

TRANSITIVITY AND ASPECT IN THE KRIOL VERB

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1. INTRODUCTION¹

The use of the suffix -im with transitive verbs is one of the features of Kriol most commonly noticed by English speakers and linked by them to pidgins and creoles from other countries. Not so obvious is the system into which it fits and the variety of meanings which are available to the speaker of Kriol by the use of this and other verbal suffixes.

Kriol is an English-based language of the Northern Territory and Kimberley area of Western Australia. In this paper an analysis of the morphology of the Kriol verb is presented and, related to this, a semantic categorisation is used to describe the transitivity possibilities. The examples are drawn from the Fitzroy Valley (Kimberley) dialect.

This analysis, based on data collected at Fitzroy Crossing between January and June of 1981, is a fuller description of the Kriol verb than that given in my monograph on this language. As with the monograph, my approach has been to analyse Kriol as an independent system and not to draw on the analysis of English. In this it differs from most works on English-based pidgins and creoles.

The Kriol verb consists of a stem and three orders of suffixes, all marking either transitivity or aspect. They are displayed in Chart 1 (see p.175). In the first order there are two morphemes: -Vm transitive marker and {-in} progressive aspect. Although it is possible to get a transitive verb in the progressive aspect, these two morphemes cannot co-occur and the progressive aspect takes precedence when both meanings are needed. This allows for ambiguity in a very small number of verbs, but in most cases it is clear from the context or from the semantics of the verb stem. The second and third order suffixes are all aspectual (see page 175).

1. TRANSITIVITY

1.1 Transitive marker

Transitive verbs are normally marked by the first order suffix -Vm.

Det dog bin bait-im mi
that dog PST bite-TR 1:SG:O
The dog bit me.

It can be omitted from those verbs which have an intrinsically transitive underived stem provided three conditions are met.

- (1) The object must be overtly stated in an NP.

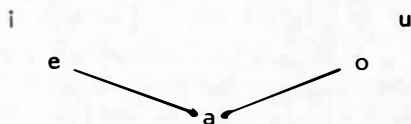
Ai bin kuk sam dempa
1:SG:S PST cook some damper
I cooked some damper.

- (2) All other verbal suffixes must be deleted also. Forms such as *id-ap *eat* and *bait-bat *bite* are not possible.

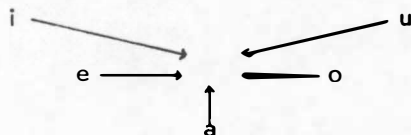
- (3) The resultant stem must be an acceptable phonological shape. The form *magar from magar-am *spoil* is not acceptable. In text from speakers at the 'light' end of the continuum there is a tendency to omit the transitive marker more than in text from speakers at the 'heavy' end.²

1.1.1 Morphophonemics

There is harmony between the last vowel of the verb stem and that of the suffix -Vm. The vowels of the verb stem remain unchanged and that of the suffix varies. If the stem final vowel is /i/, /a/, or /u/ the suffix is identical to it: kil-im *hit, kill*; tjak-am *throw*; kuk-um *cook, heat*. The two mid vowels /e/ and /o/ do not pull the suffix vowel to themselves but it falls toward the low central position /a/ as in greb-am *take possession of*, kol-am *call, refer to*. In the case of glides, the suffix is the same as the second segment of the glide: faind-im *find, notice*, boil-im *boil*, kaund-um *count*. These are illustrated below.



The above changes are tendencies only. With many speakers the vowel of the suffix, being unstressed, neutralises to an indistinct central vowel /ə/ for all but the high back vowels. For some, even /u/ is lowered and centralised.



