



The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences - Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

#### Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Creoles, their substrates, and language typology / edited by Claire Lefebvre.

p. cm. (Typological Studies in Language, ISSN 0167-7373 ; v. 95)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Creole dialects. 2. Typology (Linguistics) I. Lefebvre, Claire.

PM7831.C737 2011

417'.22--dc22

2010042474

ISBN 978 90 272 0676 3 (Hb ; alk. paper)

ISBN 978 90 272 8743 4 (Eb)

© 2011 - John Benjamins B.V.

No part of this book may be reproduced in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm, or any other means, without written permission from the publisher.

John Benjamins Publishing Co. · P.O. Box 36224 · 1020 ME Amsterdam · The Netherlands  
John Benjamins North America · P.O. Box 27519 · Philadelphia PA 19118-0519 · USA

## Table of contents

Preface	IX
<b>Part I. Introduction</b>	
The problem of the typological classification of creoles <i>Claire Lefebvre</i>	3
<b>Part II. Creoles spoken in Africa and in the Caribbean</b>	
Èdó influence on Santome: Evidence from verb serialisation <i>Tjerk Hagemeijer and Ota Ogie</i>	37
A Wolof trace in the verbal system of the Portuguese Creole of Santiago Island (Cape Verde) <i>Jürgen Lang</i>	61
Substrate influences in Kriyol: Guinea-Bissau and Casamance Portuguese-related Creole <i>Alain Kihm</i>	81
One substrate, two creoles: The development of segmental inventories in St. Lucian and Haitian <i>Anne-Marie Brousseau</i>	105
Substrate features in the properties of verbs in three Atlantic creoles: Haitian Creole, Saramaccan and Papiamentu <i>Claire Lefebvre</i>	127
Assessing the nature and role of substrate influence in the formation and development of the creoles of Suriname <i>Bettina Migge</i>	155

African substratal influence on the counterfactual in Belizean Creole <i>Geneviève Escure</i>	181
Substrate features in Nicaraguan, Providence and San Andrés Creole Englishes: A comparison with Twi <i>Angela Bartens</i>	201
Palenque(ro): The search for its African substrate <i>Armin Schwegler</i>	225
<b>Part III. Creoles spoken in Asia</b>	
Convergence-to-substratum and the passives in Singapore English <i>Bao Zhiming</i>	253
Tone in Singlish: Substrate features from Sinitic and Malay <i>Lisa Lim</i>	271
The Cantonese substrate in China Coast Pidgin <i>Umberto Ansaldo, Stephen Matthews and Geoff Smith</i>	289
Substrate influences in Mindanao Chabacano <i>Anthony P. Grant</i>	303
Negation in Ternate Chabacano <i>Eeva Sippola</i>	325
Aspect and directionality in Kupang Malay serial verb constructions: Calquing on the grammars of substrate languages <i>June Jacob and Charles E. Grimes</i>	337
Sri Lanka Malay and its Lankan adstrates <i>Umberto Ansaldo</i>	367
Dravidian features in the Sri Lankan Malay verb <i>Peter Slomanson</i>	383

<b>Part IV. Creoles spoken in the Pacific</b>	
Papuan Malay of New Guinea: Melanesian influence on verb and clause structure <i>Mark Donohue</i>	413
The influence of Arandic languages on Central Australian Aboriginal English <i>Harold Koch</i>	437
Roper River Aboriginal language features in Australian Kriol: Considering semantic categories <i>Jennifer Munro</i>	461
Substrate influences on New South Wales Pidgin: The origin of <i>-im</i> and <i>-fela</i> <i>Harold Koch</i>	489
Limits of the substrate: Substrate grammatical influence in Solomon Islands Pijin <i>Angela Terrill</i>	513
Substrate reinforcement and the retention of Pan-Pacific Pidgin features in modern contact varieties <i>Jeff Siegel</i>	531
The copula in Hawai'i Creole English and substrate reinforcement <i>Sarah J. Roberts</i>	557
"On traduit la langue en français": Substrate influence in the TMA system of Tayo <i>Barbara Sandeman</i>	575
<b>Part V. Conclusion</b>	
Creoles and language typology <i>Bernard Comrie</i>	599
Index of authors	613
Index of languages and language families	619
Index of subjects	623

## Preface

This book is about creoles, their contributing languages, and language typology.

At the turn of the millennium, the issue of the typological classification of creoles gave rise to a relatively large body of literature. It soon became evident to me that discussions on the topic would benefit a great deal from detailed case studies of creoles and their contributing languages, with special attention to their substrate languages. I therefore organised a one-day workshop on creoles and their substrates within the context of the 2007 International Conference on Historical Linguistics. In view of the success of the workshop, and given the interest in the theme, I decided to enlarge the scope of the originally planned book to a much wider sample of creole languages. This initiative resulted in the project that eventually led to this book. The bulk of the content of this book consists of 25 chapters comparing some 30 creoles and their respective substrate languages. As the substrate languages of these creoles are typologically different, the detailed investigation of substrate features in the creoles leads to a particular answer to the question of the typological classification of creoles. Thus, the first chapter, by myself, introduces the material analysed in the various chapters of this book from the point of view of language typology. The last chapter, by Bernard Comrie, which echoes the first, provides the typologist's point of view on the problem of the typological classification of creole languages and on the theoretical questions at stake in the discussion of this issue.

I would like to thank all the authors who contributed to this book for bearing with the comparative approach set forth as a methodological tool at the beginning of this project and for their collaboration in reducing the length of their chapters and in addressing comments and questions by several reviewers. This brings me naturally to the review process adopted for the production of this book. Each chapter was commented on by at least three readers. I would like to thank the following scholars for their thorough reviews of a subset of chapters: Umberto Ansaldo, Angela Bartens, Anne-Marie Brousseau, Hugo Cardoso, Clancy Clements, Marta Dijkhoff, Geneviève Escure, Antony Grant, Tjerk Hagemeijer, Christine Jourdan, Alain Kihm, Harold Koch, Lisa Lim, Angelika Lutz, Stephen Matthews, Bettina Migge, Robert Papen, Kevin Rottet, Jeff Siegel, Anand Syea, and Bao Zhiming. Naturally, I also commented on all the chapters.

Lucie Kearns and Zofia Laubitz copy-edited the manuscript. I would like to thank them for the wonderful job they have accomplished considering the number of languages involved in the book, as well as the large number of non-native speakers of English who authored chapters of this book. Thanks to Annie Trudel for her assistance in the preparation of the indexes and in the submission of the final manuscript to the publishers.

Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for its financial contribution to the production of the final manuscript.

Claire Lefebvre  
Université du Québec à Montréal, Montreal, December 1, 2009

## *Typological Studies in Language (TSL)*

A companion series to the journal *Studies in Language*. Volumes in this series are functionally and typologically oriented, covering specific topics in language by collecting together data from a wide variety of languages and language typologies.

### **Editor**

Spike Gildea  
University of Oregon

### **Editorial Board**

Balthasar Bickel  
Leipzig

Bernard Comrie  
Leipzig / Santa Barbara

Denis Creissels  
Lyon

William Croft  
Albuquerque

Nicholas Evans  
Canberra

Carol Genetti  
Santa Barbara

John Haiman  
St Paul

Martin Haspelmath  
Leipzig

Bernd Heine  
Köln

Paul J. Hopper  
Pittsburgh

Andrej A. Kibrik  
Moscow

František Lichtenberk  
Auckland

Marianne Mithun  
Santa Barbara

Doris L. Payne  
Eugene, OR

Franz Plank  
Konstanz

Anna Siewierska  
Lancaster

Dan I. Slobin  
Berkeley

Sandra A. Thompson  
Santa Barbara

### **Volume 95**

Creoles, their Substrates, and Language Typology  
Edited by Claire Lefebvre

## **Creoles, their Substrates, and Language Typology**

*Edited by*

Claire Lefebvre

University of Quebec at Montreal

John Benjamins Publishing Company  
Amsterdam / Philadelphia

2011

## Preface

This book is about creoles, their contributing languages, and language typology.

At the turn of the millennium, the issue of the typological classification of creoles gave rise to a relatively large body of literature. It soon became evident to me that discussions on the topic would benefit a great deal from detailed case studies of creoles and their contributing languages, with special attention to their substrate languages. I therefore organised a one-day workshop on creoles and their substrates within the context of the 2007 International Conference on Historical Linguistics. In view of the success of the workshop, and given the interest in the theme, I decided to enlarge the scope of the originally planned book to a much wider sample of creole languages. This initiative resulted in the project that eventually led to this book. The bulk of the content of this book consists of 25 chapters comparing some 30 creoles and their respective substrate languages. As the substrate languages of these creoles are typologically different, the detailed investigation of substrate features in the creoles leads to a particular answer to the question of the typological classification of creoles. Thus, the first chapter, by myself, introduces the material analysed in the various chapters of this book from the point of view of language typology. The last chapter, by Bernard Comrie, which echoes the first, provides the typologist's point of view on the problem of the typological classification of creole languages and on the theoretical questions at stake in the discussion of this issue.

I would like to thank all the authors who contributed to this book for bearing with the comparative approach set forth as a methodological tool at the beginning of this project and for their collaboration in reducing the length of their chapters and in addressing comments and questions by several reviewers. This brings me naturally to the review process adopted for the production of this book. Each chapter was commented on by at least three readers. I would like to thank the following scholars for their thorough reviews of a subset of chapters: Umberto Ansaldo, Angela Bartens, Anne-Marie Brousseau, Hugo Cardoso, Clancy Clements, Marta Dijkhoff, Geneviève Escure, Antony Grant, Tjerk Hagemeyer, Christine Jourdan, Alain Kihm, Harold Koch, Lisa Lim, Angelika Lutz, Stephen Matthews, Bettina Migge, Robert Papen, Kevin Rottet, Jeff Siegel, Anand Syea, and Bao Zhiming. Naturally, I also commented on all the chapters.

Lucie Kearns and Zofia Laubitz copy-edited the manuscript. I would like to thank them for the wonderful job they have accomplished considering the number of languages involved in the book, as well as the large number of non-native speakers of English who authored chapters of this book. Thanks to Annie Trudel for her assistance in the preparation of the indexes and in the submission of the final manuscript to the publishers.

Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for its financial contribution to the production of the final manuscript.

Claire Lefebvre  
Université du Québec à Montréal, Montreal, December 1, 2009

# The influence of Arandic languages on Central Australian Aboriginal English

Harold Koch

Australian National University

This paper<sup>1</sup> examines the influence of the grammar of Australian Aboriginal languages on Central Australian Aboriginal English (CAAE). CAAE is considered to be a partially anglicised version of a former Central Australian Aboriginal Pidgin (CAAP). This CAAP was one of the local varieties of the general Australian Pidgin (AP) that developed out of New South Wales Pidgin (NSWP), the earliest of the PC varieties that developed in Australia. The paper discusses data from three areas of the grammar of CAAE and compares it with Kaytetye, one of the substrate languages. It shows how two relatively exotic grammatical categories found in Kaytetye (and other Arandic languages – dyadic” in kinship nouns and “Associated Motion” in verbs – were replicated in CAAE using formal material derived from English. The usage of CAAE prepositions, whose forms are from English, is also compared to Kaytetye case functions. We find that the organisation of the semantic “functions” of the cases is replicated in considerable detail in the use of the CAAE prepositions.

**Keywords:** Central Australian Aboriginal English, Central Australian Aboriginal Pidgin, Australian Pidgin, Kaytetye, dyadic, Associated Motion, prepositions, case, case functions

## 1. Introduction

### 1.1 Background on CAAE

Australian Pidgin (AP) began as New South Wales Pidgin (NSWP) when a penal settlement was established at Port Jackson (Sydney), New South Wales, in 1788. This pidgin developed from efforts by the British and the original indigenous inhabitants of the Sydney region to communicate with one another (Troy 1994). As British settlement spread both along the coasts of Australia and toward the interior of the continent, this pidgin was taken along as a means of communication between Europeans and Aborigines (Mühlhäusler 1996). What concerns us here is its spread

---

1. This paper is based largely on an earlier paper (Koch 2000). A section on personal pronouns from the earlier paper has been omitted and the section on prepositions and case has been greatly expanded. The current paper also expands the references to other literature. I am grateful to the editor and two other reviewers for helpful input.

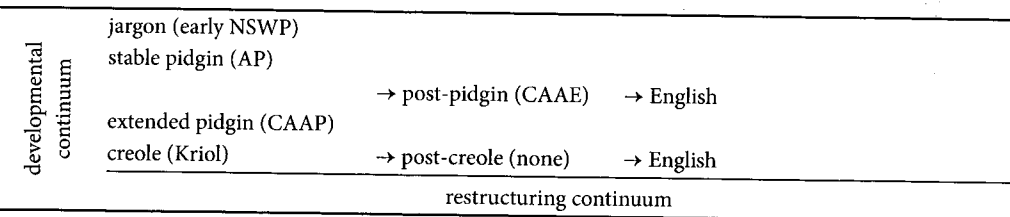


Figure 1. Relationship between Australian linguistic varieties

(south-)westward to western New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia.<sup>2</sup> From South Australia, it spread northwards into Central Australia – the southern part of what is now the Northern Territory – in the wake of the construction of the Overland Telegraph Line in the early 1870s. Aboriginal people came into contact with Europeans (and Aborigines accompanying them from the south) at telegraph repeater stations and pastoral properties which developed in subsequent years. Markers of the South Australian source of Central Australian Aboriginal Pidgin (CAAP) are retained in lexical items such as *warli* 'house', *nantu* 'horse' and *mukarta* 'hat', which have found their way into Central Australian languages via the pidgin, but are ultimately from the Adelaide language, Kaurna.

It can be expected that AP in Central Australia was influenced by the structure of the local languages, which mostly belong to the Arandic subgroup of the Pama-Nyungan family (Koch 2004). It is this influence which is explored in this paper. It cannot be studied directly, however, since there has been no systematic study of early CAAP documents – if there are any to be found. The task is complicated by the fact that authentic CAAP is no longer spoken. Nevertheless, I would claim that the data I use do include many of the features of CAAP, and that what I call Central Australian Aboriginal English (CAAE) represents a variety of CAAP that has partially converged with colloquial English.

The model of language relationships that I am using is taken from Mühlhäusler (1979); it is illustrated in Figure 1, which has been adapted from Mühlhäusler (1979: 44). This shows, in the vertical dimension, a developmental continuum with a gradual increase in overall complexity from a jargon to a creole. The horizontal dimension represents a restructuring continuum, that is, a sequence of systems of comparable linguistic complexity from a (stable or extended) pidgin through a post-pidgin, or from a creole through a post-creole, to English. I have added in parentheses labels for language varieties that I would interpret as illustrating the different language types.

The AP that developed first in Sydney and other parts of New South Wales progressed through stages of complexity from jargon to stable pidgin to extended pidgin. In the twentieth century, in some areas, most notably the Roper River district of the Northern Territory, AP became the primary language of some Aboriginal people, who did not fully learn their parents' traditional languages, and hence it came to be spoken as a creole. This variety, now widely spoken in the northern parts of the Northern Territory and in the eastern and central parts of the Kimberley district of Western Australia, is now called Kriol and is regarded by many indigenous people as

2. For New South Wales, see Amery and Mühlhäusler (1996); for Victoria, see Clark et al. (1996); for South Australia, see Foster et al. (2003).

an Aboriginal language (Hudson 1983; Sandefur 1986). In most areas of Australia where Aboriginal people have long been exposed to English and have largely given up the use of their traditional languages, AP was gradually restructured toward colloquial English in a process that can be called "depidginisation." The varieties of English along this restructuring continuum can be called "Aboriginal English" (AE), and different varieties may contain features of the earlier pidgin, to differing degrees and varying in different areas. Such varieties of Aboriginal English can be called "post-pidgins."<sup>3</sup> Theoretically, there is a similar restructuring continuum leading from a creole via decreolisation toward English, but it is not certain whether there are genuine examples in Australia of such a post-creole.

In the rural areas of Central Australia, most Aboriginal people continue to speak traditional Australian languages (ALs). Most of the Aborigines have also learned some variety of English. For those born before the 1950s, when schooling became part of everyone's experience, the "English" learned was CAAP. These CAAP-speakers would have been additionally exposed, to a certain extent, depending on their employment contacts, to colloquial forms of Standard English (SE). Furthermore, since many Aborigines, especially men, travelled around over considerable distances in connection with their work (e.g., as guides, camel drivers, cattle drovers, mining workers, army camp employees), there was exposure to varieties of AP spoken in regions beyond their local area. The resulting language can plausibly be assumed to consist of:

- features of the original AP brought to Central Australia with the advancing frontier
- features due to the influence of local Central Australian ALs
- features absorbed from other local varieties of AP spoken to the south and to the north of this region
- features taken from the (at times imperfectly learned) colloquial English that they were exposed to

The language could then be described as a partially restructured (or depidginised) variety of a presumed earlier Central Australian Aboriginal Pidgin; it is for this reason that I have labelled the variety Central Australian Aboriginal English.<sup>4</sup> I would estimate the number of speakers of CAAE (in the "heavy" form described here) to be around 1,000 – consisting of elderly (born before about 1960) people from rural Aboriginal living areas and cattle stations in Central Australia; most younger Aboriginal peoples speak a variety of English that is not very different from general colloquial Australian English.

The samples of CAAE that I have seen all contain a variable mixture of AP and SE (or rather Colloquial English) features. This variability seems to be an inherent characteristic of CAAE, which is not found to the same degree in the Kriol spoken further north. It could possibly be argued that this variability reflects rather the unsuccessful attempts of CAAE-speakers to speak SE, with the CAAP features representing lapses. This would be consistent with the widespread

3. See Allridge (1984) for an analysis of some Queensland Aboriginal English data from this point of view. For a recent overview of Aboriginal English, see Malcolm and Grote (2007).

4. In earlier studies, I have referred to CAAE as "Central Australian Aboriginal Pidgin" (Koch 1984a), "Non-standard English" and "Aboriginal Pidgin" (Koch 1985), and simply "Aboriginal English" (in G. Koch 1993). The term "Cattle Station English" has also been used for this variety (Harkins 1994; Mühlhäusler 2008).

sociolinguistic practice in the northern and central parts of Australia whereby Aboriginal people use the best English they are capable of in talking to European people and/or in official circumstances such as public meetings and legal proceedings (Sandefur 1986:82). I have in fact found such accommodation to SE with respect to the stereotypical AP feature – the *-em* suffix on transitive verbs – in the formal speech of one of my sources in the context of giving testimony in a land claim hearing (Koch 1990b:10, 1991:100). In this formal context, this particular witness managed to almost completely suppress the *-em* feature. However, in informal speech, both five years previous to this formal setting and five years later, he used *-em* in about 50% of the linguistic contexts where it would be appropriate in pidgin-creole (PC) grammar. I conclude that, although accommodation to English may be made in certain contexts, this is not a characteristic of the data that I have used for the current study, but that variable use of AP and English features is an inherent characteristic of CAAE.

### 1.2 Previous studies of CAAE

There have been few studies of CAAE. The earliest study of what he called “Northern Territory English” (NTE) was made in 1959 by the linguist T. G. H. Strehlow, based on the speech of one man born near Alice Springs. This formed part of the legal proceedings surrounding the celebrated murder case of Rupert Max Stuart, whose first language was (Western) Arrernte. The study focused on differences between NTE and Standard English, with respect to features of grammar, vocabulary, and discourse structure (Eades 1995). The samples quoted in Dixon (1987) do not display the stereotypical AP forms such as the transitivity marker *-em*, the past tense marker *bin*, or the prepositions *longa* and *belonga*. Strehlow concluded that the linguistic variety represented by Stuart’s speech was not “pidgin,” although it contained traces of both “pidgin” and Aranda (Arrernte) (Dixon 1987:336, 349). It is a “lighter” (more English-like) variety of CAAE than the data discussed here.

