), or as a prepositional phrase with one of the prepositions with(i), wuririyi/wutiliyi/wutili or wuta/wurra.

There is really no formal distinction between instrument and accompaniment except that instrument may be unmarked (see also (ii), p 400). When the instrument is an unmarked NP there may be ambiguity, but the context normally makes it clear that an instrument is meant rather than an object. It would seem that the use of the prepositions has been introduced to clarify the sense.
6.2.3 LATERAL CONSTITUENTS

The lateral constituents, i.e. those constituents which convey specific information about the circumstances of the action or event but which, in general, are not arguments of the verb, are basically the same in MT as in TT, though they may be manifested differently. These are: locative (L), temporal (T), manner (Mnr), modal (Mdl), negative (Neg) and reason (Reas).
6.2.3.1 LOCATIVE

In all varieties of Tiwi the locative may occur in all types of active verbal clauses. It may also occur in stative clauses (both verbal and non-verbal) but as the complement in the predicate of the clause (see 6.4, p.447 and 6.5, p.450). The locative constituent of a clause may be manifested by a locative word (see 3.5.1, p.134); by a locative noun, indicating a place or the name of a place, such as tingata 'beach'; by a locative phrase (see 5.2.1, p.374); by a locative clause (31) (see 6.9.2, p.471) or by an appositional locative phrase (see 5.2, p.372).

(i) Traditional Tiwi

The locative constituent may indicate motion 'to' or 'from' with the verbs of motion and location 'at', 'in', 'on', 'near' etc. with non-motion verbs. There are no formal differences between these different types of location. Location 'at' may be marked just by the verbal locative prefix (wu)ni-, 'at a distance' or by the verbal stance prefix Ci(ngi)- 'out bush' (see 4.2.5, p.289). There may be a locative expressed externally to the verb as well as these verbal prefixes. These prefixes are used only with these senses and are not used to signal a general locative (cf the use of the concomitative marker to signal a concomitative 6.2.1.2 (ii), p.400). With motion verbs the prefix (wu)ni- may also be used to mean 'to here'. In this case there may be an external locative, also meaning '(to) here', but it is more usual for an external locative (co-occurring with the verbal prefix) to indicate location (32) 'from', as in example 6-29(a). The stance prefix, meaning
'out bush', may also be used with motion verbs. Only a few examples are given here. For other examples see the examples in 6.3.1.1, p 423 and 6.3.2.1, p 427. For examples of locative phrases see 5.2.1, p 374, and for examples of locative clauses see 6.9.2, p 477.

e.g. 6-29 (TT)
(a) nyirra ji - nu - wurimpura Nguiu
she she:p-dir-leave Ng.
'She has left Nguiu (for good?).' (7.53-JW)
(b) a - wuriyi murrakupupuni
he:np-go country/bush
'He goes to the bush.'
(c) yinkiti awungani-la ngi - rri - pungi - pirn - ani
food like:that we(excl)-p- out:bush-catch-p:hab
pirlima
L
on:way
(7.53-JW)
'We would keep getting food in the bush like that on the way.'

(ii) MT

In MT the locative indicating location 'from' is different from other locatives, in that it is always marked by the preposition prom or from (see also 5.2.1, p 374).

e.g. 6-30 (MT)
(a) kam pak pirimi from Tu Mayl
come back they:did from Two Mile
'They came back from Two Mile.' (NG442 - CK10)
(b) arra kurrup from warra
he jump from water
'He jumped from the water.' (7.30-RJ12)
In MT, there are some examples of the directional prefix, but in many cases it seems to be fused with the stem -uriyi 'go' to give -nuriyi 'come' (see 4.2.5.2, p. 82). Where it does occur there is often a locative 'from' in the clause.

e.g. 6-31 (MT)

yi - nuriyi muwa - morti from Milikapiti (L 'from')
he:p-come your:4:my-son from M.

'Our son came from Milikapiti.' (9.38-AP28)

Other locatives in MT occur as unmarked nominals or as a prepositional phrase with the preposition kapi or ka (see 5.2.1, p. 374). There appears to be a greater tendency to use a preposition before a locative noun than in TT, as in example 6-32(b) and (c).

e.g. 6-32 (MT)

(a) kurrijakayi pu - rr - uriyi wiyuwu (L)
Japanese they:p-p-go
'The Japanese went to Nguiu.' (GP1823-PP23)

(b) yi - nt - uriyi ka mirraparinga (L)
we - p - go to mangroves
'We went to the mangroves.' (GP-JVT10)

(c) awa ko ka Milikapiti (L)
we go to M.
'We went to Milikapiti.' (GP1959-LB33)

(d) awa kalikali Juliyan (L)
we run J.
'We ran to Julianne's (place).' (GP897 - FP6)
6.2.3.2 TEMPORAL

In all varieties of Tiwi the temporal constituent of a clause may be manifested by a temporal word (though the temporal words used may vary from style to style (see 3.5.2, p 205); by a temporal phrase (5.2.2, p 379); by a temporal clause (6.9.3, p 472) or by an appositional phrase, with a combination of some of these. The position of the temporal may vary, though it occurs most frequently either initially or finally. The temporal constituent may occur in all types of clauses, both verbal and non-verbal, though there are not many examples in the stative verbal clauses and the non-verbal clauses.

In TT some temporals may be marked on the verb, with a possible external temporal as well. The temporals marked on the verb are \( \text{w} \text{ati} \)- 'in the morning', \( \text{ki} \)- 'in the evening' (see 4.2.6, p 295), and the prefixes \( \text{wu} \text{ni} \)- and \( \text{Ci} \text{ngi} \)- with the meaning 'distance in time' (see 4.2.5, p 289). e.g. 6-33

(a) \( \text{japinani} \) \( \text{ngu} \)- \( \text{wati} \)- \( \text{papirraya} \) \( \text{tingata} \)
\( \text{(T)} \) \( \text{(T)} \) \( \text{(T)} \)
morning I morn go:down beach
'I am going down to the beach in the morning.'

(b) \( \text{ngawa waya ningani} \) \( \text{yipulintiwi} \) \( \text{pungintagha} \)
\( \text{(T)} \)
we now today slow head

\( \text{(34)} \)
\( \text{nga} \)- \( \text{wati} \)- \( \text{wini} \)
we(incl)-all-have

'Now today we all have slow heads!' (FP12.5-RA)

There are no temporal prefixes on the verb in MT, and so any temporals occur overtly in the clause. These may be manifested by an English loan word as well as the
types of elements mentioned previously (see 3.5.2, p 206).

e.g. 6-34 (MT)

(a) awa waya paruwani
    (T)
    we now hungry
    'We are hungry now.'

(b) palingarri peyiti pi - ri - m - ani
    (T)
    long:ago fight they:p-cv-do-p:hab
    'Long ago they used to fight.'

(c) (karri) thapinari awa ko wiyuwu
    (T)
    morning we go Nguiu
    'In the morning we're going to Nguiu!'

6.2.3.3 MANNER AND MODAL

In TT the modal constituent is manifested by a particle, such as arrami, arramukuta, amukuta or kuta, all meaning 'perhaps, maybe', tu(wa)wanga 'again' or awunganuwanga 'likewise, in the same way'. There are not many examples of these in MT (see 3.5.3, p 212, for a discussion of these). When these occur in a clause they are either initial or close to initial normally.

e.g. 6-35 (TT)

(a) arramukuta pi - ni - ri - k - apa yinkiti
    (Md1)
    perhaps they:p-loc-cv-eve-eat food
    'Perhaps they will eat some food there in the evening.'
    (TNg4c-DT)

(b) paparluwi awunganuwanga a - wun - takirayi
    (Md1)
    old:people likewise he:np-them(DO)-give
    'In the same way he gives to the old people.'
    (GBQ3.1-DK)
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e.g. 6-36 (MT)

(a) **arramukkurra kurritawini awaji yilaruwu**
(Mdl) maybe bread there inside 'Perhaps there is bread inside there.' (9.93-DB12)

(b) **arrami ngiya ku Tawin**
(Mdl) maybe I go Darwin 'Maybe I'll go to Darwin.' (9.86-AP28)

The manner constituent normally occurs close to the verb, modifying it in some way. In all varieties of Tiwi it may be manifested by a manner word (3.5.3, p 212), a prepositional manner phrase (5.2.3, p 382), an appositional manner phrase (5.2, p 372), or a manner clause (see 6.9.4, p 473).

e.g. 6-37 (TT)

(a) **ngawa waya pirlamarruwi ngi-mp-ati-ri-muwu**
(Mnr) we now carelessly we(excl)-np-all-cv-live 'Now we all live without planning.' (BMA6.11-DK)

(b) **ngawa awungani nga-ma-ta-ami nginingaji wuta**
(Mnr) (Mnr) we like:that we(incl)-sbve-emph-be like them ngawa - mamanta our - friends 'We should be like that, like our friends.' (IBGL.11-DK)

e.g. 6-38 (MT)

(a) **kam ji-mi murruka-la**
(Mnr) come she:p-do quick-rep 'She came quickly.' (or kept coming quickly(?))

(b) **wurra yujim thaliwarra nginingaji nuwa skul poy**
(Mnr) they use trousers like you(pl) school boys 'They use trousers like you school boys.'
The negative particles are discussed when negation is discussed more fully in 6.6, p 454.

6.2.3.4 REASON

In general, reason in TT is encoded by a reason clause (see 6.9.5, p 474) but there are some cases where reason is indicated by an incorporated form within the verb, as in example 6-39 (see also 6-1, p 337). I have no examples in my corpus of a clause constituent (either unmarked NP or pronominal, or a prepositional phrase) functioning as a reason constituent.

e.g. 6-39 (TT)

(a) nga - ru - wa - kiringayi
   we(incl)-cv-ant-scratch
   'We scratch because of the ants.'
(b) nga - ri - pu - kiringayi
   we(incl)-cv-grass-scratch
   'We scratch because of the grass.'

There are some examples in MT of a reason phrase with the preposition pili which comes from the TT reason conjunction meaning 'because' (see 6.9, p 465, and 5.1.2, p 359). This type of phrase may be possible in TT as well but I have no examples in my corpus.

e.g. 6-40 (MT)

(a) nyirra japini juwuriyi Milikapiti pili
    she last:night she:went Snake:Bay because
    nyirra - rringani
    her - father
    'She went to Snake Bay last night because of her father.' (9.107-LB33)
(b) arrana  pili  pulangumowi
(Reas)
take:care because dogs
'Take care because of the dogs.'
(9.97-FF13)

There are one or two examples in MT where there is a prepositional phrase, with the preposition *from* marking reason.

e.g. 6-41  (MT)

(a) nyirra pulingiya from naki taringa
(Reas)
she trembling from this snake
'She is trembling because of the snake.'
(7.12-PP18)

(b) arra pajuwani from awinyirra pumurali
(Reas)
he dead from that(f) lightning(f)
'He has died because of the lightning.'
(NG332-child)

These examples could be thought of as encoding source but there is at least one example in MT where source is encoded by an unmarked NP (the only example of source as opposed to reason).

e.g. 6-42  (MT)

wu - ri - kirimi kirritawini naki flawa
they:np-cv-make bread this flour
'They make bread from this flour.'

6.2.4 SUMMARY OF THE CHANGES IN THE CLAUSE CONSTITUENTS

There is a basic change in Tiwi in the way in which arguments of the verb are indicated. In TT, they are defined by cross-referencing (or the lack of it) to verbal affixes, while in MT, they are mainly defined syntactically by word
### TABLE 6.1  CORRESPONDENCES OF CLAUSE CONSTITUENTS IN TT AND MT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TT</th>
<th>MT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subject</strong>*&lt;br&gt;(subj-tense prefix on verb)</td>
<td><strong>Subject</strong>*&lt;br&gt;(unmarked NP)&lt;br&gt;(subj-tense prefix on inflected verb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Accompaniment</strong>&lt;br&gt;(prep: with(i), wuta/wurra or wutiriyi/wutiliyi)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Concomitative</strong>&lt;br&gt;(con. marker on verb, ± ji(ngi)-)</td>
<td><strong>Vehicle</strong>&lt;br&gt;(prep: ka)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Secondary Object</strong>&lt;br&gt;(unmarked on verb)</td>
<td><strong>Direct Object</strong>*&lt;br&gt;(unmarked nominal/pronominal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Direct Object</strong>*&lt;br&gt;(DO prefix on verb)</td>
<td><strong>Indirect Object</strong>*&lt;br&gt;(prep: kapi or ka)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indirect Object</strong>*&lt;br&gt;(IO prefix on verb)</td>
<td><strong>Benefactive/Purpose</strong>&lt;br&gt;(prep: fu/fo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Instrument</strong>&lt;br&gt;(unmarked on verb)</td>
<td><strong>Instrument</strong>&lt;br&gt;(prep: as for Accomp)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Lateral Constituents**

| **Locative**<br>(general: 'to', 'at'; optional prep: kapi or ka) |
| **Locative**<br>('from')<br>(prep: from/prom) |
| **Reason**<br>(marked on verb by incorporated form) | **Reason**<br>(optional prep: from/prom) |
| **Temporal**<br> | **Temporal** |
| **Manner and Modal**<br> | **Manner and Modal** |

* indicates Core Arguments

# See note 4, p. 491.
order and/or NP by the marking of the NP in the clause by a preposition (or the lack of such marking). In MT, the unmarked NPs are distinguished syntactically and semantically. In more formal MT, the subject may be determined as in TT, i.e. by cross-reference with the subject-tense prefix in the verb. In Casual MT, it is mainly distinguished by position and semantically (see also 6.8, p460, re word order in the clause).

There is no one-to-one correspondence between the constituents of the clause in TT and MT. The correspondences between the two are shown in Table 6.1.

6.3 ACTIVE VERBAL CLAUSES

Active verbal clauses in TT and MT are those which have a predicate consisting of an independent inflected verb, verbal complex (a free form verb and an inflected auxiliary verb and in the case of MT sometimes a free form verb alone (see Chapter 4)). In MT there may be an aspect word before the free from verb (or independent inflected verb).

The term 'active' here is used simply as a name to distinguish these clauses from the stative verbal clauses which have a verb and a complement (described in 6.4, p447). Not all verbs in these types of clauses are 'active' in the sense that they refer to an action. Some of the TT verb stems refer to a state or event, such as -urimi 'be strong, hard', -wanti 'smell (itr)'. Some verb stems occur as stems of independent verbs or auxiliary verbs in active clauses and also as stems of verbs in stative clauses. These are:
There are also clauses containing causative, reflexive and reciprocal verbs. These are not discussed in this chapter (see 4.2.8, p. 298). Clauses containing verbs of speech are discussed separately (in 6.3.3, p. 410).

6.3.1 INTRANSITIVE CLAUSES

Intransitive clauses are those which have a verb requiring basically just one nominal argument. Verbs of motion may be said to require a locative indicating a location 'to' or a location 'from' (see 6.2.3.1, p. 413) and so could be separated from other intransitive clauses. However, since these locatives are not formally different from other locative constituents and since motion verbs do not always have a locative constituent, these clauses are not treated differently from other intransitive clauses.

The other lateral constituents of the clause may also occur in intransitive clauses, i.e. temporal, manner, modal, reason and negative in both TT and MT. (See examples in 6.2.3, p. 412 and in the following sub-sections).

6.3.1.1 INTRANSITIVE CLAUSES IN TT

The arguments other than the subject which may occur in...
an intransitive clause in TT are Indirect Object (a core argument) (see 6.2.1.1 (iii), p 396) and concomitative (a non-core argument) (6.2.1.2 (iii), p 402). With verbs of motion the Indirect Object may refer to the person/people to whom the subject person is going.

e.g. 6-43 **Indirect Object:** (TT)

(a) pokayini ngo - ntu - wa - ngin - ta - majila

(P) (IO)

play we(excl)-p-frust-her(IO)-emph-do

awinyirra jarranga

(II)

that(f) cow

'We tried to play with the cow.' (CBC1.7)

(b) ngawa-mamanta ngu-rupu-rru-wariyi

(IO) (P)

our-friends I - them(IO)-emph-go

'I'm going to our friends.' (MED)

e.g. 6-44 **Concomitative:** (TT)

(a) ngi - nti - ri - ma - jakuji - rrangurlimay - ani wurarripi

(P) (Con)

we(excl)-p-cv-con.m - group - walk - p:hab family

'We used to travel on foot with the family.' (CWD1.1)

(b) ngi - nti - ri - ma - jing - urivi mutika

(P) (Con)

we(excl)-p-cv-con.m - in - go car

'We went by car.'

There is just one example of an instrument with an intransitive verb, with the verb stem -kurungumi 'dig'.

e.g. 6-45 (TT)

\[ a - \text{wunji-kurungumi} \quad \text{arlukuni} \quad \text{(P)} \]
\[ \text{he:np-dur - dig} \quad \text{digging stick} \quad \text{(In)} \]

'He is digging with a digging stick.'

(cf \text{awujikurungumi vangamini} \quad \text{(P)} \quad \text{(SO)}

'He is digging a hole.') (3.69-JK)

6.3.1.2 INTRANSITIVE CLAUSES IN MT

In MT, an intransitive clause may consist of just a predicate (P) (as in TT), when the subject is marked on the verb. When there is an overt subject in the clause, the unmarked order is SP, though this order may be reversed. When there is no bound subject on the verb, an overt subject is required except under certain conditions for deletion of the subject, such as in a purpose clause (see 6.9.6, p. 478), and the order always seems to be rigidly SP.

The optional arguments (non-core), which may occur in intransitive clauses in MT are: Benefactive/Purpose (B/Pur), Accompaniment (Accomp), Vehicle (Veh), Indirect Object (IO) and Instrument (In). The occurrence of some of these depends upon the semantics of the verb. (See 6.2.2.2, p. 477, for a more detailed discussion of these).

The lateral constituents, particularly locative (indicating location 'to' or location 'from' with verbs of motion) may also occur (see 6.2.3, p. 472).

The lateral constituent locative and the non-core arguments normally follow the verb, but the order may vary. When the order is SP the subject and predicate are not
normally separated except by a negative (see 6.6, p 45\textsuperscript{+}) or a manner word (see 6.2.3.3, p 41\textsuperscript{7}). There are normally no more than two different types of constituents in a clause, other than the subject and predicate.

e.g. 6-46 (MT)

(a) \text{\textbf{T} Tabinamini \textbf{P} anturiyi \textbf{Accomp} (40)}

\begin{tabular}{llllllll}
\text{T} & \text{karri} & \text{thapinami} & \text{anturiyi} & \text{with fata} & \\
\text{at} & \text{night} & \text{we:} & \text{went with} & \text{father} & \\
\end{tabular}

'At night we went with Father.'

(b) \text{P} \text{B/Pur} \text{L}

\begin{tabular}{l}
\text{ju - wuriyi} \\
\text{she:p-go} \\
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{l}
\text{wununga ka warta} \\
\text{possum} \\
\end{tabular}

'She went for possum.'

(c) \text{S} \text{F} \text{Accomp} (41)

\begin{tabular}{llllllll}
\text{S} & \text{awa} & \text{luk} & \text{ran} & \text{yi - nti - ri - mi} & \text{fu} & \text{nominaki} & \\
\text{we} & \text{look around} & \text{we} & \text{- p} & \text{- cv} & \text{- do for something} & \\
\end{tabular}

'We look around for something.'

(d) \text{S} \text{F} \text{Accomp} (41)

\begin{tabular}{llllllll}
\text{S} & \text{awa} & \text{win} & \text{yi - nti - ri - mi} & \text{ka pat} & \\
\text{we} & \text{win} & \text{we} & \text{- p} & \text{- cv} & \text{- do at bat} & \\
\end{tabular}

'We won at bat.'

(e) \text{S} \text{F} \text{Accomp} (41)

\begin{tabular}{llllllll}
\text{S} & \text{awa} & \text{shutim} & \text{yi - nti - ri - mi} & \text{ka pirripirri} & \\
\text{we} & \text{shoot} & \text{we} & \text{- p} & \text{- cv} & \text{- do at bird} & \\
\end{tabular}

'We shot at some birds.'

(f) \text{S} \text{F} \text{Accomp} (In)

\begin{tabular}{llllllll}
\text{S} & \text{arra} & \text{tikinim} & \text{a - wuji - ki - mi} & \text{with alukuni} & \\
\text{he} & \text{dig} & \text{he:np-dur- cv} & \text{- do with digging:} & \text{stick} & \\
\end{tabular}

'He is digging with a digging stick.'

(g) \text{S} \text{F} \text{Accomp}

\begin{tabular}{llllllll}
\text{S} & \text{yiyi} & \text{wokapat} & \text{with pulangumoka} & \\
\text{I} & \text{walk} & \text{with dog} & \\
\end{tabular}

'I walked with the dog.'
6.3.2 DITRANSITIVE, TRANSITIVE AND SEMI-TRANSITIVE CLAUSES

In TT, a distinction is made between three degrees of transitivity, (other than intransitive), depending upon the number of nominal arguments required by the verb, and whether there is cross-referencing with personal prefixes to the verb. These are: ditransitive, transitive and semi-transitive. In MT, there are only two degrees of transitivity: ditransitive and transitive.

6.3.2.1 DITRANSITIVE, TRANSITIVE AND SEMI-TRANSITIVE CLAUSES IN TT

In TT transitive clauses are defined as those with verbs requiring two nominal arguments, S and DO, both of
which are encoded on the verb by personal prefixes (see Table 4.3, p 237). When the DO is any person, other than third person singular, it is indicated on the verb by a distinct direct object prefix (see Table 4.8, p 236) and the subject-tense prefix is a general subject-tense prefix (i.e. the same as for most intransitive verbs). When the DO is third singular there is no separate direct object prefix but the object is included in the subject-tense prefix (see Table 4.5, p 275).

Neither the S nor DO need appear overtly in the clause, when it is clear to whom the prefixes refer. When the S and DO are overt in a clause the unmarked order is SPO but this may vary, the variation being due to discourse considerations, some of which are discussed briefly in 6.8.1, p 460. In the data there are not actually many examples of both the S and DO occurring overtly in the clause. It is more common for just one to occur in the clause, externally to the verb, viz. SP (or PS) and PO (or OP) (the orders in parentheses being the marked orders).

E.g. 6-47 (TT)

(a) S

ngarra ju - wung - iyawarli

he

awinyirra ngiya-naringa

my - mother

'sHe just seized my mother.'

(b) S

jikipirti vi - mini - pirni

sneeze

he:p-me(bo)- hit

'I sneezed.' (Lit: 'a sneeze hit me')
A semi-transitive clause is one with a verb requiring two nominal arguments, the S and SO (Secondary Object) but the SO is not marked on the verb, except perhaps by an incorporated form (see 4.2.2.1(b), p 254) (i.e. it is not marked by a personal prefix). Most verb stems take general subject-tense prefixes but a small class of verb stems occurring in semi-transitive verbs take the feminine subject-tense prefixes, as in example 6-47(a) (see 4.2.2.1(a), p 242 and Table 4.5, p 275).

The discussion regarding the order of the arguments in relation to the predicate given for transitive clauses also applies here. If the SO is understood from the context it may be omitted from the clause, as in examples 6-48(c) and (d).

The SO is normally inanimate, while the S is animate, often having the role of agent. The verbs are often verbs indicating a change of state (or position), as in examples 6-48(d), (e) and (f). In most cases, there is no transfer of action as is the case with most transitive verbs.

e.g. 6-48 (TT)

(a) SO awarra nqi - mpi - wa - valam - ami

that(m) I -np(f)-words-load - mv

'I am beginning to record that.'
(b) \[ P \quad SO \]
\[ pu - ru - mangapa \quad winga \]
they:p-cv-drink beer(f)
'They drank beer.'

(c) \[ P \]
\[ mitaya yi - mi \]
steal he:p-do
'He stole (her).'
(The 'her' is understood from the context)

(d) \[ P \quad SO \]
\[ yi - kirimi mampunga \]
he:p-make canoe(f)
'He made a canoe.'
(Os., p 63)

(e) \[ P \quad SO \]
\[ purru-wunyawa numoriyaka \]
they:p-p-throw spear(f)
'They threw spears.'

(f) \[ P \quad L \]
\[ ji - pajuwurtirri kapi wurrampuwuni \]
she:p(f) - hide in reeds
'She hid (him) in the reeds.'

Both transitive and semi-transitive clauses may contain a concomitative, often only indicated in the verb, by a concomitative marker and perhaps an incorporated form (see 6.2.1.2(iii) and examples 6-9(c) and (e), p 401, and also 4.2.2.1(a), p 249). Both may also have an instrument where the semantics of the verb allows it, but this is not very common (See 6.2.1.2(iii), p 402). A semi-transitive clause may contain an IO (normally with a benefactive sense), while the only examples of an IO in a transitive
clause occurs when the DO is third singular
(see 6.2.1.1(iii) and also 4.2.4, p 285).

When the concomitative marker occurs with certain
intransitive verb stems (without the form \(ji(ngi)\)- 'in, on') the resulting verb form could be regarded as a semi-
transitive verb and the concomitative as SO
(cf 6.2.1.2 (ii), p 400).

e.g. 6-49 (TT)

(a) \(\begin{array}{ccc}
P & SO \\
v\text{i }- \text{ marri - kij - uriyi manjanga} \\
\text{he:p-con.m - stick-go stick}
\end{array}\)

'He brought the stick!'

(b) \(\begin{array}{cccc}
SO & S & P \\
\text{Nginja awarra a - wu - rra - marri - miringarra nginavi} \\
youre(sg) that(m) he:np-obl-emph-con.m-live that(m) \\
\text{(def)} & \text{(dem)}
\end{array}\)

'That man should marry you.'

Similarly, when a nominal argument encoding purpose
occurs with a verb of motion, without an IO prefix, the
verb in this particular type of clause could be regarded as
semi-transitive and the purpose as a SO
(cf 6.2.1.1 (iii), p 396).

e.g. 6-50 (TT)

\(\begin{array}{ccc}
P & SO \\
\text{ngi - ntu - wuriyi yinkiti} \\
\text{we - p - go food}
\end{array}\)

'We went for food.'

In general, the addition of the causative verbal
suffix, -amighi, transforms an intransitive verb into
a transitive verb.

e.g. 6-51

L P
palampala nga - wuni - muw - amighi
bed we(incl)-them(DO)-sit-cause

'We make sure they have beds.'
(Lit: 'we cause them to sit on beds') (TNg4f)

There are some cases where this does not occur and the verb becomes semi-transitive. This seems to be mainly with stative verb stems and where the resulting object is not animate.

e.g. 6-52

SO P
wupunga a - ri - kuluwurim - amighi
grass(f) he - cv - grow - cause

'It causes the grass to grow.' (rain)
(TNg 4b)

Ditransitive clauses are those which have a verb requiring three nominal arguments, S, DO (both of which are encoded on the verb as in transitive clauses), and SO (which is not encoded on the verb by a personal prefix, as in semi-transitive clauses). There are only about 6 or 7 ditransitive verbs in the data, mainly of 'giving' or 'telling' (which is discussed in 6.3.3, p 440). The DO refers to the recipient or addressee and the SO to the thing 'given' or 'told'. There is one verb stem -Cakinya which means 'steal from' and for this verb the DO is the person stolen from and the SO is the thing stolen. It is unusual for both the DO and SO to occur overtly in a clause. When the SO does not occur overtly, it can normally be recovered.
from the context.

e.g. 6-53 (TT)

(a) \[ \text{S ngarra a - man - takirayi kuwinawini} \]

he he:np-us(DO)-give money

'He gives us money.'

(GBQ3.2)

(b) \[ \text{pi - rri - pakirayi a warrar Jalingayi} \]

they:p-p:him-give that(m) J.

'They gave (her) to Jalingayi.'

(The 'her' is understood from the preceding sentences)

(BMA 8)

(c) \[ \text{yi - min - takinya kuwinawini} \]

he:p-me(DO)-steal:from money

'He stole money from me.'

6.3.2.2 TRANSITIVE AND DITRANSITIVE CLAUSES IN MT

Transitive clauses in MT are simply those which have a verb requiring two nominal arguments, S and DO. The DO of MT covers both the DO and the SO of TT. S is always animate and normally has the role of agent while DO may be animate or inanimate, normally with the role of patient or undergoer. Although the DO is not cross-referenced on the verb in any way, it may be omitted when it is clear from the context what it is. This happens normally when the DO is third singular, i.e. when one would expect a third singular pronoun, a definitive or a demonstrative.

e.g. 6-54 (MT)

(a) \[ \text{tokutinga a - mpamangi} \]

nurse she:np-look:after

'The nurse is caring for (him).'

(7.47-RW12)
The word order in MT has become more rigid, being normally SPO, which is to be expected with the decrease in cross-reference with the verb. This is particularly so when there is a free form verb occurring alone.

e.g. 6-55

(a) S P DO
arra kilim yurrara jipojirringa
'He killed two wallabies.' (7.10-PP18)

(b) S P DO
nyirra meykim tunga
'She is making a basket.' (1.38.5-FT25)

(c) S P DO
arra kilim awa
'He is hitting us.'

In MT the normal order is (S)PO but when there is no overt S the order OP may occur, as it may in TT (see Os. p 62-63 and section 6.8.1, p 460).

e.g. 6-56 (MT)

(a) S P DO
nyirra anaki a - mpi - kirimi palampala
she this:one(f) she-np-make bed
'This (woman) is making the bed.' (9.63-AT9)

(b) P DO
ju - wunga naki kirritawini
she:p-get this(m) bread(m)
'She got this bread!' (1.57.6-MP22)
There are a number of English loan verbs which are ambi-transitive, sometimes behaving transitively with a DO and sometimes intransitively with no DO but maybe with an IO, having a preposition either ka or kapi. Many of these verbs which are ambi-transitive in MT are also ambi-transitive in English and so it seems that, in general, the English pattern is being followed.

One such verb is *luk*, which behaves transitively and can generally be translated by 'see' and which also behaves intransitively generally being able to be translated by 'look' with a preposition *ka* or *kapi* 'at'.

The example sentence is: 'He hit me.' (9.8.22-PP21)
However, there is not an exact correspondence between luk used transitively or intransitively in MT and the way the verbs 'see' and 'look' are used in English, though when it has the preposition it normally means 'look'.

Other verbs which take a preposition in English are used without one in MT, following the pattern of the TT equivalent, which may be transitive or semi-transitive.

'You look at your book.'
e.g. 6-61

TT: -piyanguwa(tr) 'beckon someone'

MT: weypim (free verb + vs: -mi) (tr) 'wave to'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{weypim} & \quad \text{pirimi} \\
\text{ngawa} & \\
\text{wave} & \quad \text{they:did us}
\end{align*}
\]

'They waved to us.' (RJ12)

Some non-core arguments and the literal constituents may occur in transitive clauses in MT. The non-core arguments which may occur are: Benefactive/Purpose (B/Pur) (see 6.2.2.2 (i), p 403 ), Instrument (In) (see 6.2.2.2 (iv), p 411 ), and Vehicle (Veh) (see 6.2.2.2 (iii), p 411 ).

e.g. 6-62 Benefactive/Purpose (MT)

(a) \[
\begin{align*}
P & \quad \text{katim ji - mi fu ngawa} \\
kutim jimi - mi fu ngawa & \\
cut she:p-do for us
\end{align*}
\]

'She cut it for us.' (DB12)

(b) \[
\begin{align*}
S & \quad \text{thirra kijimi wan fo thirra} \\
\text{she got one for her}
\end{align*}
\]

'She got one for her.' (NG56-child)

e.g. 6-63 Instrument (MT)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{arra} & \quad \text{pley purrupuli with tangini} \\
\text{he play ball with stick}
\end{align*}
\]

'He is playing ball with a stick.'

e.g. 6-64 Vehicle (MT)

\[
\begin{align*}
p & \quad \text{pu-marriyi ka arripleyn} \\
\text{they:p-take by plane}
\end{align*}
\]

'The took (him) by plane.'
Ditransitive clauses are those containing verbs which semantically require two nominal arguments as objects, indicating the recipient and the thing 'given' (the patient). The patient always occurs as an unmarked NP or pronominal. The recipient may occur as an unmarked DO or as an IO with a preposition, kapi or ka.

In some cases the pattern of the clause with the recipient as a DO is, as in English clauses, 'transformed by dative movement'. In these cases the recipient normally occurs as a pronominal. The patient can be regarded as the SO, as in TT.

e.g. 6-65 (MT)

(a) S P DO SO
thea showim ngiya kala awinyirra
you(sg) show me colour that(f)
'You show me that colour.'

(b) S P DO SO
nyirra pringim ngawa presen
she bring us present
'She brought us presents.'

However, the pattern of some clauses departs from the English pattern when the SO object or 'gift' is omitted and the recipient is still treated as a DO, i.e. without a preposition. When the SO is left out it refers to an inanimate item, understood from the context.

e.g. 6-66 (MT)

(a) P DO
kipim yi - mi arra-matani
give he:p-do his-friend
'He gave it to his friend.'
In some cases where the recipient follows the patient (normally when the recipient is not a pronominal) there is no preposition.