For orthographic purposes in this paper, three allomorphs will be written: -im, -am and -um, the vowel to agree with that in the last syllable of the stem. Where this is a glide, the suffix vowel agrees with the second segment. With stem vowels /e/ and /o/ the suffix vowel will be written /a/.

stil-im	<i>steal</i>	faind-im	<i>find</i>
tjak-am	<i>throw</i>	boil-um	<i>boil</i>
kuk-um	<i>cook</i>	kaund-um	<i>count</i>
enser-am	<i>answer</i>	grow-um-ap	<i>grow, bring up,</i>
brok-am	<i>break</i>		<i>nurture</i>

Where the verb is derived from a phrasal verb in English, the transitive marker is placed between the two English elements and the vowel agrees with the preceding vowel as described above.

fil-ap	fil-im-ap	<i>fill</i>
grow-ap	grow-um-ap	<i>grow, bring up, nurture</i>

With the progressive aspect, these verbs retain transitivity even though the -Vm suffix is replaced by -in. (see Section 2.1.1.).

The verb gibirr-im *give* alternates with a shorter form gib-im. It can function either as a transitive verb, when the locative phrase (marked by the preposition {langa}) identifies the recipient or the entity transferred is identified by a preposition. If both are specified overtly, the recipient usually occurs first, i.e. it follows the verb.

Wi	bin	gib-im	langa	olabat	petirl
we	PST	give-TR	LOC	3:PL	<i>petrol</i>
<i>We gave them petrol.</i>					
Gibirr-im	blanga	im	sista	det	taka
give-TR	DAT	3:SG:O	sister	that	food
<i>Give his sister the food.</i>					

Pronominal reference is often used for the recipient but is not obligatory. Both the next two forms are equally acceptable.

Gibirrim im ~ Gibirrim *Give it to him.*

The shorter form gib-im is not so likely to be used in isolation. If the recipient is first person, the contracted form gimi is often used.

The verb owumbek occurs in one elicited example as ditransitive.

Det	gel	bin	owumbek	im	mani	fo	wen	i	bin	gib-im
that	girl	PST	repay	3:SG:O	money	PURP	when	3:SG:O	PST	give-TR
<i>The girl repayed him the money he had given her before.</i>										

As well as deriving transitive verbs from intransitive, -Vm can be used to derive a transitive verb from a different word class. This applies to words from within Kriol or borrowed from English. Of those listed below, the first three are derived from nouns and the others from adjectives. The English form, as the source, is given in the first column followed by the Kriol form of the same word class. In the third column the derived verb is given with its gloss.

needle	nidil	nidil-im	<i>inject</i>
torch	toitj	toitj-im	<i>shine a light on something</i>
dust	dast	dast-am	<i>cover with dust, overtake, surpass</i>
jealous	jelis	jelis-im	<i>resent, envy</i>
high	-	hay-im-ap	<i>heighten</i>
ready	rudi	rudi-im-ap	<i>prepare something</i>

1.2 Transitivity and semantic categories

Almost all Kriol verbs are derived from English words.³ As English verbs are not marked for transitivity, they are treated as intransitive when borrowed and a transitive form is derived where necessary by the suffix -Vm. Many verbs have both an intransitive and a transitive form. Some stems with intrinsic transitivity require obligatory transitive marking and have no intransitive counterparts. Others are intrinsically intransitive and have no transitive

counterpart. A transitive derivation is hypothetically possible for all, since the transitive marker is productive in the language and only semantic implausibility would prevent it. With the majority of verbs it seems the use of -Vm is unpredictable, but some principles can be given on the basis of broad semantic categories of state, process, event, act and activity. These are defined by Lyons (1977:707) as

Events ... are non-extended dynamic situations that occur, momentarily, in time; processes are extended dynamic situations that last, or endure, through time; states are like processes in that they too last, or endure through time, but they differ from processes in that they are homogenous throughout the period of their existence; acts and activities are agent-controlled events and processes, respectively.

By definition then, transitive verbs which have an agent as grammatical subject are all either act or activity verbs. Intransitives, though, may belong to any of the five semantic categories.

1.2.1 Verbs with predictable transitivity

Some verbs are intrinsically intransitive and cannot be transitivised. Examples are: *go go*, *move*, *kamap arrive*, *kemp sleep*, *camp*, *bogi bathe*, *poldan fall*, *breikdan breakdown*.

Mela bin kamap from Janjuwa
1:PL:EX PST arrive ABL Junjuwa
We arrived from Junjuwa.