The English of Aboriginal children in Alice Springs has been studied by Sharpe (1977, 1979) and Harkins (1994). Sharpe’s studies are largely concerned with differences from Standard English. Harkins pays particular attention to the influence of the (especially semantic) features of the children’s first languages, Arrernte and Luritja. She also finds a small amount of evidence for input from what she calls “Cattle Station English” – which is basically CAAP or CAAE. The children’s English in these studies is by and large second-language English rather than an anglicised pidgin.

My own earlier studies (Koch 1985, 1990b and its shorter version 1991) were based on the CAAE of adults, but the focus was on differences from Standard English, and the miscommunication that could arise from an inadequate appreciation of these differences in legal proceedings concerning land rights. The speakers of the data discussed in Koch (1985) had Kaytetye or Warlpiri as their first language; the data for the later study (Koch 1990b, 1991) were based on speakers with a wider range of first languages, in fact from most of the Northern Territory. The Aboriginal English stories in G. Koch (1993), for which I provided the transcription system, the Standard

English translation, and the introductory notes “On reading Aboriginal English” (pp. x–xii), are taken from the same speakers as the current study.<sup>5</sup>

### 1.3 The data for this study

The data I have used for this study come from Aboriginal people who were all native speakers of the Kaytetye language.<sup>6</sup> Many of these people also spoke at least one other Central Australian language, such as Alyawarr, Anmatyerr, or Warlpiri. Kaytetye belongs to the Arandic subgroup of Pama-Nyungan languages. This group, which includes Arrernte, Alyawarr and Anmatyerr, occupies much of the southern part of the Northern Territory, and can be assumed to form the substratum of CAAP and of the variety of CAAE described here. The Arandic languages are very similar to one another with respect to their grammatical properties. In what follows, I will examine how some morphosyntactic categories of Kaytetye (in particular) are expressed in CAAE, and presumably in its predecessor CAAP. I will show that, although the forms of CAAE are all derived from English, their functions reflect the semantic organisation inherent in the grammar of the Arandic languages. I discuss a nominal suffix applying to kinship terms, the verbal category of Associated Motion, and the specific usages or “functions” of CAAE prepositions.

The data samples cited here all come from speakers born in the period 1920–1950, whose life was spent around the cattle stations in the vicinity of Barrow Creek, some 300 kilometres north of Alice Springs. The data come from tape recordings made between the mid-1970s and the mid-1990s. Many of the samples derived from fieldwork sessions, in which the speakers were discussing Kaytetye texts, grammar, or vocabulary, helping me in my analysis of the Kaytetye language. Some samples are taken from oral history narratives delivered in Aboriginal English, which form part of the collection published in *Kaytetye Country* (G. Koch 1993), here abbreviated as KC.

In the examples, highlighted words and parts of words are given in bold type. Kaytetye forms are indicated in italics. My translations, whether of Kaytetye or CAAE, are enclosed in single quotation marks. (Morpheme-by-morpheme glosses are not provided in all instances.) The source of each example is indicated in parentheses at the end of each entry, where it is identified in terms of the initials of the speaker’s name plus one of the following: a short name and sentence number of the text in which it occurs, the page reference to samples published in *Kaytetye Country*, or the field tape number or name.

5. In an unpublished conference presentation (Koch 1984a), I discussed data from what I then called “Central Australian Aboriginal Pidgin” and argued that it represents an expanded pidgin. Attention was given to the variability between pidgin-like and English-like grammatical features, and to the structure of complex sentences.

6. For Kaytetye in general, see Koch (2006), Turpin (2000), Turpin (in press).

Table 1. Dyadic terms in Kaytetye and CAAE

CAAE dyadic	Gloss	Kaytetye dyadic	K simple	Gloss
father-gether	father and child	<i>arlweye-nhenge</i>	<i>arlweye</i>	father
mother-gether	mother and child	<i>ame-nhenge</i>	<i>arrengkwe</i>	mother
brother-gether	elder brother and younger brother or sister	<i>alkere-nhenge</i>	<i>alkere</i>	elder brother
sister-gether	elder sister and younger brother or sister	<i>arrere-nhenge</i>	<i>arrere</i>	elder sister
cousin-gether	cross-cousins, one of whom is male	<i>atnkele-nhenge</i>	<i>atnkele</i>	cross-cousin

## 2. The CAAE kin relation marker *-gether*

Many languages of the Northern Territory have an inflectional category manifested on kinship terms that Australianists call "dyadic."<sup>7</sup> The term *dyadic* is characterised as follows:

...by dyadic term we have in mind an expression of the type 'pair of) brothers' or 'father and child', in which the kinship relationship is between the two referents internal to the kin expression.

(Merlan & Heath 1982: 107)

Dyadic terms thus refer to sets of kin such as 'father and child', 'mother and child', 'siblings', 'cousins', 'brothers-in-law', etc. In Kaytetye and the other Arandic languages, these terms are formed by means of a suffix *-nhenge*, which is added to one of the terms that mark the kin relationship, usually the term referring to the senior relative, but sometimes to a term which is not the same as the basic kin term. In CAAE, the dyadic function is indicated by suffixing or compounding the kin term with *-gether*, which is presumably derived from a truncated form of English *together*.<sup>8</sup> Table 1 presents some examples of CAAE dyadic terms and the corresponding Kaytetye dyadic terms, along with the simple kin term to which each dyadic form relates.

In Kaytetye, these dyadic terms can be further marked by a Dual or Plural suffix to explicitly indicate two or more people in the relationship: *arlweye-nhenge-therre* ('father-DYAD-DUAL'), *arlweye-nheng-amerne* ('father-DYAD-PLURAL'). Similarly, the CAAE terms can be pluralised by preceding numerals to produce expressions such as *two father-gether*s and *three father-gether*s. (An expression such as *three father-gether*s may refer either to a father and two of his children or to one person and two of their classificatory fathers.) Examples of CAAE dyadic kin terms are given in (1) to (4).

- (1) *Aylake father-gether*... Allasame *arlweye-nhenge*... *Mpwelake apene weyewe*. His father and him. Nother one might tellem.  
'We two related as father and child... Like father and child... You two go for meat. Father and child. Some one else might say to him.'  
(TM 74/5.8)

7. For the worldwide typology of dyadic constructions, see Evans (2006).

8. Sandefur (1979:94) describes several usages of a Kriol "reciprocal pronoun" *gija*, glossed as '(to) each other'. This form apparently has the same origin as CAAE *-gether*. One of its usages corresponds to the CAAE dyadic function: *Dubala bada gija* 'They are sisters to each other'. In Sandefur and Sandefur (1979:45) *-gija* is called a suffix.

Table 2. Kaytetye Second-Person Dual pronouns

Form	Gloss	Example kin relation
<i>mpwele</i>	2DU Same Moiety Same Generation	brothers, sisters
<i>mpwelake</i>	2DU Same Moiety Opposite Generation	father-child
<i>mpwelanthe</i>	2DU Opposite Moiety	mother-child, uncle-nephew, cross-cousins

- (2) *Mpwele arrere-nhenge apene anatyewe*. That mean two women now, that two women now, they sister-gether, *mpwele*, must two sister, he tellem go for some yam, potato.  
'You two sisters go for yams. That means two women – the two women are sisters – you two (related as sisters); he tells them to go for some yams, potatoes.'  
(TM 74/5.8)
- (3) *Nthakenh-arrerane mpwelanthe?* That mean two, might be two cousin-gether.  
'What are you two doing? That means two cousins, for example.'  
(PH 92.2)
- (4) Or *elwewenhanthe*, uncle-gether one another.  
'Or, the two of them related as uncle and nephew [compete with] one another.'  
(PH 92.2)

The subject matter of examples (1) and (2) has to do with explaining the pronoun system of Kaytetye, which includes separate Dual (and Plural) forms according to whether the people referred to belong to the same (patri)m moiety or the opposite moiety, and if the former, to the same generation level or the opposite generation level (see Koch 1982, 2006; Turpin in press, for further details).<sup>9</sup> The three forms of the Second-Person Dual pronoun are given in (1) to (3). These contrast as indicated in Table 2. These kinship-related pronominal distinctions, unlike the dyadic category, are not mirrored in the CAAE of Kaytetye speakers.

## 3. Associated Motion in CAAE and Kaytetye

### 3.1 Verbal categories

Kaytetye verbal categories are indicated in three suffixal slots on the verb.<sup>10</sup> Suffixes in the outermost slot signal Negative, Mood and Tense (Tense is distinguished only within the Indicative Mood). In an earlier slot, Aspect (especially the Imperfective) may be marked. In the slot closest to the verb stem, there may be an indication of one of the subcategories of "Associated Motion." Associated Motion is a distinctive grammatical category in many languages of Central Australia (Koch 1984b, 2006; Tunbridge 1988; Wilkins 1991), and is found sporadically in other Australian languages. Verbs specify, usually by suffixes but sometimes by auxiliaries, a motion that takes place in conjunction with the main activity denoted by the verb. This motion usually involves the

9. "Same Generation" means that the referents belong either to the same generation or to a non-adjacent generation. So "Same Generation" can include a person and others of their grandparents' or grandchildren's generation. But combinations of a referent and someone from their parents' or children's generation count as "Opposite Generation." Some scholars (e.g., Hale 1966) have used the terms "harmonic" and "disharmonic" for this distinction.

10. Issues related to the formal structure of Kaytetye verbs are discussed in Koch (1990a).

subject of the clause (although one subcategory of Arrernte and Kaytetye involves a non-subject participant). The Associated Motion subcategories may signal whether the motion is prior to, immediately subsequent to, or concurrent with the main activity. There may be distinctions as to the direction of the motion, whether toward the speaker or not, or back to a former location, etc. Although English can express both an activity and a motion by combining two verbs using either coordination (*go and see, saw me and ran off*) or subordination (*looked while going along*), it will be argued below that speakers of CAAE code motion as a specification of the verbal activity rather than as a separate event.

### 3.2 Prior Motion

Within the domain of Prior Motion, Kaytetye makes three distinctions, shown in (5).