E.g. 6-67 (MT/LTT?)

S
ngarra
P
a - wu - jakiray - ami

he
he:np-icve-give - mv

SO
naki jurrumumi
door
this(m) light(m) torch

DO

anaki kijinga

this(f) girl(f)

'He is about to give the light/torch to this girl.'

In other cases the pattern is similar to the English pattern (where the recipient is marked by a preposition) but the preposition is normally one derived from TT, ka or kapi. In these cases the recipient is not a pronominal.

E.g. 6-68 (MT)

S
Ajuwang ngarra
P
selim simitimiriya

P
pol

S
kapi murruntaka

A.

he

sell cemetery pole prep white:woman

' Ajuwang sells cemetery poles to a white woman.'

(9.49-PP21)

With the verb 'to bring' the preposition used is fu, which may be used even with a pronoun. This NP has the function of Benefactive/Purpose.
6.3.3 CLAUSES WITH VERBS OF SPEECH

There are a number of verbs of speech which fit into different clause types. Some of these contain reference to what is said, as a speech complement (Sp Co), which may be manifested by a phrase or a clause. These are also discussed briefly here.

6.3.3.1 CLAUSES WITH VERBS OF SPEECH IN TT

In TT, the speech complement may be a phrase with the preposition ngini, with the meaning 'about (something)' (see 5.2.4, p 383). The speech complement may also be manifested by a speech complement clause (Sp Co Cl) or a quote clause (Q Cl). These last two are distinguished in that the speech complement clause refers to what is said and means 'about when ....', while the quote clause contains the actual speech. The speech complement clause, like the phrase, begins with the general preposition and complementiser, ngini (see 5.2.4, p 383, and 6.9.7.1, p 479). The quote clause also optionally begins with this, when it follows the verbs of speech.

Some verbs of speech may be transitive or ditransitive taking a DO prefix referring to the addressee. The verb stems -Ciyarra or -injiliyarra, meaning 'tell', are normally ditransitive and -Carringa 'answer' is transitive. The ditransitive verbs may take either (i) an
SO (which is either a nominal, pronominal or definitive meaning 'story', 'talk' or 'that') or (ii) a speech complement (Sp Co) referring to what is said (a speech complement clause or phrase or a quote clause).

Other verbs are semi-transitive, such as -Cangiragha 'speak' (which may also be intransitive), -mi 'say'. These semitransitive verbs take either an SO or a Sp Co (see above under ditransitive verbs). Still others may be intransitive, such as the free verb, nimarra 'talk' with the auxiliary stem -mi. Some of these semi-transitive and intransitive verbs may take an IO prefix referring to the addressee, such as -mi 'say', (with the incorporated form (48) -Cupujinga) (see also 6.2.2.1 (iii), p.406).

Some examples of the various types are:

(i) ditransitive,

**e.g. 6-70 (TT)**

(a) SO

ngirramini ji - min - tiyarra

story she:p-me - tell

(DO)

'She told me a story.'  

(1.99.2-JW40)

(b) L

awungaji pi - rr - ati - manu - ngu - njiliyarra - mini

there they:p-p-morn - us(DO)-away- tell - p:hab

Sp Co (Q.Cl)

ngini "......."

compr

'There they kept telling us ".......".'    

(C11.7)

(ii) transitive,

**e.g. 6-71 (TT)**

Neg

karluwu yi - rri - nqin - tupujinga - yarringa

not he:p-sbve- me(DO)-talk - answer

'He did not answer me.'    

(AEV3.5)
(iii) semi-transitive,

e.g. 6-72 (TT)

(a) \( P \) ngu - wu - jangiragha - mami \( \text{Sp Co (Sp Co Cl)} \)
\( \text{ngini karri} \)

I - icve - speak - mv compr when

\( yi - ku - mulungurrumi \)

he:p-eve- be:born (Sml.1)

'I am about to speak about when he was born in the evening.'

(b) \( \text{SO} \) awarra pi - ri - m(i)

that they:p-cv-say

'They said that.' (CI4.1)

(c) \( S \) ngarra awarra \( \text{yi - mupu - rrupujinga - mi} \)

he that:one(m) he:p-us(IO)- talk - say

\( \text{Sp Co (Q Cl)} \)
\( \text{ngini "..." compr} \)

'That one said to us "...".'

(d) \( P \) nimirra pi - ni - ri - mi \( \text{Sp Co (Sp Co Ph)} \)
\( \text{pakinnya ngini nyirra mirripaka} \)

talk they:p-loc-cv- do first compr she beer

'They talked first about beer.' (TNg 4f)

The verb stem -Cangiragha 'speak' can take an SO which refers to the language, rather than what is spoken.

e.g. 6-73 (TT)

\( S \) nuwa \( \text{Neg} \) arnuka ngi - nti - ni - ma - tangiragha

you(aug) not you(aug)-(p)-dist:(time)-sbve-speak

SO nginingawila

ours(m)

'You won't speak our language in the future.' (FP9.8)
(iv) intransitive,

e.g. 6-74 (TT)

\[ \text{L awungaji nimarra ngi - nti - } \text{p i - ngi - ki - ngi - mi} \]
\[ \text{there talk we: - p - away - cv - eve - cv - do} \]

'We talked there in the evening.' (TNg3a)

6.3.3.2 CLAUSES WITH VERBS OF SPEECH IN MT

As in TT, different verbs of speech occur in different kinds of clauses. However, there are only one or two examples of the speech verbs of TT being used in MT, except for the verb stem -mi 'say', and the free verb nimarra 'talk'. Most of the speech verbs in MT are English loan verbs.

Some verbs take a speech complement, which may consist of a speech complement phrase (Sp Co Ph) or a quote clause (Q Cl). There are only two examples of a speech complement clause occurring. Each of these complements refers to what is being said. The complement phrase usually has a complementiser, apat 'about' and there are only a few examples of the TT complementiser ngini (or its changed form, yini). In MT the quote clause manifesting a speech complement is not normally introduced by the complementiser ngini (or yini) though there are some examples of it in the elicited data. (See example 6-80).

e.g. 6-75 (MT)

\[ \text{S p Sp Co (Sp Co Ph)} \]
\[ \text{(a) ngiya tok apat naki} \]

'I am talking about this.' (GP1535-EP20)
'I said: "If I am well I will go for beer.".'

'Thampurra said "...".'

'Then I said: "Let's go home."!' (2.60-CM12)

'Who is that? we said!' (9.80-CP9)

The verbs which are used intransitively without a complement are: tok and nimarra 'talk'. tok always occurs without an auxiliary and nimarra normally has no auxiliary in the speech of young people. Both may take an IO, with the preposition kapi or ka (see 6.2.2.1(iii), p406).

e.g. 6-76

(a) S Neg P Mdl
\[\text{ngiya kalu tok tuwanga}\]

I not talk again
'I am not going to talk again!' (GP748-MD12)

(b) S P IO
\[\text{nginja nimarra ka naki}\]

you(sg) talk prep this
'You talk into this (tape recorder).' (GP1918-LB33)
(c) S  Neg  P  IO
nuwa  kalu  tok  ka ngiya

you(pl)  not  talk  prep  me

'You are not talking to me!' (GP1571-EP20)

tok or tokim may be used transitively with the DO referring to the language.

e.g. 6-77 (MT)

(a) S  P  DO
nginja  tok  nginingawila  languwiji

you(sg)  talk  our(m)  language

'You talk our language.' (GP2001-LB33)

(b) S  P  DO
ja  tokim  languwiji

you(sg)  talk  language

'You talk language.' (GP2004-LB33)

The verb telim may be used as in English, with a noun meaning 'story' plus a speech complement phrase or a speech complement clause. When the addressee occurs as well, it occurs as a DO (i.e. as an unmarked NP) irrespective of its position following the verb. In some cases there is no noun for 'story', as in example 6-79(c). The noun for 'story' plus the speech complement phrase could be regarded as a secondary object NP.

e.g. 6-78 (MT)

(a) S  P  SO
ja  telim  stori  karri  ngawa  nginturivi  Tipurupuwu

you  tell  story  when  we  we:went  T.

'You tell a story about when we went to Tipurupuwu.' (GP1958-LB33)
Where the addressee is third person singular it may be omitted if the referent can be understood from the context. In the following example there is a speech complement containing a quote clause (the only example with telim).

e.g. 6-79 (MT)

```
S  P  Sp Co (Q Cl)
    yiya telim yirimi yini "yiya ko anting"
I  tell I:did compr I  go hunting
'I told (her) "I am going hunting."'
```

(7.70-DB12)

The verb askim or ajikim may mean either 'ask' or 'ask for' (with the object being what is 'asked for'). In both cases it behaves ditransitively with the person asked as a DO (i.e. with no preposition). I assume it could also take a speech complement when it means 'ask', but there are no examples (cf ditransitive clauses in MT, 6.3.2.2, p 433).
6.4 STATIVE VERBAL CLAUSES

Stative verbal clauses are distinguished from active clauses mainly on the basis of the type of predicate. The predicate in stative verbal clauses consists of a complement preceding an inflected verb. The complement may be manifested by such things as NPs, predicatives, and locative or manner words or phrases. The verb is a verb of 'being' or 'becoming'.

These verbal clauses could be included with the active verbal clauses and the complement plus verb treated as a type of Verbal Complex, together with the free form verb + inflected auxiliary verb (described in 4.3, p 325). Just as equally, the verbal clauses could be grouped together with the non-verbal clauses, since the same types of complements occur as the predicate in non-verbal clauses and the same sort of relationships are expressed in these clauses as are expressed in the non-verbal stative clauses. Because of this dilemma as to where these clauses fit, and for ease of description, this type of clause is discussed separately, though there may appear to be little difference between some of the examples in this type and some of the active verbal clauses.
There are examples of some of the lateral constituents within these clauses but none of non-core arguments.

6.4.1 STATIVE VERBAL CLAUSES IN TT

In TT, the verb stems in this type of clause are -mi 'be', -ma 'be', 'become' and -muwu or -miringarra 'live'.

The complement may consist of a NP (an extended noun phrase or an adjective or noun alone, see 5.1, p 350), a predicative (3.4, p 191), a manner phrase (see 5.2.3, p 382), a manner word (3.5.3, p 212), a locative word (3.5.1, p 194) or a locative phrase (5.2.1, p 374).

e.g. 6-81 (TT)

(a) \[ S \quad \text{Co} \quad \text{np-cv-be} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{wuta nginingaji murrintawi wu - ri - mi} \]

They like white-men they:np-cv-be

'They are like whitemen.' (BMA6.7)

(b) \[ S \quad \text{T} \quad \text{Co} \quad \text{adj} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{nyirra waya arikulanga ji - yi - miringarra} \]

She now big she:np-cv-live

S awinyirra ngangarra

that:one(f) his(f)

'His (promised wife) had now become big.' grown up! (BMA3.4)

(c) \[ \text{Co} \quad \text{n} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{pirajwi ngi - mpi - ni - ri - ma} \]

Brothers you(pl)-np-dist:time-cv-become

'(Maybe) you will become brothers in the future.' (FP7.8-RA)
These friends of ours are good.' (IBG-DK)

(5) ngiya - rringani nankitawu yi - ni - ri - mi
my - father there(dist) he:p-loc-cv-be
'My father came from a distant place.'
(Lit: 'My father was at a distance place.')

When the complement is manifested by an appositional phrase the phrase may be discontinuous, as may happen in lateral clause constituents (see 5.1.4, p.370, and 5.2, p.372), with the more specific element following the verb.

6.4.2 STATIVE VERBAL CLAUSES IN MT

In MT, the stative verbal clauses are similar to those in TT, but with more restriction on the verb stems for verbs of 'being'. The only stem occurring is -mi. Also in my MT corpus the complement consists only of a NP (usually

ngawa-mamanta
our -friends
'We should be like that, like our friends.' (IBG-DK)
either a noun or an adjective) or a predicative
(see 3.4, p.191).

The examples of these clauses in my corpus of MT data
are mainly from the formally elicited material. The types of
relationship expressed by such clauses are more commonly
expressed in non-verbal clauses, as it is in TT also
(see 6.5, p.451).

e.g. 6-83 MT

(a) \[ S \underbrace{Co \text{(predve)}}_{P} V \]
\[ yipalinya yikonari a - mpi - ri - mi \]
woman hot she- np - cv - be
'The woman is hot.' (7.21-MD12)

(b) \[ S \underbrace{Co \text{(adj)}}_{P} V \]
\[ athirra murrukupora kijinga ji - mi \]
that(f) young:woman girl she:p-be
'That young woman was a girl.'
(when the film started) (GP443-RJ12)

(c) \[ S \underbrace{Co \text{(loc w)}}_{P} V \underbrace{Co \text{(loc ph)}}_{P} \]
\[ yingati yirrikipayi awaji pu - rru - mawu kapi makatinga \]
lots crocodile there they:p- p - live prep river
'A lot of crocodiles live there in the river.'

6.5 NON-VERBAL CLAUSES

There are two basic types of non-verbal clauses in all
varieties of Tiwi: **stative**, expressing a relationship of
'being' (location, description or identification) and
**possessive**, expressing a relationship of 'having'.

The stative non-verbal clause expresses the same sort of
relationship as the stative verbal clause in TT and MT, but,
since there is no verb, aspect, tense and mood are not
expressed. In both the stative and possessive non-verbal
classes some or the lateral constituents, such as temporal, negative and modal, may occur as lateral constituents.

6.5.1 STATIVE NON-VERBAL CLAUSES

Some of the lateral constituents, such as locative and manner can occur as the complement in the predicate. The complement may be manifested by a NP (often just a noun or adjective) (5.1, p 350), a predicative (3.4, p 19/), a manner word (3.5.3, p 212) or locative word (3.5.1, p 194), by a phrase or a clause, such as a manner phrase (5.2.3, p 382), or a speech complement clause (6.3.3.1, p 440, and 6.3.3.2, p 443). The subject may be manifested by a NP or more commonly, by a definite, demonstrative or personal pronoun.

e.g. 6-34 (TT)

(a) S (def) Co (poss NP)
    awinyirra   nyirra-maninga   anginaki
    that:one(f) her-mother's:mother this(f)

    muwa-mantanga
    our(min)-friend(f)

    'That (woman) is the grandmother of this friend of ours.' (BMA5.4)

(b) S (pers pn) (Neg) Co (noun)
    wuta   karluwu mitayuwi
    'They are not thieves.' (IBGl.8)

(c) S (def) Co (Sp Co Cl)
    awarra   ngini karri amatimanipirni wunijaka
    that(m) compr when she :hit:us wind(f)

    'That (story) is about when the wind almost hit us.' (CII.1)
It is also possible to have a complement without a subject, when the subject can be understood from the context, or when there is an existential sense.
e.g. 6-86 (TT)

(a) Co (Ph)
(karri) kirija yikonari
when little:bit hot
'(When) it (water) is warm.' (Ng M l)

(b) Co (noun)
yita wanga kirik-ayi
look! salty oh
'(Hey) it (water) is salty.' (JD3.11)

e.g. 6-87 (MT)

(a) (T) Co (attrib NP)
wantaym yingati arripleyn
at:once lots plane
'(At once) there were a lot of planes.' [Suddenly] (GP1867-PP23)

(b) (Neg) Co (noun)
kaluwu pinana
not banana
'It's not a banana,' (referring to something in a picture)

6.5.2 POSSESSIVE NON-VERBAL CLAUSES

These may have a NP, a definitive, a demonstrative or a personal pronoun as the subject, which never seems to be omitted. The complement is manifested by a NP (often just a noun), and this indicates the thing possessed. There is no structural difference between this type of clause and the stative non-verbal clause. It is normally only the context or the sense which indicates what sort of relationship is being expressed.

e.g. 6-88

(a) S(pn) Co (noun)
ngarra mili-virrukuni
he foot-long
'He (has) a long foot.' (HTPF 1.3)
(b) S(pn) Co (noun) S
ngarra yingoti, Jankinanki
he bush honey, J.
'Jankinanki (had) some bush honey.'
(Os., p62)

(e.g. 6-89) (MT)

(a) S(pn) (Neg) Co(noun)
ngiya kaluwu mani
I not money
'I don't have any money.'

(b) S (pn) Co (noun)
thirra pulangumoni
she dog(m)
'She has a dog.'

6.6 NEGATION

6.6.1 NEGATION IN TT

In general, a clause may be negated in either of two
ways in TT, by a negative particle arnuka or karluwu
(see 3.5.3, p 212) or by a negative pronoun
(see 3.3.3, p 134), or both, as in example 6-90(c). The
negative particle normally occurs immediately before the
verb or verbal complex. In negative clauses, subjunctive
or irrealis prefixes are normally used on the verb
(see 4.2.10.1, p 308).

(e.g. 6-90) (TT)

(a) nuwa arnuka ngi - nti - ni - ma - tangiragha
you(pl) not you-(p)-dist(time)-sbve-speak
(pl)

nginingawila
our(m)

'You won't speak our language in the future.'
(FP9.8-RA)
(b) waya ningani karrikamini tayikuwanga a - marri - muwu 
now today nobody man(f) he:np-con.m-live
'Now today nobody marries a lot of wives.'
(FP6.9-RA)

(c) arnuka karrikuwani a - watu - wukurijimi - nara 
not nobody he:np-everyone-know - close?
'Nobody knows very much now.'
(FP11.8-RA)

Imperative and hortative clauses differ from other 
types in that the negative word used is ngajiti. The verbal 
prefixes for negative imperatives are different from those 
for positive imperatives (see 4.2.10.1, p 303).

e.g. 6-91 (TT)

(a) ngajiti motliki ngi - mp - a - ja - ami ngampi mirripaka 
don't swim you(pl)-np-frust-emph-do prep sea 
'Don't (you(pl)) swim in the sea!'

(b) ngawa ngajiti jajiruwi nga - wa - ja - ama 
we don't bad(pl) we(incl)-frust-emph-be 
'We shouldn't be bad.'

(IBM-DK)

6.6.2 NEGATION IN MT

The normal way of forming a negative in MT is by 
inserting the negative particle kalu(wu) (TT: karluwu). 
There are very few examples of a negative with an inflected 
verb or a verbal complex and, where there is, there are 
generally no subjunctive or irrealis prefixes in the verb 
as in TT (see 4.2.10.2, p 316), except in some cases in the 
speech of older young people. These cases, which are not 
given here, are considered as LTT.
There are some examples of a negative pronoun (see 3.3.3, p 177), normally in a non-verbal clause, though there are also some examples of one in a verbal clause, as in example 6-93(a)).

\[\text{e.g. 6-93 (MT)}\]

\[(a)\] \text{awa-mawampi karrikamini yujim pirimi klos our-grand:parents nothing use they:did clothes 'Our grandparents didn't use any clothes.' (GP768-MD12)}

\[(b)\] \text{arra karrikamini waya mani he nothing now money 'He has no money.' (GP1858-PP23)}

\[(c)\] \text{karrikuwapapi wiyuuwi nobody Nguiu 'There wasn't anyone at Nguiu.' (GP1858-PP23)}
The negative imperative is given by the use of the negative ngajiti (or the changed forms ngajirri or ajirri), normally with a free form verb, but sometimes with an imperative form derived from TT, but the form used is the positive singular imperative form of TT, not the negative imperative form (cf p 312 with p 313).

e.g. 6-94  (MT)

(a) ngajirri jakim waranga
don't throw stone
'Don't throw stones!'  (GP1249-PP17)

(b) ajirri awani
don't like:that
'Don't do that.'

(c) ajirri payipayi awaji
don't sleep there
'Don't sleep there.'  (GP195-JT13)

(d) ajirri tamu
'Don't sit!'

There are also some examples of the English loan word, kan 'can't'.

e.g. 6-95  (MT)

tha kan shutim yiya
you(sg) can't shoot me
'You can't shoot me.'  (GP64-DB12)

6.7 INTERROGATIVES

6.7.1 INTERROGATIVES IN TT

Direct questions or 'yes/no' questions are no different
structurally from other types of clauses, except for an optional question clitic, _-ana_, on the final word, and an extra high pitch on the penultimate syllable of the final word (whether there is the question clitic or not).

e.g. 6-96 (TT)
(a) ta-am ingi nga ngi - ta - yawurij - ana?
imp(sg)-do compr I I - emph:-go:in - Q
'Say "May I go in?".'

(b) nginja paruwan - ana?
you(sg) hungry - Q
'Are you hungry?'

Information questions have interrogative words, such as an interrogative pronoun (3.3.3, p 177) or one of the other interrogative words, _awungana_ 'what?', _maka_ 'where?', _kama_ 'why?', _awungarri_ 'when?' or _awunganari_ 'where?'. The interrogatives normally occur either initially or close to initially in the clause.

e.g. 6-97 (TT)
(a) awungana yintanga awinyirra?
what name that:one(f)
'What is the name of that woman?'
(b) nginja awungana yintanga?
you(sg) what name
'What is your name?'
(c) maka nyi - mp -ija?
where you(sg)-np-go:now
'Where are you going?'

A particle, _kuta_ or _amukuta_, meaning 'maybe' or
'perhaps', may occur before any of the interrogative words, with the sense of 'who knows?' or 'I don't know'.

e.g. 6-98 (TT)

kuta kamini a - wuni - pi - rriti nguyi
maybe what he:np-dist:time-away-stand in:future

'Who knows what will happen in the future?'

(FPl.1-RA)

6.7.1 INTERROGATIVES IN MT

General direct questions and information questions are formed as in TT.

There are one or two tag questions which either do not occur in TT or which seem to have a different meaning. One such tag is wayana? (waya 'now' + -ana Q?), which Godfrey says occurs in TT as meaning 'Do you now understand?'. It may have this meaning in some of the instances in the MT data, but often it just seems to be used much as the tag question is used in English, to evoke a response to a statement or to seek confirmation.

e.g. 6-99 (MT)

(a) anginaki kirijinga api puraji a - mpi - ri - muwu
this(f) girl well like she-np- cv - do

kirritawini, way -ana?
bread now - Q

'This little girl likes bread, do you understand?'

(MP22)

(b) lak yiya, way - ana?
like me now - Q

'(He's) like me, isn't he?'

(referring to picture of a boy)
Another type of tag question is derived from English, though not both words are from English. It is formed by the English loan o 'or' and the Tiwi negative kalu(wu), giving 'or not?'.

\[\text{e.g. 6-100 (MT)}\]

\[(a) \text{thirra tayinti ka skul o kaluwu?} \]
\[\text{she stand prep school or not} \]
\['\text{Is she standing at school or not?'}\]  
\[(GP1549-EP20)\]

\[(b) \text{nuwa naw o kaluwu?} \]
\[\text{you(pl) know or not} \]
\['\text{Do you know or not?'}\]  
\[(2.51-BT13)\]

6.8 WORD ORDER AND PRONOMINALISATION

6.8.1 TRADITIONAL TIWI

The grammatical relationship of arguments is not determined by word order in the clause in TT and the order is relatively free. The unmarked order is SPO where O refers to either the direct or secondary object (see Osborne's discussion, Os., p 62f). Variations from this order are due to discourse considerations, a full discussion of which is outside the scope of this thesis. In general, the ordering can be looked at in terms of 'theme' meaning roughly 'the thing being talked about', as suggested by Osborne (ibid, p 62). Osborne says that the 'theme' always comes first in a sentence, regardless of its syntactic function' (ibid). This, in general, would seem to be true but the situation is a little more complex than this statement implies. Often when a topic is being introduced for the first time it occurs in the theme position, as in example 6-101 (a), though normally new information is not initial in the clause or sentence.
e.g. 6-101 (TT)

\begin{quote}
(ngintiwatingiligipangirrangurlimayani), api Pipiyanyumili
we:would:walk:in:morning:when:asleep well P.
awungaji ngintipamukurughani
there we:would:make:camp
'(We would walk in the morning when everyone else was asleep) then at Pipiyanyumili, there we would make camp.'
\end{quote}

(CWD1.5-6)

In some cases the theme is given as a pronoun and/or a definitive, as in the first part of example 6-104.

New information is normally finally, or near finally, in the clause and this new information can then become the theme of the next clause.

(66)

In some cases a new participant in a story may be given as the theme, which occurs as a pronoun while the name of the person being introduced is given as an amplification at the end of the clause.

\begin{quote}
e.g. 6-102 (TT)
ninkiyi, pi - rri - pakirayi awarra Jalingayi.
then they:p -p:him-give that(m) J.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Jalingayi pi - rri - pakirayi
J. they:p-p:him- give
'They gave (her) to that Jalingayi. It was to Jalingayi that they gave her.'
\end{quote}

(Then Jalingayi is talked about as fathering a son.)

(BMAl.9-DK)
A final NP like the one in the preceding example
(normal with a definitive), often serves as a reminder of whom the speaker is talking. It is normally separated from the rest of the clause by a slight pause, and is really an elaboration (see 5.1.4, p 370).

Often where there is a change of theme, particularly where there is some sort of a contrast, the new theme is introduced by an alternate pronoun (see 3.3.2.2, p 166), often with a more specific reference following later in the clause. This often occurs where the action of the verb is the same as in the preceding clause, but one of the participants is different, or sometimes when a 'passive' participant becomes an 'active' one, i.e. an object becomes a subject.

1. e.g. 6-104 (TT)
(a) (ngintuwutumartani arramukaminawurti ngirimimajilamini)
we:wanted all:sorts:of:things we:played:with:him
(api nyraratuwu pokayini ngintuwangintamajila,
well she:too play we:tried:to:play:with:

awinyirra jarranga
that(f) cow

'(We wanted to play with all sorts of things.) Well, we tried to play with that cow.'

(CBC1.8-RA)

(b) (ngarra Kapijani yipakirayi ngarra-ampinyuwini)
he Kapijani he:gave:to:him his-wife's:uncle

pili nyraratuwu nyirra awinyirra arikulanga
because she:too she that:one(f) big(f)

'(He, Kapijani, his wife's uncle gave (her) to him)
because she was now an adult.'

(BMA4.7-DK)

In general, pronouns do not occur following the verb,
either as subjects or objects, though definitives and

demonstratives may.

e.g. 6-105 (TT)

Maluwu nyirra jinirimi awinyirra
Maluwu she she:was:there that:one(f)

'It was from Maluwu that that woman came.'

(BMA5.3-DK)

6.8.2 WORD ORDER AND PRONOMINALISATION IN MT

The word order in MT is not as free as in TT. Where
there is an uninflected verb it seems that the word order
has become rigid, being SPO, since neither the subject nor
object are encoded on the verb. Where there is an inflected
verb there is greater freedom, since the subject is encoded
on the verb, and the order may be reversed, though it is not
usual to have OPS. PS for intransitive verbs and OP for
transitive verbs (where the subject is encoded only on the
verb) are more common than OPS. It would seem that the normal order is reversed for similar reasons as for the reversal in TT. Where it does not cause confusion as to what is subject and object, the object may be fronted as the theme, as in example 6-106(a, b), or the subject may follow the verb, as new information, as in example 6-106(c).

e.g. 6-106

(a) ngiya yi - pini

me he:p-hit

'He hit me.' (9.8-PP21)

(b) wan mo jakim ji - mi

one more throw she:p-do

'She threw one more.' (DB12)

(c) papi ji - mi elepani

arrive she:p-do elephant

'There arrived an elephant.' (RJ12)

Because of decreased pronominalisation on the verb there is also a greater use of free form pronouns in MT. Unlike TT, these may occur following the verb as well as preceding it.

e.g. 6-107 (MT)

(a) weypim pi - ri - mi awa

wave:to they:p-cv-do us

'They waved to us.' (GP570-TP8)

(b) teykim pi - ri - mi viya ka pot

take they:p-cv-do me by boat

'They took me by boat.' (GP69-DB12)
(c) **yiya kilim yitha**

I hit you(sg)

'I'll hit you.'

(d) **wurra kaluwu pilipim awa**

they not obey us

'They didn't obey us.' (GP534-ST9)

There are not many examples of third person pronouns as objects, these sometimes being given by definitives or demonstratives or omitted when they can be understood from the context (see also 6.3.2.2, p 433).

e.g. 6-108

(a) **arra kijim yimi naki**

he got he:did this

'He got this/it.'

(it is not clear what naki refers to, without more context).

(b) **kiyi olim yimi athirra**

then hold he:did that:one(f)

'Then he held her.' (GP125-DB12)

6.9 **SUBORDINATE AND DEPENDENT CLAUSES**

In TT, clauses may be joined together or embedded within each other, forming more complex sentences. There are a number of cases of subordinate clauses in TT expressing different relationships. The subordinating strategy used in Tiwi is that of a subordinating conjunction and a clause with a finite verb. Glass has found that this seems to be the most common strategy in Australian prefixing languages (Glass, n.d., p 8). The basic subordinate conjunctions are
karri 'when', expressing a temporal relationship (6.9.3, p. 472), pili 'because' expressing reason (6.9.5, p. 474), pili ngini 'in order to', expressing purpose (6.9.6, p. 476) and ngini which is a general subordinate conjunction and complementiser (compr) (see 6.9.7, p. 479).

As well as these, the relative pronouns (5.1.1, p. 350) and prepositions (discussed in 5.2, p. 372) may be used as subordinate conjunctions (see 6.9.1; 6.9.3, p. 472, and 6.9.4, p. 473).

Some of the clauses discussed below could be called 'adjoined relative clauses' (particularly those with the complementiser ngini) since their surface positions with respect to the main clauses are marginal rather than embedded (Hale, 1976, p. 78). However, others, such as the relative clauses (which do have distinct relative pronouns, see 6.9.1.1) are embedded within other clauses and so are definitely subordinate. Also, since none of the clauses discussed below can stand alone as a main clause they are called 'subordinate'.

In MT, some of these conjunctions are used, but in general there is less use of subordination, particularly in Children's Tiwi and in spontaneous speech.

6.9.1 RELATIVE CLAUSES
6.9.1.1 RELATIVE CLAUSES IN TT.

In TT the relative pronouns ngini(m), (ng)angi(f) and ngampi or kapi(pl) agree in gender or number with the noun which the relative clause modifies (see 5.1.1, p. 350). Normally the relative clause follows the nominal or
pronominal Head which it modifies, as in examples 6-109 (a,b), but in some cases there may be another nominal or pronominal to which the relative pronoun relates, occurring internally to the relative clause as in example 6-109 (c). In other cases the relative clause precedes the head, as in example 6-109(d), and still other cases there is no head externally to the clause (except perhaps a verbal prefix), as in example 6-109(e). Relative clauses may be verbal or non-verbal clauses. They are basically no different in structure from independent clauses (except for the relative pronoun).

e.g. 6-109 (TT)

(a) yoni nginaki ngini pupuni (api ngarra awarra
other(m) this(m) who(m) good(m) well he that:one(m)
pupuni nga - ri - muwu)
good we(incl)-cv-sit
'This other one who is good (well, we like him).' (GBQ2.1)

(b) ngawa tayikuwapi kapi ngi-nti-ri-ki-miringarra wiyarri
we many who(pl) we(excl)-p-cv-eve-sit too

(ngawa awunganuwanga yi-muwuni-kuruwarni)
we likewise he:p- us- great (TNg3b.8-DT)
'Many of us who were sitting there too (he thanked us also).' (c)

(c) kapi nuwa yintaghi ngi - mpi - ni - man - timori
who(pl) you(pl) later we(excl)-np-dist -you(pl)-leave
(time) (DO)

Rel Cl
Head
nuwa waya ...
you(pl) then

'You whom we will leave behind later, you (then ...).'
Rel Cl
(d) (kapani) ngangi juwurimani kurrampali
(towards) which(f) she:was:strong house(f)
'(Towards) the houses which are strong' (Cl1.11)

Rel Cl
(e) kapi purruwuriyi Nguiu (pinipakupawuri)
who(pl) they:went Nguiu they:came:back
'Those who went to Nguiu (have come back).' (7.53-JW)

Just about any grammatical relation may be relativised, but the subject is by far the most common, as in examples 6-109 (a, b, d, e). In a verbal relative clause when the subject is relativised the relative pronoun agrees in number with the subject prefix. When the DO or IO is relativised the relative pronoun agrees in number with the DO or IO prefixes on the verb in the relative clause, as in example 6-109 (c) & 6-111.

e.g. 6-110 (TT) IO relativised
(pirayala ngi-mpi-ripu-warla-mi)
pray we(excl)-np-them-spirit-do
(IO)
(67)
kapi a - mpi-ripu-rrarawani
who(pl) she-np-them(IO)-die
'(We only pray for those) who die.' (FP3.2)

Other relations may be relativised also, such as:

e.g. 6-111 (TT) Concomitative (see 6.2.1.2(ii), p )
Kapijani ngangi yi - marri -muwu, nyirra ...
K. who(f) he:p-con.m - live she
'The one whom Kapijani married, she ...' (BMA4.7)
Relative clauses may be embedded within one another but this complex structuring does not seem common.

