The Verb Phrase in Kununurra Kriol

Contact and Change in a Multilingual Community

Thomas Batchelor

2023
UNIVERSITÄT ZU KÖLN
Philosophische Fakultät

The Verb Phrase in Kununurra Kriol:

Contact and Change in a Multilingual Community

Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades der Philosophischen Fakultät

der Universität zu Köln

im Fach Anglistik

vorgelegt von

Thomas Batchelor

Geb. am 21.10.1995

In Chelmsford, Großbritannien

16.11.2023

Acknowledgements

Above all else, nothing contained within this work would have been possible without the Miriwoong community in Kununurra, to whom I also dedicate this dissertation. The wonderful community at the Mirima Dawang Woorlab-gerring Language and Culture Centre and at Waringarri Arts were indispensable in sharing their immense wealth of linguistic and cultural knowledge. I cannot thank the community enough for allowing me to undertake this project with them, for welcoming me – an outsider – into their community, and for working with me even through all the troubles of the pandemic.

I must also thank my two supervisors, Prof. Dany Adone at the University of Cologne, and Dr. Knut Olawsky at the Language Centre in Kununurra, for their guidance and patience in getting me through the whole project. Working at the University of Cologne under Prof. Adone throughout the project was tremendously valuable in the wisdom, experience and direction I received, broadening my horizons with involvement in other related projects as well. Prof. Adone's support as I first moved to Germany to take this project was also essential in making a stressful intercontinental move a smooth one.

Other people around me have over the years provided invaluable support, academic or otherwise. My fantastic colleagues at the University of Cologne: Kathrin Brandt, Melanie Brück, Astrid Gramatke, David Kern, Mareike Plenk, Sandra Ringsmut, thank you for the years-long *Unterstützung,* company, and advice in all matters. In Australia, Connor Brown and Dr. Maïa Ponsonnet helped me gaining access to Kununurra Kriol data even through the COVID lockdowns, and offered their own perspectives and insights into the data. Maïa, along with Dr. Caroline Jones, were also the ones who first got me down this Kriol path, supervising my Honours thesis many years ago now, and still helping me out to this day.

I would like to show my deep appreciation for Dr. Yari Wildheart, for all these years of friendship that have now seen us both end up with our own doctorates. Yari has been great support both as a friend and as an academic. He has been someone who I could turn to and bounce ideas off and discuss bits I was less sure about, to proofread the work to make sure it actually made sense to anyone else, and provide all-important moral support the whole way.

I would like to be immensely grateful for my partner, Tsai Yunting, for all her support and patience especially as things got more stressful in the tail end of the project. Finally, my family, my friends, and other acquaintances, worldwide, online and off, have been an essential support network, especially when I regaled them with the exciting details of grammatical structures: Anna, Ellison, Franz, Gerald, Greg, Jack, Karin, Ling, the Listers, Mario, Minerva, René, Sharon, and many more that have probably slipped my mind when writing this (sorry).

Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

List of Abbreviations

Glossing abbreviations

ABS	Absolutive
ACC	Accusative
ADJ	Adjective
CONSEC	Consecutive
DET	Determiner
DU	Dual
EMPH	Emphatic
ERG	Ergative
EXCL	Exclusive
FUT	Future
HAB	Habitual
INCL	Inclusive
LOC	Locative
MOD	Mood
NEG	Negation
NFUT	Non-Future
NML	Nominaliser
NOM	Nominative
OBJ	Object
PASS	Passive
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive
PROG	Progressive
PRS	Present
PST	Past
REDUP	Reduplication
SG	Singular
SUBJ	Subject
TNS	Tense
TR	Transitive
REFL	Reflexive
1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person

Other abbreviations

ABC	Australian Broadcasting Corporation
ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
AIATSIS	Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies
DP	Determiner Phrase
IP	Inflectional Phrase
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language
LBH	Language Bioprogramme Hypothesis
MDWg	Mirima Dawang Woorlab-gerring Language and Culture Centre
NAPLAN	National Assessment Program – Literacy and Numeracy
NP	Noun Phrase
NSW	New South Wales
NT	Northern Territory
PP	Prepositional Phrase
QLD	Queensland
SAE	Standard Australian English
SIL	Summer Institute of Linguistics
SLA	Second Language Acquisition
TMA	Tense Mood/Modality Aspect
TP	Tense Phrase
VP	Verb Phrase
WA	Western Australia

1. Introduction

In this dissertation, I seek to investigate and provide a thorough discussion of the verb phrase in Kununurra Kriol, an English-lexified Creole language spoken by many Aboriginal residents, primarily Miriwoong, of the town of Kununurra in the eastern Kimberley region in the northern part of the Australian state of Western Australia.

The reasons for the documentation of any language are numerous. Chief amongst these reasons are driven by the desires of the very community that uses the language. Such a desire has been expressed by the Miriwoong community in Kununurra, Western Australia, with regards to Kununurra Kriol, the primary language of everyday communication in the community. Often, the presence of academic literature documenting a language provides vital input towards its formal recognition at a societal and governmental level, and in turn for supporting the sovereignty and rights of its community of speakers. Alongside such community needs and desire, a deeper understanding of the structures present in a language also deepen our related understanding of such structures from a scientific, linguistic perspective.

1.1. Goals and Framework

In consideration of the relative lack of documentation of Kununurra Kriol, as well as the wishes of the Miriwoong community, the goals of this dissertation primarily seek to provide documentation and discussion of features found in the language. The core focus of this dissertation writ large is to provide a detailed discussion of several selected features of the structure of the verb phrase in Kununurra Kriol. Due to the inherent length constraints of this dissertation, the focus will be an in-depth analysis of several selected aspects, rather than a complete comprehensive description. The features of the verb phrase that have been selected in this dissertation are: the status and process of the borrowing of verbs, particularly Miriwoong, into Kununurra Kriol; the morphosyntactic behaviour of transitivity, and the relation between the verb and its respective arguments; a feature that is less commonly found amongst Creole languages, passive constructions; and a feature that is contrastively common, Serial Verb Constructions.

This dissertation is not limited just to the documentation of these features of the verb phrase. Beyond documentation, these features are also to be analysed and, importantly, discussed as well. Himmelmann (1998), for instance, makes it clear that description and analysis are distinct activities, yet closely tied in the broader documentation of languages; description and presentation of data often

begets analysis by default. Frequent illustrative examples taken directly from the corpus provide a basic analysis of the structures in their presentation. Each feature is then accompanied by further commentary and discussion regarding the underlying morphosyntactic structures and the implications for both Kununurra Kriol and theoretical assumptions made around them to produce an in depth analysis. Within this scope, this dissertation takes an approach that largely traces generative traditions in the analysis of underlying grammatical structures, following the framework established by influential scholars such as Noam Chomsky.

As well as providing a structural understanding of the Kununurra Kriol verb phrase, I wish to also consider its sociolinguistic context. After all, Creole languages are overwhelmingly driven in their development by the immediate and historical social context that surrounds them. Theory is rendered meaningless to the material world without considering the conditions in which it is worked and applied. Therefore, I also aim to provide sociolinguistic context both at a general level for Australia and for Kununurra more specifically, as well as context for the usage of the features covered within this dissertation. Following the documentation of all features, the dissertation will finally turn to the discussion of sociolinguistic aspects that have shaped Kununurra Kriol and its verb phrase.

Further study of Creole languages in the Asia-Pacific region such as Kununurra Kriol can also provide major contributions to our understanding of Creole languages at a theoretical level more broadly. As Meakins (2023: 170) states, “much of the theoretical literature on the origins and development of Creoles has remained largely Atlantic-focussed”. An in-depth study of Kununurra Kriol, both descriptive and analytical, is therefore highly beneficial to the theoretical field of Creole studies in general. This is in addition to the importance of descriptive work in raising our understanding and the profile of Creole languages and their speakers in Australia, which continue to be underrepresented in linguistic discourse in the country.

To summarise the goals of this dissertation, the most primary is to provide a discussion of selected aspects of the Kununurra Kriol verb phrase, in support of the needs and desires of the Miriwoong community. Supplementing this, this dissertation will also contribute towards an analysis of these aspects, following a generative linguistic framework. It will also present these aspects of the verb phrase in their linguistic developmental context, considering the contribution of the sociolinguistic setting that the language exists in. Finally, this research should also aim to locate Kununurra Kriol within the broader scientific context of not just Creole studies, but also linguistics in general.

1.2. Structure of this Dissertation

The structure of this dissertation can be thematically divided into three main parts. The first part is the Background, there the fundamental background information of the dissertation will be laid out. This

first part consists of chapters 2 through 5. Chapter 2 provides a broad theoretical background and literature review to the study of Creole languages, including linguistic definitions and typology, as well as some of the approaches made regarding their genesis and development from different theoretical perspectives past and present. It also includes a brief overview of the highly relevant sociolinguistic situation faced by many Creole languages around the world, a result of their unique, yet broadly uniting, historical circumstances.

Chapter 3 offers a brief overview of Australian history leading up to, including, and following one of the most pivotal events in the development of the continent: the European invasion. History is something that cannot be disregarded, especially in the study of Creole languages. This chapter starts with an overview of some broader Australian history, before moving the focus towards the north, where the main subject of this dissertation is located. This chapter provides essential context to the genesis and development of Creole languages in Australia, including Kununurra Kriol, as well as their ongoing relationship with both traditional Indigenous languages and the colonial English language.

Chapter 4 thus brings our focus fully on the sociolinguistic situation that can be found in the region surrounding Kununurra and its people today. It provides a brief typological overview of the traditional Indigenous language of the region, Miriwoong, which albeit critically endangered, plays a key role in the development of Kununurra Kriol. The chapter also provides an overview of previous and other current scholarly work that has been done on other Creole languages of Australia, followed by a survey of the situation currently faced by Kununurra Kriol itself. The newly developed Kununurra Kriol orthography, along with a discussion regarding its development, is also included within this chapter.

Chapter 5 describes the methodology and approaches used during this dissertation, including the collection and processing of data during fieldwork. Methods of data collection and storage are described, such as the formats used for interviewing informants, and any stimulus material used. This chapter also stakes out the ethical framework that has been adopted in the course of work on this dissertation, in a way that provides benefit to the community which I have worked in to collect data, respects Indigenous sovereignty, and seeks to minimise the divide between the researcher and researched. Transparency regarding issues encountered in the course of fieldwork is also discussed in this chapter.

Following the background established in the first part, the second part of this dissertation is the Analysis, where the selected features of the Kununurra Kriol verb phrase will be documented and analysed in depth. Each chapter also provides relevant theoretical background on the selected feature. These chapters are the core section of the dissertation. Chapter 6 starts by documenting and discussing the extensive practice of borrowing and code-switching of Miriwoong verbs within Kununurra Kriol. This covers both the structural and social underpinnings of the process of borrowing and code-switching. In Chapter 7, I analyse the behaviour and interactions of transitivity marking in Kununurra

Kriol, a feature noted to be present in many English-lexified Creole languages of Australia and the Asia-Pacific region, with much variation between languages. Other interactions with arguments, such as topicalisation, the omission of arguments, and double-object constructions, are also covered in this chapter.

Chapter 8 describes a feature that is sometimes considered to be markedly less common amongst Creole languages, but is nevertheless present in Kununurra Kriol as an innovative feature; passive constructions (eg. Bickerton 1981/2016). Alongside these complex constructions, other equivalent constructions, such as reflexives, are also described and analysed. Chapter 9 covers a feature that is, in contrast to the previous, notably common amongst Creole languages in the world: Serial Verb Constructions. These appear in Kununurra Kriol in several forms and appear to be innovative within the language, without a direct precedent in either superstrate English or the substrate Miriwoong.

Finally, the third part of this dissertation is the Discussion. This consists of a single overall discussion chapter. In Chapter 10, I once again zoom out and look at the aforementioned data analysis from a wider angle. Whilst individual analysis chapters include discussion of the relevant feature, this chapter will discuss the broader implications of the overall findings of this dissertation, connecting Kununurra Kriol with other Creole languages in Australia, the wider region, and worldwide, as well as theoretical contributions in the study of the verb phrase in general. Following this, a conclusion chapter will summarise the main findings and takeaway points made throughout this dissertation.

1.3. A Note on Terminology

Australian Kriol is an umbrella term for a set of English-lexified Creole languages made up of several major varieties spoken across northern Australia. Some of these varieties have overlapping and synonymous naming conventions. This dissertation is concerned with the variety of Kriol spoken around Kununurra, Western Australia. In this dissertation, the term *Kununurra Kriol* is used for this variety. Several alternative terms have been used in previous scholarship, often including Kununurra within broader regional groupings, such as Kimberley Kriol and Westside Kriol.

Kununurra Kriol is the term adopted by the community and endorsed by the Mirima Dawang Woorlab-gerring Language and Culture Centre to refer to this variety, reflecting the identity of its speakers as using a distinct language local to the Kununurra area. Additional names used in the community also include *Miriwoong Kriol* – particularly by those that are themselves Miriwoong – as well as *Jarrakan Kriol* (sometimes spelt *Jarragan Kriol*), reflecting the input of the Jarrakan languages around Kununurra beyond just Miriwoong.

2. Theoretical Background

Creole languages are relatively young languages, many of which born out of the linguistic contact and chaos caused by the era of Imperialism. Many of these have been popularly disregarded as incomplete languages, as wreckage left in the wake of Imperialism, and as badly spoken imitations of colonial languages of much higher status. This is despite, in actuality, being complete linguistic systems just as any other natural language. As such, the academic study of Creole languages, particularly as a distinct category of new languages, is also a relatively young one (Holm 2000: 1-4). Whilst several descriptions of Creole languages appeared from the 19th century, it was not until the late 1950s and 1960s that a distinct field of Creole studies emerged, with the first conference on Creole languages being held in 1959 (DeCamp 1968).

In this chapter, the theoretical underpinnings of Creole studies will be discussed. A definition of Pidgin and Creole languages must be delineated, drawing from the current and past body of theoretical and empirical research available today. This will examine the different definitions and types of Pidgin and Creole languages that have been identified around the world to date. Furthermore, the genesis of Creole languages, also known as creolisation, has been and remains a hotly contested area in the field of Creole studies, with wider implications for the nature of language.

As languages born out of intense contact situations, there is also much to investigate from the often-ongoing role of other languages in the formation of Creole languages. This does not just include the overt influences asserted by the superstrate language, often the dominant colonial language. It also investigates the role of substrate languages, native languages of the Creole speakers themselves, which provide immense, but less visible, influences upon the structure of the Creole language itself. It is these substrate influences that shape Creole languages into how they are today.

Finally, the sociolinguistic position and status of Creole languages is one that has further implications on their formation and development. In a nominally post-colonial world, some have gained governmental support or even recognition as official languages, whilst others remain unrecognised and relatively unsupported. Despite differing experiences across the world in distinct contexts, there are nonetheless several common threads that can be drawn between the experiences of Creole speaking communities.

2.1. Definitions and Typology

Pidgin and Creole languages, along with Mixed Languages, are fundamentally languages that have come about in situations of language contact, in what Bickerton (1988: 268) terms a “catastrophic”

process of language creation, opposed to a "gradual" one. They are, as a result, sometimes claimed to be the languages with the world's "simplest grammars" (McWhorter 2001). However, it is often suggested that there are distinct features that identify each of these three major categories of contact language, particularly surrounding the sociolinguistic circumstances of their origin. As well as social aspects, it is also often suggested that Pidgin, Creole and Mixed Languages can also be identified through a selection of structural features within the languages themselves. In this section, the definitions of these contact languages, and typological considerations suggested about them, will be discussed.

Pidgins are, in their most basic and core definition, simplified languages that appear when people of at least two different linguistic backgrounds come into close and regular contact with one another (Bakker 1994). At an individual level, this may result in the appearance of a jargon, an ad hoc communicative tool between such groups. However, in these situations where a common language is lacking for regular, prolonged contact, a Pidgin may emerge as a means to bridge this communicative gap between speaker communities and engage in, for example, trade and negotiation (Holm 2000, Velupillai 2015). Pidgins, therefore, do acquire a regularised structure to them, albeit one that is simplified compared to a language that is spoken as a native language, outside the specific purposes in which a Pidgin arises, and this needs to be learnt, rather than produced ad hoc (Thomason & Kaufman 1988, Bakker 1994). Derived from a purported Chinese pronunciation of "business" by speakers of the first known Pidgin, Chinese Pidgin English, the very etymology of 'Pidgin' reveals the communicative, purposive nature in which they often emerge (Baker & Mühlhäusler 1990). It is from such contact situations that, under the right conditions, a new, fully expanded native language may be born.

Many Creole languages originated as Pidgins, and many Pidgins may have their origins as jargons, as communicative needs between groups increase (Holm 2000). The most important distinction between a Pidgin and a Creole language is that, whilst Pidgins are simplified languages for communication between adults, Creole languages have acquired native speakers, through a process known as creolisation (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 169-70, Thomason 1997). This therefore prompts their expansion into fully functional natural languages, with a population of children acquiring them as their first language. Whilst it may difficult to ascertain the difference between Pidgin and Creole languages from the structures exhibited between them, the former remain in use for limited functions by largely adult speakers, whereas the latter are used as everyday vernacular languages (Mufwene 1997). Some scholars, such as Bakker (1994), have countered that Pidgins do in fact display distinct features, particularly in that they tend to pattern more with the local language, rather than with the colonial language as with Creole languages, making them additionally more diverse in appearance. Nevertheless, the key distinction between Pidgin and Creole language is widely regarded to be the presence of native speakers of the language, which Pidgins fundamentally lack. The process of

creolisation, also known as Creole genesis, is a frequently debated field in Creole studies, and will be discussed in greater detail in section 2.2.

In terms of the geopolitical settings of their origins, Creole languages are often divided into three main types, as outlined by Bickerton (1988), initially as two types. The first type, 'plantation' Creoles, are those which commonly developed in the context of plantation slave labour, whereby slaves, largely from different parts of west Africa, were forced to work on fields together under European masters. This resulted in the formation of very small, compact, yet linguistically diverse, communities. The minor contact with the European masters became the main, however scant, opportunity for a common language between them, its role enhanced by the need for orders to be understood. The second type developed in 'fort' situations, where a small European outpost was established for purposes such as trade. As opposed to the labour relations of plantations, forts allowed for more "intimate" communication between the European elite, household servants and other Indigenous communities dependent upon economic activities, such as trade and servant work, occurring at the fort. In both cases, the Creole arises as a result of non-Europeans acquiring European languages (Bickerton 1988: 270-1).

A third type develops in situations separate from the colonial imposition. These 'maroon' Creoles emerged out of communities of slaves who had escaped from plantations and formed their own distinct community away from colonial authority. These languages maintain far less connection to the superstrate language than the other two predominant types (Arends 1994: 16). In all these three scenarios, creolisation is posited to occur primarily in children, within one or two generations of its appearance (Bickerton 1988: 268). In addition to these three types, Arends (1993, 1994) posits an additional fourth category of Creole language: those which have developed out of Pidgins that have gradually obtained a native speaker population and become full Creole languages. In this scenario, creolisation is a more gradual process that occurs over several generations, potentially over centuries, rather than within a single generation as proposed by Bickerton. Additionally, this scenario posits adults as the primary agents of creolisation, rather than children.