Verbs which are marked as transitive but have no intransitive counterpart are those where the action is only performed by an agent on another entity. Some are: *lik-im lick*, *nak-am hit*, *majurr-um muster*, *gather together*, *nidil-im inject*.

Orla kid bin tjak-am ston
PL child PST throw-TR stone
The children threw stones.

1.2.2 Verb stems with intransitive and transitive counterparts

Some stems, which describe a goal-oriented activity, may appear in either transitive or intransitive forms.

- (a) In an intransitive form, the goal is expressed in a locative phrase.

Pipul kin hambag langa yu fo mani
people can pester LOC 2:SG PURP money
People can pester you for money.

Wi garra lijin langa det men
We POT listen LOC that man
We must listen to that man.

- (b) In a transitive form the goal is expressed as object. Although there is probably a difference of meaning between the two constructions, my language teacher could not verbalise any.

Dis boi hambag-am-bat as
this boy pester-TR-ITER us
The boy is annoying/pestering us.

Wi garra lijn-im det men
we POT listen-TR that man
We must listen to that man.

Intransitive verbs can be transformed to transitive according to the following conditions. These verbs are divided semantically into process/event verbs, activity/act verbs and verbs which denote states.

1.2.2.1 Process/event verbs

Process/event intransitive verbs can change semantic category and become activity/act verbs by addition of the transitive marker.

- (a) When an entity is introduced as being affected by the action, the transitive marker is added.

blou > blow-um *blow*

Win bin blow-um wan nes la graun
wind PST blow-TR INDEF nest LOC ground
The wind blew a nest to the ground.

juweya > juweirr-im *swear*

Det boi bin juweirr-im mi
that boy PST swear-TR 1:SG:O
The boy swore at me.

ran > ran-am *run*

Det motika bin ran-am det dog
that car PST run-TR that dog
The car ran over the dog.

- (b) Where an action similar to that described by the process/event verb is caused by an agent acting on another entity, the transitive marker is added.

flai *fly*

Det berd bin flai antap
that bird PST fly above
The bird flew up (onto the roof).

> flay-im *cause to fly through the air*

I bin flay-im mai hend
3:SG:S PST fly-TR my hand
He sent my hand flying as he brushed it off.

jumokin *smoke*

Det faya stil jumokin
that fire still smoking
The fire is still smoking.

> jumok-am *to place in smoke*

Is mami bin jumok-am im
his mother PST smoke-TR 3:SG:O
His mother held him in the smoke (to cure an illness).

dran *submerge in liquid*

Wan kid bin dran la riba
 INDEF child PST submerge LOC river
A child submerged in the river.

> drand-am *push something below the surface of a liquid*

I bin drand-am det penikin la riba
 3:SG:S PST submerge-TR that pannikin LOC river
He submerged the pannikin in the river.

1.2.2.2 Activity/act verbs

Most activity/act verbs are transitive and marked accordingly. Others are basically of two kinds.

- (a) If grammatical object needs to be specified with activity/act intransitive verbs, the transitive marker is added.

dens > dens-am *dance*

Wi bin dens-am juju
we PST dance-TR corroboree(w)
We danced a corroboree.

bomit > bomit-im *vomit*

Det kid bin bomit-im orla taka
that child PST vomit-TR PL food
The child vomited his food.

sing > sing-im *sing*

Yu sing-im helikapta ringa
 2:SG sing-TR helicopter ringer
You sing the song 'Helicopter Ringer'.

- (b) A small number of activity/act verbs are irregular in that they do not take the transitive marker even when they function transitively. This makes the intransitive versus transitive functions distinguishable only by the relevant arguments.

kapiket *copy, imitate, reproduce*

I bin kapiket la mi (Intr)
 3:SG:S PST copy LOC 1:SG:O
He copied me.

I bin kapiket mi (Tr)
 3:SG:S PST copy 1SG:O
He copied me.

Others in this group are klaimap *climb* and plei *play*. Probably the verb tagat *eat* also belongs with these but has been regularised to allow it to take the transitive marker. In the data all examples of tagat-am with an overt object include a specific referent, e.g. 'egg' rather than the generic 'food'.