6.9.1.2 RELATIVE CLAUSES IN MT

In MT, there are not many examples of relative clauses, particularly in spontaneous speech data, most of the examples are from elicited material. It seems that in MT, only subjects and objects may be relativised and, as in TT, the relativisation of the subject is by far the most common. Often a pronoun follows the relative clause in apposition to it. The relative pronouns used are changed by some
speakers, being ngini/yini(m); angi/angu(f); kapi(pl)
(see 5.1.1, p 350).
e.g. 6-114 (MT) **Subject:**

(a)

**Head**  
(anginayi) **Rel Cl**
anga kalikali a mpi - jiki - mi, nyirra ...
(that:one(f)) who(f) run she - np - dur - do
'(That woman) who is running, she ...

(7.65-PP23)

(b)

**Head**  
(kapinayi pipil) **Rel Cl**
kapi pu - rr - uriyi Wiyuwu
those people who(pl) they:p-p - go Nguiu

thapini, wurra ...

last:night they ...

'(Those people) who went to Nguiu last night, they ...

(CA12)

e.g. 6-115 (MT) **Direct Object:**

**Head**  
(awarra yimaka) **Rel Cl**
ngini ngawa luk ngi - ri - mi
that(m) film(m) which(m) we see we - cv - do

thapini ...

last:night

'(That film) we saw last night ...'

(7.71-MD12)

There are no occurrences of relative pronouns in the speech of young children, relativisation being carried out by simple juxtaposition.

e.g. 6-116 (CT)

nyu - mathawu naki, arra apim naki klas aws
you-know this he has this glass house

'You know this man who has a glass house.'

(Ne257-AK9)
6.9.2 LOCATIVE CLAUSES

Like locative phrases, locative clauses are related to the main clause by one of the locative prepositions, kapi/ngampi or kaghi/kangi (see 5.2.1, p374). These prepositions in these cases can generally be translated as 'where'. (See 5.2.1, p374, for a discussion on the meanings and uses of kapi/ngampi versus kaghi/kangi

e.g. 6-117 (TT)

(a) wutatuwu pi - ti - ri - ma - yajuwurtirri kangi
they:too they:p-p(f)-cv-fright-hide where

a - ri - ma - ji - kuwa - yiti
he:np-cv-con.m-on- fruit-stand (CBC2.9-RA)

'As for them, they hid behind the fruit trees in their fright.'

(b) ngarra yu - wunyayi ngampi yi - nu - wuji - ngi
he he:p:him-find where he:p-loc-dur - cv

miringarra - mini ngampi minta manukuki
sit - prep prep xamia:palm ?

'He found where it was sitting, near a xamia palm.'

(70) (WH2.2-DK)

(c) pu - rru - wuriyi kapi Artuwuni pi - ni - ri -
they:p-p-go prep A. they:p-loc-cv - 

monjingi - mili
eat - sleep

'They went to Artuwuni where they ate and slept.'

There are some examples of locative clauses in MT but not many. In all cases the preposition used is kapi and not ka, which is the other locative preposition in locative phrases in MT (see 5.2.1, p374).
e.g. 6-118 (MT)

(a) thirra showim kapi thirra-naringa pajuwani ji - mi
she show where her - mother die she:p-do
'She showed him where her mother had died.'
(RJ12)

(b) (a - mpi - marriyi kapi mil, kapi arikulanga
she-np - take prep mill prep big(f)
kurrapali kapi wu - ri - kirimi kiriritawini
house (f) where they:np-cv-make bread
'(It (truck) takes it to the mill, to a big house,) where they make bread.'
(GP1904-MP22)

(c) (anturiyi tawn) kapi awurra kijim trinki
we:went town where those get drink
'We went to town where you can get drink!' (?)
(TP10)

(d) {arra payipayi awaji) kapi yingati tanikini
he sleep there where lots flying:fox
'(He is sleeping there,) where there are lots of flying foxes.'
(Grade 1 child)

6.9.3 TEMPORAL CLAUSES

Temporal clauses in all varieties of Tiwi begin with
the temporal preposition karri 'when'. The remainder of the
clause is an indicative clause, usually without another
temporal element (cf temporal phrase, 5.2.2, p 379).

e.g. 6-119 (TT)

(a) Nuwatuwu waya awungani ngimpinuwujaami
you(pl):too then like:that you(pl):will:in:turn:be
karri tayikuwapi apunguma arikutumurnawamini
when many he:n:p:will:become man:intens
'You too will be like that when many (of you) will
become great man.'
(FP8.3)
(b) **karri ngintipaya, ngintipawurinji yilaruwu**
when we:finished we:went:in inside

'When we had finished we went inside.'

(e.g. 6-120 (MT))

(a) **karri luk jimi, api palapi jimi**
when see/look she:did well wild she:was

'When she {saw (him) well, she was angry'}

(looked (at him))

(gp156-db12)

(b) **karri wurra finish, wurra yushim**
when they finish they use

'When they finish (it) they will use (it).' (GP617-MP11)

6.9.4 MANNER CLAUSES

In TT, a manner clause, like a manner phrase is introduced by the prepositions or conjunctions *ngintuwu* or *nginingajji* 'like' (see 5.2.3, p381).

(e.g. 6-121 (TT))

(a) *(waya arnuka karrikuwani yi - rri - marri -
now not nobody he(p)-irreal-con.m-
miringarra tayikuwanga) ngintuwu parlingarri*

*live many(f) like long:ago*

*tayikuwanga pu - pungu - marri - miringarra*

*many(f) they:p-dist(time)-con.m-live (FP3.10-RA)*

'(Now nobody marries a lot of wives) like they did long ago.'

(b) *(api nga - ma - timuji - ngi - mi) nginingajji*

*well we(incl)-sbve-com.act-cv - be like*

*wuta ngawa-mamanta papurajuwi*

*them our - friends good(pl)*

'(Well, we should be) like our friends (who) are good.' (Lit: 'like our friends are good.') (IBG-DK)
There are only two examples of a manner clause in MT manner phrases being more common (see 5.2.3, p 382).

e.g. 6-122 (MT)

(a) (wuta puraji wu-ri-muwu kirritawini) nginingaji they good they:np-cv-sit bread like

anginaki kijinga awungani this(f) girl (does) like:that

'They like bread like this little girl (does).' (GP1822-MF22)

(b) (telim ngawa stori, mana) nginingaji ngiya telim tell us story go:ahead like I tell

nginja ngini Majiya you(sg) about Marcia (GP1954-LB33)

'(Go ahead and tell us a story) like I told you about Marcia.'

6.9.5 REASON CLAUSES

A reason clause in TT begins with the conjunction pili 'because'. These clauses normally follow the main clause.

e.g. 6-123 (TT)

(a) (ngajiti ngangi jipitika ngiparimayalamiya)

don't(imp) which(f) weak(f) you:frightened load:yourselfs

pili awinyirra jijinga because that(f) bad(f)

'(Don't load yourselves into the houses which are weak) because they are no good (in a cyclone).'

(CIL1.11-12)

(b) api waya awarra naki ngimpiriwayalami awarra pili so now that this I:record that because

waya ningani karlu wunara ngariwapungitayi ngarramini now today not:much we:think:about:words story

'So I am going to record this now because today we don't think about the (old) stories much.' (JD5.1)
(c) Vita wanga pirripupoyani pili ngarra yaringala

indeed they used to because he red
feed:him

jiivikiyangirluwumpinamini, pili ngarra ngarra-mirani
he:would:be:painted:fire because he his-son
yuwarlapungintayani

He:thought:of:his:spirit

'Indeed they used to feed him because he was painted up red, because he would be thinking of his dead son.' (FP4.4-6)

Normally reason clauses in MT follow the same pattern as TT, but some younger people use a changed form of the conjunction pirri. This does not seem to be a general change and I am not sure why it is used by some speakers and not others or from where the change comes. Perhaps it is from a baby folk form (see 8.3.3.3, p 570f).

e.g. 6-124 (MT)

(a) pilikiti ampijikimi pili taringa ampukunyayi
cry she:is:doing because snake she:finds
'She is crying because she sees a snake.'
(7.23-MD12)

(b) wuta moliki wurimi pili wuta yikonari
they swim they:do because they hot
'They are swimming because they are hot.'
(9.61-PP21)

(c) nyirra kalikali pirri nyirra fratin
she run because she frightened
'She is running because she is frightened.'
(7.12-PP18)

(d) arnapa pili ngiya jayijima
wait! because I change
'Wait because I am changing.' (clothes)
(9.11-CP19)
6.9.6 PURPOSE CLAUSES

In TT, these are introduced by the general conjunction ngini (see 6.9.7, p 479), though in some cases this seems to be optional, particularly following verbs of motion.

e.g. 6-125 (TT)

(a) (yu - wa - nguwunu - kuwuna) ngini a - ma - ti - he:p-frust-us(DO) - chase order:to he:np-sbve-irreal ri - kurruwa

(cv - catch/punish(?)

'He chased us (but without success) in order to catch (or punish?) us.' (9.33-RA)

(b) (yi - ni - pangirri ngawa - rringani) ngini

he:p:him-dir-send our - father in:order:to a - pamurrumi

he:np-work

'(Our Father (God) sent him here) to work.' (MGD)

(c) (api ngiya awarra ngi - nu - wuriyi) ngini

well I that:one(m) I -dir - go in:order:to ngiya ngu - pamurrumi

I I:np - work

'(I came here from that one) in order to work.' (MGD)

With verbs of motion the ngini is optional.

e.g. 6-126 (TT)

yu - wuriyi kularlagha a - wuni - ri - ma wuninga

he:p- go search:for he:np-loc- cv - do possum

'(He went) to search for possum.'
Where the verb in the purpose clause is given by a Verbal Complex as in example 6-126, the inflected auxiliary verb is sometimes omitted. This seems to be the only case of a non-finite verb in a clause in TT, though there are numerous examples in less traditional Tiwi, particularly in normal speech.

e.g. 6-127 (TT)
ngawa kapala nga - ri - ma - jing - uriyi kularlagha miputi
we boat we(incl)-cv-con.m-in - go search:for fish
kapi kuluwagha
prep creek
'(We go in a boat) to hunt fish in the creek.' (NgY29)

There are some examples, by at least one speaker, of the use of pili ngini as a conjunction in purpose clauses, but this appears to be a less traditional use.

e.g. 6-128 (LTT)
(Api wak nga - wu - li - pa - ami naki jurra nga - wu - well work we - obl -irreal-emph-do this book we(incl)
(incl)
rra - kirimi) pili ngini kakirijuwi awarra wuta
emph- make in:order:to children that(m) they
nguyi
wuni - pa - kirrimiya
in:future they:np:-emph - read
dist:time
'(We should work at making books) so that the children will read them in the future.' (VWRT1.11)

In general, there is no use of the conjunction ngini (or its changed form yini) in MT to encode purpose, though there are one or two examples in the speech of older
young people. There are also one or two examples of pili
encoding purpose, which are structurally no different from
reason clauses.

e.g. 6-129 (MT or LTT?)

(ngiya ngu - wiija pamparinga) pili ngiya ngu - wunga
I I:np- go:now mangroves in:order:to I I:np- get
kirimpika

'\(I\) am going to the mangroves) to get crabs.'

More commonly in MT, purpose clauses have no con­
junction. There is no auxiliary with the verb and also no
subject shown, the subject being the same as the subject of
the main clause. The main clause normally has a verb of
motion, in the examples in the MT corpus.

e.g. 6-130 (MT)

(a) ngi - ntu - wuriyi kulalaa warta
   we - p - go hunt bush
   'We went hunting in the bush.' (GP1475-GP19)

(b) yiya yu - wutha tuwim angilawa wak
   I I - go(np) do my work
   'I am going to do my work.' (AW10)

There are one or two examples of the preposition kapi
occurring before the purpose. I am not sure if this is
fairly common or if it is an individual's attempt to
produce 'better' Tiwi.
(a) yi - nt - uriyi kapi kijim kurrijuwa
we - p - go prep get axe
'We went to get an axe.'

(b) yi - nt - uriyi kapi yi - ntu - wapa kapi wata
we - p - go prep we - p - eat prep bush
'We went to eat in the bush.'

6.9.7 OTHER SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

6.9.7.1 OTHER SUBORDINATE CLAUSES IN TT

Most other subordinate clauses are introduced by the general conjunction and complementiser, ngini, as are purpose clauses. The meaning of ngini is very general, being able to be translated as 'if', 'that', 'that is'. Some of the uses of ngini have been discussed elsewhere: as a masculine singular relative pronoun (5.1.1, p 350, and 6.9.1.1, p 466), as a complementiser following verbs of speech (6.3.3.1, p 440), and in purpose clauses (6.9.6, p 476). Some other examples of the uses of ngini as a subordinate conjunction are given here. (In some cases the ngini is optional.)

(i) In a Conditional sentence

e.g. 6-132 (TT)

(a) ngini ngi - mp - a - ri - karlayampi kapani wuta
if you(pl)-np-frust-cv-lean:towards towards them
murrintawi nuwa arnuka ngi - nti - ni - ma
white:men you(pl) not you(pl)-(p)-dist:time-sbve
- tangiragha
- speak
'If you lean towards the white man's ways, you won't speak our (language) in the future.'

(FP-RA)
(b) ngajiti ninganikawa kukuni ngi - mp - a - ri
don't today water you(pl)-np-frust-cv

- mangapa ngini a - mpu - ngani - pirni
- drink if she - np - us(DO)- hit (C13.5)
'Don't drink any water today, if it (the cyclone) hits us.'

(ii) In an event-specifier sentence (i.e. where an event is specified) or in a paraphrase sentence.

e.g. 6-133 (TT)
(a) kuta kamini awunipirriti nguyi

ngini amukuta awungana ngimpirima yintaghi
that:is maybe what? you(pl):will:do later
'I don't know what will happen in the future, that is what you will do ...' (FP1.1-RA)

(b) karluwu ngumarripuwariyi pili ngiyatuwu jana, ngini
not I:sbve:emph:go because I:too sick compr
ngumarripuwariyi puniril api jana yingarti
I:sbve:emph:go funeral but sick much
'I couldn't go because I am sick, that is I would have gone but I am very sick.' (9.59-SP)

(iii) As a complementiser following verbs of 'wanting' 'knowing' etc.

ngini would appear to be optional but the tendency seems to be that when the subjects of the clauses are the same there is no complementiser and when the subjects are different there is one.
(a) ngini nyimpitimarti nyimpapurti Nguyuwu ... if you(sg):want you(sg):go:up Nguiu
  'If you want to go to Nguiu ...' (AEV1.1-DK)

(b) ngimpitimarti ngini jampaka manijamuwulami kapi you(pl):want that house they:build:for:us where
    ngarimarriawirriyalangamiya we:load:ourselves:in:with:food
    'Do you want them to build us a house where we can go and eat?' (TNg3a-DT)

(c) ngawa waya ngarimungurumi ngini ngarra jirti we now we(incl):know that he bad
    'We know that he is bad.' (GBQ3.9-DK)

The verb in the clause may be given just as a free verb without the auxiliary in some cases, though this may be indicative of change.

The only examples in the TT corpus of clauses following verbs of perceiving do not have complementisers.
(iv) As a complementiser following verbs of speech.

This is also discussed a little in 6.3.3.1 (p. 440).

When the quote clause follows the verb of speech, ngini normally occurs as a complementiser but when the quote clause precedes the verb of speech, there is normally no complementiser. There are no examples of indirect speech in my TT data. Sometimes, as in example 6-137(c) the verb of speech is omitted.

e.g. 6-137

(a) awungaji pirratimanungunjiliyarramini ngini "..."

there they:kept:telling:us:in:the:morning compr "..." ;out there

'There they kept telling us "...".'

(b) "Aya! nginta muwatuwuja jarrikarlani." yimi

hey(m) listen we(min):go:in:morning turtle he:said

'"Hey, let's you and I go down for turtle, in the morning!" he said.'

(c) Kali ngintumakirringim - apa ngini "Yita waya

run we:did:in:fright - foc,m comp listen! now

yinkitayi ampiniwujingilupuja," ngirimi.
close she:is:running:here I:said

'We ran and I said "Wow, she's getting close."'

6.9.7.2 OTHER SUBORDINATE CLAUSES IN MT

There are a few examples of the complementiser ngini (or yini) occurring in MT. However, subordinate clauses in MT more commonly contain no complementiser.

In the corpus of children's Tiwi there are very few, if any, examples of subordination. This could be seen as evidence of language death, particularly as there appears to be a decrease in the number of subordinate clauses in MT in general (cf Hill, 1973). However, lack of subordination is
common in children's speech everywhere. Moreover, the
decrease of subordination in older young people's speech may
perhaps be due to the type of data collected, compared to
the TT data available.

(i) **Conditional Sentences**

The only examples are given by older young people,
mainly in the elicited material. Because they are given by
older young people the form used is normally as in TT, i.e.
**ngini** (not the changed form **yini**).

e.g. 6-138 (MT) (a)

ngini **ngarra awungani arramukuwani tuwanga** api **ngarra tayinti**
if he like:that someone again well he stand

'If anyone does that again, he will have to stand.'

(GP1881-MP22)

(b) (LTT?) **ngini awungani nyi - mpi - ri - mi ngiya ngi -**

if like:that you(sg)-np-cv - do I I -

rrri - ja - **warri nginja**
irreal-sbve- fight you(sg)

'If you do that I will fight you.'

(9.103-PP21)

(c) **ngini a - mpi - ni - riyi arripilavin** api ngiya

if she- np - dir- go plane well I

ngi- kija awinyirra
I -go(np) that(f)

'If the plane comes I will go on it.'

(9.85-AP28)

(d) **ngini ngiya ku Tawin ngiya kijim awiranka tres**

if I go Darwin I get new dress

'If I go to Darwin I will get a new dress.'

(9.21.-CP19)
There are one or two examples of conditionality encoded in the speech of children, but these are given by two clauses juxtaposed, without any conjunction. Osborne notes that this also occurs in TT (Os., p 71).

\[\text{e.g. } 6\text{-}139 \quad (\text{CT})\]

(a) \text{n}uwa\text{ wantim m}an\text{k}o, nuwa p\text{ey po j}iling
\begin{itemize}
  \item you(pl) want mango
  \item you(pl) pay four shilling
\end{itemize}
'I if you want mangoes then you will have to pay forty cents.' \hfill (2.60-CM12)

(b) \text{arra erripleyn } a - \text{li -kitha ningani, arramukurra}
\begin{itemize}
  \item he plane
  \item he-dir - go today maybe
  \item kurritawini awaji yilaruwu
  \item bread there inside
\end{itemize}
'I if the plane comes today, maybe there will be some bread on it.' (This was the sentence asked for). \hfill (9.93.2-DB12)

(ii) There are no examples of 'event-specifier' clauses in MT with a subordinating conjunction, \text{ngini}. The examples of paraphrase sentences have the clauses juxtaposed without any conjunction (cf example 6\text{-}133(b) in TT).

\[\text{e.g. } 6\text{-}140 \quad (\text{MT})\]

(a) muwa - moruwi Papara, Kayli, Jajina, Sementha wuta
\begin{itemize}
  \item our(min)-children Barbara Kylie Justina Samantha they
pupuwi, wuta karluwu jana.

good(pl) they not sick.

'Our children, Barbara, Kylie, Justina, Samantha, are well, they are not sick.' (9.38-AP28)

(b) kiyi yiya, Wali Jon, Petrik yinturiyi Pajinapi
then I Ronald John Patrick we went Pinyinapi
ku kijim kijini muputi

go get small(m) fish(m)

'Then I, Ronald John and Patrick went to Pinyinapi, we went to get small fish.' (9.97-PPJ12)

This last example shows deletion of the subject in the second clause. The conditions for deletion of the subject are not discussed in this thesis.

(iii) Sentences with verbs of 'wanting' or 'knowing' etc.

Again it is only the older young people who use the subordinate conjunction ngini, and there are only about ten examples in the data, mainly from the elicited material.

Where it is used there is usually a sense of uncertainty about what is being said, such as following a clause meaning: 'I don't know', i.e. it is used in the same way that the English 'whether' or 'if' is used.

e.g. 6-141 (MT)

(a) ngiya karluwu ngirimajawu ngini arimangapa
    I not I:know compr he:drinks
'I don't know if he drinks.' (9.105-LB33)

(b) ngiya karluwu ngirimajawu ngini nginayi Jiliyarti
    I not know compr that:one(m) Darwin
yuwuriyi
he:went

'I don't know if that man went to Darwin.' (9.104-PP21)
ngini also occurs in some cases with a verb of 'seeing' but not always. It seems to depend upon the speaker. Since there are no examples in the TT data of ngini with verbs of seeing, these may be examples of hypercorrection. It may simply mean that my TT data in that area is deficient (cf e.g. 6-136(b)). Some speakers never seem to use it and for other speakers it is optional. In general, ngini as a complementiser is being lost.

e.g. 6-142 (MT/LTT?)

(a) Nayi kijini ngirripakuluwuni (ngini) yuwunjikupirnani that(m) boy I:saw(him) compr he:was:hitting: rep pulangumoni
dog
'I saw that boy hitting the dog.' (7.61-LB33)

(b) ngirripakuluwuni awarra tini yipawurliyi I:saw that(m) man he:fell
'I saw that man fall down.' (7.66-PP23)

With younger people there is often a free verb without an auxiliary in the second clause.

e.g. 6-143 (MT)

luk pirimi yingati tiwi kali see they:did many people run
'They saw many people running.' (GP -DB12)

With verbs of 'wanting', there is, in general, a lack of ngini (except for one example by an older young woman), whether the subjects of the clauses are the same or different. Even when the verb in the main clause is an
inflected verb, with the verb stem -itimarti (or -itimati) 'want' the verb in the second clause is often a free form verb without an auxiliary. When the English loan verb wantim occurs in the main clause it normally occurs without an auxiliary and the verb in the second clause is also without an auxiliary.

e.g. 6-144 (MT)

(a) ngiya nguwtimarti nguwitha Wiyuwu
   I   I:want I:go(np) Nguiu
   'I want to go to Nguiu.' (7.66-PP23)

(b) ngarra kaluwu awutimati moliki
   he   not he:wants bathe
   'He doesn't want to have a bath.' (7.14-MD12)

(c) ngiya nguwtimarti ngarra kam tumorra
   I   I:want him come tomorrow
   'I want him to come tomorrow.' (7.63-LB33)

e.g. 6-145 (CT)

(a) ya kalu wantim tok ka Mishel
   'I don't want to talk to Michelle.' (GP -IW7)

(b) yiya wantim yitha ko tingarra
   'I want you to go to the beach.' (7.69-DB12)

There are other cases of subordinate clauses in MT which do not take a subordinate conjunction. In some cases, where the subjects of both are the same, the two verbs could perhaps be regarded as a single predicate, particularly in the case where the first verb is pinij or finish, in example 6-146 (cf. the construction with sat or stat;
However, the auxiliary normally occurs between 'finish' and the next verb.

e.g. 6-146 (MT)

karri finish pirimi moliki kiyi ...
when finish they:did swim then
'When they had finished swimming then ...'

Other verbs also may occur in the first clause usually with a construction similar to the English but perhaps with no preposition where there would be one in English. I am not sure how the corresponding sentences would be said in TT.

e.g. 6-147 (MT)

(a) nyiya janawurii kalikali ka nginja
    I tired run prep you(sg)
'I am tired of running after you.' (GP1497-EP20)

(b) arra lerrim awa payt
    'He let us fight.' (GP1069-boy)

(iv) With verbs of speech (see also 6.3.3.2, p 443) ngini or yini may occur, at least in older young people's speech.

8.115.2 (MT)

(a) ngiya ngirimi ngini "ngiya pupuni api nguwuja pojinga"
    I I:said compr I good well I:will:go beer
'I said: "If I am well I will go for beer."
    (9.106-PP21)

(b) yiya telim yirimi yini "yiya ko anting"
    I tell I:did compr I go hunting
'I told (her) "I am going hunting."' (7.70-DB12)
(c) kiyi ya wani "awi, awa ko japuja"
then I say hey(pl) we go home
'Then I said: "Let's go home."' (2.60-CM12)

(d) kuwan(i) awarra?" awa wani
who(m) that(m) we say
'"Who is that?" we said.' (9.80-CP9)

In MT, there are some examples of indirect speech,
which are mainly from the elicited material. In these cases
the form of the English sentence which was asked may have
influenced the MT sentence given. These have the
complementiser ngini in each case.
e.g. 6-149

(a)
ngiya ngurruwujiarra ngiya - moringa ngini wutili kapinayi
I I:told my - daughter compr with these
ampiwuj a kulalah
she:is:going hunting (7.67-PP23)
'I told my daughter that she could go hunting with
these people.'

(b)
ngarra yimi ngini awuja japuja
he he: said compr he:is:going home
'He said that he was going home.'

In each case the tense of the verb in the Indirect
Quote clause is the same as it would be if it was a direct
quote, but the subject person is different from a
corresponding Direct Quote clause. It may be that the form
of the English was misunderstood and that the examples in
6-149 may respectively mean: 'I told my daughter: "She (i.e. someone else) is going hunting with those people."' and 'He said: "He (i.e. someone else) is going home."'.

In more spontaneous speech there are no examples of indirect speech with the conjunction ngini or vini, but in the corpus of data there are three examples of indirect speech sentences following the English pattern with an infinitive, following the verb 'tell'. In two of these examples the object pronoun used is also in English while in the other cases it is in Tiwi. This as yet does not seem to be a general pattern, though it may become more general if the language moves closer to English.

e.g. 6-150 (MT?)

(a) yiya telim arra tu stop
    'I told him to stop.' (7.69-DBl2)

(b) thirra telim tem tu stop
    'She is telling them to stop.' (7.11-PP18)

(c) thirra telim im tu stop
    'She is telling him to stop.' (7.28-MP11)

These last two examples are examples of code-switching where the codes are MT and English. Code-switching is a very common feature of the speech of young people and some older ones (discussed further in Chapter 7).
(1) The difference between this type of predicate and the Verbal Complex of the first type is discussed in more detail in 6.4, p. 447.

(2) The Secondary Object as well as other clause constituents (see 6.2.1.2(i), p. 397) may be referred to by an incorporated form, but this is only the case if there is such a form for the item referred to.

(3) The scheme presented here is following one given for Burrara by Glasgow and Garner, but with some changes and modifications (Glasgow and Garner, 1980).

(4) Both locative and temporal may be indicated on the verb but only in some cases and with specific meanings (see 6.2.3.1, p. 413 and 2, p. 416). In some cases, locative, temporal and manner may occur as complements in a stative clause (see 6.4, p. 447 and 6.5, p. 450).

(5) The term 'transitive clause' here is used in a wider sense than in 6.1 (p. 387), referring to all clauses which require a second nominal argument.

(6) There are some examples in the data where the IO prefixes are used to refer to the Concomitative but the IO argument is one which does not normally require the concomitative marker ma- on the verb (see 4.2.2.1(c), p. 267).

(7) The IO in TT appears to cover a similar range of functions as both the purposive and dative cases in most other Australian languages. In some languages these are separate but in others they fall together (Dixon, 1972, pp. 146-7; 1980, p. 297ff; McKay, 1975; Capell, 1956, p. 77f; Hudson, 1978, p. 24f).

(8) -kuruwala is a feminine verb stem (possibly 'song' is an unstated feminine object) (see 4.2.2.1, p. 249).

(9) It may be possible to have an IO externally to the verb in other cases but I have no examples of this to date.

(10) The phrase in this particular example may be a locative, as it may be example (c).

(11) This seems to be a compound incorporated form composed of wa- 'words' and iningi- 'goods'. It is not clear why it is used here, unless it has become a frozen form meaning 'telegram'.

(12) The form immediately prior to class 1 verb stems and incorporated forms is marri- and before class 3 stems and forms is marr- (see 4.2.2.1(c), p. 267).

(13) This may perhaps apply with other nominal arguments besides S, such as DO, but there are no examples in my corpus of data.

(14) The concomitative could perhaps be divided into two different grammatical relations, vehicle and
accompaniment, but at this stage they are treated together because it is still not clear without further investigation whether this is the basic distinction. There are other uses of the concomitative marker which needs further investigation.

(15) There are some examples where the concomitative is also referred to by an IO prefix or even a DO prefix in the case of transitive verb stems. More investigation of these is needed as there are only a few examples in the data and it is not clear why they differ from other forms.

(16) The ji- assimilates to ju- before wu, but the ngi-, which normally occurs before class 1 and 3 forms has been lost, probably because there is a ngi- occurring on the form wurti(ngi)-. It is not clear just what this form means but it seems to be used in the sense of the gloss given, in most cases.

(17) It is not clear whether this refers to the subject (wallaby) or to the concomitative (spear) both referred to in earlier sentences.

(18) This example follows (d) and the concomitative inferred from the context is the same as the one inferred from the context in (d), viz., 'spear', given in the previous sentences.

(19) It is not clear whether this emphatic pronoun refers to the secondary object 'her' ('wallaby' understood from previous context) or to the 'stick' which is feminine. Godfrey's gloss of the text implies the latter. It is unusual to have a third person pronoun as object following the verb (see 6.8.1, p 460).

(20) An imperative clause need not contain a subject and there are instances of elipsis of the subject which is not discussed here (see 6.9.2, p 471).

(21) This occurs in the speech of older people as well, the IO prefix appears to be being replaced by a prepositional phrase (see 6.2.1.1 (iii), examples 6-7 (b , p 398).

(22) There is one case of benefactive with the ditransitive verb, pringim 'bring', but this behaves as an IO, as in English (see 6.3.2.2, p 433).

(23) It is not clear in what sense this suffix is being used, as it does not appear to have the TT meaning of 'past habitual' or a durative sense. (See 4.2.8, p 298).

(24) Purpose may also be encoded in a purpose clause within a sentence. (See 6.9.6 , P 476.)

(25) Instrument is also marked by this preposition (see 6.2.2.2 (iv) ,p411).
(26) This could perhaps be an IO (see 6.2.2.1 (iii), p 406).

(27) I have not many examples of this in the data and it is not discussed elsewhere in the thesis. e.g. tayikuwapi wutiri wu ngini yirrikipay yoyi wurimi (TT) many mixed-up compr crocodile dance they:do 'Everyone is mixed up when they do the crocodile dance.'

(28) There are no examples of kapi.

(29) wutiri seems to be used only by older young people and wuta/wurra by children (with this sense). It may be that the use of wuta/wurra may be a hyper-correction (likening it to the use of wuta/wurra for accompaniment in MT).

(30) The TT stem is -Cakitiringa which seems to mean 'throw and hit'.

(31) There are not many examples of locative clauses in MT (see 6.9.2 , p 472).

(32) In this case where there is a prepositional phrase the preposition is traditionally kaghi or kangi, though this seems to be changing (see 5.2.1, p 374).

(33) There are a few examples of the prefix (wu)ni- meaning 'at a distance' in MT (see 4.2.5, p 289).

(34) See note (57) Chapter 4, p 346, for this prefix, (w)ati-.

(35) Other particle-like words, such as manya 'go ahead', behave as peripheral elements in a sentence and are thus not included as clause elements.

(36) These words are: sat/stat 'start to'; tra/tray 'try to' and pin 'past' (see 4.3.3, p 340).

(37) See note (54), p 434.

(38) In MT Location 'from' is marked differently (see 6.2.3.1 (ii), p 414).

(39) The reason for reversing the order has not been studied in detail but it would seem in general that the subject following the verb is either new information or old information re-introduced (see 6.8.2, p 463, for further discussion).

(40) In MT the verb stem -marriyi 'take' (see 4.2.2.2, p 266) takes a DO which seems to be normally inanimate. In TT the Concomitative, marked by ma(rri)- on the verb, can be either animate or inanimate (see 6.2.1.2 (ii), p 400).

(41) shutim is normally transitive but is used intransitively in some cases. The difference
seems to be the difference between 'shoot' and 'shoot at', as in English.

(42) The meaning given here is implied from the context, not 'I'll report to you.'.

(43) See Osborne's discussion (Os. p62).

(44) There are no examples of the concomitative marker plus ji(ngi)- 'in, on' giving a sense of conveyance.

(45) This is one English loan which never seems to occur with an auxiliary.

(46) This is possibly an older loan from 'cooee', which itself is a loan from another Aboriginal language into English. jingawu is also used by older people.

(47) The quote clause is discussed more fully in 6.9.7.2 (iv), p 482.

(48) Without this incorporated form the addressee is normally marked by a prepositional phrase (see 6.2.1.1 (iii)), which may be a less traditional style.