Another framework is proposed by Chaudenson (2001: 22-3) on the relation of the Creole language and its development with the languages that have contributed to its strata, somewhat similar to the plantation and fort types outlined by Bickerton (1988). 'Endogenous' Creole languages are those which developed in areas where the substrate languages were still spoken. These largely arose as a result of the colonial seizure and control of an area and imposition of foreign rule – including language – upon the Indigenous population there. In contrast, 'exogenous' Creole languages are those which have arisen in a third location, where a displaced community has found itself mixed with others. In this setting, it may be, for example, a slave population that has been displaced from its homeland and taken to a colony for resource extraction, as happened in the development of Haitian Creole. Australian Kriol would be one such example of an endogenous Creole, as it emerged in contact with

the colonial English language imposed upon the population and remains in close contact to this day. This differing proximity to the substrates, in the former, and superstrates, in the latter, can produce Creole languages that show more influence of one over the other upon the shape and structure of the language that does emerge (Singler 1988).

The similar sociohistorical origin of Creole languages has been suggested to have also created a typological class of languages, distinguished by a series of structural features typical of a genesis in a colonial, multilingual setting. Over the course of the decades since the establishment of the study of Creole languages, there has been ongoing efforts to identify specific features that could be representative of a prototypical Creole, linking them together in a single typological group. A range of collections of common features that are said to typify a Creole typological class, and from which one can determine a language's status as Creole or non-Creole language, have been developed and put forwards.

In one of the earliest attempts to identify these typical Creole features, Taylor (1971) notes that even earlier typologies of Creole languages would classify them using the lexifier language as the basis for comparison, however there are apparent similarities – and likewise, differences from the lexifiers – that bridge these groupings across Creoles. Looking at the features of several Creole languages from English, French and Portuguese lexifier sources, the following "characteristic" Creole features are suggested (Taylor 1971: 293-4):

1. Third person pronoun as a nominal pluraliser.
2. Combination of past and future markers used to express conditional.
3. 'Give' shares the function of a dative preposition.
4. Wh-questions formed through a combination of 'what' and thing/person/place/time.
5. (a) absolute possessive constructions expressed using a prepositional phrase and (b) a nominal phrase.
6. Postponed demonstratives.
7. Postponed definite articles.
8. Postponed pronominal determiners.
9. 'Body' used to express reflexive constructions.
10. (a) Iterative/habitual function merged with completive, (b) progressive, and (c) future.
11. *Na* used as a locative preposition.
12. *Ma* used as a disjunctive.

These features, like others that follow, attempt to create a set of characteristics to identify a Creole language, and have even been used as the basis for determining whether a language could be considered to be a Creole or not, as with Markey (1982). However, even Taylor (1971: 295) notes that none of these features are present in all the 13 Creole languages surveyed in the respective study. This is a problem that has plagued many of these attempts to define Creoles as a typological class, even

considering the apparent bias in sampling only Creole languages with European lexifiers. Particularly, Creoles of the Atlantic region are especially overrepresented in most surveys of Creole features, often representing over half of the dataset (Michaelis 2020).

More recently, there have been efforts to use statistical methods to compare en masse a large sample of both Creole and non-Creole languages, in order to mechanically determine distinct typological features and minimise regional biases (Daval-Markussen 2013). One large phylogenetic statistical study uses data from the WALS database, for non-Creoles, and APiCS, for Creole languages, as well as using the 97 morphosyntactic features described in the former as the basis for analysis. They found that there are four of these features that can be used to identify Creole languages, as distinct from non-Creole languages, including non-European Creole languages often neglected by such sample studies (Daval-Markussen 2013, Daval-Markussen & Bakker 2017). The following four features clustered Creole languages together, albeit not exclusively; some minor outlier non-Creole languages also clustered with the Creoles (Daval-Markussen & Bakker 2017: 126-8):

1. Indefinite article derived from ‘one’.
2. No inflection on TMA marking.
3. Negation expressed using a particle.
4. Predicative possession expressed with the verb ‘have’.

As noted above, it has been long suggested that shared features are a result of the common origins experienced in the process of creolisation. Indeed, Daval-Markussen (2013: 291-2) suggests that these four features could be a result of such a shared experience, where the grammaticalisation of such features is both recent and influenced by similar motivations from contact-induced simplification.

McWhorter (2005: 131-5) criticises many previous approaches to the formation of Creole languages as a typological class as becoming overly reliant on syntactic features alone in their endeavour, and are, he argues, often dependent on the notion of Creole languages as becoming “simpler” than their lexifier antecedents. These explanations, therefore, either tend towards representing Creoles as their substrate structures with a different, superstrate surface, or on the opposite side as simply natural language change. In constructing a more flexible set of typical Creole features, additional factors that make their development unique outside the syntactic base are considered (McWhorter 1998). McWhorter (1998: 792-9), accordingly, suggests three core linguistic features that define Creole languages as a typological class:

1. Inflectional morphology is minimal, if present at all.
2. Tone plays little to no role, even when tonal languages are present in the strata.
3. Derivation is semantically transparent.

These three core features particularly highlight the relative opacity (or transparency) of the relevant linguistic aspects of the language. These are, essentially, elements of language that are, in the case of

features 1 and 2, more difficult for L2 speakers of a language to pick up and in the case of 3, a process that is transparent to one with a less firm L1 grasp on a language and its internal processes. What makes these features particularly Creole features is their relevance to the L2 language learner; one of the proposed core demographics in the genesis of Creole languages.

In both capturing a typological class and offering an explanation for such similarities, perhaps one of the most important efforts, and most lasting in its impact, to produce a list of core features of Creole languages, has been established by Bickerton (1981/2016, 1988). These have served not only as a basis for the typological study of Creole languages, but also form the theoretical underpinnings of his major Bioprogram hypothesis, a universalist account of Creole genesis that is explored further in section 2.2 of this dissertation. These proposed core Creole features stress the role of Universal Grammar in the genesis of Creole languages, in opposition to the strong focus on Second Language Acquisition by McWhorter (1998). The twelve features are as follows, with relevant examples for the features broadly relating to the verb phrase, our main topic of this dissertation (Bickerton 1981/2016: 48-67):

1. Focus is done through leftward movement of the constituent.
2. Creoles use a definite article for presupposed specific NPs, indefinite for asserted specific NPs, and zero article for nonspecific NPs.
3. TMA is marked through the use of preverbal particles, with a specific order of Tense-Modality-Aspect.

(2.1) *Wat yoo bin garra pooloom long dat modiga?*

wat	yoo	bin	garra	pool-im	long	dat	modiga
what	2SG	PST	must	pull-TR	LOC	DET	car

'What did you have to pull the car with?' (Kununurra Kriol)
[RB 20190819_Ro_Di]

4. A distinction between realised and unrealised complementisers.
5. Creoles lack relative pronouns except where the subject noun is the head. Subject-copying is a common strategy.
6. Negation is marked on the NP as well as the VP in nondefinite negative clauses.

(2.2)

ngka	ng'koza	nte	mersimentu
not	no-thing	not-have	value

'Nothing has any value.' (Papia Kristang)
(Bickerton 1981/2016: 61)

7. Existential and possessive functions are expressed by the same lexical item.

(2.3) dem *get* wan uman we *get* gyal-pikni
'There is a woman who has a daughter.' (Guyana Creole)
(Bickerton 1981/2016: 61)

8. Zero copula is the norm. Locatives have a specific limited copula.

(2.4) *Dij dat Lower Ord na.*

dij	dat	lower ord	na
this	that	Lower Ord	EMPH

'This [is] that Lower Ord [River].' (Kununurra Kriol)
[GGN 20190815_Gl]

9. Adjectives surface as stative verbs.

(2.5) i wiiri
'He is tired.' (Guyana Creole)
(Bickerton 1981/2016: 63)

10. There is no syntactic difference between indicative and interrogative clauses. If there are question particles, they are sentence-final and optional.

(2.6a)	yo	pa-t-a-vlé	mênê-m	lakay-li
	they	not-TNS-MOD-want	take-me	house-his

'They wouldn't have wanted to take me to his house.'

(2.6b)	yo	pa-t-a-vlé	mênê-m	lakay-li?
	they	not-TNS-MOD-want	take-me	house-his

'Wouldn't they have wanted to take me to his house?' (Haitian Creole)
(Bickerton 1981/2016: 65)

11. Wh-questions are preposed to the sentence. Wh-question words consist of two morphemes, with the first component from a superstrate question word.
12. Creole languages do not have passive constructions unless recent borrowings.

These features are noted to be such that they cannot be ascribed to being the result of inheritance from the superstrate, where they do not occur, nor the substrates, which are far too diverse. Rather, they are innovations by their speakers that have occurred in the process of Creole formation. They present such

similarity across the world as echoes of an innate grammar that arises when stable intergenerational transmission is not possible. Whilst eleven of these features have been largely validated by much research into the structures of Creole languages, the twelfth feature, the lack of passive constructions, has come under more scrutiny since its original publication in 1981.

A number of strategies have been identified for passive marking in Creole languages of the world. Jamaican Creole, for example, though lacking in a surface passive morpheme, possesses syntactic constructions for expressing a passive meaning, involving the movement of the object into the subject position, the contrast of the syntactic movement shown in (2.7a-b) below (LaCharité & Wellington 1999). Morisyen and Seselwa, French Creoles of the Indian Ocean, both offer adjectival passives, as well as widespread use in Seselwa and some acceptance in Morisyen of *get*-passives (Adone 2012a: 44-53). Likewise, Haitian Creole allows both a passive equivalent through movement of arguments, as well as a morphologically derived form (DeGraff 2007: 112). Kununurra Kriol, as well as other varieties of Australian Kriol, allows for passive constructions, typically in the *get*-passive form, but also with certain unmarked intransitive verbs (Sandefur 1979: 137). The passive constructions in Kununurra Kriol will be explored in chapter 8 of this dissertation.

(2.7a) *Di bayz it af di bred.*
'The boys ate all the bread.'
(2.7b) *Di bred it af.*
'The bread was eaten.'

(LaCharité & Wellington 1999: 260)

The commonality of these structural features across Creole languages from different backgrounds around the world has been used by some to support the notion of innateness in human first language acquisition. This universalist approach to Creole genesis, for example the aforementioned language bioprogram hypothesis, will be expanded upon with other theories of genesis the following section of this chapter.

However, not all those within the field of Creole studies would agree with the notion that Creole languages are an identifiable structural category of language. Szeto et al. (2019) as well as Fon Sing (2017) both counter that the abovementioned assorted collections of prototypical Creole features do not make Creole languages a structural class, even if a single list could be agreed upon; rather, these kinds of features can be used to group many types of unrelated analytical languages. Arguing against the phenomenon, which is often termed Creole exceptionalism, some regard their treatment as a distinct structural category as a product of continued colonial thinking towards the newer languages that have arisen out of former colonies.

DeGraff (2003, 2005), for example, argues that this has arisen in an intellectual environment that has retained European traditions of Darwinism in its thinking, adopting the idea that languages must have a clear lineage and having an essentialist view on how languages relate to one another. As a result, DeGraff (ibid.) argues, this treatment of Creole languages as a fundamentally distinct category of language has the by-product of perpetuating the stigmatised position of Creole languages and their speakers, through the rejection of an equal status with the supposed "natural" or "normal" languages. Instead, Creole languages can be inferred to be abnormal, and linguists, whilst vocally rejecting such a stigma, reproduce a hierarchy of the superstrate European languages over the colonial Creole languages that have been born from them. This is boosted in particular by such typologies of Creole languages, for example by McWhorter's (1998) aforementioned model of a prototypical Creole as being very simple languages, lacking in morphology, thereby implying that they are fundamentally inadequate languages, thus also making decreolisation a natural process (DeGraff 2005: 542-3).

This does not, however, suggest that Creole languages are to be rejected as a category altogether. Mufwene (2000) argues that creolisation is essentially a social process of a particular language's origin, rather than one that is structural. They are, rather, another case of natural evolution of language, only one that has happened in sociolinguistic settings of particularly intense and sustained language contact. In this colonial setting, they have become disconnected from their colonial antecedents and taken a life of their own, as well as being ascribed a social status below the superstrate colonial language. That is to say, Creole languages do indeed share commonalities in their creolisation out of particularly colonial situations of multilingualism and broken language transmission, but this does not necessitate that they are a typological class with automatically predictable structures that fundamentally emerge from such a process.

This notion of a purely sociolinguistic Creole is demonstrated in the difficulty to identify a prototypical Creole language beyond the sociolinguistic settings in which they have appeared. Some structural features, for example the lack of inflectional morphology, are characteristic of Creole languages but far from universal (Thomason 1997, Farquharson 2007). Many of these features are also observed in signed languages, many of which also emerged out of multilingual situations with broken transmission from adult L2 signers, further supporting the view that Creole languages may not be a structural, typological class of language, but a primarily social one (Adone 2012b). However, one could equally counter that the commonality of the broken transmission and the role of the child in the genesis of both the Creole and the signed languages stresses Bickerton's (1988) point of potential innateness and, therefore, structural similarities between the two typological classes.

DeGraff (1992, 2002) supports the view of the development of Creole languages being largely a sociolinguistic descriptor, but also argues against several major theories of their development. In many models of Creole genesis (expanded in section 2.2), the structures and shape of the resulting Creole language are the result of differing interactions between the substrate and superstrate languages. One

major approach is that Creoles represent a substrate grammar that has been relexified with the lexicon of the colonial superstrate language (cf. Lefebvre 2004). Against this, it is argued from data in Haitian Creole that structures from the superstrate French, as well as independent innovations in the Creole itself, are neglected in the analysis, particularly in the development of productive morphology (DeGraff 2002: 330-45). More broadly, it is argued that, whilst L2 learners do play a pivotal role in the process of Creolisation, the internal I-language being learnt is a *new* form, identical to neither the target superstrate language nor the existing substrate system. These processes are the same in the acquisition of any language; only the sociolinguistic setting of Creoles in providing limited input is what produces a new form (DeGraff 2002: 392-4).

Equally, he argues against the universalist Bioprogram Hypothesis as proposed by Bickerton (1984), in that this hypothesis already assumes that the input of Creole children is not adequate for "regular" first language acquisition. In contrast, children *were* in fact exposed to input both from the antecedent Pidgin, as well as some forms of the superstrate language. This can therefore, accordingly, not be just a result of universal grammar kicking in to provide common traits of Creole grammars, but the result of universal language acquisition processes whereby the least marked option has been selected for acquisition from the target language(s) (DeGraff 1992). The least marked option, additionally, often represents a compromise between these different sources of input (Thomason 1997).

Nevertheless, the sociohistorical background of Creole languages would appear to make them distinct in at least that aspect of their character, a matter that tends to be accepted by those against the notion of Creole exceptionalism (eg. Mufwene 2000, Fon Sing 2017). Without these specific settings that enable Creole emergence, no Creole tends to appear, as observed with the relative lack of Spanish-origin Creole languages. Despite their early start at global imperialism, Spain did not develop its colonies economically as did other European powers, relying less on imported slave labour on large plantations and more on smaller farms reliant on forced local labour (McWhorter 1995). Only later was larger scale labour utilised, and larger scale Spanish presence in colonial forts established, allowing for the eventual emergence of Chabacano in the Philippines by the end of the 19th century (Lipski & Santoro 2000).

In the view of these positions, regardless of where one stands on Creole exceptionalism, Creole languages certainly fall within some kind of linguistic category. Whether this category extends beyond the sociolinguistic and historical origins – which present a clearly unique scenario for language genesis – and into the realm of becoming a structural typological class, is hotly contested, as has been discussed in this section. Although a single list of typical features has eluded creolists for decades, commonalities between proposed lists do emerge, particularly noting the similar development of morphology and syntax across settings and lexifier languages, and it should be stated that it would be unlikely for many languages to ever fit any given mould perfectly.

It is also certainly an issue that colonial thinking has plagued the field, born out of the context of the hegemonic gaze at the subaltern's seemingly novel ways of using "their" languages. Moving forwards, the attitudes towards Creole languages and their speakers, which unfortunately remain common in many popular (colonial) societies, are slowly abating, especially as Creole speakers themselves are increasingly able to gain a voice in such academic spaces. This history, however, gives some political baggage to the terminology that is used – "simplified", a term particularly laden that Bickerton & Muysken (1988) suggested avoiding it in scientific discourse, and sometimes even the term "Creole" itself, as it often has a strong connection to (post-)colonial identities (cf. Dubois & Melançon 2000). It is the job of the linguist, in not only the role as a researcher but as an advocate for the communities they work with and for, to support them and their languages, and push back against such attitudes, aiding the reclamation of terminologies.

2.2. Creole Genesis

As has been alluded to at several points in this dissertation already, several major theories have been put forwards to explain the origins and development of Creole languages, particularly amongst those who support their classification as a typological class. It should be noted, before going into an overview of theories of Creole genesis, that many of these theories do in fact overlap and complement one another, just as some may contradict and conflict. That is to say, these are not mutually exclusive approaches to Creole genesis, but some of the main angles that scholars have placed their emphasis on in their formation and development.

From the beginning of the study of Creole languages, a major focus on seeking their origins and development has been on the superstrate or lexifier languages involved. This particularly stems from their colonial interpretations as "broken" variations of such. For example, Bloomfield (1933: 473), in a very early account, describes Creole languages as (in the case of Bislama) "the foreigner's poor desperate attempt at English", and the subsequent imitation of this speech by the English speaker. One of the oldest theoretical accounts of the origins of Creole languages – and an attempt to bring them under one phylogenetic banner – is the theory commonly known as the monogenetic theory. This theory suggests that the origin of many Creole languages is from a Pidgin form of Portuguese that was spoken on the West African coast. Slaves would acquire this Pidgin through Portuguese slavers, before being sold to other European colonial powers, who would use the Pidgin to communicate with their slaves, albeit with significant relexification from their own languages. This left the Creole languages with only a core vocabulary of Portuguese-origin lexical items (Taylor 1961).

This could be further extended from the Atlantic Creoles into other regions, such as those in the Pacific, where similar TMA marking patterns and NP sequences to that in Portuguese can be observed,

however this is complicated by the inclusion of non-European lexified Creole languages, in which similar structures are found but lacking a discernible connection to Portuguese (Owens 1980). Since then, more restricted versions of the monogenetic theory have emerged. Rather than deriving all Creole languages from Portuguese, these approaches categorise Creole languages as having descended from either a West African Pidgin French or a West African Pidgin English, accounting for differing structures and histories of the two groupings (den Besten, Muysken & Smith 1994: 89). The monogenetic theory has since largely been dismissed, as more Creoles without a connection to Portuguese are studied. Nevertheless, the influence of Portuguese, particularly with regards to their domination of trade in the early colonial era, should not be totally disregarded. Portuguese-origin lexical items do appear in Creole languages without a direct connection to the language, likely through a nautical jargon, including in Australian Kriol with the verb *sabi* 'know' from Portuguese 'sabir' (Harris 1986: 254).

More recent developments on superstrate-focussed theories of Creole genesis take an angle that centres the role of Second Language Acquisition in their formation. One of the most prominent of these approaches is the Foreigner Talk (FT) theory of Creole genesis. Foreigner Talk attributes large amounts of the structural and phonological reductions apparent in Creole languages to a simplified register used by native speakers of a language when speaking to foreigners, aimed at accommodating for communicative needs, which is then picked up by the L2 speaker, who in turn adopts it as a lingua franca (den Besten, Muysken & Smith 1994: 95-7, Versteegh 2008).