1.2.2.3 States

State intransitive verbs become transitive where an agent is specifiable as having brought about the state.

bagarrap *spoiled, useless*

Det motika i bagarrap
that car 3:SG:S spoiled
The car won't go.

> bagarr-am-ap *spoil, ruin, make useless*

I bin bagarr-am-ap mai baik
 3:SG:S PST spoil-TR- up my bike
He spoiled my bike (so I can't ride it).

stak *stuck*

Ai kan pul-um-at dis fishinglain, i stak tumas
 1:SG:S can't pull-TR-att this fishing:line 3:SG:S stuck very
I can't get my fishing line out, it's too well snagged.

> stak-am *catch, hold fast*

Det kapi bin stak-am-ap mai fishinglain
that fish(w) PST stuck-TR-up my fishing:line
The fish snagged my fishing line.

metj *like*

Det mansta i metj ston
that monster 3:SG:S like stone
The monster is like rock (unbreakable).

> metj-am *match, alike*

Dupala bin metj-am-bat jelp kulus
 3:DU PST like-TR-ITER REFL clothes
They were wearing similar clothes.

1.2.2.4 The dimension 'control'

Foley includes an extra semantic category by introducing the feature 'control'. The following chart is taken from personal lecture notes (1980).

	Uncontrolled	Controlled
Static	states processes	stance activities
Dynamic	events	acts

This subdivision is useful for describing three verbs in Kriol: *jandap stand*, *jidan sit* and *stap stay*. They all function as stance verbs when depicting animate entities which have the ability to maintain or change the state and function as states when describing the physical orientation of inanimate entities which have no such control. *Stap* and *jidan* cannot be transitivised. A pair of examples is given for each verb. The first illustrates the stance function, and the second shows the verb functioning as a state.

jandap stand

Yu jandap la det trak parri
2:SG stand LOC that truck boy(W)
You stand up near the truck boy.

We i jandap big-big-wan ston dei kolam hil
REL 3:SG:S stand big-REDUP-NOM stone they call hill
Big tall rocks, they call hills.

jidan sit

Ai bin jidan la blengket
1:SG:S PST sit LOC blanket
I sat on the blanket.

Det teingk i jidan la graun
that tank 3:SG:S sit LOC ground
The tank is low on the ground.

Stap stay

I bin stap tharrei fo langtaim
3:SG:S PST stay there PURP long:time
He was there for a long time.

Det mad bin stap slipri-wan
that mud PST stay slippery-NOM
The mud was slippery.

2. ASPECT

2.1 First and third order suffixes

The first order progressive aspect suffix {-in} and the third order iterative -bat cannot really be described independently. There is overlap of meaning and therefore an interweaving of distribution and co-occurrence. The shared meaning is that of continuous or durational aspect, i.e. an action is seen to be carried on for a prolonged period of time. The different meanings are identified in the glosses given for each morpheme.

2.1.1 Progressive {-in}

First order {-in} usually indicates continuous action, but it can be progressive or imperfective meaning when an action is viewed as being in progress at a given time. This can be at the time of the utterance or at the time identified by a verb in a contiguous clause.

Dem kids dei bisi pley-in la trempalin
 them children 3:PL busy play-PROG LOC trampoline
The children are active playing on the trampoline.

There are two variants of {-in}: -in and -ing. These are not phonologically conditioned and there is no vowel harmony such as occurs with the other first order suffix -Vm. For those intransitive verbs derived from English phrasal verbs, progressive aspect suffix can be either between the two elements or at the end of the Kriol stem. Thus it alternates between first and second orders.

jid-an-ing	jid-in-dan	sitting
jing-at-ing	jing-in-at	singing out, calling

This variation in order is another difference from the transitive marker which occurs in the first order position. Progressive forms are heard more often in the speech of young people.

A small number of activity verbs appear to be derived from the progressive form of the English verbs. The verbs listed below have been heard only in the progressive form in Kriol.

krus-ing	<i>drive around for enjoyment, without any specific destination in mind.</i>
betl-in	<i>try to do something without success</i>
fish-ing	<i>fishing</i>
hant-ing	<i>hunting</i>

2.1.2 Iterative -bat

The iterative meaning of -bat is more common than durative. It can refer to repeated actions or plural participants as in the following examples where the first illustrates repeated action, the second illustrates plural agents and the last two combine both.