(49) wani (or awani) is the MT equivalent of TT: awungani which means 'like that'. It seems to be commonly used in MT meaning 'say' or '(say) like that'.

(50) Other types of NPs may be discontinuous (see 5.1.4, p 370).

(51) There may also be stative transitive clauses with verbs of 'naming' and semi-transitive clauses with verbs of 'making to be', but there are very few examples of these and so they are not included in the description.

(52) These stems may also occur in an active verbal intransitive clause or, with the concomitative marker with the meaning 'live with' or 'marry', in an active verbal semi-transitive clause (see example 6-49(b), p 431).

(53) Some older young people may use either -ma 'be, become' or -muwu or -miringarra 'live' in this type of clause but they are not general to MT, and can be assigned to a LTT style.

(54) Possession may also be expressed by the use of the verb stems -ini 'have, keep' and -majila 'own (pet or animal)', in active verbal semi-transitive clauses in TT.

(55) This is the masculine form of yipalinya (TT: yimparlinya) 'woman' and seems to mean 'feminine man/boy' or 'sissy'.
Possession in MT may also be expressed by the use of the loan verb *apim* (+ an auxiliary in MT), in a transitive clause (cf note (54)).

That this is an irrealis verb is indicated by the lack of the connective *ri*- (see 4.2.2.1[a], p 249).

The prefix *-ati* seems to be used with the sense of 'everywhere' (see note (57), Chapter 4). For *-nara*, see 3.6, p 217.

This form (an Iwaidja loan) is used more often than the form *anuka* (from the traditional form *arnuka*), though this latter is used by some.

*pilipim* has undergone a semantic change from the word 'believe', and generally means 'obey'.

This is the only example of this word, *lawut* ('allowed') as an aspect word, though it may be more common.

This seems to be quite common in TT as well (but with the form *ngajiti* *awunganji*).

The final vowel preceding *-ana* is dropped.

The question words beginning with *awung* are changed to begin with *aw*; *awungarri* > *awarri* 'when?'

Godfrey (private communication).

Godfrey discusses this as one type of repetition used as a stylistic device indicating difference in focus (Godfrey, 1980, p 4).

This stem has an impersonal feminine subject and the person dying is marked as an 'IO'.

The TT form would be *nyi-mpi-* 'you(sg)' or *ngi-mpi-* 'you(pl)'.

This seems to mean 'it stands with fruit on (the tree(s))' versus

*ā* - *ri* - *marri* - *kuwa* - *viti*

*he:np- cv - con.m - fruit- stand 'it stands with fruit'

It is not certain why the masculine prefix is used as 'tree' is feminine. Godfrey says that the first means when there is only a little bit of fruit while the second means a lot of fruit (private communication).

I am not sure what *manuuki* means.
I am not sure why the subject prefix on the verb is one meaning 'he:np', agreeing with the complement ariktumurnawawamini which is masc. sing., when the prefix expected would be the same as in the main clause. Also, the prefixes pu- 'away from camp' and ngu- 'cv' appear to mean 'distance in time', though it could mean 'away from home' (see 4.2.5, p 289).

In TT and sometimes in MT awungani (or the changed form awani/wani) is an anaphoric manner word (see 3.5.3, p 212), but often in MT it is used as meaning '(do, say) like that'.

This verb stem normally means 'erase' or 'rub out' and it may perhaps be extended to mean 'punish' or something like that.

I am not sure what the suffix -kawa means.

Godfrey has noted one or two examples of indirect speech but since these are given by a man in his forties and were changed to direct speech when given by older men, it is assumed that these are LTT.

The use of the irrealis and/or subjunctive is not common among most young people and I am not sure if this form would be used in TT in this case.

This could perhaps be considered a purpose clause with ku as a conjunction, but there are no other examples of this.
CHAPTER 7 SUMMARY OF THE CHANGES

This chapter is concerned with a summary of the changes, the types of changes and their interrelations.

7.1 Phonology (see also 2.8, p 106)

There is a loss of some TT phonemes. In some cases the lost phonemes are replaced by other TT phonemes (such as the retroflex consonants, which are replaced by the alveolars). In other cases the phoneme is lost in some positions (such as the velar fricative between /a/ and initial /ŋ/ before /a/) (see 2.3, p 48ff).

New phonemes are introduced. These occur mainly in English loans. However, there appears to be the splitting of one TT phoneme (/ʊ/) due to the influence of English (in addition, the phonetic realisation of the palatal stop has changed to be more like the English phoneme), i.e. TT: /ʊ/ [ʊ] and [ʊ] > MT: /tʃ/ [tʃ] and /tʃ/ [tʃ] (see 2.3.3, p 64). Also /ɛ/ and /ɛ/ appear to be falling together and being replaced by a phoneme closer to English (/r/) (see 2.3.1, p 51).

With the introduction of English loans which are not Tiwiised to any great extent, the stress pattern (with primary stress falling upon the penultimate syllable) has become less predictable. Also the stress in some TT-derived words has changed. Some of these changes are due to the dropping of a final vowel. In these cases the stress is on the same vowel but it is no longer the penultimate vowel (see 2.5.5, p 88).

Similarly, the simple (C)V syllable pattern has become more complex, allowing some consonant clusters. Again, this is mainly in English loans but it also occurs in some
TT-derived words, through the dropping of an unstressed vowel (at least in the speech of some young people) (see 2.5.4, p 86 and 2.3.10, p 66).

There is a change in some TT phonemes in the speech of young children (such as /ɪ/> /y/; (see 2.3.8, p 63). These differences probably occur in the 'baby talk' of adults. (1)

7.2 Word classes (see also Table 3.1, p 115)

7.2.1 Relexification

This is mainly through the borrowing from English or Pidgin English, particularly in open or potentially open classes, such as nouns, adjectives, adverbs, free form verbs. Many loans are used for items or concepts for which there are already terms in TT, such as spiya for 'spear' (see also Appendix 1).

7.2.2 Reduction and expansion of classes

(i) There is a vast reduction of the class of inflected verb stems with a corresponding expansion of the class of free form verbs (See Chapter 4).

(ii) There is a reduction of predicatives with a corresponding increase in adjectives (see 3.4, p 191).

(iii) There is reduction of the classes of conjunctions, introducers, particles and clitics.

(iv) There is expansion in the class of prepositions (see 5.2, p 372, and 6.2, p 391).

7.2.3 Noun classification (see 3.2.3, p 134)

Gender distinctions are basically retained only for humans and some animals, on the basis of natural sex. However, most older young people show the same agreement as in TT between commonly used adjectives and nouns. As yet there is no regular adoption of one form to modify all
non-human nouns. Young children tend to generalise (even for human nouns), using the feminine form, which may indicate the beginning of a change. (It is not clear why the feminine form should be chosen).

7.2.4 Pronominals (see 3.3, p 155)

(i) There are general sound changes (such as the dropping of the initial /ŋ/ or initial syllable) in most forms.

(ii) With the personal pronouns there is a change from a minimal-augmented system to a singular-plural one (see Table 3.3, p 130, and Table 3.4, p 137).

(iii) Third person normal pronouns and definitives appear to be falling together, at least in the speech of younger children.

(iv) There is loss of gender distinction in the demonstratives, with the changed masculine form, which is unmarked by a prefix, being generalised.

7.2.5 Deictic locatives and demonstratives

The three-way distinction of TT (i.e. relative distance from the speaker or addressee) is becoming a two-way distinction (i.e. relative distance from speaker).

7.3 Verbal constructions (see Chapter 4).

(i) Inflected independent verb

TT: 

\{ Verbal Complex (free form verb + inflected auxiliary verb) \}

Verbal Complex

> MT: ± aspect +

\{ Free form verb \}

Inflected independent verb (only about 10-15 verb stems)

aspect words: sat/stat 'start to', tra/tray 'try to' and pin 'past' (but only where no inflected verb).
(ii) The complex inflections of the TT verb has been greatly reduced (normally with compensation elsewhere, see Chapter 6 and cf Table 4.3, p237, with Table 4.4, p238). This has involved the loss of virtually all incorporated forms and the loss of most affixes, except the subject-tense prefixes and some aspect affixes.

(iii) There is the generalisation of the subject-tense prefixes from three sets (transitive, feminine and general) to one set (cf 4.2.3.1, p273, and 4.2.3.2, p279).

(iv) The set of free form verbs is expanded in MT to include, as well as some TT-derived forms, loan verbs from English or Pidgin English (most transitive forms have the suffix -im, which is borrowed from Pidgin English), and the singular imperative forms of some common TT verbs (ta- + verb stem).

(v) The three auxiliary verb stems of TT, viz., -mi, -ma and -kirimi, are generalised to the one form, -mi.

7.4 Phrases

7.4.1 Nominal phrases

(i) The Attributive noun phrase is basically the same structure in MT as in TT. The differences are mainly in the words which may occur in each modifier position. For instance, predicatives may be used as descriptive adjectives in MT but not in TT. In the speech of young children there are no relative clauses (2) (see 5.1.1, p350).

(ii) Possessive Phrases in MT may have a modifier, other than the Possessor before the head noun, which does not appear to happen in TT (see 5.1.2, p359).

(iii) Co-ordinate nominal phrases are of three types, all
of which appear in both TT and MT but not to the same degree (see 5.1.3, p 365):

(a) no conjunction

(b) conjunction, wuta 'they'

(c) conjunction, ami(n)tiya
   (from sentence introducer, 'and')

7.4.2 Prepositional phrases (see 5.2, p 372ff).

TT: There are few prepositions (most also occur as subordinate clause conjunctions):

- **kapi/ngampi**} Locative 'to', 'at', 'in',
- **kaghi/kangi**} (Indirect Object 'on', 'near', 'from' - LTT?)
- **kapani** Locative 'towards', 'along'
- **kuyi** Locative 'to', 'in' (?)
- **ngini** Speech complement 'about'
- **nginingaji** Manner 'like'
- **ngintuwu**
- **karri** Temporal 'when'

MT: There is a loss of some TT prepositions, but a gain of some English loans. There are more grammatical relations shown by prepositions than in TT.

- **kapi/ka**
  - Indirect Object 'to'
  - Vehicle 'by'
- **from**
  - Locative 'from'
  - Reason
- **fu/fo**
  - Benefactive/Purpose 'for'
  - Temporal (duration)
- **wutiriyi/ wutilia**} Accompaniment 'with'
- **wuta/wurra**} Instrument 'with'
7.5 Clauses and sentences (see Chapter 6)

(i) Clauses in TT and MT can be divided into the same basic types according to their Predicate structure, but the Predicate structure varies within each type for both MT and TT, and can be summarised thus:

**Active verbal clauses**

**TT:**
- {inflected verb}
- {Verbal Complex (free form verb + auxiliary)}

**MT:** ± asp + {inflected verb}
- {Verbal Complex}

**Stative verbal clauses**

- Complement + {inflected verb, 'be'}

**Non-verbal clauses**

- Complement

Casual MT and CT:

± asp + Free form verb

(ii) Active verbal clauses can be further subdivided according to the Core or Non-core arguments required in each, summarised as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TT</th>
<th>MT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ditransitive: S, DO, SO</td>
<td>(i) DO, SO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitive: S, DO,</td>
<td>(ii) IO, DO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semi-transitive: S, SO</td>
<td>transitive: S, DO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intransitive: S</td>
<td>intransitive: S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(iii) Other changes in arguments:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TT</th>
<th>MT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indirect Object</td>
<td>Indirect Object (prep: ka or kapi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(marked on verb by pers. prefix)</td>
<td>Beneactive/Purpose (prep: fu/fo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concomitative</td>
<td>Direct Object (unmarked)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(signalled on verb by con. marker iji(ngi)- 'in, on')</td>
<td>Accompaniment (Prep: with(i) etc)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vehicle (prep: ka)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iv) Subordination

There are some changes in subordinating conjunctions, particularly in the loss of the general complementiser or conjunction, ngini, in some situations. In general, there are fewer subordinating strategies and more coordinating ones. (4)

7.6 The types of changes and their interrelationship

Some of the changes can be seen to be of the types of change which is found in "normal" language change. Many of the "normal" language changes are due to borrowing from other languages though not necessarily through extensive contact. Some of the changes in Tiwi which would perhaps have occurred without extensive contact are:

(i) the splitting of /tʃ/ (TT: /t/) into two phonemes, /tʃ/ and /t/. This is due to the conditioning of the allophonic variations being lost, mainly through borrowing (see 2.3.7, p 60):
TT: /t̪/  [t̪] occurs before /i/
   e.g. [t̪iːmi] /t̪iyimi/ 'she did'
[t̪] occurs before /a/
   e.g. [t̪a]m̩paka] /t̪am̩paka/ 'house'
[t̪] ~ [t̪] occurs elsewhere
   e.g. [t̪u]v̩] ~ [t̪u]v̩] /t̪u̱a/ 'church'

MT: /t̪̩/  [t̪̩] occurs in all environments
   e.g. [t̪̩im̩] /t̪̩imi/ 'she did'
      [t̪̩ak̩im̩] /t̪̩akim̩/ 'throw'
/t̪/  [t̪] occurs in all environments
   e.g. [t̪̩̃a] /t̪̃a/ 'she'
      [t̪̃(m)̩̃]p̩̃a] /t̪̃apa] 'house'

(ii) the loss of initial /ɲ/ (see 2.3.6, p58).
(iii) the extension of the use of the common auxiliary
stem -mi to replace the less common stems such as -kirimi and -unga. This is a case of grammatical analogy.

Other changes have to be more directly attributed
to extensive contact with English and/or Pidgin English
(to direct borrowing from them or to analogical
modelling on structures within them).

These changes, although given under the separate
headings of Phonology, Word classes, clauses etc., are
not discrete changes occurring independently of each other.
Change in the lexicon, through borrowing, introduces new
phones or phonemes into the language, leading to an
expansion in the phoneme inventory. There is a
corresponding reduction in the phoneme inventory through
the loss of some TT phonemes (see 2.8, p106). On the
surface, it is not clear what came first.
Similarly, on the surface, it is not clear whether the introduction of English loan free form verbs has led to the loss of TT verb stems or vice versa or whether the loss of the TT verbal inflections has led to more grammatical relations being indicated by prepositions or the other way around or whether the changes have been simultaneous.

These questions can only be answered by a consideration of how MT has developed; i.e. whether it is a reduced or simplified form of TT, or whether it is in fact an emerging new code developed from an anglicised baby talk Tiwi which has amalgamated forms and structures from both TT and English (and/or Pidgin English). These questions are considered in relation to language contact phenomena in the next chapter.

NOTES ON CHAPTER 7

(1) I have not studied Tiwi 'baby talk' (i.e. the speech of adults to young children) phonology in detail. However, some of the phonological differences found in young children's speech have been observed casually in Tiwi baby talk. In view of what has been observed by linguists in other Australian languages (Anindilyakwa by Leeding, 1977; Milingimbi children's speech by Buyumini and Sommer, 1978; Warlpiri by Laughren, 1982, and also casual observation in different languages by SIL linguists) it does seem likely that these regular phonological differences do arise from Tiwi baby talk (see also discussion in 8.3.3.3, p 572f).

(2) This is to be expected in child language (cf Clark and Clark, 1977, p 341). This is one way in which CT (and all child language) is like a pidgin language (cf Slobin, 1977). (See also 8.3.3.3, p 567f).
(3) S(Subject): TT/MT (more formal): - marked on verb by personal prefix but casual MT and CT: unmarked on verb; DO (Direct Object): TT marked on verb by personal prefix; MT: unmarked on verb; SO (Secondary Object): TT/MT: unmarked on verb; IO (Indirect Object): TT: marked on verb by personal prefix, MT: unmarked on verb, but indicated by prepositional phrase with kapi/ka.

(4) The scope of this thesis does not permit a detailed study of the co-ordination and subordination of sentences (see 6.9, p 465). A statistical analysis of the use of subordinating versus co-ordinating strategies in either TT or MT has not been carried out. The statement made is based on an impressionistic survey.
CHAPTER 8 LANGUAGE CONTACT PHENOMENA AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO TO TIWI

This chapter is concerned with a discussion of language contact phenomena in general, their relationship to the wider Australian scene and then more specifically to Tiwi, with a brief conclusion regarding the possible future of Tiwi.

8.1 LANGUAGE AND CULTURE CONTACT

When two cultures come into contact there is inevitably change, particularly in the culture of the less dominant group, through the introduction of new elements as well as the loss or reorganisation of old ones. Normally when cultures come into contact so do the languages of the two groups to some extent. This results in different kinds of language contact phenomena, depending upon a number of factors such as the type and intensity of contact.

'Language contact is considered by some anthropologists as but one aspect of culture contact, and language interference as a facet of cultural diffusion and acculturation.' (Weinreich, 1970, p 5).

However language contact is viewed in relation to culture contact, change in culture is certainly reflected in language (both in the change within the primary language of a particular group and in the use of new languages within the group). Some of the various effects of culture and language use by a community are discussed in the following sub-sections.

8.1.1 Linguistic Acculturation

Linguistic acculturation takes place in a language to accommodate changes in a culture. 'Vocabulary is that
aspect of language which most sensitively registers culture changes' (Casagrande, 1954, p 217). Casagrande (ibid) discusses the varying ways in which new cultural elements are introduced into a language: (1) extension of old meanings; (2) coining of new words; (3) borrowing of loan words; (4) translation borrowing or calque (see also Haugen, 1950). He goes on to say that at different stages of its history a language may use different strategies and he shows how these have been applied in the Comanche language.

The strategy used by a particular group seems to depend upon such factors as the type and intensity of contact, the formal tendencies of the language (i.e. whether or not there exist productive devices for forming new words, etc.), and the language loyalty of the group.

Dozier (1964) gives an example of different types of contact leading to different types of linguistic acculturation (both linguistic and non-linguistic). The Spanish contact with the Yacqui Indians of Sorona and Arizona was a relatively permissive one in which the Indians were given the opportunity to choose whether or not to adopt Spanish cultural items and integrate them into their culture. Apparently they were not coerced into taking over European and Catholic ways. 'The result was that a fusion of Spanish and Yacqui cultural elements took place in a relatively short time' (Dozier, 1964, p 516). This can also be seen in the language which is 'an amalgam, where Spanish and Yacqui elements have been thoroughly integrated' (ibid).
On the other hand the Rio Grande Tewa Indians have an early contact history of coercion, in which 'ceremonies and customs were suppressed, ceremonial paraphernalia destroyed and the Indians were fined and punished for violating regulations of church and state' (ibid). As a consequence (it seems) the Spanish and Indian elements of culture have remained distinct. This too can be seen in the language which contains very few Spanish loans and shows a preference for coining new words or extending old meanings to cover new cultural items.

8.1.2 Bilingualism

Linguistic acculturation can take place in the language of a group with very few of that group becoming bilingual. However, it is normal for some individuals to become bilingual. In some cases, community bi- (or multi-)lingualism may result, where most of the community becomes bilingual to some extent.

In bilingual situations speakers have to select which language to use in a given situation. The language choice is normally determined by such social factors as setting (e.g. home, church, school or business), interlocutor (taking into consideration such things as the status of the addressee relative to that of the speaker, the language(s) spoken by the addressee etc.), and topic ('subject matter ... and the propositional content of utterances' (2) (Ervin-Tripp, 1964, p 88)).

A situation of relatively stable community bilingualism may exist for a period of some time. Some examples of such bilingual situations are found in Paraguay (Rubin, 1962; 1968), Canada (Lieberson, 1965;
1970), and India (Gumperz, 1964a; 1964b, etc.). In some cases of long contact between languages where there are social reasons for the languages to remain separate and there exists a situation of stable bilingualism over a long period of time, the languages may converge (i.e. come to be similar syntactically and phonologically but with a different lexicon). The classic case is that from the Indo-Aryan/Dravidian border, described by Gumperz and Wilson (1971).

8.1.3 Linguistic Interference

Normally in language contact situations, one language assumes a dominant position, perhaps because it is the language of the conquerors or of an established majority among whom immigrants filter. 'Since two languages rarely meet on equal terms the two languages can be expected to undergo different influences.' (Burling, 1970, p 171).

Linguistic interference due to bilingualism is discussed in detail in Weinreich's classic 'Languages in Contact' (1970, originally 1953).

Thomason (1981) distinguishes between two types of interference which are:

'traditionally known as borrowing and substratum interference. Borrowing is the incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language. The native language is maintained but is changed by the addition of the incorporated features. Substratum interference, or, to phrase it more accurately, interference that results from imperfect group learning during language shift, occurs when a group of speakers shifting to a target language fails to learn the target language perfectly.' (Thomason, 1981, pp 7,8).

Borrowing normally begins with lexical items while substratum interference begins with phonology and syntax.

In a contact situation in which one language is seen as dominant, elements from the dominant language are
normally borrowed into the less dominant language. On the
other hand, the learning of the dominant language by the
less prestigious group will be influenced by their own
language.

8.1.4 Lingua Francas

In some cases where a number of language groups come
into contact a language of one group may become a lingua
franca (though the language may not be that of a
conquering group). The definition of a lingua franca
followed by Samarin (1968, p 661) is from a UNESCO
document:

'A language which is used habitually by people
whose mother tongues are different in order to
facilitate communication between them.'

In the cases where the lingua franca is a natural
language (i.e. the mother-tongue of a particular group) it
may be altered or 'simplified' to some extent but it still
remains a recognisable variant of the parent language (as
with Koiné Greek in New Testament times). Some present day
lingua francas of this type are: Swahili, in east African
countries (Whiteley, 1971; Hinnebusch, 1979); Russian in
USSR (Comrie, 1979); Hebrew in Israel (Herman, 1968); and
Spanish in Mexico (Diebold, 1962, p 49) and the
Philippines (Sibayan, 1971).

8.1.5 Pidginization and Creolization

In other cases of language contact a pidgin language
may emerge (and this may develop into a creole). This
often happens 'where people need to communicate but have
limited means of learning one another's language' (Sankoff,
1977a, p 121). It normally only occurs when more than one
language comes into contact with a dominant language.
Whinnom says that 'it would appear to be true that no pidgin has even consolidated itself in other than a multilingual situation' and he goes on to list some well known pids (Whinnom, 1971, p 104).

There has been little agreement by linguists regarding the definition of pids and creoles, though linguists do recognise that such types of languages exist (DeCamp, 1977, p 3). Early linguists thought of pids as corruptions of standard languages (normally European ones). 'Most linguists, like the general public, considered them not to be real languages or at best, to be just funny dialects.' (DeCamp, 1977, p 11).

It is only in about the last twenty-five years that pids and creoles have been considered worthy of academic study (DeCamp, 1971a, p 13). One definition of a pidgin is given by DeCamp:

'a contact vernacular, normally not the native language of any of its speakers. It is used in trading or in any situation requiring communication between persons who do not speak each other's native languages. It is characterized by a limited vocabulary, an elimination of many grammatical devices such as number and gender, and a drastic reduction of redundant features.' (DeCamp, 1971a, p 15).

A pidgin language may continue for some time as a trade language or as a second language used for certain purposes, as with Chinese Pidgin in Hong Kong (Whinnom, 1971, pp 102ff). Todd distinguishes between restricted and extended pids.

'A restricted pidgin is one which arises as a result of marginal contact such as for minimal trading, which serves only this limited purpose and which tends to die out as soon as the contact which gave rise to it is withdrawn. An extended pidgin is one which, although it may not become a mother tongue, proves vitally important in a multilingual area, and which because of its use-
fulness, is extended and used beyond the original limited function which caused it to come into being.' (i.e. it becomes a *lingua franca*) (Todd 1974, p 5).

A pidgin (either a restricted or an extended one) may acquire native speakers and is then known as a creole. Mühlhäusler (1974, p 17) says 'a creole is a pidgin which has been restructured and expanded' (presumably because it has acquired native speakers and is required to function in as many areas of social interaction as any other natural language).

Although the above definitions of pidgin and creole are fairly widely accepted it seems that the terms *pidginization* and *creolization* and the defining characteristics of each are not so widely agreed upon. Some linguists appear to use the term 'pidginization' synonymously with 'simplification' or 'reduction'. Samarin (1971, p 126) uses it in this sense saying: 'pidginization should be seen as any consistent reduction of the functions of language both in its grammar and its use' (Samarin). Samarin applies the term to cases other than cases of language contact, including cases of language loss through lack of use, restricted codes (versus elaborated codes as conceived by Bernstein 1964, 1970 etc.) and special 'in-law' language as described by Dixon (1971) for Dyirbal. Other linguists limit the term to apply to language contact situations. Mühlhäusler's working definition appears to be an acceptable one.

'Pidginization refers to the reduction in structure and language mixing which occurs when language becomes a functionally-restricted second language. ... Creolization refers to the kind of linguistic changes that occur when a language becomes a first language.' (Mühlhäusler, 1980, p 21).

Comparing these definitions with those he gives for pidgin
and creole languages the results of pidginization and creolization need not be a pidgin and creole language respectively.

In creole studies the term *superstratum* is used to refer to the dominant language from which most of the vocabulary of a pidgin or creole is taken (and from which the name is normally derived). The *substratum* refers to the subordinate languages (Hudson, 1981, p 4). In creole situations there has been found to be considerably more variation than in a normal language situation.

'William Labov and David DeCamp both saw the immense social, chronological and stylistic variability characteristic of creoles as evidence of the inadequacy of the static theoretical models in vogue among linguists in the 1960's.' (DeCamp, 1977, p 14).

However, their approaches were different. Labov (1971, p 416) considered that the variants could be assigned to separate co-existent systems. 'DeCamp (1971b) stressed the interdependence of variables along a continuum' (DeCamp, 1977, p 14). The idea of a creole continuum was developed further by Bickerton (1975).

Some creole speech communities have developed into *post-creole* speech communities (DeCamp, 1971b, pp 351f). This comes about through a process of decreolization which occurs:

'wherever a creole language is in direct contact with its associated superstrate language. In decreolization speakers progressively change the basilectal grammar [i.e. that furthest removed from the superstratum] so that its output gradually comes to resemble the output of the acrolectal grammar [i.e. that close to the superstratum].' (Bickerton, 1980, p 109).

Decreolization perhaps can be seen as a special case of language loss or "death".

8.1.6 **Language Shift and Language Loss**

'One common result of extensive language contact on the community-wide level is language
shift, the gradual displacement of one language by another in the lives of the community.' (Dorian, 1980c, p 1).

Partial shift occurs when a mother-tongue group switches to a new language in certain functions but not in others (Weinreich, 1970, p 107). This occurs in cases of community bilingualism or when a pidgin or lingua franca is used for some functions. A state of relatively stable bilingualism may exist for some time or a partial shift may lead to a total shift (i.e. to the loss or "death" of the mother-tongue). This may happen after a very short time (perhaps after only one generation) or may be more gradual.

Language loss or death may occur particularly where the language being displaced is given a low value by the speakers of the dominant language and eventually by the speakers of the subordinate language themselves.

'The two "classic" settings in which this phenomenon has been relatively well studied are the indigenous minority language and the transplanted immigrant language.' (Dorian, 1980c, p 1).

Linguists in the past have been concerned with recording as much as possible of indigenous languages on their way to extinction (especially where there is only a handful of speakers remaining). (8) Voegelin says like other anthropological linguists he was interested in recording the "best" variety of the language he was studying, rather than in recording most varieties (Voegelin and Voegelin, 1977, p 336). Hill (1978) and Dorian (1981a) have pointed out that data collected from the last speakers of a language may not be truly representative of a fully functional language.

Swadesh (1948) discussed the phenomenon of language
obsolescence or death, giving several examples. However, it has only been in recent years that interest in the subject has surfaced, particularly through the work of Dorian on East Sutherland Gaelic (and also on Pennsylvania Dutch). Various linguists have studied other situations of language death. Some studies focus on the social, cultural, political or economical factors contributing to the demise of a language. Other studies deal more with the actual changes in the forms of the language (lexical, phonological, morphological, and syntactical). Still other studies are concerned with the factors influencing the maintenance or revival of a language in the face of pressure to shift. Language shift as it relates to the Tiwi situation is discussed in 8.3.2 (pp 525-527) and 8.3.3 (pp 548ff) and the factors contributing to its maintenance or loss are discussed in 8.4 (pp 575-578).

8.2 LANGUAGE CONTACT IN AUSTRALIA

Among Australian Aborigines, various language contact phenomena have occurred or are still occurring in different situations, depending upon the type of contact, which has varied from place to place.

A number of languages have become extinct through the demise of a whole tribe or group (Dixon, 1980, p 18). This has normally come about as a result of murder, disease, and through the alteration of their lifestyle or change in location, leading to a lack of desire to live. The most drastic example of this is the case of the Tasmanians who were completely wiped out in just over seventy years, through a mixture of these three factors (Dixon, 1980, p 78; Swadesh, 1948, pp 226-7).
In some cases missionaries, though well meaning, discouraged traditional customs, 'estranging them [young people] from their elders and disrupting the authority structure that underlay the social system. Amid this disruption of their traditional life, tribes tended simply to fade away.' (Dixon, 1980, p 78).

In a number of cases people were forced from their tribal lands and banded together on missions or settlements often with people from other language groups. It seems that even pre-contact there was a considerable amount of multilingualism in many areas of Australia (Dixon, 1980, pp 32, 46, 69). So that, in some places where different groups were brought together one of the languages became a lingua franca, sometimes displacing languages with smaller numbers of speakers. This is the case with Wik-Munkan in much of the western part of the Cape York Peninsula (Dixon, 1980, p 94), Yindjibarndi at Roebourne in Western Australia (Wordick, 1982, p 3) and Gugu Yimidhirr at Hopevale in Queensland (Haviland, 1979b, p 34).

At other places, although there is much linguistic diversity and bilingualism, no one language has been accepted as a lingua franca, though English is understood and is used for communication with Europeans. One such place is Maningrida in Arnhem Land (Elwell, 1977).

At still other places where people who did not speak the same language were collected together Pidgin English was used. This was normally introduced by Europeans or by other Aborigines from areas where a pidgin was spoken. This was the case at Roper River (or Ngukurr) (Sandefur, 1979, pp 12-13).
On some missions and settlements dormitories and schools were established and children from different language groups were brought together.

'Deprived of active contact with their clan language and faced with the social necessity to communicate with their fellows (of whatever linguistic background) children were forced to use pidgin' (Sommer, 1974, p 41).

However, the medium of instruction in each school was standard English.

At some places a form of pidgin English has become the lingua franca among Aboriginal people and has become a creole as it has acquired native speakers. Among these are Kriol, spoken at Ngukurr and Bamyili in the Northern Territory (Sharpe and Sandefur, 1976; Sandefur, 1979) and Cape York Creole (Crowley and Rigsby, 1979). In these cases there exists a creole (or post-creole) continuum similar to that described for Jamaican Creole by DeCamp (1971a; 1971b) and Bickerton (1975) (see Sommer 1974, p 42). The acrolect (i.e. the style closest to standard English) is normally reserved for communication with Europeans.

Even where Aboriginal English which is not a creole is spoken, there is still normally a dialect continuum (Dixon, 1980, p 74). Aboriginal English is a term used for English which 'is marked by some features as being distinctively Aboriginal' (Blake, 1981, p 68). It may have some features of Pidgin English (such as the use of bin 'past') and basically extended phonology like the creole languages but it is a dialect of English, mutually intelligible with other dialects (Dixon, 1980, p 74). As with creole speakers, speakers of Aboriginal English
(either as a first or second language) normally use a style closer to standard Australian English with Europeans, if they have the ability. There are very few places these days where no English at all is spoken. (For further discussion see Blake, 1981, pp 67-68; Dixon, 1980, pp 69-76; Elwell, 1979).

Some languages, although not completely extinct, are dying, having only a few speakers left. As in other cases, linguists in the past have been mainly concerned with recording the "pure" forms of these dying languages without concerning themselves with the forms spoken by young people. However, Douglas (1976) briefly describes the Nyungar language of south-western Australia, which is probably a simplified version of the original language, and the modern form Neo-Nyungar, which is basically an Aboriginal English with a smattering of Nyungar words. Austin (1981) looks at the changes in some eastern Australian languages which are dying. At least one of these appears to be a case of convergence with English. Speaking Gamilaraay 'now means inserting invariable lexical items into what are otherwise English sentences' (Austin, 1981, p 31).

Even in situations where an Aboriginal language is still used to a considerable extent, the children's speech appears to be changed in many cases. In an informal survey conducted among S.I.L. linguists working in different Australian languages, a number commented on the increasing use of English by children. In at least one case (Nyangumarta) this was to the exclusion of the traditional language, though some can still "hear" (i.e. understand)
In some cases, changes in the language spoken by the children have been noted, though not studied systematically in most instances. Some changes noted are: the increased use of English loans and the regularization of grammatical affixes (Gugu-Yalanji, Gurindji). (14)

Even where the European contact with Australian Aborigines has been relatively peaceful, quite a lot of coercion appears to have been used in many cases (see Dixon, 1980, pp 77-79; Berndt and Berndt, 1977, pp 493-499; Elkin, 1974, pp 362-364).