Structurally, one finds that many features of such a register are often found in Creole languages around the world, such as the deletion of a copula; zero copula clauses are often considered by native speakers as "simpler" than those with, and therefore appear in simplified registers such as baby-directed speech as well as the relevant foreigner-directed speech (Ferguson 1968). Following the reduction of the register, transmitted in its simplified, accommodated form to an L2 speaker, into a Pidgin form, it is then once again expanded and restructured into the Creole language with a full grammar by the following generations of children who grow up with it as a native language (Versteegh 2008: 167-71). Another key piece of evidence for the role of L2 speakers in the formation of Creole languages has been suggested to be the construction of the lexicon; a significant amount of Sranan lexicon is invented by speakers, something which is claimed to occur primarily through adult creativity and interaction, rather than as part of a process of first language acquisition, which lacks such lexical creativity (Koefoed & Tarenskeen 1996).

In Korlai Portuguese, a Creole language of the Korlai fort modern Maharashtra, India, FT forms are found in speech particularly of those in the community who interact with Portuguese priests from nearby. These priests have been the only connection of the village to Portuguese since its reconquest. Forms not found in standard Portuguese but appear typically Creole include, for example, the generalisation of the -r infinitive ending to finite verbs too (Clements 1992, 1993). Avram (2018)

further finds similarities between the FT of Arabic speakers and certain morphosyntactic structures common in Arabic-lexified Pidgin and Creole languages. For example, the complex inflection of Arabic verbs is rendered invariable, and no gender appears on nouns. Furthermore, they both make use of complex predicates with the *make* light verb. Csehó (2009), however, disconnects the process of pidginisation and Foreigner Talk, finding significant differences between the two forms of German, for example in the common L2 usage of infinitives in opposition to the FT register (it should however be noted that some dissent to the description of this variety of German as a Pidgin (cf. Blackshire-Belay 1993)).

In a similar vein focussing on the role of the superstrate in the formation of Creole languages, it is proposed by some, particularly those who argue against Creole exceptionalism (see 2.1.), and those working with French-lexified Creole languages, that creolisation is the natural result of language change (Migge 2003: 4). Chaudenson (2001: 161-3) argues that, at least in the case of French-lexified Creole languages, that the Creoles arose through the indigenisation of colonial French varieties. This was driven by the establishment of a koine by colonists, followed by its adoption and creation of an autonomous form by the Indigenous or slave population, who target it for second language acquisition. The differences between varieties of colonial French such as in Quebec, and Creole varieties such as in Réunion, are attributed to the difference in the native speaker population. Colonial societies are thus divided into two phases; the *homestead society*, where settler and slave populations were roughly equal, or with more settlers than slaves (Chaudenson 2001: 96-7). This is followed in some colonies by the *plantation society*, where slaves come to outnumber the settler population. As a result, communication moves from direct contact with the superstrate language to a more indirect one, as a larger hierarchy forms, where only some maintain this direct connection (Chaudenson 2001: 121-5). This, therefore, suggests that there is an unbroken connection to the superstrate (Syea 2017: 4).

Mufwene (1991, 1996) supports this view by showing the role of the colonists themselves in the formation of the Creole variety, showing the application of the Founders Principle in creolisation. For example, the presence of serial-like constructions in colloquial English precludes the later development of Serial Verb Constructions (SVCs) in Creole languages of the Atlantic, having been reinforced by the presence of full SVCs in many Bantu languages that provided the early substrate (Mufwene 1996: 115-7). The latter role of the substrate language is one in which L2 speakers of the superstrate language tend towards selecting marked, more transparent features in their acquisition, as well as ones which overlap with their own native language; in this case, the presence of SVCs, producing some degree of convergence in the grammar (Mufwene 1991). Similarly in terms of markedness and convergence in the phonological system, the commonality of 5 and 7-vowel systems can be ascribed to these being the common vowel inventories amongst languages contributing to initial creolisation (Uffmann 2003). This approach, in short, suggests that creolisation is a natural part of language change, however one in which a large amount of L2 speakers play a role in a particular

population. Both the original native speakers of the superstrate, as well as the first adopters of the indigenised variety – the Creole – play a pivotal role in its development in any particular colony.

On the obverse, many scholars stress the substrate influences that play a key role in the distinct formation of Creole languages and sets them apart from their lexifier languages. The focus on the substrate in Creole genesis varies to a large degree, from those who recognise the heavy input of the substrate – a widely accepted fact by virtually all in the study of Creole languages – to approaches that suggest the substrate to be the basic structure around which the new language has been constructed. Siegel (2012), for example, proposes two models of functional transfer in language contact situations, where grammatical functions of the substrate language are transferred into the target language via the appropriation or expansion of similar morphemes. In the formation of Creole languages, this substrate transfer appears primarily in the phase where the language is stabilising, where the more prominent substrate languages can further provide reinforcement of particular features, even where they are not the original source of said features per se, and may in future see their influence disappear following stabilisation (Siegel 2000).

The features provided by the substrate languages of a Creole, as well as those from the superstrate as well, have been described in a sense as a "feature pool" (Mufwene 2001). The features of Creole languages, as well as other contact varieties, are selected from these pools, which regularly compete with one another depending on the relative prominence of the substrate and superstrate languages in their contributions to the pool. This can be compared in a way to a genetic "gene pool" (Mufwene 2001: 30). These represent the combination of possible options from the contributors to the language, but this does not necessarily mean that all will be inherited. For example, Bao (2005) identifies constraints in the selection of substrate features in the development of the Singapore English aspectual system, which is very similar to, but not identical to, the substrate Chinese system. In this respect, those aspectual markers that do not have a rough lexical analogue in the superstrate English are blocked from being transferred.

One of the more radical substrate-focussed approaches to the genesis of Creole languages is that of the relexification theory, also known as relabelling (cf. Lefebvre 2014). Earlier investigations into relexification have shown that it plays a major role in the appearance and evolution of Creole languages. For example, a shift in Sranan from a Portuguese to an English lexified Creole in the course of its history can be attributed to such a process (Voorhoeve 1973). In the relexification model of creolisation, the substrate language is posited as the core of the grammatical system – covering both the syntactic and semantic information – of the Creole language. In the process of intense contact with the superstrate language, a new lexicon is formed on top of this underlying system using the phonological shape of the superstrate language (Lumsden 1999). This produces a language in which the words appear like in the superstrate, but whose function is as in the substrate.

In her analysis of Haitian Creole, for example, Lefebvre (1999) argues that the syntactic form of the language, as well as the semantics of much of its lexicon, can be traced to Fongbe, a major substrate language originating from western Africa. Upon this base, the shape of the language itself – its words – have been relexified through Fongbe speakers' contact with French. This covers not just the syntax of the Creole, but also the semantics of the words themselves, which are expanded (or reduced) to cover the equivalent meanings in the substrate Fongbe, for example Haitian Creole *vyann* covers not just 'meat' as per the French antecedent *viande*, but also 'edible animals', matching the semantics of the Fongbe verb *làn* (Lefebvre 2009: 279-81). In the syntax, the DP structure similarly follows one similar to that in Fongbe, without similarities to the superstrate French DP (Lumsden 1996).

The process through which relexification happens is connected, as with many other theories, to that of second language acquisition. Lumsden (2003) observes that many of the forms that appear in Creole languages, such as Haitian Creole, reflect similar errors to those made by second language learners, in this case of French. These errors furthermore reflect the equivalent underlying structures found in the native languages of these learners. Relexification, therefore, represents a formalisation of the interlanguage produced by adult second language learners, creating the Creole language out of the acquisition process. In examining Atlantic Creoles more broadly, Parkvall (2000: 149-59) finds that the demographics of the areas in which creolisation occurred and the features that appear in their subsequent Creole languages do strongly correspond with one another, particularly the major role of languages from Lower Guinea, where many slaves were taken from, supporting the view of the core role of the L2 speakers and their languages in the genesis of Creole languages. However, it is also found that these structures appear to develop at different rates, with the borrowing of lexicon the easiest and earliest of the substrate features to appear, and more complex structures such as SVCs could take up to thirty years from the start of creolisation. This would reflect a process which does not suggest immediate relexification of the substrate language, but a longer gradual process. Nevertheless, the importance of the substrate language in the formation of the Creole language is clearly established.

One major criticism of the relexification theory is that it commonly relies on the substrate languages involved being homogenous, or at the very least involving only languages that are typologically very similar. In the case of Haitian Creole, the first decades of the creolisation are signified by the presence and domination of speakers of Gbe languages from west Africa, particularly the aforementioned Fongbe language (Singler 1996). This has significantly contributed to the substrate role of such languages in the formation of Haitian Creole grammar, however, is often not the case with other Creole languages, which often have much more diverse substrate inputs. Singler (1996: 225), for example, remarks that "the current formulation of the relexification hypothesis makes no allowance for such [typological] differences". It should also be remarked that other cases of relexification have given much different, non-creole results, such as with the documentation of Media Lengua in Ecuador, a Mixed Language consisting of a Quechua grammatical frame and a Spanish lexicon (Muysken

1981). DeGraff (2002) further criticises the relexification hypothesis as neglecting the role of first language speakers of the Creole, whose linguistic creativity and native intuition allowed for the expansion and stabilisation of Haitian Creole, as opposed to the unstable interlanguage of the first generation of L2 learners.

Whilst substrate languages undoubtedly have a major role in the genesis of Creole languages and the form they consequently take, the relexification hypothesis is significantly weakened by the reliance on a single substrate language to provide the grammatical base for the Creole. This may account well for the genesis of Haitian Creole, but does not fare well for the linguistically diverse environments of many other Creole languages, for example those of the Pacific region or in Australia.

Retaining the core role of adult second language learners in the creation of Creole languages, the gradualist hypothesis argues that creolisation is a process that instead occurs over an extended period of time, rather than within one or two generations as suggested by many other theories, particularly in stark contrast to the radical formation of Creole languages amongst children L1 speakers in universalist models, against which the hypothesis was formed in response to (Cardoso 2009). Arends (1993), the key proponent of this model, suggests that creolisation takes between one and two centuries. This suggests that the transfer of substrate influences and the stabilisation of the grammatical system that forms the Creole language is a continuous, multi-generational process. In the Solomon Islands, for example, Jourdan (2009) finds that the nature of multilingualism has meant that Pijin remained as a Pidgin for several generations, learnt alongside the native Indigenous languages of the relevant speech communities. It is only once the linguistic ecology shifted the balance within multilingual speech communities, particularly from the movement of workers, that Pijin became desirable as a first language, after which it began to creolise.

The gradualist hypothesis thus brings into question the distinction between Pidgin and Creole languages, as the same language coexists in both conditions simultaneously, by nature of its gradual adoption as a native language by the broader speech community. This further links Creole languages with non-Creole languages, highlighting that grammaticalisation plays a key role in their formation, similar to language change experienced by any other language (Arends & Bruyn 1994). In the grammatical systems of Creole languages, this is shown in the number of grammatical particles that are commonly derived from grammaticalised forms of lexical items. For example, *de* in Sranan began its life as a determiner, before its grammaticalisation into a resumptive pronoun, eventually becoming a copula it is now (Arends 1989). However, the gradualist hypothesis has been criticised for having large gaps in the historical record to actually prove many purported developments, to the exclusion of other processes that could have produced the same outcome, resulting in the conflation of diachronic and synchronic developments in the language. For example, the development of English-derived prepositions into verbs may be better explained as a result of substrate transfer, rather than

grammaticalisation, particularly as such a transition would be one of reduced grammaticality (Plag 2002).

In contrast to the many theories of creolisation that place in the centre the L2 speakers of the superstrate target language are those who espouse a universalist approach to the genesis of Creole languages. Instead of adult L2 speakers, the primary drivers of creolisation in this view are the children who have grown up with incomplete linguistic input, and have taken it upon their inherent bioprogram to expand this input into a fully functional language; a Creole language. As has been mentioned several times throughout this chapter, Bickerton (eg. 1981/2016, 1984, 1988, etc.) has been the primary proponent and developer of this universalist approach, named the Language Bioprogram Hypothesis (LBH). The LBH makes fundamental connections to the Universal Grammar as proposed by Chomsky (2015), which argues that the human brain inherently contains from birth the basic principles and parameters that guide the acquisition of the L1 in childhood. In turn, the LBH is also argued to demonstrate the innate faculty of language as it actually appears in the world, reflecting the "basic" language structures available to children (Muysken & Veenstra 1994).

The twelve features, expanded in section 2.1., identified by Bickerton (1981/2016) to be common across Creole languages he examined, are argued to be the result of invention by children. The only input for these children was a Pidgin, rather than regular transmission of language from native or fluent parents (Bickerton 1984, 1988). In addition to centring the role of children in the genesis of Creole languages, this furthermore argues that creolisation is a process that happens within a single generation after the Pidgin begins to be acquired by children. Demographically, creolisation under the LBH occurs in situations where there is significant dilution of the superstrate language, especially in the case of its complete withdrawal from a colony, as occurred in Suriname with Sranan. The stronger the lasting presence of the superstrate in the colony, the further away from the bioprogram the Creole language will turn out to be (Bickerton 1984: 176-8). These factors combine for a linguistic situation that creates the "catastrophic" (Bickerton 1988: 168) language creation amongst the children of the colony, lacking a consistent target for first language acquisition.

In support of the role of Universal Grammar in Creole languages, Roberts (1997) discusses that the vast majority of Creole features identified by Bickerton are those which follow the 'weak' parameter setting. This is ascribed to the lack of full consistent linguistic input for first language acquisition, where the triggers for the strong parameters are not present, something which is also true of the Pidgin, as they are significantly reduced languages lacking in such marked features themselves. In the acquisition of English articles, it is further found that the stages of their development do in fact follow those reflected in Creole languages according to the LBH: the first stage sees children selecting either *a* or *the* for specified referents, and using a zero morpheme for unspecified (Cziko 1986).

Whilst still rejecting the typological aspects of the LBH argument, Aboh & DeGraff (2016), among others, nevertheless demonstrate the importance of Universal Grammar in the development of Creole

languages, albeit recognising it as a process that appears in *all* languages. Aboh (2019), for instance, goes as far to say that creole-like mixed input is common across all first language acquisition. As has been previously noted in terms of their typologies, similarities between Creole languages and the structures apparent in sign languages, many of which also developed in a community or home setting without fluent adult input, are also noted, and potentially raised as having been sourced from Universal Grammar processes (Adone 2012b).

The stronger LBH has come under much criticism for many of the assumptions made within the original proposal, those who wholly reject theories of Universal Grammar notwithstanding. Previously mentioned among these has been that some of the twelve Creole features observed by Bickerton (1981/2016) are not consistently observed across Creole languages studied since the original publication in 1981, such as the claimed lack of passive constructions (see 2.1.). The apparent dismissal of the transmission of features from the substrate languages into the Creole is brought up in direct response to Bickerton (1984) by, for example, Corne (1984), who discusses the presence of verb fronting in Mauritian Creole but not in Hawaiian Creole, and a potential key difference in their formation being the presence of Bantu substrate languages, which do offer verb fronting. In terms of the evidence used in the original formulation of the LBH, more recent demographic studies of Hawaii during the period of creolisation show continued usage of the ancestral substrate languages, precluding the claimed deficit of language input from parents of the Creole speaking children. Furthermore, the demographic changes occurred over a longer period – several decades – rather than in a chaotic fashion in a single generation (Roberts 2000, Siegel 2007).

Although not widely accepted in its full strong form, the LBH has been widely influential in the study of creolisation. Weaker versions of the hypothesis are integrated within many of the other theories of Creole genesis discussed within this chapter, recognising the role of children as key actors in the nativisation, expansion and stabilisation of Creole language systems, away from being simple Pidgins. Many of these theories build upon the original LBH with additional data that recognises the role of substrate languages, the sociohistorical data indicating situations of more gradual creolisation, and the connection with superstrate transmission, however still do not dispense the key role of children in the nativisation of Creole languages thus established (Veenstra 2008). The LBH, therefore, and despite not maintaining prominence in its full form, is indispensable in its contributions to the study of the genesis of Creole languages, vitally linking the languages with other languages of the world and the core debate around Universal Grammar and the innateness of the human language faculty.

2.3. Creole Languages in Context

A major theme throughout this chapter (and Creole studies more broadly) has been around the social contexts and status of Creole languages and how this has affected their genesis and ongoing development.

Like any other language, Creole languages experience language change. It should be first stated that, notwithstanding views of Chaudenson (2001) et al, creolisation is not itself a form of language change. Whilst creolisation typically takes place over one or two generations, language change is a much more gradual process that occurs over several generations, once the language and its system has become established (Adone 1994b). A form of language change purported to be unique to Creole languages, however, is that of *decreolisation*. This is the process whereby a Creole language *loses* its Creole features, and becomes more similar to the superstrate language that it was lexified by.

Decreolisation differs from natural language change as it simultaneously affects all domains of speech, and results in a clear loss of varieties being spoken. It is not just a choice of individual speakers to converge with the lexifier language, but also a societal shift across the Creole speaking community to do so. This is often in response to both availability of the lexifier and negative societal attitudes – including discrimination – towards the Creole language (Sato 1991). Aitchison (2004: 236) describes decreolisation as a process of language suicide, a drastic form of language death. In this framing of the concept, the speakers of the Creole language itself are the primary impetus for its own obliteration, usually in response to said external pressures, motivations and relative sociopolitical power in relation to the lexifier language. At the end of this process, the Creole language is no longer existent, as it has been "reabsorbed" into its lexifier. Such a process can be seen in, for example, the forms of negation found in English-lexified Creole languages of the Caribbean. In those which have closer and more constant contact with English, such as African-American English or Gullah, negation is expressed more similarly to English, using auxiliary verbs and marking tense, whereas those further from the lexifier, decreolisation is resisted, and negation is expressed in a form more typical of Creole languages (see 2.1.) (Schneider 2010).

For decreolisation to take place, two criteria have been suggested to be necessary by DeCamp (1971). The first of these is that the official language of the community is also the language which represents the superstrate of the Creole language. The second is that the colonial social hierarchy between those superstrate speakers and Creole speakers has broken down to some extent. Subsequently, Creole speakers are now able to be socially mobile to some degree, thus giving socioeconomic leverage to those with ability in the dominant language. Social mobility alone, however, does not necessarily beget decreolisation. Sandefur (1982) notes that, whilst English is the de facto official language in Australia, social mobility in Kriol speaking Aboriginal communities is towards other Kriol speaking

communities. Limited social mobility is reinforced by the racism of Australian society that often blocks Aboriginal individuals from wider participation. It should be stated, however, that the situation for Aboriginal communities has changed somewhat since this study. Further sociolinguistic background of Australian Kriol is given in chapter 4.

On the other hand, it has also been suggested that there is a process a Creole can go through known as *recreolisation.* This is the direct opposite of the phenomenon of decreolisation. Creole speakers, instead of moving towards the superstrate lexifier language, move away from it, thereby strengthening the basilectal variety of the Creole. This process appears to be happening in Jamaican Creole as it is spoken particularly in London Caribbean communities, where Jamaican identity is stressed in contrast with the mainstream, Standard English speaking mainstream (Sebba 1997: 225-7). In this case, particularly as these speakers tend to be younger second generation Jamaicans in London, who are bilingual with Standard English, it emerges as a new variety of the Creole. This recreolised variety shows additional influences from English, and a certain stress on features identified to be markedly Jamaican, even if they are not typical for Jamaican Creole in Jamaica itself (Sebba 1997: 230-1). Recreolisation is, essentially, when in post-colonial settings, the identity and social position of the Creole speaker may be reinforced and prioritised, after having previously been attracted to the prestige offered by the superstrate language. This can, therefore, also create a bilingual equilibrium between the two languages.