- (5) a. 'go and VERB' / 'VERB after going' (suffix *-yene-*)
- b. 'come and VERB' / 'VERB after coming' (suffix *-yentye-*)
- c. 'go back and VERB' / 'VERB after going back' (suffix *-yalpe-*).

A fourth possibility that would fill out the semantic set, 'come back and VERB', is attested in CAAE (see (14) below). These notions are expressed in CAAE by a sequence of two verbs which may or may not be joined by *and* – as in *go (and) VERB*, etc.

There are examples<sup>11</sup> in the data, such as (6) to (8), that could be analysed – as in SE – in terms of two separate verb phrases, on the evidence of words such as *there* and *again*, which modify the motion verb and intervene before *and*.

- (6) *Angkeyenenke* [talk-GO&-PRES]. You gotta **go and talk** for someone. I might **go there and talk**.  
*Angkeyenewethe* [talk-GO&-PURP]. (PH Gram)
- (7) *Arntartryeyalpenke* [run-GO.BACK&-PRES] when him run back. **Go back again and hold'em** nother man. (PH 92.2)
- (8) *Dinner-pe aynanthe* [we] *ayneyalpenherre* [eat-GO.BACK&-PAST].  
**go back and have tucker now... go back again and have tea.**  
(AK (Kaytetye), PH (CAAE), Helicopter 44)

Nevertheless evidence for treating the activity plus motion as a single grammatical unit in CAAE is found in examples where the verbs are separated only by a reduced form of *and* (9) or by no intervening material ((10)–(14)).

- (9) Twofella bin **go'n wait** for... them bullock.  
**Go wait** longa scrub. (PH Helicopter 96)

11. Glossing abbreviations in the examples are as follows: ALL.THE.WAY 'do all the way along' Concurrent Motion, ALL Allative case, DAT Dative case, EMPH emphatic enclitic, ERG Ergative case, FUT Future tense, GO& 'go and VERB' Prior Motion, GO.BACK& 'go back and VERB' Prior Motion, IMPFV Imperfective Aspect, OBLIG Obligative mood, PAST tense, POSS Possessive case, PPLSS same subject participle, PRES Present tense, PRIV Privative case, PROP Propriative case, PURP Purposive mood, WHILE.COMING 'do while coming' Concurrent Motion, WHILE.GOING 'do while going along/about' Concurrent Motion.

- (10) Just **go givit** tucker longa him.  
'She would just go and give him food.' (PH KC 29)
- (11) Yá, when im **go get** some cattle an' break-away. (PH Helicopter 12)
- (12) *Artweyamerne atye areyenewethe* [men I see-GO&-PURP]. I bin say I wanna **go and see** them *artweyamerne*. All the man. I wanna **go see'em**. (TM 74/5.8)
- (13) *Kwatheyalpenke* [drinks-GO.BACK&-PRES] when he **go back sit down**'bout longa camp, you know?  
(PH Gram)
- (14) they bin **come back leavem** old fella longa same place again. (PH KC 20)

The strongest evidence for treating the motion as a grammatical specification of the verb comes from sentences that include a redundant verb of motion (*go... go (and) VERB*). This reflects the Kaytetye construction in which a verb denoting some activity may (redundantly) include a reference to the prior motion that has already been explicitly indicated by a previous verb. An example of this Kaytetye system is given in (15), where the *-yalpe-* 'after returning' in the second verb recapitulates the *alpe-* 'return' already given in the previous clause. Similarly, in a story given in CAAE, the *come back* of the second verb phrase of (16) recapitulates the *come back* of the preceding clause. In (17), the motion *go* of the second clause is already implicit in the *take* of the first clause. Likewise, in (18), the motion of *go and drink* has already been specified as *go down*. The *go... and go fillem* of (19) has a parallel structure. In (20), the *go and fall down* and *go and stop* clearly describe the action of the spear after it has travelled some distance; hence the verbal expressions mean 'fall down / stop after going', with the (prior) motion here being a subsidiary notion, but described in the final clause in its own right as *travel long ground*.

- (15) *Arrwekele-lke repe alkerarenyepe alpenherre, apmerewarle antetheneyalpenhe*.  
'before-then the helicopter **returned**, to.camp **stop-GO.BACK&-PAST**'  
'The helicopter went back ahead (of them) and stopped in the camp.' (AK Helicopter 77)
- (16) they bin **come back** and they bin **come back leavem** old fella longa same place again.  
'they returned and (after getting back) left the old man in the same place [where he had joined the party].'  
(PH KC 20)
- (17) What about we gotta **take** these two whitefella **go and show** that country...  
'How about we take these two Europeans and show them the country...'  
(PH KC 20)
- (18) Nother mob **go down** long creek and **go and drink** water... *kwatheyeneyayne* [drink-GO&-PAST. IMPFV] *elpayewarle* [to.creek] (PH 92.2)
- (19) and **go** across the creek and **go fillem** might be two or three and bringem back to station  
'and [I would] go across the creek and fill two or three [buckets] and bring them back to the station'  
(BPR[MA] KC 86)
- (20) He **go and fall down** longway now. *Antheyenengele arlinge-lke, ertryartepe rartepe* [fall-GO&-PPLSS far.away-now, spear that']. **Go and stop** longway now. After he bin go, travel long ground first.  
*Antheyenengele* [fall-GO&-PPLSS]. (PH 92.3)

This last type of evidence, I believe, confirms that these speakers are indeed using these English motion verbs in the manner of the Associated Motion inflections of Kaytetye. The main difference between Kaytetye and CAAE is that the latter uses whole phrases to express what in

Kaytetye is signalled by a single complex word. In fact, there is some evidence to suggest that at least some of the Associated Motion constructions in Arandic language are even synchronically analysable as phonologically complex words (if not phrases) – with the possibility of enclitics occurring between the activity and the motion parts. This is true of some complex Associated Motion forms that derive historically from a non-finite verb form followed by a motion verb. The 'go back and VERB' form *-yalpe-* (see (5c) above) thus includes the motion verb *alpe-* 'return'. An example like *errkeyelkalpenke* 'goes back and trims then' consists etymologically of a main verb *errke-* 'trim' suffixed by an erstwhile participial suffix *-ye*, followed by an enclitic *lke* 'then' (whose vowel is automatically elided before a following vowel), the whole of which is then compounded with the motion verb stem *alpe-* and inflected with the PRES *-nke*. This example not only reveals something of the etymology of the Associated Motion form. More importantly for our purposes, it suggests that the inclusion of adverbs *there*, *then* and *again* within the CAAE verb complex – as in examples (6) to (8) – may actually be modelled on the organisation of the Kaytetye Associated Motion verb complex as much as on the English pattern of compounded verb phrases.

### 3.3 Concurrent Motion

The other Associated Motion category that appears to be reflected in CAAE is that of Concurrent Motion. In Kaytetye, there are at least four subcategories of Concurrent Motion, shown in (21).

- (21) a. VERB-*lpeRED-* 'do once on the way'  
 b. VERB-*rrap(eyn)e-* 'do while going along/about'  
 c. VERB-*yernalpe-* 'do while coming'  
 d. VERB-*rrEREDrrenye / -lerEDlarre-* 'do all the way along'

Here RED indicates a reduplication of the last (V)CV of the verb stem. The longer form of the suffix in (b) and the second form of the suffix in (d) apply to transitive verb stems. The (a) forms imply short duration of the verbal activity, undertaken with little interruption of an associated journey. Subcategories (b), (c) and (d) imply that the main action involves both temporal duration and spatial extension. There are examples of (d) in which only spatial extension, but not motion, is indicated. Category (c) differs from (b) only in the direction of the associated motion, which in (c) is toward the speaker. Category (b) formally includes the root of the verb 'go, *ape-*.

Subcategory (a) is not directly reflected in CAAE. The others are typically rendered by the addition to the English verb of *along* and/or *all the way* (which I take to be used as a single word). We thus have the CAAE forms indicated in (22).

- (22) VERB(*em*) *along*  
 VERB(*em*) *along alltheway*  
 VERB(*em*) *alltheway*  
 VERB(*em*) *alltheway along*

Examples (23) to (26) show how these CAAE expressions translate the Kaytetye subcategories. In (23), we have an explanation of Kaytetye *angke-rrape-* 'talk while going along' (subcategory (b)). In (24), we have an explanation of Kaytetye subcategory (c), where the helicopter, frightening the cattle by directing wind down towards them, drove them in the direction of the

story-teller. Likewise, (25) explains a (d) subcategory form from the same text; the Kaytetye sentence means: 'All right, we drove [the cattle] along with two vehicles and watched/guarded them all the way along.' In (26), the *all the way* phrases explain a Kaytetye verb *arrelarrelarreyayne* 'put down all the way along'; the reference is to the long row of markers a score-keeper puts down on the ground. Here it is the spatial distribution of the object – probably more than the motion of the subject – which is in focus.

- (23) When me'n'you walk along, keep walking, you know? *Angkerraperranengele* [talk-WHILE.GOING-IMPV-PPLSS]. We might talk about something, you know, tell'em'bout story, you know? Me'n'you keep talking all the way along. When we walking. *Angkerraperranengele*. (PH Gram)
- (24) *re rarrerepe atereyneyernalpenherre* [he with.wind frighten-WHILE.COMING-PAST] See that wind bin frighten'em all the way along. Frighten'em all the way along with the wind... helicopter man. (AK (Kaytetye), PH (CAAE), Helicopter 93)
- (25) *Alkaperte, aynanthe alperenyenye mweteke atherrelarte-rtame arntarntarelarelarrenhe-pe*. [all-right we take-PAST motorcar two-LOC-EMPH watch-ALL.THE.WAY-PAST] watchem-long all the way, them cattle, don't let'em break-away... watch'em all the way along. (AK (Kaytetye), PH (CAAE), Helicopter 40)
- (26) Mark'em all the way. This one old fella gotta look'at'em belonga nother one, put'em down all the way. (PH 92.1)

These CAAE expressions that we have interpreted in terms of Kaytetye Associated Motion subcategories are not only used in translation or commenting on Kaytetye texts. They are also used spontaneously in stories told in Aboriginal English, as illustrated in (27).