'The Aborigines, on their part, learnt that they could not rid their various tribal countries of the white man, nor take his possessions with impunity, for they came off worst when faced with either guns or courts. They therefore gradually adapted themselves to the white man, with his flocks and herds, as a permanent factor in the environment.' (Elkin, 1974, p 364).

Except for early clashes, there has been little resistance by the Aborigines to European ways and culture, with many Aboriginal people readily accepting the "benefits" of civilization. So, although there has been intermittent violence and considerable coercion, the contact has resulted in breakdown of the culture and language in a number cases. In general, the results appear to be different from those found by Dozier with respect to the effect of the type of culture contact on the culture and language (see 8.1, p 509). Perhaps other factors have played a more important part. A more detailed look at the type of contact situation at each place and its effect on the culture and language would need to be taken to determine what correlation there may be.
8.3 LANGUAGE CONTACT AND THE TIWI SITUATION

8.3.1 The Type of Contact (See also 1.2)

On Bathurst Island the mission contact with the Tiwi was peaceful, though the contact with Joe Cooper and his Iwaidja henchmen with guns had not been quite so peaceful shortly before (see 1.2, p 4 ). Father Gsell, the founder of the Mission, while having a rather condescending attitude towards the Tiwi, did respect their ways to some extent. He did not try to convert initiated adults but did persuade the elders to allow boys who wanted to stay at the Mission to do so and attend school. Although these boys did not become initiated but received religious instruction and were baptised, they were not cut off entirely from their families. They had contact with them when they came to the Mission from time to time and spent time on "walkabout" with them during school holidays.

The girls were another story. Since they were espoused to old men, belonging to them like chattels (see 1.2, p 4 ), the elders were not as willing to permit them to stay at the Mission. They eventually allowed them to stay with the nuns for short periods but their husbands would always come to claim them. This continued until one girl fled back to the Mission. After she had done this the second time Father Gsell, playing on the Tiwis desire for the whiteman's goods, arranged to buy her from her husband. She was the first of many "wives" whom he bought in this way. These girls became the "property" of the priest and when they were old enough he allowed them to marry young men of their choosing. Gsell himself says:

'When they [the men of the tribe] saw how these girls were treated with never an attempt to wean
them from what was good and wholesome in their native way of life, and when they saw that at a marriageable age they were perfectly free to marry young men of the tribe, all doubts and lingering fears were abandoned and I began to receive so many offers of "wives" that I became embarrassed and I was forced to limit my business.' (Gsell, 1956, p 93).

It is not certain from documents or from speaking with people just how much contact these girls had with their own families. It appears they may have had casual contact with them when the families came to the mission and maybe younger girls were allowed to go "out bush" during holidays. Certainly in later years older girls (adolescents) were not allowed to do so. Boys and girls were housed and schooled separately but the boys appear to have had more freedom, being allowed more time with their families at holidays. When more people settled around the Mission, boys apparently lived with their families but most girls were kept in the dormitory.

With regard to language, it seems that the use of the Tiwi language was certainly not discouraged. In the words of Gsell:

'We had to make ourselves understood quickly and so to begin with we were obliged to use pidgin English. ... Our aborigines had some notions of pidgin English, picked up from the buffalo hunters and odd traders and in this way we were able to communicate with our parishioners although, little by little, we tried to introduce language worthy of that name. Nor was that too difficult; because these people have a keen ear for sounds and they are quick to learn. However, we thought it our duty to study their own native dialects.' (Gsell, 1956, p 58).

This statement above seems to apply to the general Mission policy, not just to the Tiwi situation. With regard to the Tiwi situation he says:

'The Mission's population increased and there had to be control. The first question was that of language. The native language was very difficult to learn. We were the first foreigners to speak it, or rather to smatter it because we could only
If the aboriginal language was to be the official language of the Mission, it would have to be mastered, something which presented enormous difficulties because the aborigines refuse fiercely to initiate the white men into their mother-tongue. In fact, we never learnt more than the most commonly used words, filling in gaps with pidgin English. This was good enough for the adults, but something much more precise was needed to teach the children effectively.

The Government having insisted that the Mission should teach English, we proceeded to teach English; and because these aboriginal children are highly intelligent and blessed with prodigious memory they were very soon prattling away like sons of Albion. And the teachers, in turn, were now able to learn from their pupils much of the aboriginal language, a knowledge which we felt indispensable if we were really to understand the soul of this people.' (ibid, pp 107-8).

However much Tiwi the teachers learnt from their pupils, it does not seem to have been enough to communicate well in Tiwi, except for one priest, Father McGrath, who arrived in 1927, became the 'boss' in 1938 and left in 1948. From all accounts Father McGrath had a good grasp of the Tiwi language and used it to communicate to the people, often preaching in it at church. According to Brother Pye, who spent some time as a teacher in the Boys' school during Father McGrath's time, the adults did not need to speak English as they could communicate through Father McGrath. This would account for some of the older people now being able to speak only a pidgin English with Europeans. A number of the older people, particularly at Garden Point and Nguiu, and all of the younger ones (under about 40 years) have been to school and can speak a style of English closer to SAE. Many can also read and write English reasonably well.

It is hard to assess the amount of pidgin English spoken as it is not normally spoken to Europeans. However,
there has been some contact with Pidgin English over the years, in addition to the initial period of contact. A number of people have spent some time among other Aboriginal people at the East Arm Leprosorium near Darwin. Also a number of men were in contact with other Aboriginal people in the army during the war. There has been considerable influence of Pidgin English on both Modern Tiwi and the basilectal style of Tiwi-English. However this basilectal style of Tiwi-English does not appear to be the same as the Pidgin English spoken across northern Australia, for instance, Pidgin English pronouns are not used but pronouns which are closer to SAE (cf the discussion in 1.6, p 19, and 8.2, p 518).

Although English was taught in the school, the use of Tiwi does not seem to have been discouraged, either in the school or dormitory, except perhaps under the rule of one sister (from hearsay). Indeed, from accounts of their school days by some Tiwi women, Father McGrath appears to have taught English through Tiwi.

I believe that most of the language contact phenomena discussed in section 8.1 apply in some sense to the Tiwi situation. The peaceful non-resistant type of contact does seem to have led to a situation similar to the Yacqui discussed by Dozier (1964; see also 8.1, p 508), in that the language is an amalgam of Tiwi and English (and Pidgin English). However, the situation has not reached the stage where people cannot recognise the origin of the various elements of the culture or language. Although they dance traditional type dances at Christian masses and maybe bring Christian elements into their traditional
cereonies, they are able to recognise the origin of these
(at least the older people are able to do so). Similarly
in the language most people can recognise the elements
which are "Tiwi" and which are English (except for young
children).

There is certainly community bilingualism as
discussed briefly in 1.6 (p16), arising from partial
language shift. The shift does not seem to be a simple
shift from Tiwi to English with a gradual decline in the
use of Tiwi and a correlative rise in the use of English.
MT is replacing TT but it seems that the changes in MT can
be associated more with changes which take place in
pidginization and subsequent creolization than with those
involved in most cases of language death. The future of
Tiwi is by no means clear. In the following sections the
Tiwi situation is discussed in turn, in relation to
bilingualism, language death and creolization.

8.3.2 Societal Bilingualism, Language Shift and the Tiwi
Community (17)

Fishman (1972c) discusses bilingualism in relation to
diglossia. Ferguson's (1959) original concept (i.e. of the
use of two varieties of the same language in a community,
each with a definite role) has been extended and refined
by Fishman, Gumperz and others to refer to any situation
in which separate languages or language varieties are used
for different functions within a speech community. Fishman
(ibid) proposes that stable bilingualism occurs where
there is diglossia as well as bilingualism in a society.
On the other hand, transitional bilingualism occurs where
there is no diglossia or the different functions of the
separate languages are being lost. In this latter case one
language is in the process of replacing the other(s). (18)

Fishman goes on to say that

'in diglossic-bilingual speech communities children do not attain their full repertoires at home or in their neighbourhood play groups.' (ibid, p 141).

However, in a situation of transitional bilingualism:

'children typically become bilingual at a very early age, while still largely confined to home and neighbourhood, since their elders (children of school age and adults alike) carry into the domains of intimacy a language learned outside its confines.' (ibid, p 145).

Di Pietro proposes a universal:

'The presence of multilingualism in a speech community depends on the association of each language involved with specific domains of social interaction . . . The stability of multilingualism is a function of the time period in which the community gives each language dominance in specific domains of interaction [and that a situation in which two languages] would be used equally as well for all domains of interaction is highly transitory and represents the step just before a new stage of monolingualism in one or other of the languages.' (Di Pietro, 1970, p 19).

The relevant domains of language behaviour vary from community to community but some are: home, neighbourhood, school (classroom and playground), work, church or religion, and governmental administration. As well as domain variance, Fishman (1972d, p 79) stresses the importance in language maintenance and shift of media variance (i.e. written, read or spoken language) and overtness variance (i.e. the language related to inner speech, comprehension and production).

Because of the limited time and resources a detailed sociolinguistic survey of the Tiwi situation has not been possible and the discussion below is mainly based on casual observation, informal talking to people and transcriptions of natural conversations. There are holes
in the data as speech in certain domains, such as the "beer" club, the home and some work situations, was not observed. However, some generalizations can be made regarding the domains of language behaviour.

8.3.2.1 Tiwi language use depending upon domains

The domains which appear to be relevant to the Tiwi situation are: traditional culture and ceremonies, the home, church and related activities, school and related activities, governmental administration, work, commercial activities (shop, bank, etc.), recreational activities (gambling, "beer" club, films and TV, football, playing, etc.). An overriding factor influencing the speech in most of the domains above with regard to the amount of English spoken is the presence or absence of Europeans. The style of English spoken also depends upon this, and the age and relative proficiency of the individual speakers. Much of the speech observed in some cases may have been due to my presence as an European, although I did try to keep in the background as much as possible and, when it was necessary to speak, tried to use Tiwi.

(i) Traditional Ceremonies

The Tiwi still hold some traditional ceremonies (see 1.3, p. 11) and the singing in these ceremonies is in Ti. Some of the songs, particularly some of those sung in the pukumani (or death) ceremonies are old songs which are passed down from the composer to his brothers and/or his descendants. However, most songs used in the pukumani and kulama (yam) ceremonies are newly composed for the occasion. In both ceremonies the songs can be about mythological, historical or current events, fiction or
The language used in the ceremonial songs is traditional language, though according to Goodale:

'since there is a preset style for the kulama chant many archaic words are used if they fit the rhythm better and extra syllables will be added or dropped from words for the same reason.' (ibid, p 188).

This also applies to the songs used in the pukumani ceremonies and she says that even foreign words will be used if they fit the meter more readily (ibid, p 290).

Young people still take some active part in the pukumani ceremonies, though not many appear to compose songs for them, because they do not know the traditional language well enough and because many do not appear to be interested enough to do so. It would seem then, that this use of TT is being lost and it is doubtful that MT will take over this function as MT is not regarded by older people (nor by young people) as being a fit medium for ceremonial songs. A style of LTT may be acceptable but I am not sure of this.

(ii) Church and related activities

In church services English is mainly used. During his time at the Mission Father McGrath preached in Tiwi (Pye, 1977, p 61) but since then preaching has been done in English, since no other priest has had sufficient ability in Tiwi and there are no Tiwi preachers (at least I know of none who preach in church services today). The liturgy too is in English. The church services are attended by a number of Europeans (and mixed race people at Garden Point) and the priests are unwilling to allow too much Tiwi into the services because of this.
These days at Nguiu there is an occasional scripture reading (or prayer) in Tiwi. Most of these readings are translated on the spot from a simple English version written out by the priest. This means that the Tiwi used would not be regarded by purists as "proper" TT since there may be unassimilated English loans for some terms (rather than coined terms). On some occasions portions translated by Marie Godfrey and her translation helpers have been used. These are being written down and anything which is written down seems to be needed to be written in "proper" TT before being accepted by the older people.

There are also a number of Tiwi hymns which are used from time to time. Most of these are in TT or an LTT (a less traditional Tiwi) style. Other hymns are in English. The singing is normally led by older women, though sometimes young women accompany the hymns, particularly the modern ones, on guitars. At the end of the service or during the offering some of the older women will sing Latin hymns which they learnt as school girls.

On special occasions, such as Christmas and the anniversary of the founding of the Mission, Tiwi dancing and singing (a voyi) may be incorporated into a mass. This seems to be performed mainly by older people.

When a person dies a Catholic funeral is held (at least if the person was baptised). This is normally held outside the person's house or nearby and then also at the graveside. English is used during the Catholic ritual but Tiwi dancing and singing are also performed, particularly at the graveside.

In private prayer, it seems that Tiwi is used (except
for the set prayers) at least by older people. I am not sure just what style is used but I should imagine that it would be a fairly formal style, and as close to TT as the individual is able to make it.

(iii) **School and related activities**

At school (and pre-school) children come into more contact with Standard English, particularly at Snake Bay and Garden Point, where the medium of instruction is English. At these places, since there are some Tiwi teachers and teachers' aides, some of the instruction of the children is in Tiwi, which may vary from casual MT to a fairly hard LTT style or TT, depending upon the proficiency of the teacher or aide, the understanding of the children and the formality of the lesson.

Although Snake Bay does not have a bilingual programme, some time in the week is set aside for a Tiwi lesson (at least this was so in 1978). The one Tiwi lesson I observed there consisted of the telling of a Tiwi myth (mainly in an LTT style which has some English loans but has TT verbs) and the children then drawing a picture (presumably illustrating the story). During this time it seems that Tiwi was supposed to be spoken. At one stage a number of children pounced on another child for speaking English. However, the teacher herself, in giving instructions or in any aside unrelated to the lesson, often spoke English. At other times, in explaining difficult parts of the myth or giving instructions she spoke in a simpler style of Tiwi (closer to MT).
e.g. 8-1(a) telling myth (LTT):

ngarra wangatamiya kintanga awarra Ningani

his alone footprint that(m) N.

ju pakitirruwa la ju porlimpirri

he.p.her carry.on rep he.p.her carry.on.

shoulder shoulder

Tuwanga julup, morlik, morlik, morlik, morlik,

again dive swim

morlik morlik warta pu rru papurti

bush they.p go.up

[There were only footprints of that man, Ningani. He carried her on his shoulder all the time. He carried her on his shoulder. Again he dived. He swam and swam, and swam and swam. They went up into the bush.]

(b) Instruction to children (LTT and English)

truwim nyi rra kirimi pikja. Aileen,
draw you(pl) imp make picture

[(All of you) draw a picture!]

tanga ngininyi jurra. Come on everybody, sit down.
get that(m) paper

[Get that paper]

At Nguiu, the children come into more contact with TT as it is supposed to be taught from the pre-school (see 1.4, p 12, and Chapter 1, note 6, p 27). Much of the actual instruction of the children is left to the Tiwi teachers' aide's with the European teacher preparing the lessons and supervising. There are also some trained Tiwi teachers. A number of primers and reading books have been prepared and printed in a simple style of TT. Children are taught to
read in TT, even though it is not the code they speak. All the same, the programme is meant to be a transitional one with most of the lessons in the upper primary and post primary years being conducted in English. I am not sure at what grade formal instruction in standard English is begun. European teachers communicate to the children in standard English, perhaps with a smattering of Tiwi words and expressions, or through their teacher aides.

At Nguiu, there is some post-primary education, mainly in English, Maths, Social Science, Religion, with technical studies for the boys and home crafts for the girls. During these years there is some time devoted to Tiwi language study and reading. Post-primary children from Garden Point and Snake Bay are sent to the Catholic schools at Nguiu, or to Darwin, either to the Catholic school there or to a government school. There are a few children from each settlement who have been sent further afield, mainly to Catholic schools (in Melbourne or Townsville). It seems that people who have spent their post-primary years away from the islands often speak more English in their natural conversations (with other Tiwi) than others of their age, but this is not always the case.

Both Tiwi and English songs are taught in the school at Nguiu. The Tiwi songs are mainly those which have been made up for this purpose. They are mainly in a simple style of TT or LTT (not MT) and normally have non-Tiwi tunes. Singing plays quite an important part in the life of the schools, particularly St Therese, the Girls' School (co-educational until Grade 6). There is an
annual eisteddfod run by St Therese School. There are categories for both English and Tiwi songs. Groups from around the community as well as from the schools are encouraged to participate. There are also other occasions at which Tiwi songs are composed and sung, such as the end of the year concert. I am not sure what the situation is at Snake Bay, but Garden Point school did not seem to have any similar functions, at least while I was there. However, at Garden Point, children were taught some of the Tiwi songs, mainly the same as those in use at Nguiu.

Although there is an emphasis on teaching Tiwi at the school at Nguiu, English is also stressed. Children are (perhaps unconsciously) given an image of English as the 'prestigious' language. The library is stocked with well produced English books, with brightly coloured pictures, with which the locally produced Tiwi books find it hard to compete. Also the children watch a number of English films.

(iv) Government and Administration

The language associated with government and administration is English. There are some non-Tiwi personnel involved in administration and most business and correspondence is conducted in English.

However, a number of government leaflets, posters and even cassettes (such as ones on procedures for voting and health) have been translated into Tiwi (and other Aboriginal languages).

I am not sure in which language council meetings are conducted. This may depend upon the composition of the council, which is elected each year. At Garden Point, the
council includes a number of mixed-race people, including
the president, and this may mean that English is used
predominantly. I am not sure about the other two places.

At the few community meetings I observed at Garden
Point there seemed to be a mixture of English and Tiwi (MT
or LTT) used. The English may have been mainly for the
benefit of the Europeans and mixed-race people present.

(v) Work

Most of the work situations have European overseers
or advisers and so the language used much of the time
would be English. I am not sure whether Tiwi, English or
both are used by Tiwi people when talking together in a
work situation. It possibly depends upon whether the talk
is work-related or not. I would think that Tiwi would be
used but with some code-switching to English, particularly
in talk which is unrelated to work.

(vi) Commercial Activities

At each settlement, these take place at the store, the
take-away restaurant, the bank and post-office, (which is
also the airline agency). The language used in
transactions at these places is mainly English, though
once again, there appears to be some code-switching,
probably depending upon the interlocutors and perhaps the
topic (see next section).

(vii) Recreational Activities

Many of the recreational activities these days are
English-orientated, such as watching films or TV,
listening to the radio or cassettes (mainly pop and
country-western songs) and reading (mainly comics).
Most of the natural conversations which were recorded were in an informal recreational setting: people gambling or sitting talking, at the films before they started, or children playing. In these conversations there was much code-switching between the various Tiwi codes and English (mainly Tiwi-English). The speech of all interlocutors could not always be transcribed because of the manner of recording and transcribing.

I have rarely observed language use during traditionally-oriented recreational activities, such as fishing, hunting and camping trips. On the few occasions when I was present there appears to have been the same amount of code-switching as during other recreational activities (see next section). A teacher-linguist at Nguiu did comment that after bush holidays children seemed to use more Tiwi words in their speech.

(viii) Home

I have not been able to observe the language use in the home but assume it is similar to that in the recreational activities. It seems that there are very few occasions on which there is interaction just between members of a nuclear family (even at night) as there normally seem to be other family members or friends present (living or staying with the family).

8.3.2.2 Tiwi Language use depending upon interlocutors

Despite the difficulties of recording and transcribing natural conversations, some tendencies of language use can be seen.

Whenever a European is present, particularly as an active participant in the conversation, English is used.
The style of English depends upon the proficiency of the speaker. Even young children are able to use some English to Europeans. When I was leaving a group of young women (with whom I had been speaking mainly Tiwi), they were urging a 2-1/2 year old toddler to say: nimpanj matanga ('goodbye friend') and the child responded with shi yu ('see you'). Hollos says that 'even very young children have a considerable range of linguistic repertoires and forms which demonstrate their sophistication in understanding social situations and rules.' (Hollos, 1977, p 212).

When the Tiwi are speaking among themselves the speech they use seems to depend largely upon the ages of both the speaker and addressee. A summary of the languages or codes which tend to be used by various interlocutors are shown in Table 7.1. The tendencies shown in this table are very general and there is some variation, particularly between the range of styles of LTT used. The table indicates the codes used mainly in an informal setting. There is often variation in a more formal situation, such as an older person using a simple TT or LTT style to a child, particularly in a "teaching" situation, as in example 8-2:

Adults speak to children in English, i.e. Tiwi-English (TE), to facilitate their entry to school and adjustment to European ways. This is common in situations of language shift, particularly where the native tongue is seen to have very little practical value in the modern world (see Darnell, 1971, p 168; Denison, 1971, pp 166-7; Dorian, 1981(a), pp 82-83; 1980c, p 4-5; Miller, 1972, p 8).
Table 8.1 LANGUAGE USE DEPENDING UPON INTERLOCUTORS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Addressee</th>
<th>Language or code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>older person (over 30-35)</td>
<td>older person (over 30-35)</td>
<td>TT or LTT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>older person (over 30-35)</td>
<td>young person (10-12 to 30-35)</td>
<td>LTT or MT (casual or formal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>young person</td>
<td>older person</td>
<td>MT (Casual or formal) or LTT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>young person</td>
<td>young person</td>
<td>Casual MT (but much internal code-switching (34) with TE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>older/younger child person (less than 10-12)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Casual MT or Baby Tiwi (BT) and TE (not much internal code-switching)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>adult</td>
<td>CT and children's TE (not much internal switching)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>CT and TE (with internal switching)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, in the Tiwi community, children are still expected to speak Tiwi, even though the Tiwi addressed to them is not normally TT. English is considered inappropriate for some occasions. For instance, on one occasion when my language helper and her two grandsons, aged 4 and 5 years were at my place the two boys were looking at photos of people in the community and talking together about them. One boy, seeing a photo of their father said to the other:

e.g. 8-2

may fata _teya_, may fata , fata

'My father there, my father, father'

His grandmother corrected him saying the TT form, ngiva_rringani (‘my father’). The other boy, with the typical perversity of a child, continued to speak in TE:
Howe ve r, later in the conversation the boys quite naturally came out with the MT form, y arringani 'my father'.

This same woman in addressing the boys after I had given them a drink, asked: wat yu say? ['What do you say?'], to which one boy dutifully replied tenk you ['thank you'] and to his brother sey tenk you, mana ['say thank you, go ahead'].

As with most Australian Aboriginal groups, there are certain rules of avoidance to be observed with people in certain kin relationships, particularly between those in a mother-in-law/son-in-law relationship. Among the Tiwi, as well as for this relationship there are rules regulating the behaviour of siblings of the opposite sex. According to Goodale these apply only to "one granny" siblings i.e. siblings with the same mother's mother. Such siblings may not touch each other, nor may they talk to each other directly but only through a third person (Goodale, 1971, p 72).

An interesting example of this avoidance occurs on one tape where a man (in his fifties) is conveying a message to his elder sister through his three year old daughter. While speaking, the man was a few yards away from and had his back turned to his sister. Speaking in Casual MT (addressing any other woman of her age he would speak in TT or LTT), he says:
You leave them/her at home. Come back. I'm not going home because we have a meeting. Take them/her!

It is not clear whether he means his sister to take home his daughter or the groceries which she is carrying. In either case he can only be addressing his sister and not his daughter.

When there are people of varying ages speaking together there is considerable external code-switching, much of which is due to the different interlocutors.

8.3.2.3 Code-Switching

Much has been written in recent years on code-switching and the factors influencing it. Gumperz (1966) distinguished between two types: transactional, related to the social situation (setting and interlocutors) and personal, related to such factors as topic. Later he and Blom referred to these two types as situational and metaphorical (Blom and Gumperz, 1972, among). There appears to be some confusion by other sociolinguists as to what these mean (cf Scottan and Ury, 1977, p 5).

I prefer to use the terms external and internal switching used by Hatch (1976) (following Oksaar (1972)). External switching is due to change in the social
situation and is related to social factors, such as domain (or setting), interlocutor and topic. Internal switching 'concerns language factors, fluency of the speaker and his ability to use various emotive devices' (Hatch, 1976, p 202).

External switching is the type of switching to which Weinreich refers when he says (1970, p 73):

'The ideal bilingual switches from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topics, etc), but not in an unchanged speech situation, and certainly not within a single sentence'.

Much of the code switching found in the Tiwi community is external switching. The language use depending upon domains and interlocutors has been already discussed. However, although a domain may remain unchanged for a particular conversation, the interlocutors may vary or there may be interlocutors of different ages within the group. This affects code switching within the conversation. This is shown in example 8-4 in which a woman (about 55) is talking about her grandson to a group of people (ages from about 20 to 60) and then addresses the grandson (about 3 years old).

E.g. 8-4 JP55 (to group):

*ngarra nguwuri naki ngiya - mawanyin - awu*

he sorry for this my - grandson - emotive

['Oh, I'm sorry for my grandson!]

JP55 (to grandson):

*yu trank ayi, litil poyi?*

you drunk eh little boy

['Are you drunk, eh, little boy?']
If a European is present the conversation may entirely switch to English or may switch to English just when the European is involved. (The presence of an European, even though not an active participant in the conversation, may influence the amount of English used). For instance, a group of women of various ages were discussing the departure of some school children for an excursion to Darwin. They had been talking in MT (with some internal switching to TE) and LTT, depending upon the ages of the speakers. One woman turned to me on the outskirts of the group and said:

e.g. 8-5 AM20 (English to me):

tey kowing ran tawn tu si, tey kowing fo ekskeshun
they going round town to see they going for excursion

tem kits, skul ekskeshun?
them kids school excursion

['Are they going around town to see, are they going for an excursion, those kids, a school excursion?']

There appear to be some examples of switching depending upon the topic but it is sometimes difficult to tell whether the switch depended upon the topic or the interlocutor, because of the difficulties of recording (see note 32). Many of the terms used in gambling are English-derived (such as the terms for money e.g. fayp tola 'five dollars', tu popi 'twenty cents,' and names of card games, e.g. fayp man 'five men', and card terms, e.g. jak(i) 'jack', tu rusta 'a pair'). The talk associated with gambling is often in English, perhaps because of its association with European culture, but it is not completely, as can be seen in
example 8-6(b). In both examples in 8-6 a woman in her fifties is speaking, in (a) she seems to be addressing all the players (of varying ages and sexes) while in the second she is addressing her young female partner. It would seem then that the interlocutor is not particularly relevant here.

e.g. 8-6(a)

(a) (TE): mayn anti win

mine aunty win

'My aunty has won'

(b) (Tiwi): nginja wangata, nginga wangatawu, kijinga

you(sg) alone you(sg) alone small(f)

'You can go alone, oh, you can go alone, young girl'

Children in playing games associated with European culture often use English but, once again, not always and there is often a fair bit of switching. Examples 8-7(a) & (b) are said by the same boy but at different times in the same game (playing with toy cowboys and Indians).

e.g. 8-7 (MP11)

(a) (TE): i fotan fotan, i fayt with intiyen

he fall.down he fight with Indian

'He's fallen down, fallen down. He's fighting with the Indian.'

(b) (CasMT): arra peyiti ka intiyen

he fight prep Indian

'He's fighting with the Indian.'

In some games English rhymes are used:
As well as considerable code switching depending upon interlocutors and topic, there is some for which there is no apparent reason. Whereas external switching never involves less than whole utterances (except in cases of elipses or interruptions) by different speakers or the same speaker, internal switching can occur within a single sentence from the word level. Because of the number of English loan words and structures from English or Pidgin English in MT, it is difficult to tell where mixing ends and internal switching begins. However, I am using the term "mixing" to refer to the use of elements (phonological, morphological, syntactical and lexical) from TT, English and Pidgin English, amalgamated into a new code MT, which has TT-derived pronouns, interrogatives and possibly TT-derived inflected auxiliaries (see Table 1.1, p 23). On the other hand by internal switching I am referring to the switching which occurs in the same discourse (either in the same sentence or in separate ones) where both English and TT-derived pronouns etc. are used. For instance in example 8-9 (a young mother to her toddler) there is internal switching between Casual MT (or Baby Tiwi) and TE.
Although kijim is derived from Pidgin English and simitriyi pos from English they are well accepted loans into MT.

Hatch (1976) gives a number of ways in which internal switching is used for stylistic affect, such as: repetition of a statement for emphasis, heightening of contrasts, emphasizing the unexpected, parenthetical remarks, to emphasize quotations or the use of proverbs in another language, and for affection, good-humoured teasing and swearing (see also Gumperz, 1971b).

Some of these can be seen in the conversations I recorded, though there is insufficient data to give many examples.

(i) **Emphasis of quotations**

e.g. 8-10

(TE): "kip mi mani" (TT/LTT): ampirimi nyirratuwu

'Give me money" she says'
(ii) Repetition for emphasis

(CasMT): Jowana, nyirra frantayi, nyirra ngawa
Joanna she open she/her we

may hanti, shis not itin.
my aunty she's not hidden

(TE): 'Joanna is not devious. We all see her asking a whiteman
(i.e. for money for beer). My aunty she's not devious. 
She's not devious, she asks a whiteman ...'

However, there is also a considerable amount of
internal code switching for which there seems to be no
obvious reason, as in example 8-9, and 8-11 (taken from an
account by a twenty year old woman speaking to another a
little older).

e.g. 8-11

(CasMT): en Mari, yingopa kakijuwi, wurra ko ka
Ann Marie some children they go prep

jata pleyn. (TE): en sekan wan i was finish
charter plane and second one he was finish

(CasMT): waya, ap arra : palatmen, awinyirra Polin,
then well that(m) pilot that(f) Pauline

(TE): shi was ka frant. en tat palatmen
she was prep front and that pilot
Ann Marie, some of the children were going by charter plane. And the second (or next?) one had gone. Well that pilot (Pauline was up the front). And that pilot just went in. Well he did something (in) there'

Some of the switching into English may be triggered by the use of an English loan word or an English name in a MT sentence. For instance, in example 8-11, the use of jata pleyn at the end of the first sentence may have triggered the use of English in the next one.

This type of switching is 'by no means a rarity. Linguists specializing in bilingualism cite it to provide instances of interference' (Gumperz, 1971b, p 316). It seems to occur only in the speech of bilinguals who are equally proficient in both languages or codes they use, though the codes may not be recognised as standard by monolinguals in either. Lance, in speaking of Spanish-English bilinguals in the American southwest, says:

'Bilinguals such as these tend to switch back and forth between the two languages when all participants in the conversation know both languages and are "simpaticos".' (Lance, 1979, p 74).

'This tendency has been attributed [by some linguists] to persons, who in early childhood, were addressed by the same familiar interlocutors indiscriminately in both languages' (Weinreich, 1970, p 74).

Whether this is actually the case is not certain but it does seem that this type of switching is 'very persistent whenever minority language groups come in close contact.
with majority language groups under conditions of rapid social change' (Gumperz, 1971b, p 316) and where children grow up speaking the two languages.

8.3.2.4 Bilingualism and Language Death

A number of recent studies have been done on "dying" languages in terms of the domains of language behaviour and language shift. Most of the situations studied have gone beyond Fishman's description of transitional bilingualism, in that the children in the community are no longer bilingual but are monolingual in the dominant language (though there may be some comprehension of the less dominant language). However, they do not fit in with what Di Pietro says about 'the step just before a new stage of monolingualism', in that both languages could not be used equally well in all domains. In most cases there are domains in which the language being displaced has never been used (such as interaction with outsiders). There may be other domains in which the dominant language is not used but these domains will become defunct when older people die (perhaps because religious traditions are not being carried on by young people). In other domains which were formerly associated with the native tongue of the community the dominant language may come to be able to be used equally as well and eventually replace it.

Dorian (1981a), in describing the state of affairs for East Sutherland Gaelic (ESG), which she calls a terminal Gaelic dialect (1976), has shown that previously ESG had specific domains of use but that these are now being taken over by English (or some style of English). Present day East Sutherland Gaelic bilingualism is
transitional or unstable, on a society-wide basis (ibid, p. 96).

Similarly Timm (1980) has shown that in Basse Bretagne (in Brittany) French, the dominant language, coexists with Breton in all the domains studied.

The Tiwi situation is different from those described by Dorian and Timm, though it would certainly be regarded as a society with unstable bilingualism. The Tiwi situation has not progressed as far with regard to language shift, as children are being taught both languages (Tiwi and English) in the home. However, as discussed in 1.6 (pp. 17-24), the variety of either language which is learned in infancy is not the standard variety. It is not simply that children have not acquired the standard through imperfect learning, but they are not normally addressed in the standard variety of either language. In some senses children are exposed to the standard in both languages in that they hear traditional Tiwi spoken by older adults among themselves and they hear standard Australian English on the radio, TV, films, church and perhaps from interaction with some Europeans in the community.

From the evidence of the type of bilingualism present in the Tiwi community there is certainly a process of language shift taking place. Whether this will continue until there is a total shift to English remains to be seen. The factors for and against such a shift are discussed in more detail in 8.4.