In a less extreme case as decreolisation, there also exists a post-Creole continuum on which many Creole languages exist in relation to their superstrate languages. This is particularly evident in places where they continue to coexist alongside one another yet also resist or are alternatively still in the process of full decreolisation as above.

The post-Creole continuum is a way of describing the synchronic variation within Creole languages in relation to their superstrates. This ranges from basilectal varieties as most distant from the lexifier-language, to acrolectal varieties as most similar, with the mesolect sitting in between these extremities (Bickerton 1973, Hopper & Traugott 2003: 218-9). Examining data from Guyanese Creole, Bell (1976) shows the existence of a continuum in the speech styles of 18 speakers. These range from a form at an acrolectal level that closely resembles the standard English sentence ‘I gave him one’, to a basilectal form of the Creole language that is markedly distinct, appearing as ‘mi bin gi am wan’ (Bell 1976: 136).

Rather than a diglossia between two separate codes, this is rather suggestive of a continuous continuum, with several layers of mesolect between the two extreme ends. It is further noted that speakers were able to switch between forms depending on their stylistic and communicative needs. However, the presence of acrolectal and basilectal varieties of a Creole language does not necessarily imply the existence of a continuum of decreolisation between them. In two varieties of Cape Verdean Creole, Baptista (2015) finds that the key differences between them – where the Santiago variety was

considered acrolectal and São Vicente basilectal – were rather due to the Founder Effect, whereby different features were present diachronically due to the differing makeup of the original Creolising speech communities.

Creole languages regularly suffer from a lack of both institutional and social recognition and support, and are often tied to their lexifier in their cultural space, with which they regularly coexist in some way, however with varying degrees of social legitimacy ascribed to them (Jourdan 1991: 201, 2018). In educational contexts, there is very little support for students whose first language is a Creole language, even in places where the majority speaks the Creole, such as in Haiti. Even where Creole languages are recognised in the education system, they are often approached as transitionary tools in which to ease the students' acquisition of the dominant standard language, often the one that has a superstrate relationship with the Creole (Wigglesworth, Billington & Loakes 2013). Creole languages are often denigrated not only by teachers and authorities, but this denigration can also extend to students themselves, whereby they start to regard their own language in common terms such as 'corrupt' and 'broken' (Siegel 2005, Wigglesworth & Billington 2013). Such views on the language have the possibility to become near perpetual cycles, resulting in generations of Creole speakers who are raised to feel shame towards their own native language. Those in positions of authority may reinforce this view.

Community views differ as to whether outsiders or non-Creole individuals should learn or be taught Creole languages for cross-cultural communication with Creole speaking communities, and to what extent the two languages should be mixed across communities. For Hawaiian Creole speakers, there appears to be a diglossic situation in the settings one would use either the Creole or Standard English; in social and family settings, Creole is used, whilst professional functions are for English. Deviation from these standards is stigmatised accordingly (Marlow & Giles 2008). In Jamaica, there is an acute awareness amongst many speakers of the colonial history of the language, which must be respected when outsiders use it. Some go as far as saying that it should not be used by outsiders at all (Kuck 2016). For Kriol in Australia, the language is sometimes held as an Aboriginal identity marker, however sharing with outsiders is generally accepted as a means of accommodation (Hendy & Bow 2023).

In the presently rare occasion that Creole languages are provided adequate institutional support, there is an opportunity for them to be embraced by their speakers. There is the potential for these languages to become new national languages, particularly in linguistically diverse countries, or those where only a minority use the former colonial languages in daily life, such as has happened in Vanuatu or Seychelles with Bislama and Seychellois Creole respectively (cf. Bollée 1993, Crowley 2000). In the case of the Philippine Creole language Zamboanga Chabacano, it has come so far to have become a major signifier of a local prestige ethnic identity in the city, usurping former colonial attitudes towards the language (Melchor & Blázquez-Carretero 2022). Recognition of Creole languages can therefore be

an integral part of the decolonial process, as well as in the construction of new postcolonial identities. The situation of such attitudes towards Australian Kriol, in Australian governmental policy as well as in its social position, is expanded upon in chapter 4.

3. Historical Background

Miriwoong Country, the land upon which the town of Kununurra now sits, has a history that stretches back millennia, long before the colonial political institution known as the Commonwealth of Australia was conceived of. Today, Kununurra is located in the north of the modern state of Western Australia, near the state border with the Northern Territory. The traditional owners of the land are the Miriwoong and Gajirrabeng[1] people, whose country surrounding Kununurra is bordered by Gija Country to the south, Ngarinyman to the east, and Ngarinyin to the west.

In contrast with the settlers who today make up the majority of the population of the wider Kimberley region, Miriwoong people and their ancestors have resided and taken care of this country since time immemorial. Some recent estimates suggest that human settlement began in northern Australia some 65,000 years ago, with the number frequently shifting further and further back as more archaeological evidence surfaces (Clarkson et al. 2017).

The history of the Kununurra area, and Miriwoong Country, is thus an extremely long one. In contrast, the history of the Kununurra Kriol language, which is now the main language spoken by Miriwoong people at home, is a much younger one. It is born out of a more recent time, a product of a period of chaos and upheaval for Aboriginal people across the continent. This was a time when foreign settlers invaded their lands, and never left.

In this chapter, I will present a brief historical background of Australia, leading up to and since the pivotal invasion and subsequent settlement, which started in what is now known as the Sydney area, and eventually expanded over decades towards Miriwoong Country. Although limited in how much can be discussed in this short space, this will provide important background information for the sociolinguistic context in which Kriol and Miriwoong both exist in today. I will also cover the vital historical context for the appearance of the Kriol language, whose roots can be traced back to the very first arrival and contact with European invaders on Australian shores on the 26th January, 1788, a date now officially celebrated as Australia Day, but regarded by many, especially Indigenous Australians, as a day of mourning commemorated as Invasion Day or Survival Day (Pearson & O'Neill 2009).

3.1. Before Invasion

The history of Australia did not begin in 1770, when Captain Cook famously landed at Botany Bay and claimed the continent for Great Britain. For millennia prior, Australia had been a busy and diverse

[1] Alternative names include Gajerrong, Gajirrawoong.

continent. As mentioned previously, archaeological evidence indicates that people were living on the continent of Australia since at least 65,000 years ago (Clarkson et al. 2017). Oral histories describing inundation and flooding events, for example, have been corroborated with archaeological data, supporting cultural continuity and transmission for at least 7,000 years (Nunn & Reid 2015). There is much evidence contrary to many of the colonial narratives of Australia's people as in a kind of social and technological stasis for all this time. These narratives promoted the idea that Australia was *terra nullius,* no man's land, in order to justify the claim over the continent for Great Britain, and later upheld as part of the legitimacy of the Australian government (Behrendt 2010, Moreton-Robinson 2015).

3.1.1. Terra Aliquem: A Busy Continent

Prior to European arrival, Aboriginal Australia was a continent of considerable diversity and sociocultural activity, with a large number of nations spread across the continent. On the eve of European invasion in 1788, it is generally estimated that the population of the continent was at the very least 315,000 (Hugo 2012). Recent studies suggest that the population may have been even larger. Analysis by Williams (2013) using radiocarbon evidence, as well as information from ethnographic and genetic data, suggests that the population at the time of European arrival was somewhere between 770,000 and 1.2 million. From their initial arrival, the entire continent would have been populated within two thousand years, as people spread out to access additional resources. Since then, the continent has largely been continuously inhabited, with some fluctuation inland likely to have matched the accessibility of water (Dixon 2004: 9-10). Across this population, there are estimated to have been approximately 250 distinct language groups that were spoken (Walsh 1991). A map of the Aboriginal language groups of Australia prior to European invasion can be found on the AIATSIS website.[2]

Amongst this population was also a wide variety of different lifestyles, adapted for the many different climates and physical geographies that exist across the Australian continent. In the Sydney area, colonists noted accommodation ranging from bark huts to the use of natural rock shelters along the coast (Attenbrow 2010: 105). In the Torres Strait, people lived in permanent villages on their islands, with houses built on stilts of bamboo, and thatch roofing. Other regions saw more temporary housing, where the environment did not permit such long-term settlement. For example, in the tropics of Cape York and in Arnhem land, the wet and dry seasons necessitated different camps that people would move between through the year. All around, the construction materials depended on what was

[2] https://aiatsis.gov.au/explore/articles/aiatsis-map-indigenous-australia (Archived: https://web.archive.org/web/20201115200719/https://aiatsis.gov.au/explore/map-indigenous-australia)

available nearby, and the style of housing on the local climate, including a large number of stone houses found in the more temperate south eastern and western corners of Australia (Pascoe 2014: 86-94). In some parts, colonists estimated some semi-permanent towns were home to at least several hundred people (Gerritsen 2010, Pascoe 2014: 21). Despite the presence of stone houses, these people were generally not sedentary. Rather, they moved between towns and areas depending on the seasons and availability of resources on the land. To Europeans, therefore, they were not considered to be properly civilised as a sedentary society (Gammage 2012: 325-7).

3.1.2. Terra Viva: Life, Land and Society

Australia was not so much of an untamed, wild continent that the popular colonial imagination presents it as, either. In recent decades, research has revealed that Aboriginal Australians practised extensive land management techniques, which were naturally different from those familiar to settlers from temperate Europe. Numerous statements from settlers have been recorded concerning what they encountered in regard to the landscape of the country they had invaded. For example, the landscape around what is today New South Wales is described as having forests with very little underwood, "like plantations in a gentleman's park", interspersed with open meadows full of fertile grass (Gammage 2012: 33-4). This is contrary to the landscape of today's New South Wales and Victoria, whose remaining forests are relatively untended to, and the former meadows turned to scrubland (Pascoe 2014: 117-8). Comparative studies between period paintings and older photographs of regions such as by Gammage (2012) demonstrate the stark changes that have occurred in the landscape since European settlement and the restrictions of Aboriginal land care.

This characterisation of the landscape of Australia reveals the Aboriginal care for the land. Fire management was key to this in Aboriginal society, and remains a major part of Aboriginal culture to this day. Aboriginal Elders knew when and where burning should take place, taking into account the types of flora and fauna in the area, the wind conditions, and the season, advice which was reportedly ignored by European settlers. Burning would promote regenerative growth in certain areas, which would also attract animals for hunting, and reduce the amount of undergrowth that could potentially cause disaster (Pascoe 2014: 118-20). Even today, Aboriginal Elders such as those in Arnhem Land continue to express the knowledge that has been passed down generations of the seasonal and local conditions for sustainable burning of their country (Garde 2009). In Miriwoong Country, where this study is focussed, people express frustration at the government red tape that prevents them from acting on the knowledge that has been passed down to them (Adone et al. 2019).

As well as extensive land management through burning, recent evidence has arisen that also suggests some form of agriculture to have been practised in Australia amongst Aboriginal people of some

regions (cf. Gerritsen 2010, Gammage 2012, Pascoe 2014). Whilst unlike private property and intensive farming practices familiar to Europeans in the 18th century, Aboriginal people also cultivated the land for food, rather than acting as passive hunters as is often assumed. Settlers noted, for example, that both native kangaroos and introduced cattle behaved similarly in congregating on the burnt ground that had given way to lush pastures, something that was likely by design (Gammage 2012: 305). As well as on land, the water provided stable food sources through aquaculture practices and fishing. For example, the fish traps at Brewarrina, New South Wales, are often cited as one of the oldest human-built structures on earth, constructed by Aboriginal people for the regular harvesting of fish from the Darling River. Other similar weirs and fishing infrastructure, including nets, was noted by colonists all across the continent where rivers flowed, frequently amazed at the size of the harvest and ingenuity of the construction (Gammage 2012: 305-7, Pascoe 2014: 53-8).

Not only managing edible livestock supplies in the form of kangaroos and fish, there is a growing base of evidence that Aboriginal people also planted or managed their own food crops, although there is some debate over the label of "agriculture" (cf. Gilligan 2010). Aboriginal locals at Lake Keilambete, Victoria, for example, displayed familiarity with agricultural land management. After being introduced to the European plough that had been brought to them, they reportedly immediately demonstrated their understanding of the land and the purpose of the plough in breaking down clods (Pascoe 2014: 24).

One major crop amongst Aboriginal people in western and northern Australia was the yam, which is believed to have been brought over from Papua New Guinea and adapted for the Australian environment (Gilligan 2010). In Western Australia, colonists noted vast fields of yams planted by the local Nhanda and Amangu people, also noting the abundance, if limited in variety, of their crops (Gerritsen 2010). In the southeast, the yam daisy, or *murnong*, was a popular, natively produced crop. As with the introduced yams, numerous colonial accounts observe women harvesting the yam daisies from cleared fields, noting the relative fertility and density of the soil in comparison to uncleared lands (Pascoe 2014: 25-7). The disappearance of the yam daisy after invasion would strongly support the extent to which it was part of Aboriginal agriculture, rather than just an accident of a hunter-gatherer society. Aboriginal people knew the soil and conditions they were working with in its cultivation.

These farming practices were supplemented by water management, especially important in an arid environment such as that in Australia, where rainfall can often be far between. There existed some degree of purposeful irrigation, as well as wells and simple dams on the rivers, which helped control water flows around cultivated areas. Dams and wells also provided some fish stocks to restock waterholes that had dwindled, as well as an additional easily accessible source of drinking water (Pascoe 2014: 39-41). As well as these artificial water management systems, Aboriginal people also understood their country in a way that passed down knowledge of how to find water. For example, Miriwoong people to this day are taught from a young age by Elders where the waterholes on their country are, and how to harvest water from the natural environment (Adone et al. 2019). Once more,

contrary to the colonial image of a passive hunter-gatherer society, Aboriginal Australia intensely cared for and worked with their land prior to invasion.

The close relationship that Aboriginal people have with the land is further expressed in the mythologies of the continent, commonly referred to as the Dreaming or Dreamtime, a translation of the Arrernte term *altyerrenge* (Flood 2007: 137-8). As with any landmass the size of Australia, religious beliefs and ceremonies do of course differ across the continent. For example, in the southeast, there was a belief in a single particular "All-Father" spirit, which was largely not present elsewhere in Australia (Attenbrow 2010: 127). Nevertheless, there are some common threads that appear across different Aboriginal mythologies. One such element is the reportedly universal belief in the Rainbow Serpent. The exact conceptualisation of the Serpent varies from place to place, but generally the Serpent is associated with bodies of water, within which it resides. As a result, care must be taken around water, lest the Serpent react with punishments such as poisoning, storms, or drowning (Mountford 1978: 23-4). The Serpent also tends to be associated with the creation of life in Australia, leaving behind waterholes, which they still inhabit, and giving life to Aboriginal people on their country (Mountford 1978, Attenbrow 2010: 131). Snakes are still the animal primarily associated with water in Miriwoong Country today; one must stay clear of them, as angering the snake may imperil lives and the continued flow of water (Adone et al. 2019: 91-2).

As well as the serpent, ancestral spirits also play a strong role in Aboriginal religious beliefs, inherent in all features of the land, which they play a role in creating and sustaining (Flood 2007: 132). These spirits can be both good and evil, and a sustainable balance must be attained so that people may continue to live on the land. Often, these spirits also are inhabitant in the same world as ours, with clear places where they are present, for example in certain caves, or waterholes as with the aforementioned serpent (Mountford 1978, Garde 2009). Some specific cultural practices are performed in order for spirits not to be disturbed, for example in Dharawal country, not cooking fat on the fire, which would upset a bad spirit (Attenbrow 2010: 128).

Generally, it is also often cited that one should always respect the country – by not wrecking things, not littering, not taking too much, not throwing rocks – so that the land and spirits will respect you in return. As traditional owners of the land, Aboriginal people further foster this connection through ceremonies involving the use of their language, which is additionally inherently tied to a specific area. Songlines, which are passed down through generations orally, guide Aboriginal people across their country as part of a large interwoven narrative (Flood 2007: 139). These songlines not only describe directions and the lay of the land, but link geographic features to their spiritual place in the world, often involving animals, and sung during particular ceremonies (Bradley & Families 2010).

Finally, the intersection of spirituality, language and land is one that is incredibly important in the establishment and maintenance of Aboriginal identities. People are not attached to the territory they are residing in, and their language therefore being the language of the territory by association (Rumsey

1993). Instead, land is directly connected to a particular language, as demonstrated by the practice of speaking language as a means of connecting with land and the spirits that inhabit it (Adone et al. 2019: 91). Individuals are therefore connected to particular areas *and* the languages that belong there as well. This is described by Dixon (2004: 3) as being that, for example, "Jawoyn people are Jawoyn not because they speak Jawoyn, but because they are linked to places with which the Jawoyn language is associated. And THUS they speak Jawoyn."

3.1.3. Terra Occupata: Kinship, Communication and Trade

Kinship is an integral part of Aboriginal cultures. It is a cultural feature that continues to be reflected in its importance and centrality in Aboriginal languages and social practices to this day. Kinship, or the set of familial and social relations between individuals in a community, determines the social relations between people. Kinship covers not just the immediate community but also relationships with other communities, strangers and sometimes culturally important sites (Garde 2013: 24-5). In this practice, kin terms are extended well beyond direct family, including others who have interacted with a community, so that one could have many "brothers" not closely related by blood (Kelly & McConvell 2018: 21).

It is widely believed that this practice came about due to the relatively small sizes of Aboriginal communities, as a means to avoid incestuous relationships between individuals who are regarded as being too close to one another and encouraging exogamy (McConvell 2018: 5-6). For example, who an individual may or may not marry is determined by their moiety (Flood 2007: 152). These moieties are a two way division of the kinship system to which everyone belongs, passed down patri- and matrilineally which, in turn, contain several different subsections or "skins", which cycle through the generations (Garde 2013: 25-8). An example of marriage preferences in the kinship system of the Kunwinjku people of western Arnhem Land is shown in Figure 3.1.

Beyond marriage, kinship also affects the everyday interactions between kin, particularly through the use of taboos and avoidance speech. This restricts direct relationships between members of opposing matrimoieties (Laughren 2001: 202). For example, it is a fairly common occurrence across Australia that as long as it is not necessary, brothers and sisters should not speak to one another directly. In Bininj Gun-wok, for example, this can go as far as avoiding uttering the name of the sibling. In place of names, indirect avoidance terms are used, which incorporate derogatory vocabulary in order to further distance the relationship between the pair (Garde 2013: 78-9). As well as in avoiding direct reference in language, it is sometimes also required for a taboo pair to avoid one another spatially as well, as is the rule between mother-in-law and son-in-law in Warlpiri communities (Laughren 2001: 200). Different registers are further used by speakers when referring to these taboo relations, ranging

from the alteration of vocabulary to, in extreme cases of avoidance, the manipulation of cases such as the locative in order to produce a maximally distant reference to the relative in question (Laughren 2001).