- (27) Camel they bin givem drink all the way along...  
 'They gave drinks to the camels all the way along.' (PH KC 20)

### 3.4 Associated Motion as a category of CAAE

I conclude from the evidence above that Kaytetye speakers are replicating in CAAE a pervasive category of their native language, Associated Motion. For Concurrent Motion, they have used adverbial material: *along* and *all the way*. For Prior Motion, the SE *go and VERB* construction has been copied, but its redundant use in the second of two sentences to mean *VERB after going* shows powerfully that a grammatical pattern of their first language is being replicated. It should be noted that not all the specific subcategories of Kaytetye Associated Motion are reproduced in CAAE: Missing are instances of Subsequent Motion ('do and go off' and 'do and go back'), one subcategory of Concurrent Motion ('do once on the way'), and one subcategory of Prior Motion that involves different subjects ('do after non-subject has approached').

## 4. CAAE prepositions and Kaytetye case

## 4.1 Overview of prepositions and cases

A prominent feature of Australian PC languages is their prepositions, especially *blonga* and *longa* (and their variants). The former probably derives from English *belonging to* and the latter, a "multi-purpose prepositional form" in NSW, is thought to derive from English *along with* (Troy 1994:316). In Kriol of northern Australia, these plus *from/burrum*, *gadim/garra(m)* (from *got'em*), and *for* as a "light" (or anglicised) version of *blonga*, constitute the main repertoire of prepositions (Hudson 1983; Sandefur 1979).

In Central Australian languages, as is normal in Pama-Nyungan languages,<sup>12</sup> the grammatical and semantic role of noun phrases in a clause is indicated by means of case suffixes on the noun (or at least on one member of the noun phrase). In English, on the other hand, such relationships are largely marked by prepositions. CAAE follows the grammar of English in using prepositions rather than case inflections. But there are certain major differences. First, fewer prepositions are used in CAAE than in SE.<sup>13</sup> Second, some of the forms are different from SE – especially *blonga*, *longa*, and *gottem*. Third (and most important for our purposes here), the meanings (or functions) they express are to a large extent modelled on those of the substrate language. To demonstrate this, it is not sufficient to compare CAAE prepositions with Kaytetye cases as wholes. The correspondences are revealed much more clearly if we distinguish the particular semantic relations that the (prepositional or case) forms may express. I shall refer to these as "functions." The particular functions of some of the Kaytetye cases will be compared with the functions of the CAAE prepositions.

The equivalence of AE or Kriol prepositions to the case categories of Aboriginal languages has been noted before. Elwell (1979:251–260) and Harkins (1994:66–70) make brief comparisons of the prepositional usages of second-language English children in Mililingimbi and Alice Springs to their first languages, Gupapuyngu and Arrernte or Luritja, respectively. Hudson (1983) glosses the Kriol prepositions with labels that are used for cases in the local Aboriginal language Walmajarri – *blanga* DATIVE, *langa* LOCATIVE, *fo* PURPOSIVE, *from* ABLATIVE, and *garra* ASSOCIATIVE.<sup>14</sup> She also describes the use of prepositions in terms of Longacre's (1976) semantic roles – but only relates a few of these directly to the grammar of Walmajarri. Sandefur (1979) discusses the "prepositional meanings" or "usages" – which correspond to our "functions" – of four Kriol prepositions but does not relate them to the grammar of substrate languages. What I call below the "specific location/goal function" of *longa* is described by Sandefur (1979:146) as "prepositional phrases modified by pre-positioned adverbs" and by Hudson (1983:68) as combinations of Kriol prepositions with "locational words" that, though

12. For case in Australian languages, see Blake (1977), Yallop (1982:78–90), and Koch (2007:31–32).

13. Hudson (1983:68) compares the five normal prepositions of Fitzroy Valley Kriol to the 62 prepositions recognised for English by one authority.

14. See her introductory comment: "In Chapter 3 I present the prepositions of Kriol and show how they function in a system which reflects the case systems of TA [Traditional Australian] languages" (Hudson 1983:4).

Table 3. CAAE prepositions and Kaytetye cases

CAAE preposition	Function	Kaytetye case name	Kaytetye form
<i>longa</i>	Location	Locative	-le, -nge <sup>15</sup>
<i>longa</i>	Instrumental	Locative	-le, -nge
<i>longa</i>	Goal	Allative	-warle
<i>longa</i>	Purpose	Allative	-warle
<i>X longa</i>	Specific location / goal	X N-LOC/ALL	X N-le/-nge/-warle
<i>right up longa</i>	Terminative	Terminative	-wartetye
<i>through longa</i>	Perlative	Perlative	-angkwerre
<i>from</i>	Source	Ablative	-theye
<i>from</i>	Cause	Ablative	-theye
<i>from</i>	Comparison	Ablative	-theye
<i>from</i>	Material Source	Sequentive	-penhe
<i>from</i>	Prior Condition	Sequentive	-penhe
<i>from</i>	Aversive	Aversive	-ketye
<i>blong(int)a</i>	Possessive	Possessive	-arenge
<i>blong(int)a</i>	Purpose	Allative	-warle
<i>for</i>	Purpose	Dative	-we
<i>for</i>	Recipient	Dative	-we
<i>with</i>	Proprietary	Proprietary	-akake
<i>gottem, got</i>	Proprietary	Proprietary	-akake
<i>(got) no</i>	Privative	Privative	-wanenye

derived from English prepositions (such as *behind*, *across*, *inside of*, *underneath*, *on top of*), are used as in Aboriginal languages to provide specific orientation which supplements the general (e.g., locative or allative) case-like meaning of the Kriol preposition *langa*. To my knowledge, however, no one has previously made a detailed comparison of the specific functions of PC prepositions with those of an Australian substrate language.

Table 3 summarises the main equivalents between CAAE and Kaytetye that I have analysed.<sup>16</sup> Prepositions will be discussed in the order in which they appear in Table 3. It should be noted at the outset that, although the functions of CAAE prepositions can be matched to equivalent functions of the Kaytetye cases, there are fewer prepositions in CAAE than cases in Kaytetye. In the following examples, prepositions and the corresponding Kaytetye case suffixes are in boldface.

4.2 The preposition *longa*

What I am calling the *location function* is the indication of where in space or time an event is located. For this function English uses a variety of prepositions such as *at*, *in* and *on*. While these may be used in CAAE, the latter also uses the AP form *longa* (or *long*) as a marker of general

15. A complex set of factors conditions the selection of these allomorphs – see Koch (1990a).

16. For a discussion of comparable prepositions in Kriol, see Sandefur (1979:Ch. 6) and Hudson (1983:Ch. 3).

location. This preposition (and variants such as *langa*, *long* and *lo*) occurs in all the English-based PC languages of Australia and Melanesia as a general-purpose preposition, whose uses always include the location and goal functions. Example (28) illustrates both variation between *longa* and *in* and the fact that *longa* is the translation equivalent of the Kaytetye Locative case suffix *-le* (on *artetye* 'mulga').

- (28) Nother honey, live **longa** mulga country, in the ground...  
 'Another kind of honey is [found] in mulga country, in the ground...'  
*Errampe*. All live **longa** mulga country, **long** *artetye*... *Errampe artetyele anteyane*.  
 'Honey ants - they are in mulga country; honey ants are in mulga country.' (TM 74/5.8)

The *instrumental function* (indicating the instrument by which an action is performed) is expressed in many Aboriginal languages by the Ergative case. But the Arandic languages use the Locative case instead. CAAE speakers with a Kaytetye language background accordingly use *longa* for this function.<sup>17</sup> This is illustrated in (29).

- (29) Just like you mark'em **longa** pencil, you know?  
 'Just as you would make a mark with a pencil, you know?' (PH 92.2)

The *goal function*, which indicates the location at which an entity is situated at the end of an action, is expressed in Kaytetye by a separate Allative case suffix *-warle*. In CAAE, the same preposition *longa* that corresponds to the Kaytetye Locative case is also used for the functions of the Allative case (see (30)).

- (30) *Ngwenge ayenge atyangkwerre apeyerre arnerrewarle* ['tomorrow I this.way will.go to.rock.hole'].  
 That mean I go tomorrow, that way, **long** that rock hole.  
 'That means: Tomorrow I'll go in that direction, to the rock hole.' (TM 74/5.8)

The *purpose function*, which in Kaytetye is normally expressed by the Dative case, may also use the Allative case, especially in a sentence involving motion. This usage is also reflected in the CAAE use of *longa* to express the Purpose function. This is shown in (31), which is a commentary on (32).

- (31) Go back **longa** dinner now.  
 '[They] went back for dinner then.' (PH Helicopter 43)
- (32) *Nhartepe aynantherre dinnerwarle-lke alpenherre; dinner-lke... aynanthe aynewethe-lke...*  
 'Then we went back for dinner; so we could eat dinner then...' (AK Helicopter 43)

In English more specific locations (or goals) are expressed by complex prepositions such as *inside*, *underneath*, *on top of*, *in the middle of*, etc. In most Australian languages, such notions are

17. By contrast, an examination of CAAE stories by Warlpiri speakers in Read and Read (1991) revealed that the instrumental function was never expressed by *longa*, even though it was used for location and goal functions. Warlpiri uses the Ergative case or the Propriative suffix for this function. The CAAE examples of Warlpiri speakers used *with* or *got* correspondingly.

expressed by means of locational nominals<sup>18</sup> occurring beside the relevant noun phrase, which is marked by the Locative or Allative case - literally expressing 'inside at/to NP'. CAAE follows this strategy by using *longa* beside a fuller location-indicating word. Examples (33) and (34) illustrate this with *longside* and *inside*. Here the complexes containing *longa* fill a *specific location function* and the *specific goal function* respectively.

- (33) That mean you mighta bin comin today from Barrow Creek you bin see something, sitting **longside long road**.  
 'That means, say, you were on your way here from Barrow Creek and you saw something sitting beside the road.' (PH Gram)
- (34) gettin **inside longa** scrub  
 '[the cattle were] getting into the scrub' (PH Helicopter 20)

This same strategy of using the general locational preposition *longa* beside a word which indicates a more specific location is used to translate two further local cases of Kaytetye. The Terminative case means 'right up to, all the way to', and is expressed by the suffix *-wartetye*. The CAAE equivalent Terminative function is *right up longa*, shown in (35).