Dis motika i bagarrap-bat
 this car 3:SG:S spoiled-ITER
This car is erratic. It goes for a while and then stops.

Dei bin lait-im-ap-bat blanga dem jumok
 3:PL PST light-TR-up-ITER DAT them cigarette
They were all lighting up their cigarettes.

I shut-um-bat mi garra ston
 3:SG:S hit:with:missile-TR-ITER 1:SG:O ASSOC stone
He was throwing stones (and hitting me) repeatedly.

Dei bin katamat-bat orla kaf
 3:PL PST separate-ITER PL calf
They were separating the calves into groups.

The continuous meaning of -bat is exemplified in the next example.

Det kid bin haid-im-ap-bat jelp from det titja
that child PST hide-TR-up-ITER REFL ABL that teacher
The child was hiding for a long time from the teacher (until
it was too late to go to school).

This suffix is productive in the language and can be suffixed to morphemes borrowed from the traditional languages.

Det parri bin dilat-bat langa is mami fo mani
that boy(w) PST pester(W)-ITER LOC his mother PURP money
The boy pestered his mother continually for money.

Orla kid bin tjuw-ing babulgam en dei bin go tilytily-bat
 PL child PST chew-PROG bubblegum and 3:PL PST go crack(W)-ITER
The children were chewing bubblegum and they were repeatedly cracking
the bubbles they made.

2.1.3 Combination of aspects

When both -in and -bat are suffixed to the same verb, the meaning of the combination can be generalised as a strengthening of the durative aspect with process and state verbs. With event, act and activity verbs usually the action is repeated and so carried out over a prolonged period. This is, however, only a generalisation and can vary depending on the lexeme of the verb, participants etc. The next six verb forms were offered to a native speaker who placed them in the sentences given.

State and process verbs:

Det boi bin jandap-ing-bat langa riba
that boy PST stand-PROG-ITER LOC river
The boy was standing for a long time (watching something probably
in different places).

Yu blidin-ing-bat langa fut
 2:SG bleed-PROG-ITER LOC foot
Your foot is bleeding badly.

(The vowel /a/ is optionally inserted between the alveolar and bilabial consonant cluster caused by the allomorph -in preceding -bat, as in the next example).

I bin kray-in-abat fo longtaim
 3:SG:S PST cry-PROG-ITER PURP long:time
He was crying for a long time (allows for pauses from time to time).

Event verbs (plural participants - progressive aspect):

Orla motika stat-ing-bat nau. Dei garra go.
 PL car start-PROG-ITER now they POT go
The cars are starting up now, they're ready to move off (in a race).

Act verbs (prolonged repeated action):

Dei bin tjop-in-abat det log
 they PST chop-PROG-ITER that log
They were chopping repeatedly at the log.

Mela bin tjak-in-abat, najing
 1:PL:EX PST throw-PROG-ITER in:vain
We were casting (our fishing line(s)) repeatedly for a long time without success.

The overlap of meaning with these two aspect suffixes can perhaps best be shown by some examples where two verbs of the same time and duration occur in contiguous clauses.

Main bratha nat rait-im-bat leda, i silip-in
 my brother NEG write-TR-ITER letter, 3:SG:S sleep-PROG
 la sheid
 LOC shade
My brother is not writing a letter, he's sleeping in the shade.

I jid-in-dan la bangk, rid-im-bat buk
 3:SG:S sit-PROG-down LOC bed read-TR-ITER book
He is sitting on a bed reading a book.

I id-im-bat bred en dringk-im-bat ti
 3:SG:S eat-TR-ITER bread and drink-TR-ITER tea
He is eating bread and drinking tea.

Wi bin siy-im-bat krakadail ged-ap-bat
 we PST see-TR-ITER crocodile get-up-ITER
We were watching crocodiles getting in and out of the water.