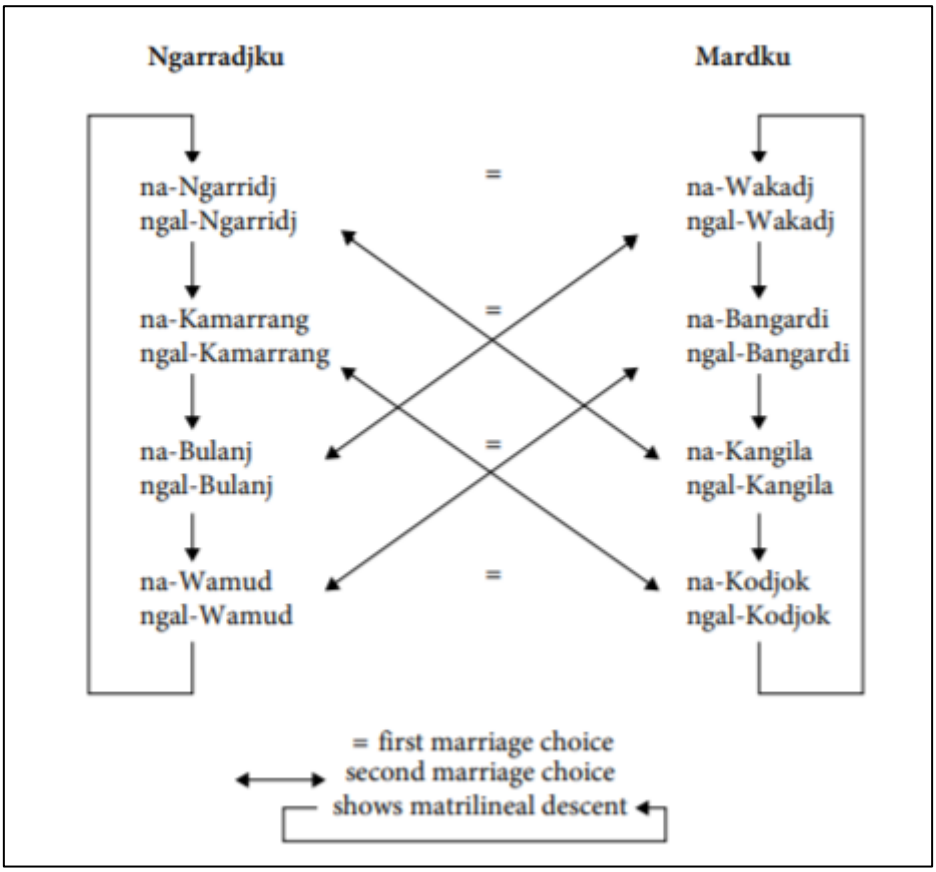

Figure 3.1. Moieties and subsections of western Kunwinjku and Gundjeihmi (Garde 2013: 29).

Across the Australian continent, there were also vast networks of communication and trade between different Aboriginal nations. Rather than venturing onto the land of other people when resources were lacking, there is evidence that trades frequently happened between nations and through third party intermediaries, as well as when large gatherings for ceremonies occurred. For example, stone from the Hawkesbury area was traded into the Sydney area for durable hatchet heads, a material that coastal Sydney was relatively lacking in. Additionally, at least one major trunk route for trade along the coast was identified by settlers (Attenbrow 2010: 123-4). As well as for exchanging goods, networks between Aboriginal nations were also used for communication of events, news, and culture. Corroborees, as they were known in the Sydney area, gathered large groups of people, often from across nations, together to perform ceremonial and cultural activities. One song, known as Wanji-wanji in some parts, travelled vast distances from its origins in the Kimberley region, maintaining the same rhythm and lyrics, as well as associations with initiation and marriage rituals across language groups (Turpin & Meakins 2019: 55-9).

One means of organising these events was through message sticks, which played an important role in communication and diplomacy between communities. Message sticks were inscribed with various mnemonic designs intended to convey a particular meaning to the one reading it. They were carried across often vast distances by a messenger who knew exactly how to interpret the designs on the stick, using it as a multimodal tool for communication. Common motifs could additionally be interpreted without the use of an intermediary (Kelly 2019). Furthermore, the presence of a stick on the person also signalled that the individual was a messenger and to be allowed through the country, rather than treated as a hostile trespasser, an important signifier on a continent where land is tied so closely to its people (Allen 2015). The practice of message sticks demonstrates that the lack of a written tradition in Aboriginal Australia did not preclude the exchange of messages and conduct of diplomacy over long distances, as was done by letters and diplomats in Europe.

As well, there were additional contacts beyond Australia, particularly by the people of the Top End region, lying close to the islands of Indonesia. Starting from the early 18th century, ships from Macassar began to voyage to Australia, known to them as Marege, in order to harvest and trade in trepang, or sea cucumber, with the people of coastal Arnhem Land, occasionally also bringing back items such as turtle shells. In return, items such as metals manufactured in Macassar were available to local Aboriginal people (Macknight 1986). These are likely not to have been the first connections with Indonesia, although the Macassan trepang industry is the most well documented (Macknight 1986, Evans 1992: 66-7). Connections were not limited to material exchanges either; some outbreaks of smallpox have been suggested to be traced to the Macassan connections in the north of Australia, and then spread from there independent of the concurrent European introduction of the disease (Macknight 1986: 72-4).

Macknight (1986: 71-2) highlights contemporary claims that some locals on the Goulburn Islands converted to Islam under Macassan influence, having been reportedly circumcised and refusing to eat pork. Although the extent to which this is a full conversion is considered doubtful, it nevertheless demonstrates the potential for cultural influences to occur through contact. Macassan traders also left their mark on the languages of Arnhem Land. Although contact was not extensive enough to reflect in the grammatical structures of the languages, numerous loanwords are however found in these languages. For example, Evans (1992) identifies at least 25 Macassan loanwords in Tiwi, and a particularly strong concentration of loanwords in Iwaidjan languages of the Coburg Peninsula.

Some of these loanwords have even survived in Australian Kriol, such as *rupiya* ‘money’ and *balanda* ‘white person’, which both arrived in Aboriginal languages through Macassan (Evans 1992: 70-80). Records also suggest that there was a Malay-based trade Pidgin in use by Aboriginal people, also documented as the ‘Macassar’ language, using which they attempted to communicate with early European contacts (Urry & Walsh 1981, Harris 2007: 134-5). The situation that forced the end of these connections – the assertion of colonial British rule over Australia (Battersby 2007: 14) – was one part

of a larger disaster that drastically changed life on the Australian continent, beginning with the landing of the First Fleet of British settlers in 1788.

3.2. Invasion

In 1770, the rumblings of a permanent, irrevocable change to life in Australia began, with the "discovery" of the eastern Australian coast by Captain James Cook of the British Royal Navy. On his first voyage to the south Pacific aboard the HMS Endeavour, Cook's first objective was to observe the transit of Venus, a rare event that only occurs every two and a half centuries. His other objective was less of a scientific and more of an imperial nature: to find *Terra Australis Incognita;* the then-hypothetical to Europeans Great Southern Land (Cook & Wharton 1893/2014: xxi-xxv). Cook's voyage was not the first European voyage to reach Australia; several others had previously charted the coast and made minor landings, from which the Dutch made claims to "New Holland" in the west (West & Murphy 2010: 31-5, Matsuda 2012: 165).

In April 1770, Australia's coast was first sighted by the crew of the Endeavour. This was not the first sighting of Australian land by Europeans – several other expeditions, including a brief landing by Dutch explorer Dirk Hartog over a century earlier in the west, had sighted various parts of the continent before – but Cook's arrival was the most pivotal. Making his way southward, mapping as he went, the Endeavour eventually arrived in what has since then been known as Botany Bay, locally known as Kamay in the Dharawal nation, on 29th April, 1770 (Cook & Wharton 1893/2014: 242-3). It was on this landfall on the Australian continent where he, despite the presence of and contact with the local traditional owners, who chased him and his crew away after intruding on their land, claimed the entire continent for the British crown under the name of New South Wales, now the name of the largest state by population (Matsuda 2012: 165). Botany Bay, he described as "tolerably well-sheltered from all winds" and having "several […] natives and a few huts", who he attempted to contact but who appeared to wish that he be gone from their land (Cook & Wharton 1893/2014: 242-4).

The consequences of Cook's arrival on Australian territory were not felt in Australia immediately. It was not for another almost twenty years that one of the most central events in recent Australian history occurred. The first ship of the First Fleet, Supply, arrived in Botany Bay in the week of 18th January, 1770, followed by the rest of the fleet, carrying over a thousand convicts along with military personnel and free settlers, over the week (Barker 2000, Frost 2019: 230). On 26th January, after moving slightly up the coast to what they named Port Jackson, the fleet finally made its landings and established the first European settlement in Australia, at Sydney Cove. The colony of New South Wales was proclaimed officially shortly after by Captain, now Governor, Philip, on 7th February, 1788 (Barker

2000, Frost 2019: 381-3). Sydney's life as a European penal colony, and with it the Invasion of Australia, began.

Information of European arrival quickly spread across the continent, through the extensive communication networks between Aboriginal communities mentioned previously within this chapter. Several Europeans on the colonial frontier, even when making first contact with the local Australians, noted that the local population were already well aware of their existence and arrival, and even how they were living in the southeast of the continent. Reportedly, some Aboriginal people even knew some words from the New South Wales Pidgin (henceforth NSW Pidgin), which was diffusing across Australia at a faster rate than the invasion itself out of the nexus of the Sydney colony, where contact between the two groups had produced the Pidgin as a lingua franca (Reynolds 2006: 22-5). The spread of the NSW Pidgin, along with the news of European arrival across these communication networks would later become an important element in the development of Australian Kriol, becoming a major contact language not only between settlers and local communities, but also between Aboriginal Australians of different linguistic backgrounds. A discussion of the sociolinguistic background of the genesis of Australian Kriol can be found in section 4.2. of this dissertation.

What followed European expansion across the continent has often been termed the *Frontier Wars* or occasionally, particularly contemporaneously, the *Black War* (cf. Connor 2002, Reynolds 2006). This period, lasting until the mid 20th century, was characterised by violent conflicts between European settlers and local Indigenous Australians who were resisting the dispossession and displacement from their traditional lands (Reynolds 2006). As well as skirmishes between settlers and local populations on the frontier of expansion itself, colonial authorities also frequently organised punitive raids on Aboriginal communities in reprisal for various perceived grievances. Many of these involved the deaths of innocent Aboriginal men and women. Perhaps most notable of these was the Coniston massacre, in which constables of the Northern Territory Police killed at least 31 mostly Warlpiri people, potentially up to two hundred, between August and October, 1928, allegedly in retaliation for the murder of a white hunter. A colonial Board of Inquiry concluded that the killings were justified, despite major inconsistencies and not hearing any Aboriginal testimony (Wilson & O'Brien 2003).

Like the rest of Australia, the Kununurra area has not been free of colonial violence. The database compiled by Ryan et al (2017-2022), for example, shows that in November 1895, in the vicinity of Ivanhoe crossing, some 12 kilometres north of the current town of Kununurra, police murdered twenty Gija and Miriwoong men, women and children, as a reprisal for the alleged killing of cattle. Police justified the killings as being in response to the "escape" of the people in the camp. Two survivors were accused of the crime and arrested. Earlier, between October and November 1893, police murdered upwards of eighty-one Gija, Jaru and Miriwoong people along the Ord River. Their resistance in some of these documented encounters demonstrates the determination to maintain ownership of their land and protect their families despite the overwhelming force held by the police

and settlers. The last currently-known documented killings of Miriwoong people occurred in June or July of 1913 on the Keep River east of Kununurra, where police killed six in a punitive expedition (Ryan et al. 2017-2022).

The violence that characterised the expansion of the colonial frontier across Australia was a key factor in the creation of the conditions that resulted in the eventual creolisation of the NSW Pidgin into the current varieties of Australian Kriol, as well as the development of other Creole languages in Australia. Escaping the violent behaviour and organised reprisals against Aboriginal communities, many people fled towards church missions, as well as finding refuge by working on stations. Here, they could stay in relative safety, albeit with colonial rules imposed upon them, including restrictions on the use of traditional languages. Outside, Aboriginal lands were seized and repossessed by settlers for agricultural and mining uses, and their traditional owners barred from accessing them (Lawrence & Davies 2011: 60-1). On top of this, these relative safe havens became spots of concentrated linguistic diversity, with people from many different language backgrounds staying in the same place. Adapting to the restricted use of language, and pressed with the necessity of communicating with one another and with the colonists, the pidginised English was used. This was eventually adopted by children in these communities as their primary language, and thus a Creole language was born (Harris 1986). As discussed further in chapter 4, this scenario played out in several settlements across the north of Australia, resulting in the diversity of Kriol varieties spoken in the country today.

Whilst the historical background of a place and its people may often seem somewhat tangential to language and its structure, it simply cannot be ignored. This is even more important in the study of Creole languages and, above all else, Indigenous communities today. These languages bear the scars of centuries of colonisation and imperialism, settlement and genocide. Many Indigenous languages have been suppressed over the centuries, and the trilateral relationship between land, country and people destroyed by settlement and the violence it brought upon the continent. In the case of Creole languages, this is also the very setting that gave birth to them. In the following chapter, I will look at the present sociolinguistic situation more closely.

4. Sociolinguistic Background

Over the past two centuries, as detailed in the previous chapter, life in Kununurra has been radically altered, along with the way and which languages are used in day-to-day life. In this chapter, an overview of the present-day sociolinguistic situation in Kununurra will be provided and discussed. Additionally, the wider context of Kriol-speaking northern Australia, and a brief overview of the history of Australian Kriol, and its arrival in the Kununurra region, will be given.

The situation today is radically different from the life Miriwoong people experienced before European invasion and settlement. In a society that is ostensibly post-colonial, many colonial institutions continue to leave their mark on the land and its people's lives. It is within this sociolinguistic context that the Kriol of Kununurra continues to be spoken, alongside the traditional Miriwoong, which is now regarded as critically endangered, and English, the language of the colonisers, which dominates almost all communications across all of Australia, the Kimberley notwithstanding. As a living language, Kriol continues to be influenced by both cohabiting languages to varying degrees. These influences are one of the primary focuses of this dissertation.

4.1. Miriwoong

The land that Kununurra is currently located on, as has been previously introduced in chapter 3 of this dissertation, is known as Miriwoong Dawang, or Miriwoong Country. Miriwoong Country consists of the region surrounding Kununurra, from Lake Argyle to the south and up towards the coast in the north, as well as an area along the other side of the state border with the Northern Territory. Figure 4.1. shows the currently held native title land of the Miriwoong and Gajirrabeng people according to the most recent legal delimitation. It does not include all of traditional Miriwoong Country, a result of land acquisitions and settlement since invasion.

The Miriwoong people are the traditional owners of the land, which they have lived on since time immemorial. The language traditionally spoken by the Miriwoong people is Miriwoong, which will be given a brief typological and sociolinguistic overview in this section. Further grammatical information will become relevant to the shape of several aspects of the Kununurra Kriol verb phrase throughout this dissertation.

The Kimberley region, within which Kununurra sits, can be regarded as one of the most linguistically diverse regions of Australia, itself an already diverse continent (Spronck 2023). Within the context of Australian Aboriginal languages, Miriwoong is classified as part of what are regarded by many as the non-Pama-Nyungan languages. The non-Pama-Nyungan languages, unlike their Pama-Nyungan

counterparts, are largely not considered to be a singular phylogenetic family of languages. Instead, the non-Pama-Nyungan languages are a large grouping of roughly twenty-seven language families, some of which consist of only one language isolate (Evans 2003b: 11).

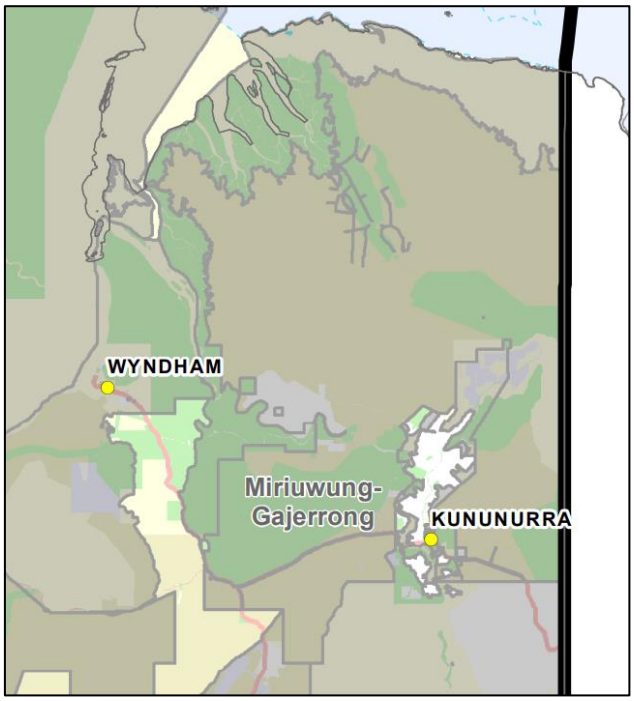

Figure 4.1: Lands currently recognised by the Australian Federal Court to be held exclusively by the Miriwoong and Gajirrabeng (here labelled Gajerrong) people. Grey borders delineate native title areas. Unshaded zones are not held as native title. Adapted from (NNTT 2022).

The non-Pama-Nyungan languages are often defined by the typological features in their morphology. Particularly, non-Pama-Nyungan languages are predominantly prefixing, as opposed to the Pama-Nyungan languages, which tend to opt for suffixes in their morphologies (Walsh 1991: 32-3). The typological similarities between these languages, presently lacking evidence for genealogical relations between them, are commonly modelled to be a result of widespread diffusion. This is generally ascribed to frequent multilingualism and close contacts between the people who spoke these languages before invasion. As a result, there are several areal features, as mentioned above, as well as frequent morphological borrowings between the languages (Evans 2003b: 15-7, McConvell 2010: 772-7).

Further developments in Australian linguistics have brought additional aspects to the classification of the languages of the continent into these two major groupings (Koch 2004). However, the broader classification of the languages of Australia is still a developing area. Although it is currently generally agreed that the Pama-Nyungan family exists in Australia, there are some who doubt the validity of the family, and therefore also the non-Pama-Nyungan grouping of Australian languages. However this discussion is outside the scope of this dissertation, concerning the historical reconstruction of a

hypothetical common ancestor to Australian Aboriginal languages, as well as models of diffusion or inheritance of features throughout the continent (cf. Dixon 2004: 44-54, McConvell 2010). Nevertheless, the immediate relations of Miriwoong to its surrounding languages remain unaffected by its possible genealogical relations with other languages further afield from the Kimberley region.