8.3.3 Language Change in Tiwi: death or rebirth?

The changes which have taken place in Tiwi must be
attributed to language shift. It seems to be well accepted that, as Samarin (1971, p 127) says, 'reduction in language use probably always has some repercussions on language output'.

Dorian (1981a, p 114) notes that:

'Where the death of a language is extremely rapid and occurs by the way of the extinction of the people who use it, it may happen that the last speakers of the language are fully fluent and remain in perfect control of the phonology, lexicon and grammar of their mother-tongue. Where language shift is taking place, however, so that a new language is gradually replacing the original language of a community, without the extinction of a people, it is common to find speakers of quite different ability among the residual, population which still speaks the older tongue'.

Bloomfield (1927, p 437) describes one Menomini man about forty as 'speaking no language tolerably'. Dorian (1981a, p 115) in discussing the situation in Eastern Sutherland in Scotland says that although there are no bilinguals who "speak no language tolerably" there are some

'who have neither the syntactic range of the best local monolingual English speakers nor that of the best and most proficient older-generation Gaelic speakers. [Furthermore,] although there are no Gaelic speakers in East Sutherland today whose English is anything less than fluent, there does exist an interesting group of English-dominant bilinguals whose Gaelic is conspicuously aberrant in terms of older-generation norms' (Dorian, 1981a, p 115).

Dorian calls these speakers "semi-speakers", the youngest of whom was about 35 years (Dorian, 1978a, p 592). Voegelin and Voegelin (1977) also mention some Indians whose first language was Töbatulabal but who stopped speaking it when they learned English at school.
These Indians were able to produce simple sentences in Tubatalabal but not more complex ones.

In the Tiwi situation, in terms of standard Australian English and TT, children and some young people in their teens, could be regarded as speaking neither language. However, these young people are not deficient in language, in that they have no problem in communicating with each other and with most adults. These young people and children could be regarded as semi-speakers of TT and SAE but they are fluent speakers of MT and TE.

8.3.3.1 Formal Changes in Dying Languages

Because the study of language death as a phenomenon is so new and there have been so few studies, generalizations about the types of changes cannot be made. Some of the changes found in various dying languages are briefly given below.

(a) Dorian has discussed some ways in which the speech of semi-speakers of Sutherland Gaelic (ESG) is aberrant from that of fluent speakers, such as:

(i) some loss of gender distinctions (Dorian, 1976; 1981a, pp 124-9, 147-8);

(ii) some loss of case marking but with the semantic notions being shown in other ways, such as by prepositional phrases (Dorian, 1973, pp 426-435; 1981a, pp 129-136, 148);

(iii) reduction of the tense system with no tendency to substitute adverbial time markers (Dorian, 1981a, pp 138-141, 150-151);

(iv) loss of one type of passive (Dorian, 1973, pp 421-6; 1981a, pp 142-144);
(v) reduction of the lexicon, though a considerable number of ESG words are retained even by those who are unable to use them in a Gaelic sentence (Dorian, 1981a, pp 145-6).

(b) Dorian has said little about the interference of English on ESG. She says (1980c, p 25) that she has been surprised by how little structural interference from English there is in the speech of semi-speakers. There is a considerable amount of lexical interference but in this the more common strategy is for English loans to be adapted to Gaelic morphology and morphophonology (Dorian, 1981a, p 100). Even in casual speech in which there is a greater use of loan words, this is the case (ibid, p 101).

The use of loan words seems to vary from case to case in language death. In some cases there seem to be few loan words used, as in Nez Perce (Aoki, 1971); and Kiliwa (Mixco, 1977). In other cases the use of loans is very common and is seen as being tied up with the death of the language, as in Welsh dialects (Breathnach, 1964); Tlaxclan Nahuatl (Hill and Hill, 1977); Shoshoni (Miller, 1971); Örmuri and Parači (Kieffer, 1977) and Arvanitika (Trudgill, 1977).

Dorian (1980c, p 25) has noted that many accounts of languages that are facing extinction do stress the influence of the dominant language on the dying language (for instance, Costello’s (1978) account of Pennsylvanian German).

(c) Dressler (1972) on studying the phonological change in Breton in a part of Lower-Brittany, concluded that:
(i) An optional rule in the speech of an older generation is lost in the disintegrating speech of a younger generation (p 452).

(ii) The gradual loss of words ("lexical fading") in which a phonological rule occurs results in the eventual loss of the rule itself (p 452).

(iii) 'Uncertainty in the competence of one language does not necessarily result in the adoption of rules of the victorious language, rather it results in free variation including the introduction of new variants.' (p 454).

(iv) 'Restriction of the use of the decaying language to fewer and fewer speech situations results in "stylistic shrinkage", i.e. the conflation of various social styles or of various slow and fast speech styles.' (p 454).

(d) Hill (1973, 1978) has found in her study of the Cupeño and Luiseño languages of California that a linguistic feature accompanying the reduction in functional range is the reduction in frequency of subordinate clauses. She cites various linguists who have found this phenomenon in other cases involving reduction of function or language death (Hill, 1973, pp 46-7).

(e) Trudgill (1977) has looked at the types of processes involved in the changes in Arvanitika, an Albanian dialect in Greece, which appears to be a dying language. He has looked at the changes in relation to the processes involved in other mixed languages, particularly creoles. He has labelled what is happening in Arvanitika as "creolization in reverse", the sociolinguistic justification for this being that the situation dealt with involves the "loss of its native speakers, by a language"
whereas creolization involves the "acquisition of native speakers by a language" (cf Sankoff and Laberge, 1974) (Trudgill, 1977, p 33). He considers a number of types of grammatical changes in the language to determine whether "creolization in reverse" is an appropriate term linguistically as well. Mühlhäusler (1974) has shown that the four features: reduction (or impoverishment), simplification, stability and unintelligibility can be used in the typological classification of various kinds of mixed languages.

'Reduction in structure or impoverishment comprises those processes that lead to a decrease in the referential or non-referential potential of a language. Simplification means that a language is made either more regular or less marked.' (Mühlhäusler, 1980, p 21).

Using these features, a creole is characterised by simplification, stability and unintelligibility.

Trudgill's initial hypothesis is that Arvanitika will display reduction but not the other three. He says that Arvanitika

'is unstable in that it is in a state of considerable flux, with no real norms for usage ... [and] ... it remains to a certain extent mutually intelligible with Albanian.' (Trudgill, 1977, p 35).

However, he has shown that, although there are some clear examples of reduction (the loss of relational words and the loss of the imperfect), other changes involve simplification in one component of the language with compensation elsewhere (which he calls "simplification with cost"). These are cases of the replacement of synthetic forms by analytic forms. There are also cases of overall simplification viz. cases of the loss of
syntagmatic redundancy, such as the loss of the definite connecting particles. However, he notes that:

'there are no examples of the loss of paradigmatic redundancy commonplace in pidgens. In Arvanitika the three genders remain distinct, as do the separate declensions and conjugations. Irregular verbs and plural formations also remain irregular' (Trudgill, 1977, p 47).

I am not convinced that all the changes which Trudgill discusses are due to language "death". As Dorian pointed out, the types of changes she found are similar to those in "healthy" languages. Trudgill compares present day Arvanitika with modern Albanian. It seems that Arvanitika is spoken by descendents of Albanians who immigrated to Greece mainly in the 11th and 15th centuries. Many of the changes Trudgill discusses could have occurred as normal language changes throughout a long period of stable bilingualism. It seems that a more rapid shift is taking place now as older speakers tend to use Arvanitika for most purposes, while

'middle-aged speakers and younger adults indulge in a considerable amount of switching according to factors such as formality, location, subject-matter, the presence of outsiders and the linguistic ability of interlocutors' (Trudgill, 1977, p 38).

He may have obtained different results if he had compared the speech of younger people with that of older ones, as Dorian did.

(f) Austin (1981) describes briefly the changes in three Eastern Australian languages. In two of these, Gamilraay and Dharawal there are no longer fluent speakers, knowledge of the language consisting of some words and a few set expressions or sentences. In Gamilraay basically
only absolute forms of words are remembered and as it 'is presently spoken has no syntactic features which differentiate it from English' (p 25). Ngiyambaa is more actively controlled with a small speech community ranging from fluent speakers to those who know only some words. In Ngiyambaa, some case inflections and inflected verbs are retained, though there is a collapsing and reanalysis of some case suffixes and verb conjugations. A phonological change common to Gami~raay and Ngiyambaa is the loss of distinction between the two rhotics r and rr, influenced by English. In Gami~raay there is a retention of the lamino-dental stop, which is also noted in other languages. One syntactic change noted by Donaldson for Ngiyambaa 'illustrates replacement of a synthetic, morphologically complex construction by a simpler analytical one' (Austin, 1980, p 26).

(g) In summarising the changes in language death Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter (1977, p 87) say:

'Language death therefore can be looked at as a sort of pidginization: obligatory rules change to variable ones; the polystylistism of a normal language moves to monostylistism'.

However, Dorian has found that the changes in ESG are not indicative of pidginization.

'Radical morphological simplification as found in many pidgins is not characteristic of ESG, even among the most halting speakers, even very near the point of extinction.' (Dorian, 1978a, p 606).

From most of these studies on language death it seems, as Dorian (1981a, p 151) concluded, that there is basically no difference between the types of change in a "dying" language and those found in "healthy" languages. The
difference is probably more in the amount of change (in a relatively short time span).

8.3.3.2 Changes in Tiwi in Relation to Language Death

Some of the changes in Tiwi can be seen to be similar to those described for various language death situations and, as already mentioned, are therefore no different from normal language change (see Chapter 7 for a summary of the changes).

(i) Phonological Changes

As in Ngiyambaa and Gamilaraay (Austin, 1981) the distinction between the two rhotics of TT appears to be collapsing, due to the influence of English (see 2.3.8, p 63). A similar phenomenon is found in the falling together of the retroflex and apico-alveolar consonants (see 2.3.1, p 51). These changes could be due to lexical fading, where words containing the less common (but more marked) consonants, the retroflex ones, are gradually being lost from the language, so that the distinction between the two types is blurred and eventually lost (cf point(ii) of Dressler's conclusions given on p 552 of 8.3.3.1). These changes can be regarded as cases of overall simplification. In TT, there are very few minimal pairs (if any) with retroflex and apical alveolar consonants in contrast and so there is very little loss of semantic distinction.

As Dresssler found in dying Breton there is much variation in the phonetics and phonology, influenced by the sound system of the dominant language (point(iii) on P 552).
Although I know of no optional rules in TT which have been lost in MT (cf point(i) on p 552) a phonemic alternation, between non-nasalised and pre-nasalised stops, in TT has been lost in MT. The pre-nasalisation has been dropped completely by some young speakers and is used optionally in some words by others (see 2.3.3, p 54).

Since different TT speech styles have not been studied, particularly before extensive contact with English, it cannot be determined whether there has been much "stylistic shrinkage" (see point (iv), p 552). Even if there has been some there has also been "stylistic expansion", in which a LTT style has become a very formal style for some young people, with a less formal style being MT (with inflected auxiliaries) and an even less formal style being Casual MT (with no inflected auxiliaries) (see Table 8.1, p 537).

(ii) Lexicon

As in Tlaxclan Nahuatl and Arvanitika, there is considerable relexification, through the use of English loans, in MT (see 7.2.1, p 498). Trudgill (1977, p 39) questions whether the loss of Albanian words in Arvanitika is a case of reduction since the Arvanitika speakers know and use Greek loan equivalents in their Arvanitika. This applies in the MT situation to a certain extent with respect to English loans. However, there is clearly reduction as many of the TT words lost have no equivalent in MT, such as the names of different species of bush honey (see 3.2.3, p 134, and Appendix 1)). On the other hand, the lexicon is expanded as words are borrowed for new items and concepts; such as purrupuli 'football'. In
The term is *vilogha* which has been extended to cover this as well as the traditional meaning of 'bladder'.

The vast reduction of the class of verb stems and the corresponding expansion of the class of free form verbs could be seen as relexification. However, the process involves more than that and is part of the general change from the use of synthetic to analytic forms (see (v) below).

(iii) **Word Classes**

As for East Sutherland Gaelic, gender distinctions are being lost for most inanimate nouns (see 8.3.3.1(a), p 550, and 7.2.3, p 498; see also note (56), p 583).

The change in the pronominal system from a minimal-augmented system to a singular-plural (7.2.4, p 499) does not have an exact parallel in the language death situations described. It can be considered as reduction rather than simplification (see 8.3.3.1, p 553), since the semantic distinction between 'you(sg) and I', 'we(incl)' and 'we(excl)' is lost. (The distinction between these last two is already lost in the speech of older people in the pronouns but not in the verbal prefixes (cf 3.3.1, p 155, and 4.2.3.1, p 273). This seems to be a direct influence of English.

The change from a three-way distinction to a two-way distinction in the deictic locatives and demonstratives (7.2.5, p 499) can be seen as a case of reduction, since a semantic distinction is lost. This too is probably due to English influence.

(iv) **Morphology**

The change from three sets of subject-tense prefixes
on the verb to one set (7.3, p 499) is a case of simplification as no semantic distinction is lost.

This is tied up with the general change from synthetic to analytic structures (see (v) below).

(v) Syntax

In the speech of young Tiwi people there is relatively less use of subordinate clauses than in the TT data, which correlates with Hill's findings (see 8.3.3.1(d), p 552). However, some of the difference may be due to the different types of data collected (see 7.5.4, p 502, and 6.9.1.2, p 469).

(v) Other changes

Many of the studies of language death have noted the tendency to move from synthetic to analytic structures (Dorian, see 8.3.3.1(a), p 550; Trudgill, see 8.3.3.1(e), p 552; Austin, see 8.3.3.1(f), p 554). However, this seems to occur only in one or two structures and not almost completely, as in the case of Tiwi.

Dorian has noted that:

'One of the most impressive features of mutational change [i.e. the phonological change in the alternation of initial or final consonants in certain syntactic environments] in ESG is the extreme rarity of the total disappearance of a mutation!' (Dorian, 1981a, p 435).

This is not the case in Tiwi. Much of the complex morphology of the verb is lost (7.3(ii), p 500), with basically just the subject-tense prefixes and some aspect affixes being retained. In this regard the change in Tiwi has been more radical than that described in most language death situations. Most of the affixes which are retained
do not have allomorphic variation and the other affixes which condition morphophonemic variation have been lost.

Most of the grammatical categories given by verbal affixes in TT are given by an analytic construction in MT. So in most cases there is reduction with compensatory expansion. There are some cases in which there appears to be a decrease in the referential potential of the language (i.e. overall reduction), particularly in the loss of the mood prefixes, for which there appears to be no substitution. This loss of categories with no compensatory gain elsewhere is common in language death situations. However, the lack of examples of modal expressions (such as, "should" "ought", "must") may be due to the type of data collected for MT (i.e. no hortatory types of discourse).

Also unlike Trudgill (1977, p 40) found for Arvanitika, there is a greater number of prepositions in MT than in TT (7.4.2, p 501), though not as many as in English (either SAE or TE).

It seems that in most cases of language death described in the literature the decaying language has remained a recognizable version of the language and the varieties are mutually intelligible. Dorian (1981a) says that among the semi-speakers of ESG there was 'almost perfect passive control of ESG'. Trudgill (1977, p 35) says that there is a certain amount of mutual intelligibility between Arvanitika and its parent language, Albanian, that Arvanitika speakers listened to and understood a great deal of Albanian broadcasts.

This is not the case in Tiwi. Although, young people's comprehension of TT is greater than their
production, few young people, particularly children, can understand much of the TT spoken by older people among themselves or the stories told (or written) in TT. One twenty year old girl commented that she could not understand her father when he spoke in "hard" Tiwi. Most older people understand MT to a considerable extent but this may be perhaps because they understand some English (SAE and/or TE) and so understand the English loans in MT. MT is generally thought of as "half and half" and not really Tiwi. It is doubtful that a TT speaker with no knowledge of English or Pidgin English would recognise MT as being a type of Tiwi, though he may be able to see Tiwi-derived words in it.

8.3.3.3 Modern Tiwi in Relation to Creolization

Some of the changes discussed above (those which are similar to changes in language death situations) could be seen to be due to a fairly gradual process over the years as Tiwi has become replaced by English in some functions and as children have been exposed to less and less Tiwi in their daily lives.

Thomason (1981, p 1) concludes that 'there are no linguistic prerequisites for, or constraints on contact induced language change' or as Swadesh (1948, pp 234-5) says 'there are no such things as inherently weak languages that are by nature incapable of surviving changed social conditions'. However, it seems to me that given the right cultural and social conditions, Tiwi is a prime candidate for change.

TT, being highly polysynthetic, is a very complex language by any standard. Not only can the inflected verb
have a large number of affixes indicating a number of grammatical categories and incorporated forms conveying various semantic notions, these affixes and forms have a number of morphophonemic variations depending upon the morphemes preceding or following them. As Clark and Clark (1977, p 338) say:

'Although formal complexity is not yet very well defined, roughly speaking a system within a language is formally more complex when it contains rules with exceptions.'

In this sense TT is a language with a complex morphology. That there are differences in formal complexity between languages (at least in some aspects) and that this formal complexity affects language learning can be shown by comparing noun plurals in English and Arabic. Clark and Clark say:

'Egyptian Arabic, in contrast [to English], uses many more devices for expressing plurality ... and is correspondingly harder for children to master. Both Arabic and English children start to express the idea of "more than one" at much the same age, but the gap between the first expression of plurality and mastery of the adult devices is much greater in the case of children acquiring Arabic. In general, the more complex the linguistic device to be acquired, the greater this gap should be (Slobin, 1973).' (Clark and Clark, 1977, p 338-9)

In bilingual children acquiring two languages, 'if a given semantic domain receives expression earlier in one of the two languages, a difference in formal complexity is suggested' (Slobin, 1973, p 181). He gives some examples of studies of bilingual children in which this is indicated. One such study is that of children becoming bilingual in Serbo-Croatian and Hungarian. By the age of two, children were using a variety of Hungarian case endings on nouns expressing a number of locative relations but at the same time they had barely begun to develop
locative expressions in Serbo-Croatian, which require a locative preposition as well as a case ending on the noun (ibid, p 182).

Slobin (1977, p 190) says further that systems which maintain the principle of semantic clarity are easier to acquire. The Turkish system of agglutinative morphology has almost perfect one-to-one correspondence of form and meaning and

'the entire system is mastered well before the age of 2. ... [On the other hand the Serbo-Croatian inflectional system is] 'a classic Indo-European synthetic muddle, with the choice of nominal case ending influenced by issues of grammatical gender, animacy, number and phonological shape of stem. There are many irregularities, a great deal of homonymy, and scattered zero morphemes. The Yugoslav child does not master such a system until about age 5. ... [In learning Serbo-Croatian] the child chooses a single suffix for each grammatical case and uses it in all instances, ignoring gender, irregularities, and so forth. In effect, he has made his Indo-European language as analytic as possible, and then spends several years accepting the morphophonemic complexities of his mother-tongue' (Slobin, 1977, pp 190-1)

Most of the studies on relative complexity and ease of acquisition have involved nominal morphology and case systems. There appears to be relatively little work done on languages which have a complex verbal morphology. Some recent work has been done on one such language, Hebrew, by Berman (1981, 1982). She has found that Hebrew-speaking children

'gain rapid mastery of those features of the inflectional system which are semantically necessary to express time, number, sex and person, simplifying various distinctions in ways which will not incur semantic ambiguity' (Berman, 1981, p 280).

This seems to occur by the age 3. Presumably features of the inflectional system expressing other semantic
notions, such as aspect, mood, are not acquired until later. Similarly the morphophonemic and other variations are not acquired until later.

Comparing the Tiwi situation, it is reasonable to assume that, even before extensive contact with English, children, while developing early the basis of the verb morphology (possibly just the subject-tense prefixes), would not develop the full range of affixes and incorporated forms and the morphophonemic rules for these until relatively late, perhaps into their teens. In order for these to develop children would need a readily available adult model, either by frequent interaction with adults or with older children, who in turn are in contact with adults.

However, in the Tiwi situation after contact, children were introduced to school and English. As has been mentioned before (8.3.1, p521), many girls were kept in a dormitory. When some of these girls entered the dormitory their Tiwi would hardly have been fully developed. As they appeared to have had little regular contact with their families they would not have had a constantly available adult model. Possibly the models presented by older children to younger children moved further from TT over the years. Many women, even older women of 40 or 50, have commented to me that they did not learn Tiwi properly until they married. In this case, the model that they presented to their young children would have deviated from the norm of the men's speech. This seems to be a common phenomenon anyway. Bailey says:
'Since it is known that women are about a generation ahead of men in some changes, the language of one's mother will be different from that of one's father.' (Bailey, 1973, p 24).

The changes could be partly accounted for by the change in the culture in which films, radio and TV are taking the place of informal gatherings of the family group around the campfire in the evening perhaps (69) telling stories. There is probably not as much interaction between adults and children as there would have been previously.

These social and cultural factors would account for the types of changes which are found in dying languages and the changes in the speech, of people about 35 to 50 or 60 (i.e. LTT) (see Table 1.1, p 23). However, it does not really account for the more radical changes in MT, particularly the almost complete loss of the complex verbal morphology. It may perhaps be regarded as simply a matter of degree but this does not really explain why there seems to be a considerable break in the language around the 30-35 year old age group or why older people speak to younger ones in a MT form.

If the drastic change cannot be attributed simply to the gradual breakdown of the language due to the imperfect learning by children, to what can it be attributed? It seems to me that it can only be attributed to processes of pidginization and creolization, though the way in which I am using these terms needs elaborating (see also 8.1.5, PP 511-516).

By most definitions of a pidgin, MT cannot be classed as one since it is the "mother-tongue" of a group of
speakers (see 8.1.5, p512). Also, it is doubtful that MT could be classed as a true creole language since it does not appear to have arisen from a pidgin.

Most languages described as pidgins and creoles have closer links to the dominant language (normally a European one) than MT has to English (cf MT with TE and the pidgin or creole languages of Northern Australia).

Although a pidgin English has been used at various times by different Tiwi people and it has influenced both MT and TE, it has not become a lingua franca, particularly at Nguiu where the use of standard English has been encouraged (see 1.6, p 25). Although MT shares many features with the pidgin and creole languages of Northern Australia, there is no evidence that MT has arisen from them. Neither can MT (considering the full range of MT, from its more formal styles to its casual styles) be considered just a relexicalised version of TE, though the casual and children's versions of each do converge considerably (see Table 1.1, p 23).

To consider how MT may have developed we need to look at language acquisition and how this may affect language change, with particular reference to Tiwi.

Studies in child language acquisition have abounded in recent years. A number of linguists have agreed with Kiparsky (1970, p 310) when he says 'the child's acquisition of language is an individual act of creation'. Language change is seen by these linguists to be a result of each generation creating the language anew. In Kiparsky's view linguistic change is initiated by children as a result of imperfect learning (a view held by some
earlier linguists such as Sweet who said in 1899: 'If languages were learnt perfectly by children of each generation, then language would not change').

In Kiparsky's view (also followed by King, 1969) it is proposed that the grammar constructed by the child is simpler or at least as simple as that of the adult model.

'Kiparsky does, in fact, differentiate between the roles of adults and children in linguistic change. Adults add additional rules to the grammar by innovation. Children either restructure the innovations, yielding the same surface output as their elders, or fail to learn completely their parents' grammar, thereby yielding a presumably simplified output;' (Baron, 1977, p 37).

However, as both Baron (ibid) and Traugott (1977, p 81) have pointed out:

'It is necessary to consider the possibility that children not only simplify (either on the deep or surface level) but that they may elaborate as well' (Baron, 1977, p 37).

Some creolists hold this view, that a language is created anew by each generation, as being particularly evident in the formation of creoles. Bickerton (1975b, p 6) says that 'creoles are, quite literally, invented or reinvented each time they appear'. He claims that a pidgin, by its very nature, is inadequate as a model for children to use as a primary language being 'too impoverished and unstable a medium to serve all the communicative needs of an individual' (Bickerton, 1977, p 64). Children must then draw upon their innate knowledge to expand the language to enable it to function adequately.

Slobin (1977) looks at the cognitive and communicative determinants of the nature of language and how these apply in relation to language change, comparing
the change apparent in language acquisition, historical change and change in contact situations. He presents four basic "ground rules" to which a communicative system must adhere if it is to function as a "full-fledged human language" (Slobin, 1977, p 186). These four "charges" are: 

(i) Be clear (stated previously as one of Slobin's operating principles of child language: 'Underlying semantic relations should be marked overtly and clearly' (Slobin, 1973). (ii) Be humanly processible in ongoing time, meaning that 'language must conform to strategies of speech perception and production' (Slobin, 1977, p 186). (iii) Be quick and easy, relating to the human propensity to 'cut corners' (ibid, p 187). (iv) Be expressive, including two important aspects: semantic and rhetorical. A fully expressive language needs to be able to encode a wide range of semantic notions and must also be able to be used for more than just conveying logical propositions and referential information. It needs to provide speakers with means of engaging a hearer's attention, of conveying specific attitudes, of expressing social relationships etc.

Slobin sees these four principles as in conflict, the first two tending to simplify language and the latter two tending to elaborate and expand it. Pidgin languages and early child languages are seen as being influenced most by the first two principles and creoles and adult language (or older child language) need to attend more to the last two charges.

While Slobin's theory is not fully developed and there may be some problems in it (see Sankoff, 1977b and
Schlesinger, 1977), it does seem to go a long way towards explaining the nature of language change and the relationships between language change and language acquisition. It explains the similarity in structure and function between the Tiwi and English spoken by young children and pidgin languages (i.e. very little inflection and with the inflection which is present being regularised or generalised, strict SVO order, little marking of tense or aspect, co-ordinate rather than subordinate structures) and between the MT spoken by older children and young adults and creole languages.

Since Slobin's principles apply to child and adult language in general in relation to pidgins and creoles (not just in a contact situation), they do not explain other similarities (such as lexical) between MT (and TE) and the northern Australian creoles (see note (71)). Nor do they explain the difference between the MT spoken by adults (young and old) and their LTT styles. There appear to be additional reasons concerning the language acquisition histories of MT speakers. The acquisition histories of the Tiwi young people appear to be different from those of the semi-speakers of East Sutherland Gaelic.

The semi-speakers of ESG had various Gaelic acquisition histories.

[Some] 'were fluent child-speakers, dominant in Gaelic, at the time they entered school. ... [Some] also had childhood proficiency greater than their current proficiency, but they were never completely fluent and never Gaelic-dominant; ... others learned more active skills as they grew older, through having an interest in the language.' (Dorian, 1981a, p 148).

These semi-speakers had their primary socialization
in English or English became their primary language after entering school.

In the Tiwi situation, it is my belief that most of the young people, whose first language is MT, have never had their primary socialization in TT, so that by the time they entered school they were not fluent TT speakers. By the same token the primary socialization has not been in English either (though nowadays children are addressed in both Tiwi and English, see Table 8.1, p537).

As I have mentioned elsewhere, these days adults and older children tend to speak to young children in a "baby talk" version of Tiwi (BT) (as well as a simple version of TE). This BT is basically a casual MT (i.e. with no TT-derived inflected verbs or auxiliaries) but with some phonological differences (such as /y/ for /r/ and apico-alveolars for retroflex consonants). The use of baby talk seems to be a common feature in Australian Aboriginal languages (see Chapter 7, note (1), p 505) as well as in languages all over the world (Brown, 1977, p 20; Ferguson, 1977).

It seems highly probable that even before contact there existed a BT style. One feature of this which seems to have survived into the present BT, and hence into MT (in addition to the phonological differences), is the use of the singular imperative as a free form verb (see 7.3, p 499 , and 4.3.1.2, p 327). There must have been a point in time when adults started using more English loans, including verbs, in their BT.

It is not clear whether this occurred because older children were already speaking a version of Tiwi which contained a greater number of verbal complexes (compared
to inflected independent verbs) and using English loan verbs as the free form verbs in these verbal complexes, due to the gradual breakdown and relexification of the language.

This may have been the case. However, there is another possible explanation which seems to correlate with the age division between MT and LTT speakers. During the time of Father Gsell (1911-1938) communication with the older people was in Pidgin English (see 8.3.1, p 522). Father McGrath, who took over from Father Gsell, apparently had a very good command of Tiwi and there was little need for the older people to speak English, though it was still taught to the children in school. When Father McGrath left in 1948, there would probably have been a break in communication with the older people. It is my belief that, rather than reverting to using a form of pidgin English in which to communicate to the older people, the remaining staff (only a few), in emulating Father McGrath spoke Tiwi to them. (Most mission staff have always seemed to pick up and use some Tiwi, mainly common words). However, because of their lack of control this would have been a very much reduced form, with perhaps the use of English verbs rather than the complex Tiwi ones. In turn, the older Tiwi may have used a "foreigner talk" Tiwi to the mission staff, again with some English verbs. This may have come to form the basis of a BT form, which adults may have begun using with children, possibly to make their entry into school easier or perhaps just to make it easier to communicate with the children who had been influenced by English. The
"foreigner talk" Tiwi may have been based upon a pre-existing BT form.

However the BT developed, it seems to me that an anglicised BT is the "pidgin" or simplified hybrid upon which MT has been built and expanded. Ferguson and de Bose (1977) point out the similarities between "simplified" registers (such as broken language, foreigner talk and baby talk) and pidgins. Muhlhausler (1980, p 48) says that simplified registers of this type 'appear to be most influential right at the beginning of the pidgin-creole life-cycle ... [but] ... little is known about their roles ... in the form of "motherese", in the gradual transition from a second to a first language'.

In the Tiwi situation this BT has not developed into a stable pidgin. However as Muhlhausler and Bickerton point out:

'Creolization seems to be able to take place at any stage of a developmental continuum.' (Muhlhausler, 1980, p 32).

and the

'Period at which this step takes place will be decided, not by any internal development in the pidgin, but by the communicational needs of children.' (Bickerton, 1977, p 57).

Although the role of baby talk in a child's language acquisition is not clearly understood as yet,

'the structure of the input is proving more and more to be a crucial factor ... in the sense of utterances directed at the child' (Traugott, 1977, p 83).

'Nobody develops a language in a vacuum, so to this knowledge [i.e. innate knowledge discussed by Bickerton] we must add children's reference to perceptual strategies that analyze the input provided both by the pidgin, however inadequate, and the native languages heard though not necessarily well understood by the child.' (Traugott, 1977, p 87).
It would seem then, that the basis of young Tiwi children's speech has been an anglicised BT. Traditionally, children would probably have been expected to stop using CT by a certain age, possibly 5 or 6, as is the present case with Aindilyakwa (Leeding, 1977). However, with the introduction of an anglicised BT this expectation may have been waived and children were perhaps not corrected. Older children also were possibly addressed in an anglicised Tiwi and they in turn addressed younger children in anglicised BT.

Although MT cannot be regarded as a creole in the strictest sense of the term, it does appear to be a creolized form of an anglicised BT. BT is not the first language of anyone but it is in a sense a "contact" language (cf Givon, 1979, p 5). In the development of MT, children (and adults to a certain extent) have drawn upon Tiwi, English and Pidgin English to produce a hybrid or amalgam.

An expanded form of this anglicised BT is also used by older adults as a second "language" in speaking to older children and young adults (see Table 8.1, p 537). Although I have not studied the differences between the MT spoken as a first language by young people and that spoken as a second "language" by older adults, there do appear to be differences. The phonology of the MT of older adults is closer to TT phonology (the English loans are normally more Twiised as well). Older adults use more TT inflections in the auxiliary verb (when they use one) and do not normally use the aspect words tra 'ta' or sat 'slant', though they do use pin 'past' in their casual
I am not sure when adults started to speak to children in simple TE in addition to BT. It is possibly a fairly recent step. However, even before that, children were coming into contact with English, at least when they reached school and possibly even earlier.

As has been pointed out before, children's Tiwi and their Tiwi-English converge (1.6, p 20). From studies done by Volterra and Taeschner (1977, p 311), it seems that children who grow up learning two languages go through three stages:

(i) the child has one lexical system which includes words from both languages.
(ii) the child distinguishes two different lexicons but applies the same syntactic rules.
(iii) the child has two linguistic codes differentiated both in lexicon and syntax, but each language is exclusively associated with the person using that language.

With Tiwi children the second stage seems to last considerably longer (until about 6 or 7 years) than in a stable bilingual situation. This is possibly because the same person speaks both languages to the child. However, Tiwi children do seem to eventually develop and sort out their English and their Tiwi. As children grow older they develop a more formal MT style which more closely approaches TT than their casual style does (i.e. with the use of inflected TT-derived auxiliaries, the use of more TT-derived words and Tiwiised English loans, and with a syntax more like TT). They also develop a style of English which is closer to SAE and which they use with
Europeans, while retaining a more casual style of TE which they use in code-switching in their speech with their peers (see 8.3.2.3, p 545f).