Det motika shuda kam-in-ap diswei get-am-bat taka
 that car should come-PROG-up this:way obtain-TR-ITER food
 fo orla penjina
 PURP PL pensioner
The car should come every day and get food for the pensioners.

Kulus i dray-in langa san
 clothes 3:SG:S dry-PROG LOC sun
The clothes are drying in the sun. (Intr)

Many verbs, however, reject the progressive aspect entirely and retain the transitive suffix, using -bat to indicate continuous action.

Ai bin ab-am-bat motika fo longtaim
 1:SG:S PST have-TR-ITER car PURP long:time
I had a car for a long time.

Punctiliar type verbs such as *kilim injure, kill; gibirrim give; autum extinguish fire* occur with -bat to indicate continuous action.

Dei bin aut-um-bat faya
 3:PL PST extinguish-TR-ITER fire
They fought the bushfire, extinguishing it bit by bit.

2.2 Second order suffixes

Suffixes of the second order are all derived from English prepositions and in Kriol some carry aspectual meaning. Most are productive though some are heard mainly in verbs which originate from English phrasal verbs, e.g. *jidin sit* from 'sit down' and *jandap stand* from 'stand up'. Second order suffixes are listed with the other verbal affixes in Chart 1. They are all based on a spatial

dimension and the first four have been developed to include aspectual meaning as well. A subdivision could probably be made for this group after more research on the basis of their co-occurrence with each other and with the other verbal affixes. For example, -bek can be preceded or followed by the third order -bat in the word *shain-im-bek-bat* ~ *shain-im-bat-bek* *flash a light repeatedly at someone in retaliation*. Some second order suffixes could not possibly be preceded by -bat; they can be preceded by {-in} as in *jid-an* ~ *jid-in-dan* *sit* but **jid-bat-dan* could not occur. This suggests that morphemes such as -bek are more loosely connected to the stem than others.

2.2.1 -ap upwards

This is probably derived from English 'up'; the primary meaning of -ap is that of an action performed in the vertical dimension, upwards. It is glossed *up*.

klaim-ap	<i>climb</i>
bildim-ap	<i>build (a house)</i>
jand-ap	<i>stand</i>

It extends spatially to include motion toward a physical goal.

draibim-ap	<i>drive right to a goal</i>
kam-ap	<i>move towards speaker</i>

The aspectual meaning is that of the action carried out to its fullest extent. The next set of examples have contrasting forms without the aspectual suffix. Both forms are given.

falaram-ap	<i>follow to catch up with, track game in order to kill it.</i>
falaram	<i>move along behind something which is moving</i>
rulum-ap	<i>roll up into something small, as a swag</i>
rulum	<i>roll along as a drum</i>
kikin-ap (Intr)	<i>kick feet wildly in the air and roll around on the ground as a child throwing a tantrum</i>
kikim ~ kik	<i>kick something using the foot</i>
kreikin-ap (Intr)	<i>split, splinter, crack, tear, as worn out cloth with many tears, bottle with multiple cracks</i>
kreik	<i>tear, crack</i>

2.2.2 -at towards a goal

The aspectual meaning of -at is that the action is performed until a goal or a change of place or state is reached as in the verbs *wetinim-at* *extinguish a fire* and *kam-at* *reach a physical goal*. It is glossed *attain (att)*.

	bin	wetin-imat	det	faya
3:SG:S	PST	wet-TR-att	that	fire.
<i>He extinguished the fire with water.</i>				

Ai bin kat-am det log en ai bin kam-at la
 1:SG:S PST cut-TR that log and 1:SG:S PST come-att LOC

det sneik
 that snake

I chopped into the hollow log until I reached the snake.

Wi bin kam-at la Pitrai
 we PST come-att LOC Fitzroy
 We arrived at Fitzroy Crossing.

Det bul bin breik-at
 that bull PST break-att
 The bull got away from the group.