- (35) *Akertewartetye* throw right up long way. **Right up longa** end... *Akertewartetye*.  
 [He] throws [the boomerang] all the way to the end [of the oval]. (PH 92.2)

The Kaytetye Perlative case (suffix *-angkwerre*) expresses 'through' or 'across'. This can be called the *perlative function*; it is rendered in CAAE by the phrase *through longa*, as illustrated in (36).

- (36) this mob mighta bin... kick'em right **through long** that oval now, *alpankangkwerre-pe*.  
 'This team may have kicked [the ball] across the oval.' (PH 92.1)

#### 4.3 The preposition *from*

Like *longa*, CAAE *from* (whose pronunciations may include *prom* or *purrom*) is used as the translation equivalent of more than one Kaytetye case, and more than one function of a given Kaytetye case. The Kaytetye Ablative case has at least three functions, all of which may be rendered by *from* in CAAE. This same preposition can be used to translate the Sequentive and Aversive cases of Kaytetye as well.

The *source function* of both the Kaytetye Ablative case (suffix *-theye*) and the CAAE preposition *from* indicates a local source, namely the place where an entity was located prior to an event which involves a movement of the entity. This is illustrated in (37).

- (37) *Amarletherre atyetheyarte arnperraytenye*.  
 Two girl bin run away from here.  
 'Two girls ran away from here.' (TM 74/5.8)

18. These are called "locational qualifiers" by Dixon (1980:282-283), and in grammars written by Dixon and some of his students.

The *cause function* of the Kaytetye Ablative case – expressing the cause of an action – is mirrored in the use of CAAE *from* in contexts where SE would use *over*, *about* or *concerning*. An example is (38).

- (38) They no fight **from** country. They bin only just fight **from** them Aboriginal women.  
‘They didn’t fight **over** land. They only fought **over** Aboriginal women.’ (PH, KC 13)

CAAE *from* also translates the Kaytetye Ablative case in expressing the standard of a comparison, where SE uses *than*. An example of this *comparison function* is given in (39).

- (39) He can throw’em, might **from** here like that house there. Or might lilbit more farther **from** there.  
‘He can throw [a spear], say, **from** here to that building. Or possibly a little farther **than** that.’ (PH 92.3)

The use of *from* in relative location expressions such as (40) can presumably be understood as a reflection of this same function.

- (40) He had a station there. On the east side **from** them miners.  
‘He had a station there. To the east of the mines.’ (PH KC 42)

The *material source* in verbs of transformation is indicated in CAAE by *from*, which is the translation equivalent of the Kaytetye Sequentive case (suffix *-penhe*). SE uses either *from* or *out of* for this function. An example is given in (41).

- (41) This one *rtatyertatye* **from** stick. Lil whipstick... *Errtyartepe artetyepenhepe*.  
‘This [training spear] is **made from** a stick, a little whipstick... A [real] spear is **made of** mulga.’ (PH 92.3)

A related usage of both the Kaytetye Sequentive case and the CAAE preposition *from* is to indicate the *prior condition* of an entity involved in an event. This CAAE usage is illustrated in (42).

- (42) Only one Kaytetye they bin growem up there. One young fella. **From** little fella.  
‘They raised only one Kaytetye person there, a young man. [They raised him] **from** when he was a child.’ (PH KC 47)

Many Australian languages have a special case to mark an *aversive function* (Blake 1987: 44; Dixon 1980: 299), which indicates an entity that is to be avoided. This is rendered in English by expressions such as *to avoid*, *as protection against*, *for fear of*, or *from* if motion is also involved (e.g., *run away from*). In Kaytetye, the Aversive case is marked by a suffix *-ketye*. In CAAE, this function is indicated by the preposition *from*. This is illustrated in (43) and (44).

- (43) Him bin jump-out, that horse, he bin scared **from** that helicopter; that horse bin too scared.  
‘The horse jumped; it was afraid **of** the helicopter; the horse was very frightened.’ (PH Helicopter 97)
- (44) *Erlkwatherre* that’s mean you gotta have’em when you go, when you by yourself. Nother mob spear, **from** crook man... you gotta keep that, when you go yourself.  
‘*Erlkwatherre* means you keep more spears with you when you travel alone, **as protection against** angry men who might spear you... You keep them with you when you travel alone...’ (PH 92.3)

#### 4.4 The preposition *blong(int)a*

A preposition based on English *belong* or *belonging to* is one of the salient characteristics of the Southwest Pacific English-based PC languages. It takes various forms including *belonginta*, *blonga*, *b(e)long* and *blo*. The AP form reflected in CAAE has the form *b(e)longinta*. It reflects a Kaytetye Possessive case (suffix *-areng*). It is used in contexts where SE uses *of*, *’s* or a possessive pronominal adjective ((45), (46)), and also in contexts where SE would rather use *for*, as shown in (47), (48).

- (45) *Mangwe* [cat]. That’s proper Kaytetye, *mangwe*. That pussycat... **belonginta** youfella. We callem *mangwe*.  
‘*Mangwe* is a proper Kaytetye word. The word “pussycat” is **your** [i.e., English-speakers’] word. We call it *mangwe*.’ (TM 74/5.8)
- (46) *Karntape* [bark] *kngwere* [other]. *Ngkalyeyngareng* [young.men-POSS]. **Blong** them young people.  
‘Other bark shields, those **of** the young men. Those **of** the young men.’ (TJ 90)
- (47) Ya coolamon they callem. Well this one he’s only **belong** water. Carry water with him.  
‘Yes, it [*akwerre*] is called a coolamon. But this vessel [an *arne*] is only **for** water; it is used to carry water.’ (TM 74/5.8)
- (48) Ya, *arrkantareng* [fun-POSS], **blonga** fun, you know? Where they can get practice for that spear... Nother one **belonginta** *weyareng-rtame* [meat-POSS-EMPH], *errtyarte* [spear].  
‘Yes, it [the *rtartertatye*] is **for** fun, **for** games to practise spear-throwing... A different one, *errtyarte*, is **for** [killing] meat.’ (PH 92.3)

*Belonginta* may also be used for the *purpose function*, where it may translate the Kaytetye Allative case, which can express the purpose function as well as the more common goal function. This is illustrated in (49), which also demonstrates the equivalence in this function of the Allative and Possessive cases of Kaytetye.

- (49) *Ahewarle r-apeke* [fight-ALL it-perhaps]. *Ahewarle-apeke*. Might **belonginta** fight... *Ahewarle*. **Belonginta** fight... *ahareng* [fight-POSS]. **Belonginta** fight, them spear now. *Errtyarte ngwerang-kwerre* [spear others].  
‘Or they [the spears] are **for** fighting... **For** fighting. They are **for** fighting, these spears, the other spears.’ (PH 92.3)

#### 4.5 The preposition *for*

In Kaytetye, the *purpose function* is one of the main functions of the Dative case (suffix *-we*). This function is usually rendered in CAAE by the preposition *for*, as shown in (50) to (52).

- (50) That mob *artweyynenge* [men] *aperrenenyeye* [come-FUT] *lthartewe* [corroboree-DAT] that for corroboree. *Arrkantewe* [fun-DAT]. **For** fun. *Makwele* [many] *arelhamerne* [women] *aperrenenyeye* [come-FUT]... *awelyewe* [women’s.ritual-DAT].  
‘The men will come **for** a corroboree, **for** fun.... Many women will come **for** a women’s ritual.’ (TM 74/5.8)

- (51) *Weye* [meat] *arlewatyerrewe* [goanna-DAT] *aylanthe* [we] *apewerne* [GO-OBLIG]... we go for goanna.  
'Let's go (hunting) for goannas.' (TM 74/5.8)
- (52) *Ahewe* [fight-DAT], go for fight, *ahewe*  
'go for a fight' (TM 74/5.8)

Another of the various functions of the Dative case in Kaytetye is to mark the recipient of the ditransitive verbs 'give' and 'show'. In CAAE, this *recipient function* is sometimes expressed by the preposition *for*, as illustrated in (53).

- (53) He go back that Arnerre with that - with that axe. And he show'em round the people - for his people longa Arnerre country.  
'He went back to Arnerre with the axe and showed it around to his people, the people of Arnerre country.' (PH KC 20)

#### 4.6 The preposition *with* in the proprietive function

Many Australian languages have a case called the Proprietary (suffix *-akake*), which means 'having'. It corresponds to certain meanings of English *with* - 'having under one's control' - and is sometimes translated by *with* in CAAE, as in (54).

- (54) *Artweye* [man] *anharte* [that] *apelaperrane* [go.along-PRES.IMPFV] *alekamernakake* [dogs-PROP] *weyewarle* [for meat], *arlelke* [hunting]. That man he's goin, with all the dog, him go out hunting, for meat.  
'That man is going along with his dogs to hunt for meat.' (TM 74/5.8)

#### 4.7 The preposition *gottem* in the proprietive function

Another means of rendering the Proprietary case is by means of the preposition *gottem* (variants *gotta* and *got*), which is characteristic of Northern Territory PC languages. This form obviously continues an earlier AP transitive verb *gottem* 'have', presumably derived from SE (*have*) *got* plus the transitivity marker. This AP transitive verb *gottem* has been reanalysed in Northern Territory AP (CAAP and the predecessor of Kriol) as a preposition, presumably under the influence of the local languages. In the languages of this area, clausal possession is indicated, not by means of a verb such as *have* as in English, but by a verbless clause containing as a predicate a noun phrase in the Proprietary or "having" case. Hence a clause meaning 'the man has a wife' would be rendered by 'the man (is) woman-having'. Given the equivalence between prepositions in AP/CAAE and the cases of the traditional Australian languages, it is easy to see how the AP *gottem* would have been interpreted as a preposition meaning 'having'. The relationships between these different interpretations of possessive clauses are illustrated by the hypothetical example of (55), where equivalent SE, AP, CAAE, and Kaytetye versions are juxtaposed.