8.4 CONCLUSION

The changes which have occurred in Tiwi appear to be very similar to those occurring in English in the 13th-14th Century. There has been some debate as to whether the language which "triumphed" (Jones, 1953) was a creole. Domingue (1977) concludes that while the changes seem to have been due to processes similar to pidginization and creolization, the term "hybrid" is probably preferable to "creole".

There are factors for and against the survival of Tiwi as a separate language (even in its changed form). Liebe-Harkort (1980) lists some factors influencing the survival of minority languages. Some of these are relevant to the Tiwi situation.

(i) Geographical Factor. The isolation of the Tiwi in the past has been instrumental in the Tiwi language receiving little influence from other languages. This isolation is fast diminishing. There is considerable movement to and from Darwin by both Tiwi and Europeans. There are four (small) planes a day and Tiwi people often go into Darwin to the hospital, to see a football game, to take part in an exhibition, to visit relatives living there and for other reasons. Also there are a number of visitors to the islands, such as government personnel and tourists, as well as the Europeans who have work there.

(ii) Traditional Setting. The fact that some traditional
(iii) Economic Conditions. As the Tiwi society has become a money-based one and Tiwi people are employed (often with a European boss) there has been a move towards more opportunities for English to be used. Also the availability of money has meant that most Tiwi families have been able to buy a radio and or TV. This introduction of these has probably had and is having a profound effect upon the language maintenance and shift particularly with regard to the amount of English heard.

(iv) Social Environment.

'A group's unconscious decision about its language can be seen reflected in the language or languages they teach their children. Many choose to raise their children in both languages.' (Liebe-Harkort 1980, p 76).

As has been discussed previously this has happened in the Tiwi situation but the Tiwi which people use to their children is MT not TT. The teaching of TT is left to the school by most people.

(v) Attitudes towards Language. This varies from person to person. Most people (young and old) see English as being important for children to learn in order to live in today's society. The older people see Tiwi as equally important and wish it to be taught in the school. These older people are proud of their identity as Tiwi. Michael Sims (a priest who spent some years at Nguiu) says:

'The Tiwi people have always shown themselves a strong virile people, proud of the traditions of their ancestors. Today their self-reliance is becoming evident as they address themselves to advanced policies in Aboriginal matters, dictated by governmental demands. Their strength
is shown in wanting to decide their own future after thoughtful deliberations about present day policies. They are unwilling to lose their true identity as a Tiwi people.' (Sims, 1978, p 167).

Most young people wish to retain the Tiwi language but not the "hard" Tiwi, (even though they are generally ashamed of their "half-and-half"). This seems to be a reflection of their desire to be identified as Tiwi. There are some young people who would like to be able to understand and speak "hard" Tiwi and make an effort to do so but this is not general.

The maintenance of the Tiwi language and other Aboriginal languages has been encouraged in recent years by the change in government policy towards them, as in the introduction of bilingual education in some schools and the translation of some government pamphlets. The effect on Tiwi of the bilingual programme is unclear at present. Since many of those involved in the programme (both European and Tiwi) insist upon "purity", particularly in the written form, this may tend to stifle the development of the language, as anything less pure may be seen to be a corrupt form.

At this stage it is unclear what direction Tiwi will take, whether MT will stabilise, with perhaps a formal style of MT moving closer to TT, because of the influence of the bilingual programme in the school, or whether MT and TE will converge completely or perhaps be more strongly influenced by a mainland creole language. This latter may occur as there is more and more contact with mainland Aboriginals and if the need to be identified as Aboriginal, rather than Tiwi, emerges, (through the national Aboriginal movement). Only time will tell whether
Tiwi will die out completely or remain as a living language, though in an inevitably changed form.

NOTES ON CHAPTER 8

(1) Other studies of linguistic acculturation include: Johnson, 1943; Lee, 1943; Spicer, 1943; Spencer, 1947; Trager, 1944; Haugen, 1953; Law, 1961; Dozier, 1967; Epstein, 1968; Krokskity, 1978; Mixco, 1977; Clark, 1977.

(2) See also Fishman, 1972a; Mackey, 1968; Denison, 1971.

(3) Scollon and Scollon (1979) also describe a case of convergence for the speech community of Fort Chipewyan, Alberta.

(4) See also Mackey, 1968, and Whinnom, 1971, who discusses barriers to hybridization.

(5) Substratum interference is like the type of interference which occurs in any individual's learning of a second language (Whinnon, 1980, p 204). According to Thomason (1981), p 9) substratum interference on a community level can lead (though not necessarily) to the target language as a whole being influenced by the imperfect learning by substratum speakers.

(6) Muhlhausler (1974, Ch 2) gives a detailed discussion of the characteristics of a pidgin. These are discussed further in 8.3.3.3, p 56/).

(7) An example of a creole arising from an extended pidgin is Tok Pisin of Papua New Guinea (Muhlhausler, 1980, p 36).

(8) Some such studies are those by: Haas, 1968; Salzmann, 1969; Dixon, 1966; Campbell and Canger, 1978; Donaldson, 1980.

(9) The International Journal of the Sociology of Language, vol 12, is devoted to this.


(12) Bar-Adon (1978); Dorian (1980c); Fellman (1973); Fishman (1972d); Huffines (1980); Liebe-Harkort (1980); Williamson and Van Eerde (1980); Wood (1980). Some of these above and others appear in

(13) Kriol or related dialects are common over other parts of the Northern Territory and north-western Australia; for instance in the Fitzroy Valley where Kriol, introduced from the outside as a developed creole language, is spoken by most children as their primary language (Hudson, 1981).

(14) This is common in languages which are dying (see 8.3.3.1, p 550f).

(15) Because of the morphological complexity of the Tiwi language, it is doubtful that the children from whom they learnt would have had a complete control of the language, particularly the verbal constructions (see discussion in 8.3.3.3, p 564).

(16) Although the history of Snake Bay was somewhat different from that of Nguiu and Garden Point (see 1.2, p 7), the contact appears to have been as peaceful. Goodale (1971, p 539) says regarding the Tiwi situation there: 'There has been almost no resistance to the changing content of life among the Tiwi'. Also apparently Snake Bay was selected by the government for an intensive programme by the Dept. of Welfare in 1954. One of the reasons for this was 'the Tiwi's positive attitude towards education and change, which they sincerely believe will regain for them the equality with the whites that they lost at the turn of the century' (ibid, p 12).

(17) The term 'bilingualism' here is used in the wider sense of meaning the alternate use of two or more languages; i.e. to include the term 'multi-lingualism'.

(18) The factors influencing the survival or loss of languages and the relationship to the Tiwi situation is discussed in detail in 8.4 (p575).

(19) My Tiwi (even my MT) is far from perfect, particularly at understanding, so people find it easier to talk to me in English. Many other Europeans try to pick up some Tiwi but it normally amounts to knowing and using a few words, though some may be able to understand casual MT a little.

(20) I am not sure if the language used is the same as the TT spoken today, or if it is a special style or an archaic one.

(21) This was mainly done by two women in their 50's or 60's who were willing to do it. No men seem to be willing.

(22) Just recently the Lord's Prayer in TT has been put to a Latin hymn tune, as these Latin tunes are apparently regarded as a more suitable medium than
either English ones or traditional Tiwi song styles 
(at least they are regarded so by some older people).

(23) I am not sure what happens in the case of an 
unbaptised person.

(24) Before and after the ceremony near the house and 
later at the graveside, the mourners express their 
grief in a traditional way, with wailing and hitting 
themselves. However, the self-inflicted beating 
does not seem to be as violent as in past days 
(Goodale, 1971, p 249; Berndt, 1950).

(25) Garden Point school had a bilingual education 
programme for about 2 years (see 1.4, p 13), during 
which part of my field work at Garden Point was done. 
However, this was only in the early grades and so 
did not affect many children in the community.

(26) This teacher would have been in her late 30's or 
early 40's. She is older than those who have MT as 
their language of primary socialisation (see 
8.3.3.3, p 570).

(27) I do not know the results of a recent evaluation 
done at the school (in 1982) to determine the 
overall progress of Aboriginal children in bilingual 
schools in comparison with those who have had all 
their instruction in English. Most of those 
involved in the Tiwi programme seem to feel that the 
children have learnt more easily through the 
bilingual programme.

(28) One of the keenest advocates for maintaining a 
"proper" Tiwi is a man in his 40's who spent most of 
his childhood in Darwin. Another man, of about 25, 
who is a trained teacher and speaks good English, is 
able to produce a style of LTT that is closer to TT 
than most people of his age. He is keen that young 
people should speak "correct" Tiwi.

(29) I am not sure if traditionally people sang songs 
(other than at ceremonies) and taught them to 
children. There do seem to be some Tiwi songs about 
the old days which are remembered and which are 
being taught at the school by some older women. 
Some of these songs have Polynesian island tunes 
which have been introduced at some time.

(30) In the 1982 eisteddfod at least one of the Tiwi 
songs was newly composed by a young man in a LTT 
style (not MT).

(31) Most conversations were recorded outdoors with a 
number of people around, many of whom I did not know. 
Some people were too far away to be picked up 
clearly by the microphone and there was often a lot 
of extraneous noise. The conversations were normally 
transcribed some time after the event and sometimes 
by people not involved in the conversation. It is 
not always clear who is doing the speaking and to
whom. The topic too is not always clear because there were often 2 or 3 strands of conversation going at once with different interlocutors.


(33) Other factors such as sex are not so apparent except that older women seem to use a style of LTT closer to MT on more occasions than older men do and most women rarely use what is considered 'proper' TT.

(34) See the next section 8.3.2.4 for a discussion of internal versus external code-switching.

(35) This may be changing with some younger adults who seem to speak to their children mainly in TE.

(36) I have written the English phonemically (as much as possible because the pronunciation is normally different from SAE and also to show the similarity between TE and the English loans in Casual MT and CT.

(37) By a quirk of fate the changed form, awa of the TT pronoun, ngawa 'we, us, our' corresponds in pronunciation to the English 'our'. Since children seem to learn some case forms of the English pronominal system relatively early, it is probably the English form meant here.

(38) In some cases this means all contact or speech with a certain person has to be avoided and in other cases there are special avoidance styles of speech used (see Dixon, 1980, pp 58-65; Haviland, 1979a, pp 210-211; Berndt and Berndt, 1977, pp 80-85).

(39) This is so over parts of Arnhem land also (Berndt and Berndt, 1977, p 83).

(40) This style of English is closer to SAE than is the TE style used in the internal switching among themselves.

(41) This is derived from 'two bob'. A 'bob' was the colloquial term for 'shilling', used before decimal currency.

(42) I assume this is from 'two roosters' but I'm not sure how this is derived.

(43) I have no examples of speech when playing traditional games, or out hunting, etc.

(44) This rhyme (which was a corrected version of one which actually did rhyme) was inserted into a narrative in MT by a 10 year old girl about a game she and her friends had played, so it is also an example of internal switching.
(45) My use of the term "code-mixing" differs from Kachru's use (1978). His term would include what I am calling internal switching as well as mixing. It is hard to actually determine a boundary between them.

(46) This is a baby talk form as the referential pronoun is omitted (see 3.2.5, p146).

(47) Older people or younger people in more formal MT would say jimintiriyi poj(i).

(48) Some internal switching is due to lack of proficiency in one language and so the speaker switches to the other. Some may be due to speakers inserting odd words of one language into their speech in another to identify with the speakers of the second language. This happens in the speech of some Europeans on Bathurst and Melville Islands. However, these cases are rather different from the rapid switching back and forth in the speech of young Tiwi.

(49) Cf Hatch, 1976, p 207; Gumperz, 1971b, p 322. Dorian has observed very little of this in the East Sutherland Gaelic situation (Dorian, 1981a, p 98).

(50) 16 domains were studied including: family, neighbourhood, street, cafes and bars, work, church, senior citizens' clubs, community festivities, school.

(51) There seems to be some communication barrier between some older people and some young people but it would be equally true to say that the older people are 'deficient' or not proficient in the language of the young people as the other way around.

(52) The genitive case is almost extinct even in the speech of fluent ESG speakers, being replaced in most cases by the use of a prepositional phrase. Nouns in the dative case are also marked by a preposition in the older-generation norm of ESG and so the loss of the dative is a loss of redundancy (i.e. a simplification).

(53) See also Campbell and Canger (1978) on Chicomulcetec; Voegelin and Voegelin (1977) on Tubatulabal; Austin (1981) on Gamilaraay and Dharawal (see also p 554 of this Chapter).

(54) See also Voegelin and Voegelin (1977).

(55) These terms were used by Whinnom (1971, p 106) as defining criteria of a pidgin.

(56) This is contrary to what Dorian found for ESG in which there has been some loss of gender distinctions. The difference is probably due to the fact that the gender systems in Greek and Albanian are similar (i.e. a three-way distinction) while the
gender systems of Gaelic and English are different (i.e. a three-way versus a two-way distinction) and furthermore gender distinctions are not very marked in English, in that they are only formally indicated in pronoun replacement.

(57) The Ngiyambaa data is taken from Donaldson (1980); the Dharawal data from Eades (1976) and the Gamilaraay data taken from early records by Ridley (1875) and Greenway (1877) as well as the more recent field notes of Wurm (1955) and Austin himself (1975).

(58) A detailed study of a dying Australian language (Dyirbal) is almost completed by Annette Schmidt for her MA thesis at A.N.U., Canberra (to be submitted January, 1983).

(59) The extreme cases where basically only absolute forms of words are retained, as in Gamilaraay, (Austin, 1980) are probably due to just words being transmitted to children, who otherwise have their primary socialization in the dominant language. Discussion of language change in general can be found in such standard works as: Anttila (1972); Bynon (1977); Lehmann (1962; 1973); Li (1975; 1977); Stockwell and MacCaulay (1972).

(60) It seems certain that there was a baby talk style of Tiwi in which there were phonological differences and that this style has become the basis of MT (see Chapter 7 note (1), p 505, and 8.3.3.3, p 570).

(61) A semantic distinction could be said to be lost as the gender of the direct object is no longer marked on the verb. However, this is shown (where relevant) in MT by an overt form. Moreover in the case of third singular subject a semantic distinction is gained as the gender of the subject is marked on the inflected verb in MT whereas it is neutralised in TT (see 4.2.3.1, p 273).

(62) Many of the grammatical categories for which changes are described are indicated by mutations.

(63) This does not apply to those languages, such as Gamilaraay and Dharawal, where basically just words are being passed on and inserted into English sentences.

(64) He does not indicate whether Albanians today can understand Arvanitika, though there apparently was some co-operation between the two groups during the war and presumably mutual intelligibility.

(65) Whether it is thought to be more related to Tiwi or English would vary from person to person depending upon their ability in TT or English. People's feelings or intuitions in this have not been ascertained.
For other discussions of linguistic complexity see Clark and Clark (1977, pp 523-4); Mühlhäusler (1974, pp 69-72); Slobin (1973, pp 181-3; 1979, pp 65-7).

Although interaction with (slightly older) peers has been shown to be an important factor in child language (Baron, 1977, p 38), there must be a link to the adult model somewhere along the line, since, in most normal language learning situations, children's speech does come to approximate adult speech. There may be slight changes from generation to generation.

There would probably have been a Baby talk version of Tiwi which has probably changed over the years (see discussion on p 570).

It is doubtful that children learn very much English from films and TV, except from parts of the action-type films in which words may be matched with actions. Clark and Clark (1977, p 330) report that in cases where children have only been exposed to their own or another language by watching TV they do not pick it up. For instance, Snow (1976) and her colleagues found that Dutch children constantly watching German television did not pick up German. In the case of the Tiwi children, films may help to reinforce the English they learn elsewhere.

See 8.1.5, p 513, and Chapter 1, note (20) (p 28).

Some of these shared features are:

(i) The use of -im on transitive English loan verbs. Some verbs with -im may have been borrowed directly from Pidgin English, but the -im is a productive transitive marker in MT. Cf MT: kipim 'give' with Kriol: gibit 'give', gibim 'keep' (Sandefur and Sandefur, 1979). Also kreshim 'crash (tr)' is a recent word.

(ii) Some words in MT are obviously borrowed from Pidgin English e.g. japi, or sapi 'know'; kiyemin 'lie, deceive, pretend'.

(iii) The suffix -pala on the end of some adjectives seems to be a borrowing from Pidgin English e.g. panupala 'funny'. However, in these cases the whole word appears to be borrowed (not many examples) and new words are replacing them, often with the suffix -wan; e.g. faniwan 'funny'.

(iv) The use of the aspect words pin 'past', sat/stat 'start', tra/tray 'try'. The first of these is clearly borrowed from Pidgin English and also occurs in TE. I am not sure about the latter two. They appear to have arisen independent of Pidgin English influence. Other aspect words or auxiliary verbs which are used in Kriol and other
creole languages are not used in MT (such as, gona 'will'; labda mas 'must', yusda 'used to'; cf Sandefur, 1979, p 126).

There are also some features of the 'basilect' of TE in common with Pidgin English, particularly as it is used by older people, viz., the use of the general preposition long(a) and the possessive preposition play/pla (from bilong). I have not studied TE in sufficient detail to determine the overall relation of the 'basitectal' form with Pidgin English.


(74) Although early child language is not restricted in function in the sense that a pidgin is, it is restricted in the sense that many of the semantic notions and communicative intents expressed by an adult are undeveloped in young children (see Slobin, 1973, p 183ff).

(75) I am using the term 'primary' in the sense that Muhlhausler (1974, p 13) uses it, to refer to the language best mastered.

(76) Although this latter feature is common in the MT spoken by older children and young adults it is not common in that spoken by older adults, except in this BT form.

(77) See also other articles in Snow and Ferguson, 1977.

(78) This comment was made to me by a brother who was at the Mission for part of Father McGrath's time.

(79) This same brother made the comment that Pidgin English had not been used between the Tiwi and Europeans. He was unaware that a type of Pidgin English (the basilect form of TE) was used among the people themselves from time to time.

(80) See also Clark and Clark, 1977, p 380.

(81) See earlier discussion (p 567).

(82) "Language" is probably not the best term to use here. Although MT and LTT are distinct codes they do overlap to some extent and are continuous in one sense (see 1.6, p 20).
(83) Cf the comments made by Hudson (1981) re the adult Pidgin English and the Kriol used by children in the Fitzroy Valley. (See also Jernudd, 1971, p 20).

(84) Throughout the thesis I have used the word "loan" although strictly speaking if MT is regarded as an amalgam of TT and English it is not really legitimate to speak of English loans unless I speak of TT loans as well.

(85) Givon (1979) also does not regard Middle English as a creole.

(86) See also Dorian (1980c).
Throughout the thesis, some lexical and semantic changes have been mentioned where relevant. A brief discussion of some of these are given here, and also a comparative word list, showing some of the changes. There are three main ways in which the lexicon is changing:

(i) **Coining of words for introduced items and concepts.** This is normally done by means of a verbal construction, which may become frozen, such as ampiripunguluwurri 'car' (lit: 'she goes fast'). For other examples see 3.2.1 (p 119) and Osborne (p 117). It may be done by the addition of suffixes to existing words, such as milamporama 'tractor' (milampora 'foot' + -(aw)ama 'intensity(f)'), and milamporakimi 'shoe' (milampora + -kimi 'for the purpose of').

(ii) **Extension of meaning.** Meanings of words are extended to cover new items and concepts, such as, yilogha 'bladder' > '(foot)ball', yimata 'intestines' > 'sausages', yimanka 'shadow, reflection' > 'film, movie'.

(iii) **Borrowing of loan words.** This is by far the most common means in MT, being extended to cover items which are not borrowed (see 3.2.3, p134) and to verbs (see 4.3.1.2, p27). The phonology of the loans varies from close to TT to close to English (see 2.6, p 89).

The word list given here is not exhaustive and TT words for which I have no MT equivalent are not listed (see also Os., p 117ff and Ng Ng). Similarly, a number of MT words are not listed. Where there are corresponding masculine, feminine and/or plural forms, the stem is given with the suffixes in that order. The classes of the verb stems are not given, but this can be determined by the form given: class 1 stems having an initial consonant, class 2 stems having an initial C (variable consonant), and class 3 stems having an initial vowel, sometimes with an optional /w/. The subject-tense prefixes taken by each stem is indicated, viz., general (gen), transitive (tr), or feminine (fem) (see Table 4.5, p27). The auxiliary stem is given with free form verbs.
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<td>adult (cf 'big')</td>
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<td>jirti(m),jiringa(f)</td>
<td>jirti(m),jiringa(f)</td>
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<td>bad(of food)</td>
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<td>yilogha(Lit: bladder)</td>
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<td>(Lit: we climb out buttocks</td>
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<td>(on it))</td>
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**Language notes:**
- **Tongulaka** and **Kupunyi** are directly translated from English.
- **Kayintin** and **Keyntin** are possibly terms for a specific cultural or linguistic context.
- **Putamanta** and **Purramanta** might refer to specific actions or attributes.
- **Pujikat** and **Pujikat/pusiket** could be transliterations of a term from another language or context.
- **Kajum** and **Kajim/kejapi** might indicate a specific usage or term.
- **Keyp** could be an error or a specific term.
- **Jikyurruwa** and **Kajimap/kejapi** (±-mi) might refer to an action or state.
- **Kip** and **Pipo** are possibly terms for specific actions or objects.
- **Jita/shita** could be a term for a specific action or state.
- **Pipo** is a possible term for an object or action.
- **Mamirampi** and **-mamirampi** might indicate a specific action or state.
- **Moruwi** could be a term for an object or action.
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<td>(takes fem, impersonal subject + actor as IO)</td>
<td>(actor as subject ± fem. IO)</td>
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<td>'where we stay when we're sick'</td>
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<td>-Cumori (tr)</td>
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<td>(upper - )</td>
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<td>(lower - )</td>
<td>(TT: foot)</td>
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<td>-Camarnipaghi</td>
<td>-Camarnipawi</td>
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<td>(i.f.)</td>
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<td>like, to</td>
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<td>lakim (+ mi)</td>
<td>laykim (± mi)</td>
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<td>layn</td>
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<td>-Curnuki (gen)</td>
<td>laynap(i) (± mi)</td>
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<td>-pir{n}tangaya (f)</td>
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<td>{kurrupurmani</td>
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<td>tingiwuni</td>
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<td>yirruka (f)</td>
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<td>yirruka (f)</td>
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<td>yirnukuni</td>
<td>yinukuni</td>
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<td>-Cakuluwuni (tr)</td>
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<td>look after, to</td>
<td>-Camangi (tr)</td>
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<td>look around, to</td>
<td>-Camulgijapa (gen)</td>
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<td>look at, to</td>
<td>-Camulinjipamighi (tr)</td>
<td>-Camulinjipamighi (tr)</td>
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<td>look for</td>
<td>kularlagha (+ ma)</td>
<td>kulalaa (± mi)</td>
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<td>-Camulinjipamighi (tr)</td>
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<td>lots</td>
<td>tayikuwani (m)</td>
<td>tayikuwapi</td>
<td>pik mop</td>
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<td>tayikuwanga (f)</td>
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<td>people)</td>
<td>tayikuwapi (pl)</td>
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<td>yingarti</td>
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<td>makirrana</td>
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<td>piraya (Elw 'prayer'(?))</td>
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ENGLISH

TT

(formal )
ma chi ne
ma ch ine gun
make, to

xviii

MT

(casual/CT)
mes hi n

-ki rimi ( itr)

mijinikani
meshin kani
-kiri mi
meyki m ( ± -mi )
1

mal e
man

awurrini (m)
jajingarti (m )
tini (m)
awurrini (m)
jaj i ngarti (m)

thajingati
tini
awurr ini

thajingati
manko
mirriparinga
mirraparinga
mi nayi ka

ma ngo
mang roves

mirriparinga (f)
pamparinga (f )
mangrove snake minayinka (f)
tunkurni nga ( f)
wurupalangati (m)
man grove worm yil'lurl i (m)
milipukani (m)
yirrikala (m)
(bitter)
waki japa ( f)
many ( see 1ots)
marr i ed (person) marritimani (Elw)
mar ry
marri- +[-muwu
}
-miringarra
con.m
match
juluwu
majiji
maybe
arrami
arramukuta
arramingaji
mea n, to
medec i ne
mirrijini (m)
meet, to
-Capijingi (gen)
(pl subj prefix)
men
midday
milk

mind , to
mirac le
mirror
misbe have, to

wawurruwi
anjirugha
pul arti (m)
-Camangi (tr)
(look after)
mirrakuli
mirralruli (+ -kirimi)
ngapunkirrimiya
(Lit: we look closely)
-Cukuru(n)tipi (gen)

men/man

yuwul i

marritimani

juluwu
majij(i )
arramukuta

majis
amuk uta
arrakuta

min
-Cap~ ~~ n$i}
{ -Cap1J1y1
mi tim (± -mi)
wa1'-/urruwi
men
pulati

-kutipi

miliki
mayntim (± -mi)


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<th>MT</th>
<th>(casual/CT)</th>
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<td>kapala (+ -mi)</td>
<td>mistim (+ -mi)</td>
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<td>(fail to hit)</td>
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<td>[mijimila]</td>
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<td>wan mo</td>
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<td>yirriputara</td>
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<td>-kumori (tr)</td>
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<td>pick (n) (game of 'sides')</td>
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<td>wurrungorra (m) (Lit: shadow etc) yimanka yimaka pija</td>
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<td>(Lit: we climb our heads on it)</td>
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(1) There are a number of forms given with the basic stem such as:
- kiripiligha (Os. p154) 'teach to do something with the hands(?)
- Cajipiligha (NgNg p73) and -mingirripiligha (from a text)
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<tr>
<td>watch out!</td>
<td>arrarna</td>
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<td>(salt -)</td>
<td>mirripaka</td>
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<td>winga</td>
<td>mirripaka</td>
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<td></td>
<td>-piyanguwa</td>
<td>winga</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>weypim (± -mi)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>TT</td>
<td>(formal)</td>
<td>MT</td>
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<td>we</td>
<td>ngawa</td>
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<td>(you &amp; I)</td>
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<td>Waniji(yi)</td>
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<td>-Cukomi(tr)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(wetim/werrim) (+ -mi)</td>
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<td>what?</td>
<td>awungana?</td>
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<td>kamini (m)</td>
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<td>awungarri</td>
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<td>which?</td>
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<td>which (rel pn)</td>
<td>ngini (m)</td>
<td></td>
<td>yini (m)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(ng)angi (f)</td>
<td></td>
<td>angi/anga (f)</td>
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<tr>
<td>white (person)</td>
<td>murruru(n)ta-ni,-ka</td>
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<td>murruta-ni,-ka</td>
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<td>(ma)murruru(n)tawi (pl)</td>
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<td>murrutawi</td>
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<td>(light-coloured)</td>
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<td>kuwa-ni,-nga,-pi</td>
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<td>kuwa-ni,-nga,-pi</td>
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<td>ngini (m)</td>
<td></td>
<td>yini (m)</td>
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<td>-purnayinga</td>
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<td>-kumori (tr)</td>
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<td>-wunirraya (gen)</td>
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<td>waypim (+ -mi)</td>
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<td>waliji</td>
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<td>with</td>
<td>ma(rri)-(vbl pref. )</td>
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<td>wuta/wurra</td>
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<td>with(i)</td>
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<td>woman</td>
<td>yimparlinya</td>
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<td>yipalinya</td>
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<td></td>
<td>tinga</td>
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<tr>
<td>women</td>
<td>maminikuwi</td>
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<td>wood (of tree)</td>
<td>purnikapa (f)</td>
<td></td>
<td>wut</td>
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<td>wood, firewood</td>
<td>wantanga (f)</td>
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<td>(large)</td>
<td>wantangini (m)</td>
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<td>work (n)</td>
<td>waki</td>
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<td>waki(i)</td>
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<td>work, to</td>
<td>-Cumurrumi (gen)</td>
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<td>waki (± -mi)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>wak(i) (+ -mi)</td>
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<td>TT (formal)</td>
<td>MT (casual/CT)</td>
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<td>worry, to</td>
<td>warri (+ -mi)</td>
<td>warri (+ -mi)</td>
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<tr>
<td>write, to</td>
<td>-(ij)ilarlinga (gen) jurra (+ -kirimi) ('paper' 'make')</td>
<td>raytim (± -mi)</td>
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<tr>
<td>yam</td>
<td>murani (m)</td>
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<td>muranga (f)</td>
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<tr>
<td>year</td>
<td>pakitirringa ('rain')</td>
<td>yiya</td>
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<tr>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>arrikirninga</td>
<td>arrikuninga</td>
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<td>yes</td>
<td>kuwa</td>
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<td>yesterday</td>
<td>awurlagha</td>
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<td>nangu(n)ji</td>
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<td>nawuji</td>
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<td>yet (still)</td>
<td>ninganuwanga</td>
<td>ninganuwanga</td>
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<td>you (sg)</td>
<td>nginja</td>
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<td>yitha</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>tha</td>
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<td>you (pl)</td>
<td>nuwa</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>nuwa</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>nu</td>
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<td>young</td>
<td>kiriji-ni,-nga</td>
<td>ki(yi)ji-ni,-nga</td>
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<td>kiyiji-ni,-nga</td>
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<td></td>
<td>kakiri(juwi (pl)</td>
<td>kakijuwi</td>
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<td>young man</td>
<td>jajingarti</td>
<td>thajingati</td>
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<td></td>
<td>malakaninga</td>
<td>yang fela</td>
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<td>malakaninga</td>
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A selection of texts is given showing the various styles along the continuum of the verbal repertoire of the Tiwi speech community. The texts chosen are basically narrative style, though some of the later ones have conversation in them (interpolations by other speakers). For this reason, the TT text and the ones which are slightly less traditional do not contain the verbal or syntactical complexity which occurs in other types of discourse, such as hortatory discourse.

Texts A and B represent TT, given by men over forty. These are from Godfrey's data but the morpheme breaks are my own, and the glosses a mixture of Godfrey's and mine. For other TT texts, see Os., pp. 79-114.

Text C represents a style less traditional, in that it contains no incorporated forms, but it still retains the minimal-augmented pronominal system of TT (see Table 1.1). This is given by the same speaker as Text B, but it is spoken for a younger audience, being a story told for use as reading material at the school.

Texts D and E are given by young people in their early twenties or late teens, and while basically traditional, there are some differences and they are not as complex, in that, there are no incorporated forms, the only verbal prefixes indicate subject person and tense, (though other texts by the same speakers do contain some other prefixes), and the verb stems used are fairly common ones. Text E contains some interpolations by children in children's Tiwi.

Texts F and C are basically MT, one being given by a boy of 12, the other by a girl of 8.

Text H is basically casual MT, i.e. normally with no auxiliaries given for the free verbs. It is given by a boy of 10.

The texts A to H are, in general, monologues given in formal settings. Consequently, the eight year old girl and the twelve year old boy give a simple style of MT which is their more formal style of Tiwi. It is not certain whether the boy who gave text H knows and is able to produce a more formal style of Tiwi. Since he comes from a family in which some of the young members (including his mother and aunt, both in their twenties) normally do not speak a style much closer to TT, this is possibly his most formal Tiwi style, though he probably understands other styles. (1)

Text J, while being in a formal setting, i.e. at preschool, the speech and structure is basically casual MT, given by a young teacher's aid to a class of preschoolers. There are some interpolations from children within the text, usually as responses to questions asked.

(1) His aunt made the comment to me that she could not understand her father when he talked 'hard language'.
Text K is a brief excerpt of a conversation between two four year old pre-school boys, at the pre-school but playing on their own outside. It is in the style I have labelled "Pidgin English".

TEXT A (TT) 'CHASED BY A COW' (Raphael Apuatimi)

1. Awarra ngi mpi - yi - wa - yalam - ami that(m) I -np:f - icve - words - load - mv
2. karri ngiya pirayi - mani, karri ngawa when I prayer - man when we
3. ngi - nti - pukurutup - ani, karri ngawa kakirijuwi we(excl) - p - misbehave - p:hab when we children
4. ngi - ntu - wutumart - ani arramukamin - awurti we(excl) - p - want - p:hab something(m) - all: kinds
5. pokayini ngi - nti - mi - majila - mini; api play we(excl) - p - her(IO) - do - p:hab well
6. nyirra - tuwu pokayini she - too play
7. ngi - ntu - wa - nging - ta - majila we(excl) - p - frust - her(R) - emph - do
8. awinyirra jarranga pili nyirra-moringa ju - wurtiyi that(f) cow because her - daughter she : - bear: her:p child
9. api nyirra ji - yi - ma - rrurlighi well she she:p - cv - con:m baby - growl
10. nyirra - morti, awarra kijini jarrangini. (3) her - son that(m) small(m) bull
12. ngi - ntu - wa - ngirri - majil - apa(4) nyirra arnuka we(excl) - p - frust - her(R) - do - focus she not
13. pokayin - apa ngini ji - muwunu - kuwina. Kali play - focus compr she:p - us(DO) - chase run

(2) Without the free verb, pokayini, this verb stem means 'own a domestic animal' (private communication from Godfrey).