2.2.3 -bek reverse

The basic meaning of this morpheme is that an entity is seen as being away from another entity or place and returning toward it. It is glossed *back*.

kam-bek	<i>return to speaker</i>
pajim-bek	<i>pass an item back to its original possessor</i>
tern-im-bek	<i>turn something back to the direction of its origin</i>
go-bek	<i>return to departure point</i>

The aspectual extension of meaning includes retaliation or reciprocation and involves two entities. It assumes a previous action which has affected one of them and has been performed by the other. The action is then performed a second time with a reversal of roles, i.e. the agent of the first action becomes a patient of the second. Understandably, -bek with aspectual meaning can only occur with transitive verbs.

shain-im-bek	<i>shine a light back at someone in retaliation</i>
yus-um-bek	<i>use something belonging to someone else who has borrowed an equivalent thing</i>
juweirr-im-bek	<i>swear at someone who has sworn at you</i>
skwer-am-bek	<i>retaliate with the same action as was received</i> e.g. blow for blow
ow-um-bek	<i>give a gift reciprocating something received</i> (owum is not an independent word)

2.2.4 -dan downwards

The primary meaning of -dan is action performed in a downward direction. It is glossed *down*.

luk-in-dan	<i>look down</i>
nakam-dan	<i>hit something causing it to fall</i>
daib-dan	<i>dive down</i>
go-dan	<i>go down</i>

It is extended to include an event which causes the cessation of one state and, at the same time, changes into a different state.

breik-dan	<i>break down (of vehicle or engine)</i>
sedal-dan	<i>cease from some activity</i>
kwayitnim-dan	<i>quieten</i>

For the other second order suffixes no extension of their meaning has been discovered so far. Examples of their use are:

Det led bin git-in la im
that lead PST get-into LOC 3:SG:O
The piece of lead entered his body (magically).

Det lisid bin git-in injaid la keib
that lizard PST get-into inside LOC cave
The lizard entered the cave.

Nita bin daib-in la det wota
Nita PST dive-into LOC that water
Nita dived into the water.

Dei skait-ing-araun-bat garra deya nyuwan motika
3PL show:off-PROG-around-ITER with their new car
They drive around showing off their new car.

Dei bin teikirr-iwei orla lilil kid langa riba
3:PL PST take-away PL small child LOC river
They took the small children to the river without permission.

I bin kabarr-am-oba garra blengket
3:SG:S PST cover-TR-over with blanket
He covered it with a blanket.

I bin ged-of garra sweig
3:SG:S PST get-off with swag
He got down from the vehicle taking his swag too.

NOTES

1. This paper is an expanded version of a portion of Grammatical and semantic aspects of Fitzroy Valley Kriol, published in *Work Papers of SIL-AAB Series B*, vol.8, August 1983.
2. The terms 'light' and 'heavy' are used to describe the varieties of speech by native speakers of the eastern dialects of Kriol but not by speakers of the Fitzroy Valley dialect. These terms are described by Sandefur (1979:48) where he says, "This system can be described as a continuum of sounds that has an Aboriginal sound sub-system at the 'heavy' end and an English sound sub-system at the 'light' end." They are used here for ease of reference to the continuum.
3. Lexemes are also borrowed from local traditional languages. In the Fitzroy Valley many lexemes from Walmajarri are used in Kriol speech. Some examples in this paper include Walmajarri lexemes and these are identified by the inclusion of a (W) in the interlinear gloss.

APPENDIX

Chart 1			
		Verbal suffixes	
	1st Order	2nd Order	3rd Order
Stem	-im transitive marker -in progressive aspect	-ap upwards, forceful, extensive action -at towards a goal, cessation -bek reversal, reciprocal -dan downwards, termination -in in, inside -(a)raun motion with unspecified direction -(a)wei motion away from -oba on top of an entity -of off, motion down from an elevated entity	-bat iterative aspect

ABBREVIATIONS

ABL	ablative	PROG	progressive
att	attain	PST	past
DAT	dative	PURP	purposive
DU	dual	REDUP	reduplication
EX	exclusive	REFL	reflexive/reciprocal
IN	inclusive	REL	relator
INDEF	indefinite	S	subject
Intr	intransitive	SG	singular
ITER	iterative	Tr	transitive
LOC	locative	(w)	Walmajarri borrowing (see note 2)
NOM	nominative		
O	object	1	first person
POT	potential	2	second person
PL	plural	3	third person

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