- (55) SE        The man's got a wife.    ('s got is an auxiliary plus verb)  
AP        Man **gottem** woman.    (*gottem* is a transitive verb 'have')  
CAAE     Man **gottem** woman.    (*gottem* is a preposition 'having')  
Kaytetye *Artweye amarl-akake*.    (*-akake* is a case suffix 'having')

The preposition *gottem*, like the Proprietary case in traditional languages, can be used, in a verbal clause, with a noun phrase related as a secondary predicate to the subject or object; it indicates that the subject (or object) has control over (the referent of) the noun phrase. Examples are given in (56), (57) and (58). Here, examples (56) and (58) demonstrate that *gottem*, or its short form *got*, translates Kaytetye *-akake* (or its short form *-ake*); (58) also shows variability in CAAE between *with* and *got(tem)*, both of which here translate Kaytetye *-ak(ak)e*. Example (59) is the original of which (58) is the translation.

- (56) He can go... *rlwenthakake*, **gottem** light... he carry that *rlwenthe* too, he **gottem** the *rlwenthe*.  
'He goes with a light... he carries the light, he has the light with him.' (TM 74/5.8)
- (57) They had to go **gottem** horses or buggy.  
'They had to go with/by horse and buggy.' (PH KC 31)
- (58) Him bin jump-out, that horse... He... run-away, that horse, with them two man... That horse... jump, **got** two man.  
'The horses jumped and ran off carrying the two men. The horses jumped with the two men on them [i.e., sitting on their backs].' (PH Helicopter 97-98)
- (59) *Nhape* [then] *aylekanthake-pe* [us-PROP] *nantewepe* [horse] *atere-rtame* [frightened-EMPH] *eyetha-neyenenhe* [jumped]. *Atere-pe* [frightened] *aylekanthakake* [us-PROP] *jumparrenherre* [jumped].  
'Then the horses in fright jumped with us two on them. Frightened, they jumped with us on them.' (AK Helicopter 97-98)

The Proprietary case in Kaytetye - and correspondingly the preposition *got(tem)* in CAAE - is also used to relate a noun phrase to the head of another noun phrase in a modifying relation. This is the "adnominal" function of case, in the terminology of Dench and Evans (1988). As in the traditional languages, the Proprietary noun phrase need not be adjacent to the noun it modifies, and in fact can occur without an overt head noun, in a meaning such as 'the one wearing red'. Examples (60) and (61) illustrate this adnominal use of the Proprietary function.

- (60) ... this nother fella him still tryin, this **got** red one, well he still tryin to beat'em.  
'This person wearing red (member of the red team) is still trying to beat him.' (PH 92.2)
- (61) This man gettem 'im, takem, **gottem** handcuff, takem him, makem walk and he **gottem** horse.  
'[The policeman would] get this man, take him wearing handcuffs, and make him walk, while he himself had a horse.' (TT KC 55)

Here the first phrase, *gottem handcuff*, describes the object, *this man/'im*, and the second phrase *gottem horse* is a predicate describing *he*, the policeman.

## 4.8 The privative function

A negative version of the Propriative occurs in many Australian languages. It is called the Privative case and means 'not having' or 'without'. It is reflected in PC by expressions such as *nomore gottem*,<sup>19</sup> *no gottem*, *no got*, *got no* or *no*. The Kaytetye form of the Privative is *-(w)anenye*. The CAAE translation is *no* and *got no*, as shown in examples (62) to (64). In (63), the construction is literally: 'I saw... without a spear'. The last word is linked to the subject as a secondary predicate, as shown by the fact that it is further inflected in the Ergative case (suffix *-le*) in agreement with *atye* 'I (Ergative)'.<sup>20</sup>

- (62) *Kwelarte-lke re enwewethe, entyanenye-lke* [hair-PRIV]... *got no* hair now  
'It will be clean now, with no hair.' [of a game animal after its hair is singed off] (PH 89.1)
- (63) *Weye-pe* [animal] *makwele-rtame* [many-EMPH] ... *areynenge-pe* [euro] *atye* [I] *arenherre* [saw],  
*errtyartewanenyele* [spear-PRIV-ERG]. Ah mob euro ... me, I see'em *arenherre*, *errtyartewanenyele-*  
*mpele*, me no spear. *Got no* spear.  
'I did indeed see a lot of euros, but I didn't have a spear.' (TM 74/5.8)
- (64) Sometimes we bin getting them no clothes!  
'Sometimes we got people who were not wearing clothes.' (SRK KC 119)

## 4.9 Summary of prepositions and cases

The basic mapping of Kaytetye cases onto CAAE prepositions is as follows:

- Both Locative and Allative cases are replicated by *longa*.
- Ablative, Sequentive, and Aversive cases are all replicated by *from*.
- Possessive case is replicated by *blong(int)a*.
- Dative case is replicated by *for*.
- Propriative case is replicated by the more pidgin-like *gottem* or the more English-like *with*.
- Privative case is replicated by *(got) no* and its variants.

The finer details of semantic functions reveal more striking parallels. The coding of Instrumental function by *longa* replicates the Kaytetye use of the Locative case for this function. Although the normal expression of the Purpose function is Kaytetye Dative case and CAAE *for*, the possibility of using *longa* to express purpose with motion verbs reflects the possible use of the Kaytetye Allative case in similar contexts. And the possible use of *blong(int)a* to express purpose matches the similar use of the Kaytetye Possessive case. The coding of specific locations and goals, which in SE is done by prepositions such as *inside*, in CAAE reflects the pattern of Kaytetye: The combination of words like *inside* with CAAE *longa* mirrors the collocation of Kaytetye nouns in Locative or Allative case with a locational word such as *kwene* 'inside'. The English-derived preposition *inside* is treated as a (more noun-like) locational specifier rather

19. See Sandefur (1979: 158) for *nomo gadim* in Northern Territory Kriol.

20. For this agreement function of cases, see Dench and Evans (1998).

than a preposition. Similar complex expressions *right up longa* and *through longa* are used to express Kaytetye Terminative and Perlative cases; here *right up* and *through* have also been reanalysed as locational specifiers, a word class which is characteristic of Australian languages but of not Standard English.

The syncretism in the expression of the Locative and Allative by *longa* and the use of *from* to express a number of semantic functions that are distinguished in Kaytetye does not seem to indicate a simplification of the system of semantic functions so much as the lack of available lexical items in English that could be recruited for their expression. It appears that the system of semantic cases has been recreated practically in its entirety (not quite all uses of cases have been explored systematically).<sup>21</sup> The same cannot be said for the syntactic cases, however. The AL distinction between Ergative case for the subject of a transitive verb and Nominative for the subject of an intransitive verb (and in verbless clauses) does not correspond to anything in the CAAE prepositional system. Instead, transitivity is coded in the verb, by the suffix *-em*. Neither does anything in the prepositional system of CAAE correspond to the Accusative case of ALs, which is normally unmarked (like the nominative) but which in Kaytetye personal pronouns is identical to the Dative. Thus the comparison of case and prepositions shows that semantic case distinctions, but not syntactic case distinctions, are transferred from the substratum.

## 5. Summary and conclusions

We have studied the influence of the grammar of Kaytetye, as a representative of the local Central Australian languages,<sup>22</sup> on an anglicised version of the Australian Pidgin which developed in Central Australia out of the original New South Wales Pidgin. We have found that grammatical categories of Kaytetye are replicated in the grammar of CAAE in considerable detail – including two categories that have not been reported for PC languages. The most original finding is that certain subcategories of the (relatively exotic) category of Associated Motion are reflected in CAAE by the use of expressions such as *go/come/go back (and) VERB* to mark Prior Motion and *VERB (all the way) along* to indicate Concurrent Motion. The former leads to un-English discourse patterns such as *go... go and eat*. The (equally exotic) Dyadic inflection of kin nouns has been replicated in CAAE morphologically, by the creation of a suffix *-gether* from a reanalysis of the English free word *together*, with truncation of its initial unstressed syllable. The creation of affixes in an English-lexifier PC is a rather rare event. CAAE follows English grammar in its use of prepositions rather than case suffixes, but the specific functions of the prepositions that correspond to the semantic cases of Kaytetye replicate their functions in exacting detail.

21. Cf. the nearly wholesale recreation of the Chinese Tense-Aspect system in Singapore English, as argued for in Bao (2005).

22. It remains to be seen how to what extent these findings would agree with the variants of CAAE spoken by speakers of other Centralian languages. I would expect agreement with respect to Dyadic, some minor differences in preposition usage resulting from slightly different case distinctions (see Note 17), and fewer distinctions of Associated Motion from speakers of non-Arandic languages (Warlpiri, Warumungu), where this category is not as fully elaborated.

Not all of the inflectional systems of Kaytetye are transferred into CAAE, however. While personal pronouns follow the usual Australian three-number system and include an inclusive vs. exclusive distinction, the peculiarly Arandic distinctions of generational harmony and patrimoiety identity (see Table 2) are not replicated in CAAE. The unavailability of recruitable English equivalents may have been a factor in this non-transference. Some of the Associated Motion subcategories are likewise not transferred (see Section 3.4). Furthermore, the syntactic case functions – Ergative, Nominative, Accusative – are not reflected as prepositions, as the semantic cases are. Those grammatico-semantic distinctions that have been transferred into CAAE, however, give this linguistic variety a greater degree of complexity and typological distinctiveness than is considered normal for PC languages. The source of this complexity can only be explained in terms of transfer from the substratum of the speakers' primary language(s).