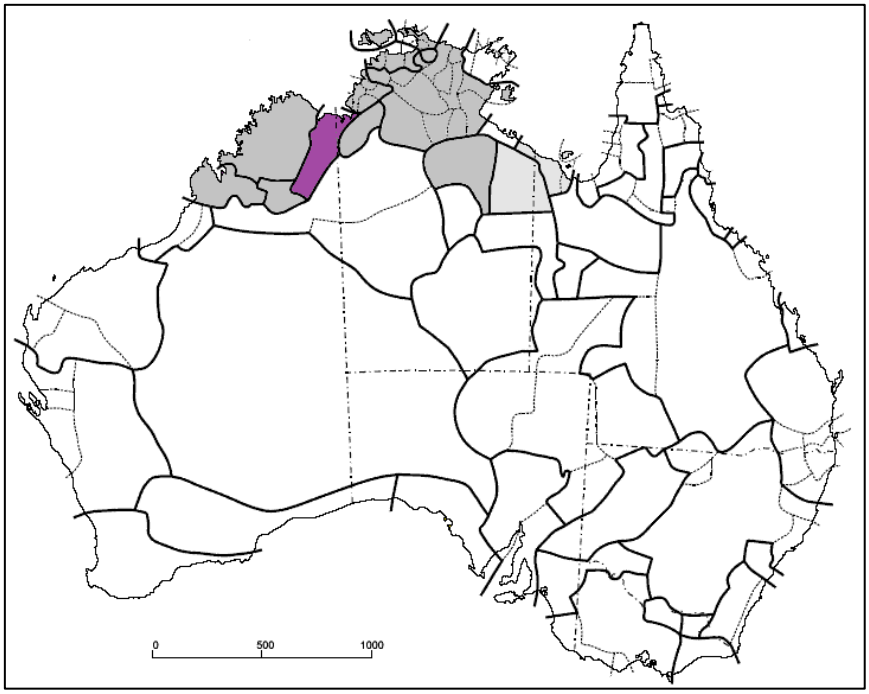

Figure 4.2: The Jarrakan languages (purple) in relation to Pama-Nyungan (white) and non-Pama-Nyungan (grey) languages of Australia.[3]

Miriwoong belongs to one small phylogenetic family within the non-Pama-Nyungan grouping known as the Jarrakan languages, spoken in the Kimberley region of northwestern Australia, their rough range before invasion marked in Figure 4.2. This small family consists of Miriwoong, along with the neighbouring languages Gajirrabeng and Gija. Together, these three languages only consist of just over a hundred speakers currently estimated, most of them Gija. Additionally, a fourth language, Doolboong, is suspected to belong to this family as well, however this language is no longer spoken, and no records exist to accurately assess its membership (McGregor 2004: 40). These languages are on the boundary of Pama-Nyungan and non-Pama-Nyungan languages, with some areal features shared between them, such as the use of a small set of light verbs that form compounds with coverbs to produce a large amount of lexical verbs (McConvell 2003: 78-9).

[3] Kwamikagami. 2012. Jarrakan Languages. Retrieved from https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/4/41/Jarrakan_languages.png <Accessed 27th October 2023, Used under CC BY-SA 3.0>.

As of the most recently available Australian census, conducted in 2016, Kununurra is home to approximately 6,000 permanent residents. Of these, over a thousand residents identify as Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander (ABS 2016b). The Australian census does not differentiate between different Aboriginal groups in terms of identity, however 128 individuals listed Miriwoong as their language spoken at home (ABS 2016a). This number represents a self-nominated estimate of individuals who have some knowledge of the language. Unfortunately, however, the number of fluent speakers is much lower, with most estimates suggesting only two fluent Elders remaining, down from a dozen in 2010. The rest only possess some passive or partial knowledge of the language (Olawsky 2010b: 147, Ethnologue 2017). This exceptionally low number of fluent speakers in the community, additionally being of old age, means that Miriwoong can be regarded as critically endangered, like many other traditional languages in Australia currently. Following the UNESCO framework for assessing language vitality, Miriwoong unfortunately fares poorly in all nine major factors.

Nevertheless, there are currently efforts to revitalise the language and bring it back into active community use. These efforts are supported widely by the Miriwoong community and with professional linguist, as well as limited governmental, support. As Olawsky (2010a) has argued, a major component of language revitalisation is gaining community awareness and support for the language. With the language placed into a more prominent position in society, for example through the use of alternative place names, the community gains more awareness of the language. From there, contexts can slowly be expanded, and through increased enthusiasm of the community, opportunities for greater transmission of the language to younger generations to occur. This strategy allows for an indirect injection of the language into society's consciousness, enhancing the effectiveness of other more direct revitalisation methods (Olawsky 2010a: 79-82).

Revitalisation of Miriwoong in the Kununurra area is currently centred around the Mirima Dawang Woorlab-gerring Language and Culture Centre (MDWg), which was established in 1991 to support documentation and revitalisation efforts that were previously launched by the Mirima Council earlier in 1970 (Olawsky 2010b: 146-7). MDWg has operated several major programmes for Miriwoong language revitalisation. Previously, this included the Master-Apprentice programme for adults, and a programme for younger school children to learn Miriwoong language and culture through organised bush trips and lessons. These cornerstone programmes represent direct efforts to teach the Miriwoong language, and have been supplemented by other indirect support methods for the language in the community, such as public lessons on Miriwoong language and culture, a weekly radio programme, and support for public signage, among others, which also offer regular culturally-relevant employment for the Miriwoong community (Olawsky 2010b: 148-51). All of this is done alongside continuing documentation work by professional linguists and Miriwoong language workers to assert a solid base for future work with the language.

The Master-Apprentice programme is modelled off a programme that was originally developed in California, where a number of Indigenous languages face endangerment and an ageing population of native speakers. In order to counteract this trend, the Master-Apprentice programme was set up at a grassroots level by Indigenous communities. The programme envisions that native speaking Elders are able to interact on a one-on-one basis with adult learners of the language, usually with family connections to one another. Together, they would undertake normal everyday activities, however only conducting their communication in the target language, avoiding English where possible. According to Hinton (1997), who documented the initial programme in California, this creates a platform for the adult learner to become fully immersed in the language without need for dedicated classroom hours, and a personal connection to the language being revitalised. The setting for interaction also allows for nonverbal communication to get around gaps in the learner's knowledge. For further cultural enrichment, traditional activities are also encouraged.

From 2009 to 2019, MDWg adapted the Master-Apprentice programme for the needs of the Miriwoong community. The centre would pair Miriwoong Elders who have fluent native knowledge of the language with adult speakers who have only partial or passive understanding of the language. Writing one year into the programme, Olawsky (2010b: 149) reported that already six teams had been set up, taking into account factors such as kinship relations, fluency levels, and time availability. In 2013, the assessment was of some success, despite some major shortcomings attributed to the vastly different cultural settings, which resulted in a loss of funding (Olawsky 2013). As a result, the programme was further refined for the Miriwoong context, such as regular joint sessions at the language centre, and the opportunity for additional apprentices incorporating other members of the family unit. It has however since been discontinued (Olawsky, personal communication, 3rd November 2023).

The second major component of Miriwoong revitalisation efforts is aimed at transferring the knowledge acquired by adult apprentices to younger generations, particularly children of the community. Not only do these language courses provide instruction of the Miriwoong language to children in a classroom setting, but they also allow the adult speakers, who have previously been apprentices, to solidify their knowledge of the language acquired in said Master-Apprentice sessions (Olawsky 2013). As a way to enrich the language teaching with practical and culturally relevant experiences and terminology, a programme previously existed for Miriwoong language workers to take younger learners out on Country, sometimes overnight, for their lessons, away from potential distractions in town (Olawsky 2010b: 148-9). Lessons out on Country enrich the inherent, spiritual connection between the Miriwoong community and their land to flourish and be secured for the next generations. Despite the pressures of the colonial world around them to stick to formal, Western developed language teaching methods alone, MDWg's community-based methods have allowed for multiple avenues of Miriwoong culture to be practised and revitalised.

As of the time of writing this dissertation, the Language Centre's work has primarily focussed on the success of the Language Nest programme with younger children, launched in 2013. This programme has been refined over the years, adapting the original models for the Miriwoong context to reportedly great success, currently teaching over 500 young new learners of Miriwoong in and around local schools. The new, young learner base is regarded by the Centre as a great achievement, going some way to counter the unfortunately steady loss of fluent speakers to old age. As of December 2020, the local primary school in Kununurra has begun arrangements with the Centre to begin rolling out Miriwoong as part of the year 3 and onwards language curriculum (Olawsky, personal communication, 16th December, 2020). Overall, these trends can be regarded as a positive sign of success and hope for the future vitality of the language.

4.2. Australian Creole Languages

4.2.1. Previous Work on Creole Languages in Australia

There are several Creole languages currently spoken in Australia. Among these, Australian Kriol has come under increasing attention from scholars over the past few decades, although the overall volume of research remains relatively small for a language of its size. The term *Australian Kriol,* or simply *Kriol*, already used extensively in this dissertation, has come to collectively encompass several closely related varieties of the English-lexified Creole language spoken by many Aboriginal Australians in the north of the country.

The first major descriptive work on Kriol, which remains today the most complete grammar of the language, was undertaken by Sandefur (1979) in the 1970s. This was done as part of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, with the aim of translating the Bible for missionary purposes in Aboriginal communities of northern Australia (Dickson 2015: 27-8). For this purpose, however one may judge it morally, not only a grammatical description but also an orthography was produced, which continues to be the basis for most Kriol literacy in the Northern Territory to this day, as well as a dictionary that continues to be updated and is available cost-free online (Sandefur 1984, 2014). Schultze-Berndt et al. (2013) have also produced an updated grammatical sketch more recently.

The vast majority of scholarly research on Kriol has been focussed on the varieties of the Northern Territory, mainly around Ngukurr (also and especially historically known as Roper River) and Barunga, some 200km to its west. Recent research has provided an increasingly detailed description of the grammar and phonologies of these two varieties of Kriol. These include features such as the role of reduplication (Ponsonnet 2018), reflexive pronouns (Ponsonnet 2016, Dickson & Durantin 2019), and

a great deal on the role of transitivity and agency (cf. Hudson 1983, Meyerhoff 1996, Koch 2000, Batchelor 2017, Phillips 2018). A large amount of research has also presently been focussing on the Aboriginal substrate influences on Kriol varieties across the north, for example Dickson (2015), Munro (2004), and what this very dissertation seeks to investigate. Less relevant to this dissertation, however important to our understanding of Kriol, are also numerous works on the phonology of the language, such as descriptive work by Baker et al. (2014) and Malcolm (2004).

As well as research on the grammatical aspects of Kriol, there have also been several important studies describing the sociolinguistic situation in the Northern Territory. For example, Rhydwen (1995) describes the social constraints in the usage of Kriol and Aboriginal English by Aboriginal speakers, and especially with those who are not of Aboriginal background. Ponsonnet (2010) further outlines the current attitudes of several speakers of Barunga Kriol towards their language, giving the picture of continued complex feelings towards what is essentially a colonial language in the ostensibly post-colonial Australia. This is further elaborated by Simpson (2013), demonstrating the position of Kriol in relation to the at-risk traditional languages it is often seen to have replaced, yet its concurrent widespread acceptance of Kriol as an Aboriginal lingua franca. These works demonstrate that Kriol continues to find its place in the linguistic ecology of Australia, somewhere between traditional languages and the colonially imposed English.

There has been far less attention in the Kriol varieties in the Kimberley region, over the state border in Western Australia. The bulk of key research on these varieties was undertaken by Hudson (1985) in the 1980s, who produced a grammatical description of the Kriol of Fitzroy Crossing. The political separation of Kimberley Kriol varieties has also resulted in a vastly different orthography being used. Where Kriol varieties in the Northern Territory use the orthography developed for Ngukurr Kriol, Kimberley Kriol varieties use an orthography that was developed by the Department of Education and Kimberley Language Resource Centre between 2003 and 2004, after community members in the Kimberley expressed a desire for a distinct writing system from Kriol speakers over the state border (Disbray & Loakes 2013). This orthography is currently used by the Western Australian government for Kriol publications; however, this dissertation will be using a separate system adopted by the Miriwoong community, outlined in section 4.3.1.

In addition to the increasing body of synchronic descriptions of Kriol varieties, there has also been significant attention on the origins of Kriol, a rough outline of which has been presented in the previous section. These works, such as the vital publications by Troy (1993, 1994a) trace its origins from the Sydney colony through to its eventual creolisation in the north of Australia in the early 20th century. The exact circumstances of its creolisation, as described in the following section, are under discussion as to whether creolisation occurred at several locations (cf. Sandefur 1986, Sandefur & Harris 1986) or just one, from which it later diffused (cf. Munro 2000). These discussions also relate

to different approaches reflect the differing theoretical accounts of Creole genesis (Meakins 2014), which is discussed at a theoretical level in chapter 2.

Its roots in the Sydney colony are also the impetus for work connecting Kriol more broadly to other English-lexified Creoles of the Pacific region. Meyerhoff (1996), for example, investigates and compares the behaviour of transitive marking in these Creole languages, the roots for which are placed by Baker & Mühlhäusler (1996) with Kriol's antecedent in the early Sydney colony. Work by, for example, Koch (2000) and Simpson (2000), have also helped establish the path of the NSW Pidgin to the north of the continent, and the lasting impact this had on the shape of the Creole today. Within Australia, Kriol is also indirectly connected to Torres Strait Creole, also known as Broken or Yumplatok, which shares roots in the NSW Pidgin, but is typologically closer to the Creole languages of Melanesia (Sandefur 1986: 20-5). Since Schnukal's (1988) grammar, there has unfortunately been very little research on this language.

This is far from a comprehensive overview of the currently available body of research on varieties of Australian Kriol and their background. At the time of writing this dissertation, our understanding of the language is rapidly expanding thanks to the work of several prominent scholars in the field today, and importantly the initiative of Kriol speaking communities to support their language. Additionally, our understanding of its background and genesis is enhanced through further study into the Aboriginal history of the continent, as well as experiences from other Creole languages around the world.

4.2.2. Origins

The origins of Australian Kriol can be traced back to the moment of the invasion of Australia by European settlers in 1788 (for a brief overview of the historical events, refer to chapter 3 of this dissertation). Whilst basic and brief communication between Europeans and local Aboriginal Australians had occurred during brief visits to the continent beforehand, the establishment of the settlement at Sydney Cove represented the start of extended language contact between the English-speaking settlers and local languages of Australia. Early attempts at communication utilised Captain Cook's notes on the Guugu Yimidhirr language spoken in northern Queensland, initially not realising that the people of the Sydney area spoke a completely different language (Troy 1993). Out of necessity, and under official orders, Captain Philip and the officers of the First Fleet made attempts to acquire the Sydney language, which produced the first detailed Western works on languages of Australia (Troy 1992, 1994b).

Despite some early friendly relations, Captain Philip's attempts at engaging in communication with the local population were frustrated by the behaviour of colonists towards the local population, particularly with the encroachment of the colony further and further onto Aboriginal lands, and

relations quickly declined. Failing to attract Aboriginal people naturally into the settlement, Philip sought to capture individuals to teach English and learn their language, so as to act as interlocutors between the two populations. This resulted in the December 1788 kidnapping of Arabanoo, followed by Bennelong in 1789 after the death in captivity of the former (Troy 1993). Troy (1994a: 37) suggests that Bennelong's role as an interlocutor, with his use of the acquired "broken English" and sharing of local Aboriginal knowledge with the colonists, facilitated the very first appearance of an English Pidgin between the two communities. This was not the only Pidgin that emerged in Australia; a Malay-based trade Pidgin is also documented in Arnhem Land of northern Australia (Urry & Walsh 1981, Harris 2007: 134-5). By 1792, Bennelong's Pidgin was well established as a lingua franca for communication between the colonists and local Aboriginal people, and by 1796, several colonists had noted its status as a distinct Pidgin English (Troy 1992: 47-8). The NSW Pidgin had therefore begun its life as a colonial contact language of Australia.

Several features that would later characterise not just the later Australian Kriol but also several other English-lexified Creoles of Australia and the Pacific region can find their origins in the NSW Pidgin as it was spoken in the early Sydney colony. This includes several lexical items that survived the journey to the north of Australia, such as words from the Sydney language *bogi* 'swim, wash' and *binji* 'belly', as well as a small number terms from other European languages that entered via the nautical jargon commonly used by sailors such as *pikanini* 'child' and *sabi* 'know' from Portuguese, which also appear in many colonial Creoles (Harris 1986, Troy 1994a: 192-3).

As well as lexical items originating in the Sydney area, several grammatical features are first recorded in the NSW Pidgin of the early colony. One of the most salient features of Australian Kriol is the frequent marking of verbs for transitivity using the suffix -V*m*. The origins of this suffix are through the grammaticalisation of the unstressed object pronouns *him* and *them*, noted early on in records, albeit initially ambiguously, of the NSW Pidgin (Troy 1994a: 199). The reanalysis of these pronouns was driven by substrate influence from Aboriginal languages encountered, including the Sydney language, which utilised enclitics to mark transitivity roles on the verb (Koch 2000). An analysis of the analogous situation in Kununurra Kriol will be analysed in this dissertation.

Another salient feature is the nominalising and adjective marking suffix *-bala* (sometimes *-fala*) from English *fellow*, which was also documented in early Sydney writings (Koch 2000). Both these features were transported across both Australia and the Pacific region, and have come to characterise the grammars of many of the Creole languages of the area, with variation strongly influenced by the many substrate languages encountered (Baker & Mühlhäusler 1996, Meyerhoff 2001, Batchelor 2017). These are just some of the more notable features that had already begun to appear in the NSW Pidgin that would later characterise the Creole languages of Australia and the Pacific region (Tryon & Charpentier 2011).

The expansion of the NSW Pidgin across Australia is naturally linked with the expansion of European settlement and invasion of settlers onto Aboriginal lands, creating a situation of constant language contact. As colonists came into contact with local populations, they used this simplified Pidgin English as a lingua franca, interspersed with various Aboriginal words that they had learnt along the way (Tryon & Charpentier 2011). Regardless of their origin or local understanding, this enabled the spread of Sydney lexicon as mentioned above. Ahead of the actual frontier itself, the Pidgin also spread to Aboriginal communities via the extensive camel trader networks through the interior of the continent. These were often manned by "Afghans" from the Indian subcontinent, who were also second language speakers of English, and were socially situated between the privileged colonists and disrespected Aboriginal people, with whom several marriages were even established. It is suggested by Simpson (2000) that these camel networks helped maintain the similarities between Pidgin and Creole varieties despite the vast distances between them.

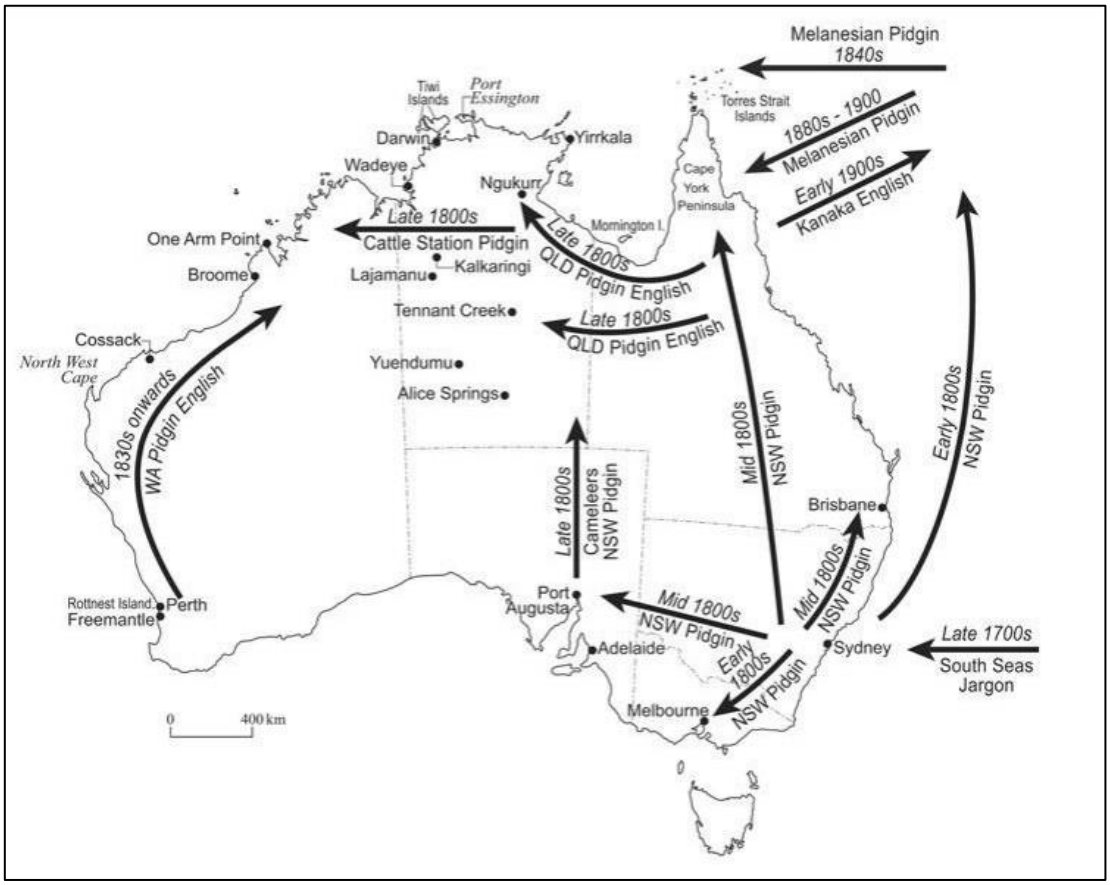

Figure 4.3. The spread of the NSW Pidgin and its descendants through Australia (Meakins 2014: 367).