(3) The speaker has changed the sex of the calf from the previous sentence.

(4) Godfrey calls this a 'mid-sentence attention-getter' (see Godfrey, 1980).
'I am starting to record that story of when I was a school boy, when we used to be naughty, when we children wanted to play with all sorts of animals. Well we tried to play with a cow because she had had a calf; but she protected her calf, that small bull. She protected it. We went ahead and tried to play with her but she wouldn't play and she chased us. We ran because we were frightened and I said "She is getting closer". I ran in fright and climbed a fence. I jumped down on the other side. As for her, she went back. As for my other friends (or some of my friends), they in fright hid among the fruit trees. That's all now.

TEXT B (TT) : 'HOW WE CAMPED ON THE WAY TO A DISTANT PLACE'

(Donald Kantilla)

1. Parlingarri karri
   long:ago when

2. ngi - nti - ri - ma - jakuji - rrangurlimay - ani
   we(excl) - p - cv - con.m - family - walk - p:hab

3. wurarripi api awungarra ngi - ntu - wuripura - mini.
   people:with: well here we(excl) - p - leave - p:hab
   lots:of:children

4. Ngil - nti - pangurlimayi, japinari
   we(excl) - p - walk morning

(5) I am not sure what this ngi- is.
5. *ngi* - *nti* - *wati* - *pangurlimay* - *ani*,
   *we(excl)* - *p* - *morn* - *walk* - *p:hab*

   *we(excl)* - *p* - *morn* - *sleep* - *walk* - *p:hab*

7. *api* Pipiyanymuli *awungaji* *ngi* - *nti* -
   *well P.* there *we(excl)* - *p* -

8. *pamuk* - *urugh* - *ani*. *Nginingaji* namurruputi *api*
   together - *put* - *p:hab* about *supper:time* well

9. *awungaji* *ngi* - *nti* - *ri* - *ki* - *yamuk* - *urugh* - *ani*,
   there *we(excl)* - *p* - *cv* - *eve* - *together - put* - *p:hab*

10. Kuyi makatinga, *api* *awungaji* *japuja* *yi* - *ma* - *mini.*
    at *river* well there camp he:*p* - *become* - *p:hab*

11. Natinga *ngi* - *nti* - *ri* - *majirrip* - *ani*. *Kiyi*
    one(f) *we(excl)* - *p* - *cv* - *sleep* - *p:hab* then

12. *yinkiti* *ngi* - *rr* - *pungi* - *pirn* - *ani*,
    *food(m) we(excl)* - *p:him(DO)* - *away* - *catch* - *p:hab*

13. *wuninga* *wuta* *yilinga* wuta *yingoti*. *Awungaji*
    possum and carpet:snake and bush:honey there

14. *ngi* - *nti* - *ri* - *marr* - *awurri* - *majirrip* - *ani*
    *we(excl)* - *p* - *cv* - *con.m* - *belly* - *sleep* - *p:hab*

15. natinga wumunga. *Ninkiyi* *japinari* *ngi* - *ntu* - *wati -
    one day then morning *we(excl)* - *p* - *morn -

16. ngilipangi - rramilipur - *ani*, *ngi* - *nti* - *wati -
    *sleep* - *get:up* - *p:hab* *we(excl)* - *p* - *morn*

17. ngilipangi - *rrangurlimay* - *ani* *japinari.*
    *sleep* - *walk* - *p:hab* *morning*

18. *Ngizi* - *nti* - *pangurlimay* - *an* - *apa*, *ninkiyi*  
    *we(excl)* - *p* - *walk* - *p:hab* *then*

19. *yinkiti* *ngi* - *rr* - *pungi* -
    *food* *we(excl)* - *p:him(DO)* - *away* -

20. *pirn* - *ani* *pirlima.* Wuta *yingoti* wuninga awuta
    catch - *p:hab* *half:way* them bush:honey possum those

21. *ngi* - *nti* - *wuni* - *pirn* - *ani*, *ninkiyi* *papi*
    *we(excl)* - *p* - *them - catch* - *p:hab* then *arrive*

22. *ngi* - *nti* - *ri* - *m* - *ani* *Tumurripi.* "Awungera
    *we(excl)* - *p* - *cv* - *do* - *p:hab* *T.
    here

23. nga - *ri* - *marr* - awurri - majirripi."
    *we(incl)* - *cv* - *con.m* - *belly* - *sleep*

24. *ngi* - *nti* - *ri* - *m* - *ani*, "Kaghi kukuni awungera
    *we(excl)* - *p* - *cv* - *say* - *p:hab* at water *here*
"Long ago, when we used to travel on foot with the family, well, we would leave from here. We walked, we would walk in the morning while others were asleep, well there, at Pipiyanyumuli, we would make camp. About supper time we would camp at that place. It was at the river there we would camp. For one night we'd sleep there. Then we would get food in the bush, (such as) possum, carpet snake and bush honey. There we would sleep one night with full stomachs. Then in the morning we'd get up while others were still asleep, and we'd walk in the morning while everyone else would be asleep. As we walked, we would catch food on the way; bush honey and possum was what we'd get, then we would arrive at Tumorripi. "Here we'll sleep with full stomachs", we'd say, "Here, at the water, we'll make camp." There we would make camp in the evening. Then in the morning the sun would rise again and we'd get up while others were still sleeping and we would walk while others were asleep...."
"Long ago there were a dog and a buffalo who were friends. The big one, the buffalo, said to his friend, "Let's go hunting food for us both." he said. He said it to the other one, the dog. After that, they went and found a goanna. The dog said, "Hey, there's something for us, a goanna." he said. "Yes, we're lucky," said that buffalo. "Well, you kill it, you're small." After that. the dog killed the goanna.
After that they went and they built a fire and they cooked it. Well, the buffalo ate the intestines, the head and the back. As for the dog, he ate the two legs and the tail. They ate until they were full. "Well," said the buffalo, "now we are full, let's go home." "Yes, let's do that," said the dog. After that, they went, they went down to their home. They arrived over there at Tarntipi.

TEXT D (LTT) 'WHEN I WAS SCARED' (CP19)

1. Ngi - ntu - wuriyi mirraparinga nginti yingompa mamirnikuwí we - p - go mangroves women
2. ngi - nti - papirraya; kularlagha ngi - nti - ri - mi we - p - go:down hunt we - p - cv - do
4. wulanga, ngintuwuriyi wulanga kiyi ngiya wangata crab we:went crab then I alone
5. ngu - wuja ngi - rri - papijingi taringa, I - about:to:go I - p - meet snake
6. puliyarlinga. Kuta maka ji - mi angilawa yimunga poisonous:snake maybe where she:p - go my spirit
7. kiyi kuwayi ngi - ri - mi. Ngiya - mamanta kali then call:out I - cv - do my - friends run
8. pi - ri - mi kiyi ngi - nti - ri - pirni nyirra, they:p - cv - do then I - p - cv - kill her
9. awinyirra taringa. Ninkiyi ngu - ntu - jiyarra japuja. that(f) snake Then we - p - say/tell home
10. Ngi - nti - papurti warta. Ngu - ntu - wuriyi, we - p - go:up bush we - p - go
11. ngintipapurti warta kiyi nguntuwuriyi japuja. we:went:up bush then we:went home

'We went to the mangroves, that is some of us women went down; we hunted for whelks. We ate some mangrove worms. We went for crabs, we went for crabs and I was going along alone when I met a snake, a poisonous snake. I was so scared (Lit: I don't know where my spirit went) and then I called out. My friends ran up and we killed it, that snake. Then we said "Let's go) home." We went up to the bush. We went, we went up to the bush and then we went home.'

(7) I am not sure what this word is or means. It may be meant to be ngini with the meaning 'that is'.
(8) In TT this would be -ma.
(9) In TT the subject and tense prefixes would be ngi - nti - 'we past' as this verb stem only takes a plural subject implying a reciprocal action.
(A picture talk on a book about making bread)

1. Aringampirra. (child: Wuta ko payipayi). Ta muwu move:over! they go sleep imp(sg) - sit

2. kutaa (child: Tamuwu kanayi.) Ngiya karluwu wantim nuwa here sit! there I not want you(pl)

3. nimarra, ngini ngarra nimarra arramukuwani api ngarra talk if he talk someone well he

4. tayinti. Nyi - rra muwu nginingaji naki, stand you(pl) - imp(pl) - sit like this

5. nginingaji ngiya. Api kiyi ngajirri nimarra, marri. like me well then don't talk alright

6. Naki api kamini awarra manya? (child: Kirritawini) this well what that go:ahead bread

7. Ngarra naki ngini kirritawini amitiya ngini he this(m) about bread and about

8. wu - ri - kirimi kirritawini. (children calling out) they:np - cv - make bread

9. Ngajirri awungani. Ngini ngarra awungani arramukuwani don't like:that if he like:that someone

10. tuwanga api ngarra tayinti. Manya nyirra - naringa again well he stand alright her - mother

11. anaki kijinga api ji - pawurinji yilaruwu kapi this(f) girl well she:p - go:in inside to

12. shop kiyi ju - wunga naki kirritawini. Arikulani shop then she:p - get this bread big(m)

13. awarra shop ngini murruntani kirritawini amitiya that(m) shop which(m) white(m) bread(m) and

14. kiyija tuniwuni kirritawini. Nginaki kirritawini little:bit black(m) bread this(m) bread

15. wulikija awarra. (pointing to one type of bread) all that(m)

16. (child: Awa apim awarra) Ngini yilaruwu api jipitini, we have that which(m) inside well soft

17. way - ana? (child: Kuwa, kuwa, awa purrim parra) now - Q yes, yes, we put butter

18. Arnapa kayi. Anaki kijinga api puranji wait listen! this(f) girl well like
   she - np - cv - do bread now - Q she

20. amungom kirritawini. (child: Thirra paruwani) Api kiyi eat bread
   she hungry well then

21. kapi nginingaji anginaki kirritawini, nga - pamukuriyi(10) parra.
   on this bread we(incl) - put butter

22. Naki, nyirra - naringa amitiya nyirra - rringani, api this her - mother and her - father well

23. wuta puranji nu - ri - muwu kirritawini wurarri they like they:np - cv - do bread also

24. nginingaji anginaki kiyijinga awungani. Naki kirritawini like this(f) girl like:that This bread

25. api pakinya wunga kanijawa api w - ri - kirimi well first they:get flour well they:np- cv - make

26. kirritawini. Naki flawa, flawa, api wunga kapi wit. bread This flour flour well they:get from wheat

27. Api nginingaji wupunga awungani. Pakinya wit wunga, well like grass like:that first wheat they:get

28. api wu - ri - kirimi flawa kiyi kirritawini well they:np - cv - make flour then bread

29. wu - ri - kirimi awungani. Naki, yingarti wupunga they:np - cv - make like:that This, lots grass

30. api wit awarra. Awarra murrakupuni Keneta.
   well wheat that that(m) country Canada

31. ... awarra yoni, yoni. Awarra murrakupuni karrampi. ...
   that(m) different(m) that country far:away

32. Naki purrawukununga, ninkiyi nginaki tangini, ngarra- tuwu this ear then this(m) stick(m) he - top

33. naki sit, poja, yilaruwu. Nyirra - tuwu naki mutika this(m) seed seed inside she - too this car(f)

34. anaki arikulanga Anaki milampor - ama this(f) big(f) this(f) foot - intens (tractor)

35. *a - mpi - ri - wawurrini(11) naki.* Ninkiyi papi she - np - cv - cut this(m) then come:out

36. *a - ri - mi kuriyuwu a - mpawurinji kapi nyong a mutika.* he - cv - do above she - go:in in other(f) car(f)

(10) Osborne has the TT stem as: -amukurighi, as has Godfrey.
     (cf verb in Text B, Line 5).
(11) In TT this is a class 3 verb stem which does not take
     the connective, ri- (see 4.2.2.1(a))
'Move over! (child: "They're going to sleep") Sit down here! (child: "Sit there!") I don't want you to talk. Whoever talks will have to stand. Sit like this, like me. Well, don't talk, O.K.? This here, well, what is this? (children: "Bread") This (story) is about bread and about them making bread. (children calling out) Don't do that! Anyone who does that will have to stand. O.K., this girl's mother has gone into the shop then she has bought this bread. It's a big shop which has white bread and a little bit of brown bread. There's a lot of this kind (pointing to one kind). (child: "We have that.") The inside of it is soft, isn't it? (child: "Yes, yes, we put butter (on it.")) Wait a minute, listen! This little girl likes bread, isn't that so? She's eating some bread. (child: "She's hungry.")

Well then, on this bread we put butter. Here (in this picture), her mother and her father, well, they like bread also, like the girl does. This bread, well, first they get flour and then they make bread. This flour, well, they get it from wheat. Well, it's like grass, like that. First they get wheat, then they make flour, then they make bread like that. This big lot of grass here is wheat. That country is Canada. It's another country. It's far away. (There is) this ear, then this stick, and inside there is this seed. As for this, it's a big vehicle. This big tractor cuts this. Then it comes out of the top and goes into another truck. ...'

TEXT F (MT)  'THE BIG GORILLA' (A story about a film) (RJ12)

(In parts the text or meaning is not clear and these parts are left out)

1. athirra anayi (12) murrukupora thirra (naringa?) karri that(f) that(f) girl she/her mother? when

2. luk yi -nti - ri - mi kapi yimaka. Athirra murrukupora look we - p - cv do at film that(f) girl

3. kijinga ji - mi kiyi (athirra) neyi arra yoni small(f) she:- be and (that(f)) that(m) he other(m)

4. thirra - yuwuni arikulani yi - mi. Kiyi her - older:brother big(m) he:p - be then

5. wurra - lathirri arikulapi pi - ri - mi. they - recip big(pl) they:p cv be

6. ... Kiyi yi - nuriyi (13) awarra kirila, arikulani then he:p - come that(m) gorilla big(m)

(12) For the difference between these forms, definitives and demonstratives see 3.3.4.

(13) Traditionally, this is the directional prefix ni- (or nu- before stems with stressed /u/ followed by the verb stem, -(w)uriyi 'go'), but it has become a frozen stem, -nuriyi 'come', in UT. Similarly, -marriyi (in Line 8) is from marri- + -(w)uriyi.
7. tini ... Kiyi kijim yi - mi athirra yipalinya. Kiyi man ... then get he: - do that(f) woman then

8. athirra (kiyi) yi - marrlyi ka keyp kiyi ... that:one(f) (um ) he:p - take to cave then

9. arikulanga ji - mi awaji (kapi) ka athirra keyp. 
big(f) she:p - be there in in the(f) cave

10. From awarra kirila yi - pakirayi niminaki 
from the(m) gorilla he:p - give something

11. yikiti. Kiyi kam yi - mi malakaninga kiyi arra tray 
food then come he:p - do young:man then he try

12. luk aran kapi awurra yingompa men, api papi 
look around for those other(pl) men well come:out

13. yi - mi awarra arikulani kirila. Kiyi yi - pini 
he:p - do the(m) big(m) gorilla then he:p - hit

14. malakaninga kiyi kam ji - mi murrukupora kiyi 
young:man then come she:p - do young:woman then

15. stop yi - mi naki arikulani kirila, kiyi putim 
stop he:p - do this big(m) gorilla then put

16. yi - mi yikara tan. Api kam ji - mi yipalinya, 
he:p - do hand down well come she:p - do woman

17. ji - pamanipayi(15). Putim ji - mi ka yikara, 
he:her:p - lift:up put she:p - do on hand

18. kiyi yi - marriyi kapi athirra ka keyp kiyi 
then he:p - take to the(f) to cave then

19. awarra (kiyi) peta yi - mi (kiyi). Kiyi athirra 
that:one(m) (um ) better he:p - do (um ) then the(f)

20. yipalinya ji - marrlyi ka jankul, ka yawulama. Kiyi 
woman she:p - take to jungle to jungle then

21. thirra showim kapi thirra - naringa pajuwani 
she show where her - mother die

22. ji - mi. Api kiyi pilikiti ji - mi kiyi 
she:p - do well tehn cry she:p - do then

(14) It is unclear what the subject prefixes are in some of 
these verbs. This is as it would be in TT, in that the 
prefix, implies a m/f third min. subject but a third 
min. f direct object.

(15) The TT verb stem is -Camanipaghi. The subject prefix 
is unusual for MT, being as it would be in TT, 
i.e. indicating the gender of the 3rd minimal direct 
object (fem) (see 4.2.3.1). The MT subject prefix 
normally would be yi- 'he:past'.
23. *ju - wuriyi thaputha.* **Juwuriyi thaputha.** *(kiyi) Waya*
   *she:p - go home* *she:went home* *(um ) now*

24. *awarruwu kiyi.* **Kiyi neks moning, karri moning, kiyi**
   *there then then next morning when morning then*

25. *pu - wuriyi yawulama tuwanga.* **Kiyi sey athirra**
   *they:p - go jungle again then say the(f) *

26. *yipalinya kapi malakaninga, kapi awarra,** *"Tha wantim*
   *woman to young:man to that:one(m) you(sg) want*

27. *yikiti nawu?" *"Kuwa," yi - mi. Api kiyi**
   *food now yes he:p - say well then*

28. *(pu - wuriyi thaputha) puwuriyi yawulama kiyi,**
   *they:p - go home they:went jungle then*

29. **kiyi klamap ji - mi purinthirringa athirra yipalinya.**
   *then climb:up she:p - do tree the(f) woman*

30. **Kiyi ju - wunga yikiti, kiyi yi - kuwapa (16)**
   *then she:p - get food then he:p - eat*

31. **awarra. "Eyi, yirra jirti awarra naki,"**
   *that:one(m) eh listen! bad(m) that:one(m) this(m)*

32. **yimi. Api yu - nawu'awarra.** **Kiyi papi**
   *this(m) well he:p - throw that:one(m) then come:out*

33. **ji - mi athirra taringa, kopra, kiyi papi jim**
   *she:p - do that(f) snake cobra then come:out she:did*

34. **kiyi ju - wuriyi athirra yipalinya kiyi potan**
   *then she:p - go that(f) woman then fall:down*

35. **jimi, kiyi kali yimi awarra malakaninga.** **Kiyi sakim**
   *she:did then run he:did that(m) young:man then suck*

36. **yimi athirra majipani, tuwanga awani - la. Kiyi**
   *he:did that(f) blood again like:that - rep then*

37. **waya awarri finish kiyi karrimap yimi, yi - marriy**
   *now when finish then carry he:did he:p - take*

38. **thaputha ...**(18)
   *home ...*

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(16) The TT stem is -(w)apa (a class 3 verb stem) but many
young people add ki/ku to some verb stems (see 4.2.2.1(a)).

(17) The TT verb stem is -(w)unyayu

(18) The text continues further, but is not included because
of the length. The paragraph divisions in MT and UT
have not been studied.
'(This is about) that young woman (and her mother?), which we saw in a film. That young woman was small and her older brother was bigger. They were growing up together. ... Then there came this big gorilla, a big man, ... Then he seized that young woman and took her to a cave and she grew up there. That gorilla gave her some kind of food. Then there came this young man who was looking around for some other men, but he couldn't find them. Well then, up came that big gorilla. Then he caught the young man and then the young woman came and the gorilla stopped (or she stopped the gorilla?), then he put his hand down. Well, she came and lifted him up (the young man). Then she put him on his (the gorilla's) har! and he (the gorilla) took him to the cave and he (the man) became better. Then the woman took him to the jungle. Then she showed him where her mother had died (or her mother's grave). Then she cried and she went home. She went home (um), and they were there (um). Then the next morning, when it was morning, they went to the jungle again. Then the woman said to the young man, "Do you want some food now?" "Yes," he said. Well then, (they went home), they went to the jungle then the woman climbed a tree. Then she got some food, then he ate it. "Hey, it's no good!" he said. So he threw it away. Then there came up this snake, a cobra. It came up and went for the woman, then she fell down and the young man ran to her. Then he sucked her blood, and kept doing it. Then when he had finished he picked her up and took her home. ...

TEXT G (MT) 'WHEN WE PLAYED AT THE OVAL' (19) (JP8)

1. Yiya, Tekila, Shila, Tepra, Worik, (kiyi) (anturiyi) (20) ka), I Thecla Sheila Debra Warwick (um) we:went to

2. anturiyi ka naki, naki opal kiyi anturiyi ka epot. Kiyi we:went to this oval then we:went to airport then

3. awa pleyi yi -nti - ri - mi skipping rop kiyi karri we play we - p - cv - do skipping rope then when

4. naki (21) Tekila tray jump ji - mi kiyi potan this Thecla try jump she:p - do then fall:down

(19) This text has not been studied for sentence breaks, which are often hard to determine in the speech of children as there are so many stops and starts and kiyi is put in willy-nilly as a gap filler. The breaks made are those which seem logical semantically.

(20) This seems to be a frozen form meaning 'we went'. (see 4.2.2.2)

(21) The masc. form of 'this' seems to be used by this speaker generally (see 3.3.4.1).
'I, Thecla, Sheila, Debra, Warwick, (went to) we went to the oval and then to the airport. Then we played skipping rope. When Thecla tried to jump (the rope) she fell down ... Then, then, then I and Thecla gave it to my younger brother. Then I bought a drink and I gave some to Thecla. Then we went to the airport. Then we stayed at (?) the airport. Then we played there, at the oval and then we came back. (Thecla: "helicopters, helicopters"). Then we played helicopters, then, then, helicopters. Then I and Thecla, we jumped, and then we played Kung Fu, I, Thecla and Sheila, then that's all."

(22) I am not sure what this means, whether it means 'stay at'. If this is so it seems to refute the next sentence where the play is taking place at the oval. It may be that the speaker has simply omitted the connecting sentence telling of the movement from one place to the other. The two places are very close.

(23) *ka nayi* is often used by children where it has the sense 'there' or 'at there'. 
1. Yiya, Konij, Frenjij, Jomji, (child: Jon Mak), Piyani, Aquinas Francis, Joey John Mark Vianney

2. Ampo, Tekila, ... anturiyi ka su, su. Api ngarra, Ampo Thecla we:went to zoo zoo well he(?)

3. naki (child: arikulani yirrikipayi) arikulani yirrikipayi this big(m) crocodile(m) big crocodile

4. (child: amataya tayinga) amitiya taringa, puliyalinga and snake and snake poisonous:snake

5. arikulanga ... jipojirringa amitya anturiyi ka Awa big(f) wallaby and we:went to Howard

6. Spring, awa molik, molik, molik, kyi anturiyi ka nayi Springs we swim swim then we:went to that

7. awa amom, trink kyi awa amom yikirri kapi atsayt. we eat drink then we eat food at outside

8. Kiyi sam wurra moliki, wurra amom yikirri. Kiyi awa ko then some they swim then they eat food then we go

9. waya ka pas, awa ko ken thaputha kiyi anturiyi(?) ka then in bus we go again home then we:went to

10. ami. Awa jeynjiim klos pakina kiyi anturiyi ka ami army we change clothes first then we:went to army

11. kiyi awa luk awarra men arra trapim lenmowa .... anturiyi then we look that(m) man he drive lawn:mower we:went

12. ka tingarra, awa luk naki neyip, kiyi anturiyi kapi to beach we look this navy then we:went to/on

13. naki pulawska, anturiyi (kapi) ka pik powt, awa luk this bulldozer we:went on on big boat we see

14. powt, powt kiyi anturiyi. Arra payipayi, payipayi boat boat then we:went he sleep sleep

15. awani, kiyi (awa), waya finish kiyi. like:that then (we) now finish then
'I, Aquinas, Francis, Joey, (child: John Mark), Vianney, Ampo, Thecla ... we went to the zoo, zoo. Well, (there was) this (child: big crocodile) big crocodile (child: and snake) and sanke, a poisonous snake, a big one ... wallabies. And we went to Howard Springs, we swam and swam and swam. Then we went to where we had some drinks and ate food outside. Then some went swimming and they ate food (?). Then we went into the bus and went home again, then we went to the army. We changed our clothes first. Then we went to the army and we saw a man driving a lawn mower ... We went to the beach and we saw the navy and then we went on this bulldozer. We went on this big boat, we saw (over) the boat, boat, then we went. He (pointing to a boy) (went to) sleep, sleep like this, then (we). That's all now.

TEXT J

'A PICTURE TALK ABOUT CHILDREN PLAYING' (EP20)

(there are a number of interpolations by children and where the speaker is known, he/she is given by their initials and age, and their speech is put in parenthesis. The basic text is given by a teacher's aid (aged about twenty) to a class of pre-school children, eventually about a picture of children playing on swings etc.).

1. Petro, aya, ta - mu (24) nakutaa, murruka
   Pedro hey(m) imp(sg) - sit here quickly

2. ... kijim nayi ... (PW4: Elenoya, Elenoya)
   get that
   Eleanora, E.

3. ta - muw - a ... (MW5: luk Yako) Yako, tamu
   imp(sg) - sit - emph?
   look Yako Yako sit

4. yakuluwuni. ... tamu tha wiyarrl, tamu murruka!
   ground sit you(sg) too sit quickly

5. ... tha kalu ko thaputha pili ngiya waya thanawuti
   you(sg) not go home because I now tired

6. kalikali ka nginthu - la. ... (PW4: tha kalu
   run to you(sg) rep you(sg) not

(24) In MT the normal form of the imperative for both singular and plural is the TT singular form. The TT form for this verb stem, -muwu, is tamuwu but the stress is shifted in MT giving tamu generally. This is also used as a free verb.
7. pijikirri, tami?) kuwa (ED5: A wan tu ko shop, biscuit isn't:it:so? yes I want to go shop

8. shop.) ngingtha kala pulati wurra pijikiti. ... ngingtha shop you(sg) not milk and biscuit ...(you(sg)

9. kam nakutaa kapi kakijuwi, tha - mamanta, murruka. ... come here to children your - friends quickly

10. tuwaripa (25) ngingtha - tuwu nakutaa kapi tha - mamanta come you(sg) - too here to your - friends

11. murruka. ... tha luk kayi, tha anuka pijiti quickly you(sg) look listen! you(sg) not biscuit (emph)

12. wuta miliki. Nyirra telim ngiya naki. Ngiya kalu and milk she tell me this I not

13. kiyemin naki. ... Nuwa, kamini tuwim naki yirrungorra, pretend/lie this you(pl) what do this picture

14. ka yirrungorra? (PW4: arra klapam tawa) (child: kapi in picture he climb:up tower on

15. silipiriyi) (PW4: Lak Wiyu way - ana? Lak Wiyu.) slippery(dip) Like Nguiu now - Q Like Nguiu


17. olim, naki, naki? ... (child: sem Snek Pe, sem awarra) hold this this same Snake Bay same here

18. ngingtha lukki, ngingtha luki kapinaki kakijuwi, maka wuta you(sg) look you look these children where they

19. pokayini, maka, awi? ... ka maka? ... Wuta maka play where hey(pl) on/at where they where

(25) This is the imperative (singular), ta- + -(w)uriyi 'go' + imperative locative suffix, -pa; (see 4.2.6 )

(26) This is an attention getter. In TT it often seems to be initially in a sentence.
20. klamap, maka? (child: wurra (kayi), wurra (kayi) pilikiti climb:up where they (um) they (um) cry
21. fu ... kalu, wuta takalinga maka? (PW4: ka naki, ka for no they climb:up where on this on
22. naki) ... (PW4: arikulanga) kuwa, wuta takalinga this big(f) yes they climb:up
23. arikulanga anganakini. ... kakijuwi wuta peyiti o kalu? big(f) this:thing(f) children they fight or not
24. ... Wuta kalu pilikiti, kalu, wuta peyiti kalu nginaji they not fight not they fight not like
25. nuwa. Nuwa peyiti kumuwi(27) nuwa, karri nuwa pley, you(pl) you(pl) fight ? you(pl) when you play
26. pokayini atsayt ... Thirra tayiti ka maka? ... (MW5: ka play outside she stand at where on
27. rot) ... Thirra teyinti ka skul o kalu? (MW5: ka rot, road she stand in school o-rot on road,
28. rot.) Ka tharrumoka, kuwa. ... Kuwanga (a)naki(28) road on road yes who(f) this
29. yipalinya? Naki yipalinya o awurrini? naki woman here/this female or male
30. maminikuwi o wawuurruwi, awuta? ... Awuta wawuurruwi females or males those those males
31. Pilikama avuta wawuurruwi? ... Wuta yusim t aliwarra why those males they use trousers
32. nginaji nuwa skul poyi, wayana? ... like you(pl) school boy(s) don't:they

'Pedro, hey, sit over here! Quickly. ... Get that! ... (PW4: Eleanora, Eleanora) ... Sit down! (MW5: Look at Yako). Yako, sit down on the ground! ... You sit down too! Sit down quickly! ... You can't go home because I am tired of running after you all the time. ... (PW4: You can't have a biscuit, can he?) Yes. (ED5: I want to go to the shop, shop.) You can't have any milk and biscuits. ... You come here to the children, to your friends, quickly. ... You come here too to your friends, to the children, quickly. (said to another child) ... You look here, you're not going

(27) I am not sure what this word is as I have not come across it elsewhere, either in MT material or in TT data. It seems to mean 'always'.
(28) I'm not sure if this is a feminine or masculine form. (see 3.3.4.1)
to have milk and biscuits. She told me this. I'm not lying to you. ... All of you, what are (they) doing in this picture? In the picture? (PW4: He is climbing the tower.) (child: on the slipper dip) (PW4: Like at Ngiiu, isn't it? Like Ngiiu?) Like at Ngiiu, children, isn't it? ... What is he holding? ... (child: Same as at Snake Bay, same as here.) You look, you look at these children. Where are they playing, where, he? ... Where are they climbing up? (child: They (um), they (um) are crying for ...) No, where are they climbing? (PW4: On this, on this) ... (PW4: (it's) big) Yes, they are climbing on this big thing. Are these children fighting or not? ... They are not crying, they are not fighting, like you. You are always fighting(?), when you are playing outside. ... Where is she standing? (MW5: On the road.) ... Is she standing the school (or at school) or not? (MW5: On the road, road.) On the road, yes. ... Who is this, a female? Is this a female or a male? Here, are these females or males? ... These are males. ... Why are they males? ... They use trousers, like you school boys, don't they? ...

TEXT K (PE) : A CONVERSATION BETWEEN TWO PRE-SCHOOLERS

(at Garden Point) (A free translation is not given as I am not always sure of the meaning.)

1. ED5: Luk iya, meyt. MW5: A telim Paturrawa, kwani. (29) look here mate I tell Paturrawa, friend?

2. ED5: eyi? MW5: A sey a telim Paturrawa. ED5: Luk, eh? I say I tell P. Look

3. meyt, te want kilim yu fata from Paturrawa. mate they(?) want kill your father from P.

4. MW5: Te kil yu fata iya. ... MW5: from They kill your father here from/with

5. mashil ... ED5: Luk meyt, a kil yu brata. muscle Look mate I kill/hit your brother

6. A kilim Petro, pastim ap kuruwa. I h't Pedro, bust:him: up backside

The conversation continues in the same vein, half in English and half in T.

(29) I am not sure what this word is or what it means. Although I often heard it or something similar nobody gave a clear explanation. It may be a rude word. I am not sure who Paturrawa is.
APPENDIX 3

(b) Comparison of the phonetic realisations of TT vowels given by Osborne, Godfrey and myself (the symbols and variety).

Osborne:

- /i/ \{i, [ɛ], [i] \} 
- /u/ \{u, [u] \}
- /a/ \{a, [o], [o], [o] \}
- /e/ \{e, [e] \}
- /o/ \{o, [o], [o], [o] \}

Godfrey:

- /i/ \{i, [i], [ii], [e], [i], [ɛ] \}
- /u/ \{u, [o], [ɔ], [u] \}
- /a/ \{a, [o], [o], [o], [o] \}
- /e/ \{a, [a], [a], [a], [a], [a] \}
- /o/ \{o, [o], [o], [o], [o], [o] \}

Lee:

- /i/ \{i, [i], [ɛ], [i], [ɔ] \}
- /u/ \{u, [u], [ɔ], [u], [ɔ] \}
- /a/ \{a, [a], [a], [a], [a], [a] \}
- /o/ \{o, [o], [o], [o], [o], [o], [o], [o] \}

(Osborne, pp12-14)

(Godfrey and Leeding, 1974)

More recently: /o/ \{o, [ɔ], [ɔ], [ɔ], [ɔ], [ɔ], [ɔ], [ɔ], [ɔ], [ɔ], [ɔ] \}

(Godfrey, 1979, p.2 and private communication)


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