### List of abbreviations

2DU	second-person dual	LOC	locative
AE	Aboriginal English	NSWP	New South Wales Pidgin
AL	Australian language	NTE	Northern Territory English
ALL	Allative case	OBLIG	Obligative mood
AP	Australian Pidgin	PC	pidgins and creoles
CAAE	Central Australian Aboriginal English	POSS	Possessive case
CAAP	Central Australian Aboriginal Pidgin	PPLSS	same subject participle
DAT	Dative case	PRES	Present tense
EMPH	emphatic enclitic	PRIV	Privative case
ERG	Ergative case	PROP	Proprietary case
FUT	Future tense	PURP	Purposive mood
IMPFV	Imperfective aspect	RED	reduplication
K	Kaytetye	SE	Standard English
KC	<i>Kaytetye Country</i>		

### References

- Allridge, C. 1984. Aboriginal English as a Post-Pidgin. BA Honours thesis, Australian National University.
- Amery, R. & Mühlhäusler, P. 1996. Pidgin English in New South Wales. In *Atlas of Languages of Intercultural Communication in the Pacific, Asia, and the Americas*, Vol. 2(1), S. Wurm, P. Mühlhäusler & D. T. Tryon (eds), 33–52. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Bao, Z. 2005. The aspectual system of Singapore English and the systemic substratist explanation. *Journal of Linguistics* 41: 237–267.
- Blake, B. J. 1977. *Case Marking in Australian languages*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.
- Blake, B. J. 1987. *Australian Aboriginal Grammar*. London: Croom Helm.
- Clark, I. D., Mühlhäusler, P. & Amery, R. 1996. Language contacts and Pidgin English in Victoria. In *Atlas of Languages of Intercultural Communication in the Pacific, Asia, and the Americas*, Vol. 2(1), S. Wurm, P. Mühlhäusler & D. T. Tryon (eds), 53–68. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Dench, A. & Evans, N. 1988. Multiple case marking in Australian languages. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 8: 1–48.

- Dixon, R. M. W. 1980. *The Languages of Australia*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Dixon, T. S. 1987. *The Wizard of Alice: Father Dixon and the Stuart Case*. Morwell VIC/Bloomington IN: Alella Books.
- Eades, D. 1995. Aboriginal English on trial: The case for Stuart and Condren. In *Language in Evidence: Issues Confronting Aboriginal and Multicultural Australia*, D. Eades (ed.), 147–174. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press.
- Elwell, V. M. R. 1979. English-as-a-Second-Language in Aboriginal Australia: A Case Study of Milingimbi. MA thesis, Australian National University.
- Evans, N. 2006. Dyadic constructions. In *Encyclopedia of Language & Linguistics*, 2nd edn., K. Brown (ed.), 24–28. Oxford: Elsevier.
- Foster, R., Monaghan, P. & Mühlhäusler, P. 2003. *Early Forms of Aboriginal English in South Australia, 1840s–1920s*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Hale, K. 1966. Kinship reflections in syntax: Some Australian examples. *Word* 22: 318–332.
- Harkins, J. 1994. *Bridging Two Worlds: Aboriginal English and Crosscultural Understanding*. St Lucia QLD: University of Queensland Press.
- Hudson, J. 1983. *Grammatical and Semantic Aspects of Fitzroy Valley Kriol* [Work Papers of SIL-AAB A8]. Darwin: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Koch, G. (ed.). 1993. *Kaytetye Country: An Aboriginal History of the Barrow Creek Area*. Alice Springs: Institute for Aboriginal Development.
- Koch, H. 1982. Kinship categories in Kaytej pronouns. In *Languages of Kinship in Aboriginal Australia* [Oceania Linguistic Monographs 24], J. Heath, F. Merlan & A. Rumsey (eds), 64–71. Sydney: University of Sydney.
- Koch, H. 1984a. Pidgin English of Central Australia. Paper presented at Symposium on English-based Pidgins and Creoles in Australia and the South-West Pacific at the 54th ANZAAS Congress, 15 April 1984, Canberra.
- Koch, H. 1984b. The category of 'associated motion' in Kaytej. *Language in Central Australia* 1: 23–34.
- Koch, H. 1985. Nonstandard English in an Aboriginal land claim. In *Cross-Cultural Encounters: Communication and Miscommunication*, J. B. Pride (ed.), 176–195. Melbourne: River Seine Publications.
- Koch, H. 1990a. Do Australian languages really have morphemes? Issues in Kaytej morphology. In *Language and History: Essays in Honour of Luise A. Hercus*, P. Austin, R. M. W. Dixon, T. Dutton & I. White (eds), 193–208. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Koch, H. 1990b. Language and communication in Aboriginal land claim hearings. *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics, Series S*, No. 5: 1–47.
- Koch, H. 1991. Language and communication in Aboriginal land claim hearings. In *Language in Australia*, S. Romaine (ed.), 94–103. Cambridge: CUP.
- Koch, H. 2000. Central Australian Aboriginal English: In comparison with the morphosyntactic categories of Kaytetye. *Asian Englishes: An International Journal of the Sociolinguistics of English in Asia/Pacific* 3: 32–58.
- Koch, H. 2004. The Arandic subgroup of Australian languages. In *Australian Languages: Classification and the Comparative Method* [Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 249], C. Bower & H. Koch (eds), 127–150. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Koch, H. 2006. Languages of the world: Kaytetye. In *The Encyclopedia of Language & Linguistics*, 2nd edn., K. Brown (ed.), 170–172. Oxford: Elsevier.
- Koch, H. 2007. An overview of Australian traditional languages. In *The Habitat of Australia's Aboriginal Languages: Past, Present and Future*, G. Leitner & I. G. Malcolm (eds), 23–56. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Longacre, R. 1976. *An Anatomy of Speech Notions*. Lisse: Peter de Ridder.
- Malcolm, I. G. & Grote, E. 2007. Aboriginal English: Restructured variety for cultural maintenance. In *The Habitat of Australia's Aboriginal Languages: Past, Present and Future*, G. Leitner & I. G. Malcolm (eds), 153–179. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Merlan, F. & Heath, J. 1982. Dyadic kinship terms. In *Languages of Kinship in Aboriginal Australia* [Oceania Linguistic Monographs 24], J. Heath, F. Merlan & A. Rumsey (eds), 107–124. Sydney: University of Sydney.
- Mühlhäusler, P. 1979. Remarks on the Pidgin and Creole situation in Australia. *A.I.A.S. Newsletter* 12: 41–53.

## Journal Articles (Category 6)

In order to prove the journal article you provide the following materials:

- ✓ Pdf found online or a scan of the original
- ✓ Pdf showing journal title/volume/ISSN and contents list (if this is available)
- ✓ Evidence indicating the author's affiliation (ie. Showing in the byline or cover page is available) Affiliation statement
- ✓ Provide Codes most appropriate to the journal. They are required for ERA (Excellent Research Achievement)

If the journal is not already indicated in *Ulrich's Periodical Directory* or indicated in *Ulrich's Periodical Directory* or peer reviewed in any of the following:

- ✓ Statement (letter, email) from the publisher
- ✓ Statement copied from within the journal
- ✓ Statement from the publisher's website
- ✓ Pdf of a peer review report for the article

## Conference Papers (Category 6)

In order to prove the conference paper you provide the following materials:

- ✓ Pdf of the full conference paper (full paper or extended abstract was refereed conference proceedings title, contents list, website etc) Please also provide Ulrich's Periodical Directory
- ✓ Proof of national or international status
- ✓ Evidence indicating the author's affiliation contributors' list or a signed affiliation statement from staff
- ✓ Provide Codes most appropriate to the journal. They are required for ERA (Excellent Research Achievement)

You must also prove that the full conference paper can be provided in any of the following ways:

- ✓ Statement (letter, email) from editor
- ✓ Statement copied from within the journal
- ✓ Statement from the conference's website
- ✓ Pdf of a review by a peer given for the paper

Useful additional information:

[HERDC Publications Categories](#)

[Note to staff requesting publications](#)

[Frequently Asked Questions \(FAQs\)](#)

[Foreign Language Publications](#)

ANU Research Office, Publications: [http://www.anu.edu.au/research-office/publications](#)

This page is available online at: <http://www.anu.edu.au/research-office/publications>

- Mühlhäusler, P. 1996. The diffusion of Pidgin English in Australia. In *Atlas of Languages of Intercultural Communication in the Pacific, Asia, and the Americas*, Vol. 2(1), S. Wurm, P. Mühlhäusler & D. T. Tryon (eds), 143-146. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Mühlhäusler, P. 2008. History of research into Australian pidgins and creoles. In *Encountering Aboriginal Languages: Studies in the History of Australian Linguistics*, W. B. McGregor (ed.), 437-457. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Read, P. & Read, J. 1991. *Long Time, Olden Time: Aboriginal Accounts of Northern Territory History*. Alice Springs: Institute for Aboriginal Development.
- Sandefur, J. R. 1979. *An Australian Creole in the Northern Territory: A Description of Ngukurr-Bamyili Dialects, Part 1* [Work Papers of SIL-AAB B3]. Darwin: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Sandefur, J. R. 1986. *Kriol of North Australia: A Language Coming of Age* [Work Papers of SIL-AAB A10]. Darwin: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Sandefur, J. R. & Sandefur, J. L. 1979. *Beginnings of a Ngukurr-Bamyili Creole Dictionary* [Work Papers of SIL-AAB B4]. Darwin: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Sharpe, M. C. 1977. Alice Springs Aboriginal Children's English. In *Language Problems and Aboriginal Education*, E. Brumby & E. Vaszolyi (eds), 45-50. Mount Lawley WA: Mount Lawley College of Advanced Education.
- Sharpe, M. C. 1979. Alice Springs Aboriginal Children's English. In *Australian Linguistic Studies*, S. A. Wurm (ed.), 733-747. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Troy, J. 1994. *Melaleuka: A History and Description of New South Wales Pidgin*, 2 Vols. PhD dissertation, Australian National University.
- Tunbridge, D. 1988. Affixes of motion and direction in Adnyamathanha. In *Complex Sentence Constructions in Australian Languages* [Typological Studies in Language 15], P. Austin (ed.), 267-283. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Turpin, M. 2000. *A Learner's Guide to Kaytetye*. Alice Springs: IAD Press.
- Turpin, M. In press. *Kaytetye to English Dictionary*. Alice Springs: IAD Press.
- Wilkins, D. 1991. The semantics, pragmatics and diachronic development of 'associated motion' in Mparntwe Arrernte. *Buffalo Papers in Linguistics* 91: 207-257.
- Yallop, C. 1982. *Australian Aboriginal Languages*. London: André Deutsch.