Whilst the origins of Kriol go back to the very first arrival of European settlers in Australia in 1788, its creolisation only happened over a century later in the northern part of the continent. Whereas the mobile expansion of the frontier necessitated communication across groups and thus enabled the maintenance of a Pidgin contact language, the situation in the north by the end of the 19th century,

following the establishment of permanent settlement at Darwin in 1870 after several attempts, was one where colonial dominance was in the process of full assertion and consolidation (Harris 1993). This situation pushed Aboriginal people of different linguistic backgrounds together under English speaking rule. Such an environment produced the conditions for the Pidgin to undergo nativisation and the new Creole to appear.

As detailed in chapter 3, the Australian colonial frontier and interactions of settlers towards Aboriginal Australians were characterised by violence and dispossession, with the establishment of many new towns and pastoral stations on lands traditionally lived on and cared for by Aboriginal communities. Invoking the doctrine of *Terra Nullius*, settlers asserted ownership over these lands for their cattle. The presence of local Indigenous people was deemed undesirable, and gangs were sometimes hired to hunt people down. Locals were also harassed and killed by private settlers as well as in punitive raids by police, often justified as responses to claimed Aboriginal crimes. Some described this violence in explicit terms of extermination (Harris 1993). In this context, many Aboriginal people sought refuge on outstations and Christian missions that had been established to preach the Bible to Aboriginal populations (Sandefur 1985).

Whilst these missions and outstations provided some refuge from campaigns of violence by settlers and police, it also placed the Aboriginal people who fled them under direct colonial authority. Furthermore, in the process of pushing people off their lands and concentrating them into one community, it also meant that missions and outstations had a very mixed population with several languages spoken, with only a handful of often transient Europeans on staff (Sandefur 1985). As a major example in the genesis of Kriol, the community that developed at the Roper River (now Ngukurr) mission, following its establishment in 1908, represented nine different languages from seven different tribal identifications by the 1940s. Only one of these languages, Ritharrngu, was still in regular use in the 1980s (Harris 1986: 230-2). This was a common situation across the missions and outstations of northern Australia.

In these new mixed communities, the lack of a common language facilitated the communicative need for the use of the Pidgin, which many people had some familiarity with already. This was additionally reinforced by the colonial administrators, who largely only spoke English. Whilst many of the adults were multilingual as a norm, allowing for some communication without the Pidgin, the disruptive colonial invasion resulted in a generation of children who were not. Mühlhäusler (1996: 76-80), in describing the situation in the Pacific, describes this as the destruction or weakening of traditional multilingualism, and the subsequent creation of new multilingual communities. Children therefore utilised the Pidgin between one another and with the colonial administrators, as well as some limited English that was being taught by missionaries in places such as the Roper mission (Harris 1993). As with many Creole languages, children developed this into a fully functioning language; Kriol.

There are two major accounts of the spread of Kriol across the vast distances it is now spoken natively in northern Australian Aboriginal communities, with variants reflecting different theoretical approaches to Creole genesis currently debated within the field of creolistics. Several authors, such as Harris (1986, 1993) and Munro (2000) suggest a single point of origin of the Creole. These monogenetic accounts of the creolisation of Kriol follow similar theoretical bases as Bickerton's (1984) bioprogramme hypothesis. As discussed in chapter 2, in this account, the central agents of creolisation are primarily children, drawing from their innate ability to create a grammatical system, even out of inconsistent or mixed input from their parents. Adults then are able to expand this system into a fully functional language, capable of dealing with any situation.

Both Harris (1986) and Munro (2000) suggest that the point of origin was in the aforementioned Roper River mission at present-day Ngukurr, within the context of an incredibly multilingual environment. However, these two approaches do differ in fundamental ways. Harris (1986, 1993) argues for an abrupt creolisation, driven by the children who had little in the way of multilingual repertoires when brought to the mission. In contrast, Munro (2000) takes a gradualist approach, arguing that the process of creolisation occurred over several generations. Munro (2004) also stresses the importance of substrate influences as a primary mechanism in the development of Kriol, highly influencing the shape of the language through processes of functional transfer.

Proponents of the monogenetic approach argue that from this single point of origin, Kriol then spread out through the subsequent establishment of more cattle stations, bringing workers who had learnt Kriol as a common language to a wider geographic reach. Kriol would later become the main language of these new communities through the 1940s, some forty years after its initial genesis on the Roper mission, with influences from local substrate languages since then (Munro 2000). Meakins (2014) argues that the monogenetic approach is rather the result of disproportionate amounts of research focus on specifically the variety of Kriol spoken around the Ngukurr region of southwestern Arnhem Land, to the neglect of other varieties of Kriol across the Northern Territory and Kimberley region. Indeed, many communities had similar linguistic contexts that enable the genesis of a Creole language, including the superstrate input of English, as well as exposure to the NSW Pidgin common across the frontier. The extensive documentation of the Kriol that arose on one mission does not preclude its independent development in similar missions and outstations.

Accordingly, several scholars argue that the genesis of the Creole occurred at many such stations and missions across the north of Australia in the first half of the 20th century, with Ngukurr simply being the first and most prominent example. This view suggests that similar conditions to those at the Roper River mission could be found at other locations, with children again being the core drivers of language creation in the midst of a chaotic language situation, using the resources provided by the NSW Pidgin that had spread in the decades prior (Meakins 2014: 377). Sandefur (1986) states that the Pidgin was used in many different contexts where not just Aboriginal people of different linguistic backgrounds,

but also where migrant workers with limited English encountered one another. These Pidgins, after the first creolisation in Ngukurr, creolised independently in the many stations and settlements scattered across the north.

In describing the Kriol of the Kimberley region, this multiple origin thesis is further supported by Hudson (1985). Hudson suggests that the development of Kriol in the Kimberley region can be traced to the government run outstation at Moola Bulla, which was established in 1910, not long after the establishment of the Roper River mission. After its privatisation in the 1950s, the Aboriginal workers moved out to other communities, including Fitzroy Crossing. Upon their arrival, the Aboriginal children attending the boarding school there were strongly influenced by the Kriol that the adult workers were speaking as a lingua franca (Hudson 1985). Research on the Afghan cameleer networks in spreading the Pidgin prior to creolisation further provide historical basis for multiple points of genesis (Simpson 2000, Meakins 2014). Sandefur (1986) describes Kriol's connection with Torres Strait Creole in similar terms; as another independent creolisation which occurred in the 1950s, but whose connections were stronger with the Pacific. For Kriol, regular movement between settlements for temporary work, as well as a few areas acting as major hubs for movement such as Darwin, have allowed for some convergence of features across varieties, resulting in a rough continuum. Taking into account this evidence, as well as the nature of Kriol as a highly pluricentric language – or set of languages – the multiple origin thesis presently appears to be the most likely account for its genesis.

4.2.3. Kriol today

Since its creolisation, Australian Kriol has become the primary language of many Aboriginal communities in the north of Australia, to the point where some have described it as "the largest language spoken exclusively in Australia" (Dickson 2014). In many communities, Kriol exists alongside Aboriginal languages, as well as traditional Aboriginal languages in some areas. These also coexist with the hegemonic English, represented by Standard Australian English and Aboriginal English varieties. As can be seen in many other Creole languages, often there is a diglossic situation where a basilectal form of the Kriol is spoken at home as the informal L language, with the acrolectal Aboriginal English as the H language used in more formal situations, a scenario that can be found in many Creole speaking communities in the world (Sandefur 1982). Bundgaard-Nielsen & Baker (2016), with view of the phonological system in Ngukurr Kriol, suggest that there is little in the way of a post-Creole continuum, but rather generational varieties with a distinct diglossia between the two languages. Figure 4.4. shows the rough current range in which varieties of Kriol are spoken today, according to reports.

Across this vast region, there is a strong degree of variation. Generally, there are seven main varieties of Kriol that are identified by most scholars: Barunga, Roper (also known as Bamyili), Fitzroy Crossing, Daly River, Turkey Creek, Barkly Tablelands and Victoria River (Munro 2000: 249). Within these broad geographical groupings, there also exist distinct varieties with their own identities, as with Kununurra Kriol in this dissertation. These varieties are differentiated most saliently by their lexicon, as the local Kriol varieties often utilise extensive vocabulary from local substrate languages. In addition to the lexicon, substrate languages have also contributed in some degree to the variation in grammar and phonology of different Kriol varieties (cf. Munro 2004, Schultze-Berndt, Meakins & Angelo 2013, Dickson 2015).

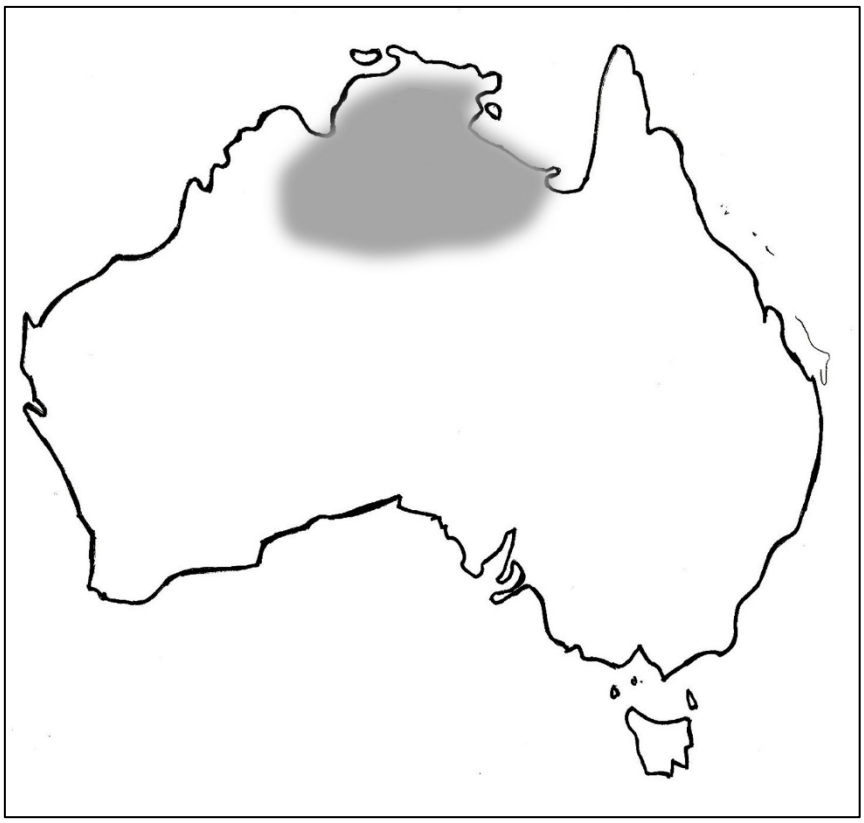

Figure 4.4. The current range of Australian Kriol (grey).

In turn, Kriol has left its mark on many Aboriginal languages as well. This is often in the form of borrowings that may appear to some to be from English, but are in fact borrowed via Kriol, for example the recent use of *najing* 'nothing' as a negator or *indit* 'isn't it' as a tag marker in Jaminjung (Schultze-Berndt 2007: 376-7). Other times, grammatical items may be borrowed into Aboriginal languages. There are at least two documented cases where conventionalised code-switching between Kriol and an Aboriginal language has resulted in the creation of a new Mixed Language, with grammatical and lexical elements intertwined between both Kriol and the traditional language; Gurindji Kriol (McConvell & Meakins 2005) and Light Warlpiri (O'Shannessy 2005).

In many communities Kriol does not enjoy a prestigious status, as is a common experience amongst speakers of Creole languages globally (cf. Siegel 2005). Speakers often do not recognise the differences between Aboriginal English and Kriol as those between distinct language systems. For many speakers, particularly elderly, the memory of its colonial role and decades of prejudices against what was often called "broken" or "rubbish" English have left many with a low confidence in speaking the language. Many have become unwilling to identify with the label of Kriol due to its earlier pejorative connotations (Rhydwen 1995).

This status is particularly salient in viewing the differing estimations of the number of Kriol speakers in Australia. In the most recently available Australian census, which records language statistics by self-declaration, the number of people who declared that they speak Kriol at home was 7155 nationwide (ABS 2016a). In comparison, estimates by linguists working in the field suggest a far larger population of Kriol speakers, with estimates up to 30,000 (Marmion, Obata & Troy 2014), and a commonly cited middle-ground estimate of approximately 20,000 (Ponsonnet 2010, Schultze-Berndt, Meakins & Angelo 2013).

Official and institutional recognition of Kriol remains fairly lacking. However, the situation has been improving somewhat in recent years, with increased research attention to produce resources in and about the language. This research mostly started in the 1970s, with work starting on a Bible translation in 1973, culminating in its full publication in 2007 (Harris 1993). As mentioned previously, the first complete grammatical description was produced by Sandefur (1979) at the end of the 1970s, and since then much research has followed. The growing body of research has enabled the establishment of formal interpreting services for Kriol, an essential service for Aboriginal people dealing with the English-language health and legal systems. In the cultural domain, recent years have also seen the establishment of a weekly Kriol language radio service[4] on the ABC, the national public broadcaster, and increased educational outreach by language centres in, amongst others, Kununurra and Ngukurr (Dickson 2023).

In terms of mainstream education, however, there has been less progress. There briefly existed a bilingual programme in the Northern Territory (NT). The programme formally began in 1977 after several years of experimentation, and lasted for approximately 16 years (Ponsonnet 2010, Meehan 2017). Other bilingual schools in the NT have also utilised Kriol as part of their oral curriculum, recognising its status as many Aboriginal students' first language (eg. Carr, Wilkinson & Stansell 2017). However, political opinion has since the 1990s shifted against support for bilingual education in the NT, with the stated focus of the territory government being that of ostensibly promoting English skills and citing the costs and performance of supporting bilingual schools in remote areas, perhaps in contrast with the relative optimism at changing attitudes towards Kriol expressed earlier by Eades &

[4] https://soundcloud.com/darwinabc/sets/kriol (Archived: https://web.archive.org/web/20201213014117/https://soundcloud.com/darwinabc/sets/kriol)

Siegel (1999). This has resulted in an overall cut in the hours available to the few Aboriginal language programmes (Devlin 2017). Nevertheless, as of 2020, there has been a reported uptick in support for Kriol in NT schools, with four schools in the territory officially using the language as part of their curriculum (Angelo 2021).

Attitudes remain mixed in younger generations as well, particularly with the position of Kriol in relation to traditional languages of Australia. As an inherently colonial language introduced through a history of colonial violence and linguistic displacement, it is still seen by some as a threat to traditional languages, with one younger speaker going as far to describe it as "brainwash from English" (Ponsonnet 2010). Many speakers of traditional languages have increasingly shifted to using Aboriginal English or Kriol in their communities, to the detriment of the traditional languages' vitality. Indeed, Kriol is presently one of very few Indigenous languages actively growing in size, across all generations (Dickson 2023: 669). This is particularly enhanced by the economic and social pressures imposed by non-Aboriginal Australia, which overwhelmingly speaks English (Simpson 2013).

Despite widely expressed concern for Kriol's perceived erosion into the domains of traditional languages, it is nevertheless increasingly adopted as a main language of communication in Aboriginal communities (Simpson 2013). To some, Kriol has become a middle ground between the loss of traditional languages and the colonial imposition of English. To this effect, some regard Kriol as a new Aboriginal lingua franca, for use with other Aboriginal people, which can coexist with Aboriginal English for outsiders (Rhydwen 1995, Simpson 2013). As a result, some speakers of Kriol do express pride in their ability to speak Kriol (Sandefur 1982, Ponsonnet 2010). One recent study shows that there is an ongoing shift in attitudes towards a more positive evaluation of Kriol, perhaps as memories of the violent colonial era become more distant, but also in recognition of cultural and linguistic heritage preserved within the language (Hendy & Bow 2023). Kriol, therefore, currently finds itself within this nominally post-colonial sociolinguistic landscape somewhere between traditional languages and English as a new language that is colonial, yet also a uniquely Aboriginal language.

4.3. Kununurra Kriol

As discussed previously in section 4.1. of this chapter, the Miriwoong language has been drastically affected by colonisation, and is now critically endangered with very few fluent speakers remaining. Since the establishment of the town of Kununurra, the majority of Miriwoong people have shifted to using Kriol as their primary language. Kriol is also the primary language of other Aboriginal groups living in and around Kununurra, largely Gija and Gajirrabeng, as well as, as discussed, being a lingua franca for many Aboriginal communities across northern Australia of diverse linguistic backgrounds.

Non-Aboriginal residents of Kununurra seldom have any knowledge of Kriol, the local variety or otherwise, excluding those who have direct regular involvement with the local Aboriginal community, or have been exposed through classes, either in Miriwoong classes offered on occasion by the Language Centre, or in other towns with some teaching offers in other varieties of Kriol, such as in Ngukurr.

As with Kriol in general, it is difficult to estimate the precise number of native speakers of Kununurra Kriol, due to underreporting and other aforementioned factors. The 2016 census reports that only 47 residents of Kununurra speak Kriol at home (ABS 2016a). From our experiences in Kununurra, and with the common status of Creole languages in general, this may be a severe underestimation. Due to the status of Kriol in Kununurra as a lingua franca within and between the different Aboriginal communities of the town, as reported by individuals participating in this project, it is generally assumed that most Aboriginal residents however are able to speak the language. This would place a maximum number of Kununurra Kriol speakers at around a thousand people, following the most recently available Australian census data, which records 1214 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander residents in Kununurra (ABS 2016b). Concurrently, 128 people are reported as speakers of Miriwoong (ABS 2016a). According to the Language Centre, only two elderly fluent speakers remain, which would suggest that the majority of these are not fluent speakers (Olawsky, personal communication, 3rd November 2023).

Censuses are an important part in the expression of cultural, ethnic as well as linguistic identity, in both its construction and its validation through recognition from governments. Such recognition can further extend to funding and state priorities, marking their importance for smaller speech communities (Kertzer & Arel 2004). In the triangulation of Indigenous Australian identity of Land-Language-Country, the Miriwoong identity plays a major role in all three of these (Amery & Gale 2023). Compounding this, the Australian census allows only one answer to be entered for languages spoken other than English at home.[5] It would seem from this data that many Kununurra Kriol speakers may have noted in the census an expression of their primary cultural and linguistic identity – Miriwoong – rather than the Kriol reported by the Language Centre, as well as experience in collecting data for this dissertation, to be the main language in the local Miriwoong community. Additionally, frequent code-switching and heavy borrowing from Miriwoong are practised in Kununurra Kriol, strengthening a particular association with Miriwoong, even where the speaker is not a fluent speaker of the language. Considering these factors, I would estimate that there would be at least a hundred

[5] For a sample of the 2016 census form and its questions, see https://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/2901.0Main%20Features802016/$FILE/2016%20Census%20Sample%20Household%20Form.pdf (Archived: https://web.archive.org/web/20211105100326/https://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/2901.0Main%20Features802016/$FILE/2016%20Census%20Sample%20Household%20Form.pdf)

speakers of Kununurra Kriol, and up to a thousand. The precise number remains difficult to estimate lacking accurate statistical data.

Kriol additionally coexists in Kununurra with Standard Australian English and Aboriginal English. Standard Australian English is used by the non-Aboriginal population of Kununurra, as well as the many temporary seasonal workers and tourists that arrive in the area every year. As the de facto standard English in Australia, it is also the primary language used in education, lacking formal bilingual schooling, and other official government communications, as well as most media. Aboriginal English, which is commonly used by Aboriginal people across Australia, plays a role as a means of communication between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, as well as being used by Aboriginal people who may not speak Kriol.

It has been suggested that the Kriol of Kununurra does not constitute a distinct variety of Kriol from the larger regional designation of Kimberley Kriol. Whilst Kununurra Kriol may share many similar features with other Kriol varieties in the Kimberley, the self-identification of its speakers takes precedence in affirming the ownership of a language by its speakers. Social self-identification has been a prominent factor in the classification of languages, including cases with languages that are mutually intelligible are nevertheless regarded separate by their speakers (Tulloch 2006). It has also been seen that, particularly in Australia, Aboriginal people tend to associate a language with the land on which it belongs, and by extension the owners who live on that land in a tripartite manner (Vaughan, Singer & Garde 2022). That is to say, all Kriol speakers consulted in this project have regarded the Kriol of Kununurra to be its own distinct and recognisable variety of Kriol, under the common names of either Kununurra Kriol, or Miriwoong Kriol particularly when talking about the specifics to those of Miriwoong background, reflecting its connection to the Kununurra area in particular, and its largely Miriwoong people. This is also the position of the local MDWg Language and Culture Centre, which currently supports linguistic research into the local variety, as well as offering aforementioned language classes and support for Kununurra Kriol in public, alongside its primary work with the Miriwoong language.

The commonly held sentiment in Kununurra of its Kriol being a distinct variety is reinforced by the reaction of Kriol speakers involved in this project to utterances learnt from prior work on Barunga Kriol. When using some constructions and vocabulary items, speakers immediately recognised them to be from said region. Additional elements that underline Kununurra Kriol as its own variety are the prevalence of Miriwoong loanwords in everyday communication, particularly prevalent in describing local flora and fauna, as well as Miriwoong traditions. Kununurra Kriol also appears to have a recognisable grammar that has come about through innovation and local substrate influences, the details of which are discussed in this dissertation. These factors place Kununurra Kriol as a distinct variety within the small family of Kriol languages that are spoken across northern Australia, which share similar grammars, yet retain and develop key aspects that identify them with particular regions.

4.3.1. Kununurra Kriol Orthography

As mentioned previously, several orthographical standards presently exist for different varieties of Kriol in Australia, developed and adopted by different organisations with different designs behind their usage. In the course of this project, it has been expressed by the Kununurra Kriol community that Kununurra Kriol also have its own orthography with which it can be identified. For this purpose, we were requested by the community to offer advice from a linguistic perspective on its design (cf. Batchelor & Adone 2020). A final orthography was eventually proposed by Brown et al (2022) in 2022 after extensive experimentation and discussions with the community, who gave their approval. The adopted Kununurra orthography is used in this dissertation. Data that has been sourced from the archive provided by the Language Centre is the exception to this, and in this dissertation uses the transcription provided in the archives. This means that some spellings may be variable and idiosyncratic throughout.

The development of literacy represents a major transformation for a language community, with lasting, important impacts on the language itself. Mühlhäusler (1996: 212-3) describes the transformation as threefold:

1. The transition from low-information to high-information society
2. The possibility of storing information long term
3. Supplementation of face-to-face interaction with long distance written communication

In the Australian context, the robust oral traditions typically provide for these factors. However, since the arrival of European settlers two centuries ago, many of these traditions have been disrupted by colonial violence and displacement, breaking the links to kin and country across the continent. Another result of this was the appearance of new contact languages, driven by a need for communication in a linguistically chaotic situation, where hundreds of Aboriginal Australians of diverse linguistic backgrounds were forced into missions and stations for refuge and work under the new colonial order. Kununurra Kriol exists within this (post-)colonial framework.

As has been mentioned previously in this chapter, there are, prior to the development of the Kununurra system, two main orthographies in use for different varieties of Kriol. The most widely used one of these was developed by Sandefur (1984) in the 1980s, primarily for Roper River Kriol and now used all across the Northern Territory. This orthography is a phonetic system to represent the sounds of Kriol as accurately as possible, with little reference to the English source.

An alternative orthography was also produced in the Kimberley region of Western Australia for the Fitzroy Crossing community. This orthography was developed out of a sense of a separate identity for

the local community and lack of acceptance for the Roper orthography. Between 2003 and 2004, the WA Department of Education and the Kimberley Language Resource Centre organised workshops to develop the orthography (Disbray & Loakes 2013). As it was devised largely by involvement from those in the education sector, what resulted was an orthography that is phonetic, but uses spelling conventions from English to represent these sounds, as a vehicle for English language literacy. This has also resulted in a spelling system that has carried over many of the idiosyncrasies of English spelling, such as <u> to represent /ə/, and <oo> representing not a lengthened /o/ but /u/. This system requires some knowledge of English to fully understand, whereas most Kriol speakers are L2 speakers of English.

The Kununurra Kriol community has recently expressed a similar desire to develop its own or adopt a standard orthography to write the local variety. This has placed the MDWg in a difficult position politically, as the Kimberley orthography has widely been adopted in Western Australia, where Kununurra is located, but has severe shortcomings in representing the language accurately and consistently in comparison with the Roper orthography used in the Northern Territory. The chosen orthography must respect the sounds of the language as well as the political sensitivities, and most importantly be accepted by and gain recognition within the community.

4.3.1.1. Designing a Writing System

Designing an orthography is often not as simple as designating letters for each sound on a phonetic basis. The final decision on any orthography must be with the community that will be using it. Therefore, as well as considering an accurate representation of the sounds of a language, one must also take into account the identity of the speech community, who might wish to express distinction from or similarity to another language in style, and particularly Creole languages, the etymology of the lexicon, often from a language that the Creole is still closely connected to in some way. These three major interests must be balanced for an effective orthography that can be widely accepted by the community.

Several Creole languages have gone through this process in designing their orthographies. A particularly prominent example of this three-way balancing act was with the development of Haitian Creole orthography. As discussed by Schieffelin & Doucet (1994), three major approaches featured across 11 proposed orthographies; a purely phonemic system, an etymologically based system, and a compromise between the two. The phonemic systems were developed primarily by educators focussing on literacy. However, their use of letters such as <k, w, y>, among others, was considered to be too close to English, something that was not acceptable due to Haiti's then-recent memory of American occupation. Many people still wished to retain the connection with French, the language of

Haiti's previous coloniser and still a prestigious language with which acrolectal Haitian Creole shares many similarities. Many further envisioned the Haitian Creole orthography to simply be a means towards the eventual full adoption of French.

A compromise was eventually adopted by the Haitian government in 1979, which, particularly in response to rising Haitian identity, produced an orthography that was largely phonetic, but still used some French spelling conventions, such as with the marking of nasal vowels and <ou> for /u/, despite the lack of a distinction in Haitian Creole (Schieffelin & Doucet 1994: 185-6). This compromise allowed for an orthography that aids literacy in a consistent representation of sounds and shows a distinct Haitian identity in breaking with many French orthographical conventions, whilst still retaining a connection to this colonial heritage and the particular role of French in upper class Haiti. Since then, Haitian Creole orthography has continued to be adjusted to closer reflect how the language is actually spoken (Vilsaint 1996).

Of English-lexified Creoles in the Pacific region, Bislama of Vanuatu also experienced similar debates and issues in the development of their currently used orthographies, with a somewhat different outcome. Early colonial orthographies of Bislama were largely based off English and French conventions (Crowley 1996). One early attempt at standardisation by the missionary Bill Camden was based partly off Tok Pisin and partly off etymological sources of French and English, resulting in an orthography that was criticised as requiring some knowledge of both to understand (Crowley 1996, Jarraud-Leblanc 2012: 49). A Bible committee adopted Camden's system with some modifications in 1974-76.

Following independence, there was increased effort to recognise Bislama as the national language of Vanuatu, particularly in establishing Bislama as a "real" language separate from colonial English and French, and bridging all language communities (Jarraud-Leblanc 2012). Although there was a lack of political will to establish a formal standard through the 1980s, a committee was nevertheless set up to determine spellings for government use. Later, another committee involving non-government organisations, the Literacy Association of Vanuatu, was established in order to reconcile the differences between the commonly circulated orthographies. This committee decided on the most popular form on a case-by-case basis (Crowley 2000: 106-7). Since then, spellings have reflected the system used in Crowley's dictionary, most recently published in 2004, which followed many of the recommendations put forward by this committee, as well as alternatives to reflect variations in pronunciation. As it had to represent Bislama as was spoken, the orthography used has a largely phonetic basis, although more recent loanwords use borrowed spellings or those popular with younger speakers (Crowley 1996, 2004).

Following these experiences from other Creole orthographies, the approaches to literacy for Kununurra Kriol must be grounded in its own specific sociolinguistic context. In this case, the orthography used in the NT, although phonetically designed, cannot simply be transposed into

Kununurra Kriol, considering the identities of Kriol speakers in the region as distinct from across the state border. Nevertheless, Kriol literacy across state borders should share common goals such as "educational justice" and "opening […] possibilities of changing social realities" (Coleman 1996: 73). A Kununurra Kriol orthography must consider both the identities of its speakers and an accurate representation of the sounds of the language to be liberatory and establish an effective, autonomous Kununurra Kriol literacy.

It should also be noted that the basis of orthography design on the perceived status of the language as a bridge to another language is, contrary to some expectations, counter-productive in the acquisition of the lexifier as an L2. Creole languages, including Kriol, are autonomous systems with their own distinct grammar and phonology from the lexifier language, and this should be reflected in the orthography. Not only does this assert the autonomy of the language, rather than associating the Creole as simply a version of the lexifier, it also allows children to validate and recognise their own experiences from home (Siegel 2010, Wigglesworth & Billington 2013). In terms of literacy performance, it is also important to stress this autonomy. In NAPLAN literacy testing, it was noted that many answers considered incorrect in Standard Australian English would in fact be deemed correct in Kriol and Aboriginal Englishes. A distinct orthography helps negate this problem by raising awareness that these languages are in fact different, thereby also recognising the need for proper SLA education in Standard Australian English for many L1 Kriol speaking children (Wigglesworth & Billington 2013).

4.3.1.2. Orthographic Outline

In this section, the Kununurra Kriol orthographic system that was developed by Brown et al (2022) for the MDWg Language and Culture Centre will be introduced with some brief commentary on decisions that were made by the panel involved in its development. Alongside the standardised orthography, some idiosyncratic variations on spellings, particularly those found in archival transcripts, will be described. This is required as there is some variation between systems throughout this dissertation.

Consonants

The consonants used in the Kununurra Kriol orthography generally follow conventions that have been long established and frequently used in the Miriwoong orthography. This, in turn, resembles many orthographies of Indigenous languages of Australia, reflecting the similar sound inventories found across the continent, as well as the similar traditions drawn upon in their development. This is, as well, similar to the orthography used for Kriol varieties in the Northern Territory.

Nevertheless, there are still some key differences that appear between Miriwoong and Kununurra Kriol orthographies with consonants. The most prominent of these is the presence of voiceless stops, as well as fricatives. Miriwoong does not have a voicing distinction in its consonant system. Basilectal Kununurra Kriol also does not have a voicing distinction, but mesolectal and acrolectal Kununurra Kriol does have such a distinction. As such, a series of voiceless stops are added to the Kununurra Kriol orthography. Similar can be seen in the use of fricative graphemes used in Kununurra Kriol, whereas Miriwoong contains none.

Grapheme	Example word(s)	Sound correspondence	Comments
p	kapul	[p]	sometimes variable with b
b	bin	[b]	
d	modiga	[d]	
t	tubala	[t]	sometimes variable with d
f	feis	[f]	
th	nathawan, tharrei	[θ / t̪]	sometimes variable with j, d
rd	mardi, gardiya	[ɖ]	
tj	titj, tjeis	[tʃ]	
j	dijan, najawan	[c / ɟ / ʃ / dʒ]	sometimes variable with sh
k	kol	[k]	
g	gudwan	[g]	
ng	blanga, ngajang	[ŋ]	
n	neba	[n]	
ny	nyuwan	[ɲ]	
m	mubi	[m]	
rn	barnam	[ɳ]	
l	laik, langa	[l]	
rl	warlayi	[ɭ]	
rr	garra	[ɾ]	sometimes variable with d
r	sori	[ɹ]	
s	pleis	[s]	sometimes variable with j
y	yu, deya	[j]	
w	wen, wat	[w]	
h	hand	[h]	

Table 4.1: Consonant inventory of the Kununurra Kriol orthography, with variations. Adapted from Brown et al (2022: 28-9)

Table 4.1. displays the consonant inventory used for the Kununurra Kriol orthography along with example words and the sound correspondences in IPA. The comments column shows that many graphemes are also variable with others in writing, particularly in archival data that has been collected over many years, often reflecting individual idiolects and an array of spelling systems by different authors.

Vowels

The vowel system used in the Kununurra Kriol orthography is where the system departs most from the orthography used for Kriol varieties in the Northern Territory, and more closely resembles that used for Miriwoong. Brown et al (2022) reported in their consultations with Kununurra Kriol speakers that many preferred to use the vowel graphemes as they were used in Miriwoong, a language quite familiar to them with a well-established orthographic system. This is perhaps the element of the orthography that gives Kununurra Kriol the clearest distinct identity from other Kriol varieties.

Grapheme	Example word(s)	Sound correspondence	Comments
i	bin, i	[i]	sometimes variable with e
iyi	hiyidim	[iː]	sometimes variable with ee, i
e	reken	[e]	
oo	moogmoog	[u ~ ʊ ~ ʊː]	sometimes variable with u
o	lorra, ol	[ɔ]	sometimes variable with a
a	kan, najing	[a]	sometimes variable with u
eye/er	deye	[eː]	sometimes variable with eya, eh, e, ea
aa	paak	[aː]	sometimes variable with a, ah, ar
owa	dowa	[ɔː]	sometimes variable with or, oo
ei	meik	[ei]	
ai	laik, taim	[ai]	
ou	nou	[ɔu]	
oi	boil	[ɔi]	
au	aut	[au]	

Table 4.2: Vowel inventory of the Kununurra Kriol orthography, with variations. Adapted from Brown et al (2022: 28-9).

The graphemes used for the vowel phonemes in Kununurra Kriol can be seen in Table 4.2. Here, several departures from other Kriol orthographies and the borrowing of spellings from the Miriwoong counterpart can be seen. For example, <oo> is used for /u/ in place of the <u> used in the NT, mirroring Miriwoong. Phonemic length is also marked in this orthography, which is not done in the

NT but is done in the Kimberley Kriol orthography. Here, it is marked through a series of digraphs and trigraphs. The <iyi> trigraph is borrowed from Miriwoong, but the others were developed for Kununurra Kriol separately. As with the consonants, archival data can often use highly variable individual spellings.

In the case of words borrowed directly from Miriwoong and other traditional languages, as well as transparently recent English borrowings, many speakers also opt to retain the spelling of the source language. Most Kununurra Kriol speakers are familiar with both the Miriwoong orthography as well as English, the former taught at the MDWg Centre and the latter used in formal education and government functions, lacking adequate Kriol resources as of yet. Such retention of source spellings from languages familiar to the speakers is similar to the approach used by the committee for Bislama orthography vis-à-vis French and English loanwords, and preserves the source of the loanword. This avoids the potential for confusion in spellings, and reflects the highly multilingual repertoires of Miriwoong people.

5. Methodology and Fieldwork

The analysis provided in this dissertation is based off data from several speakers of Kununurra Kriol both collected by the author and colleagues, as well as from archival data kindly supplied by the Mirima Dawang Woorlab-gerring Language and Culture Centre in Kununurra. In this short chapter, the methods of data collection will be briefly discussed, in the spirit of full transparency for future researchers who may follow up the results of this study. Following this, issues encountered in the collection of data will be briefly discussed. Information regarding the methodology that applies to the analysis of particular features from the dataset is included within the relevant subsections in chapter 6, following this one.

5.1. Ethical considerations

Research is often considered by many to be a somewhat neutral term; a purely professional act of doing interviews, combing the archives, and creating a lasting snapshot of ephemeral data; its end result is an objective piece of research, to be published and consumed by other researchers, with the possible end result of expanding our collective knowledge. However, this represents a view that is overwhelmingly of the colonial institutions imposed upon many. Smith (1999: 1), for example, states that research is "inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism". Research, essentially, prioritises the collection of knowledge over respect for Indigenous customs, and upholds the knowledge of the Western academe as inherently more rigorous and thorough than the knowledge of the Indigenous community.

Over recent decades, following the start of formal decolonisation across the world, the independence of many former colonies, and the advancement of Indigenous and minority rights in several others, there has been more attention given towards Indigenous sovereignty, and the role – and identity – of the researcher in such an interaction. It is an essential, basic principle to recognise in the 21st century that research is not to be treated as merely the researcher collecting what they need. Knowledge first and foremost is a community possession, and sometimes out of bounds for the outsider. The researcher is fundamentally a guest to the community, and they must respect the boundaries and customs of their host (Adone 2008).

Perhaps the most important part of working with a living, largely unrecognised minoritised language such as Kununurra Kriol are the relations between the researcher and those who are essential to the undertaking of the language's study; its speakers and their community. It is a core part of the linguist's work to be actively interested in the wellbeing of the language they are working with, and this includes

ownership of language, which in Indigenous Australia is considerably different from Western conceptions of language ownership and with regards to both responsibilities and duties of the language owners themselves (Adone 2008). However, such interest in the language should also not impede upon the speaker's own interests; sometimes, a speaker may not wish to share or support the language as well (Dobrin 2008). It is, therefore, the linguist's job to empower the speaker to make their own choice in such a matter. The result of this research is primarily to offer expertise to the community, so that the decision can be made for and by themselves. For this, respect for Indigenous sovereignty and ethics in working with, in particular Australian, Indigenous communities are of top priority.

In the process of collecting the data that is used in this project, I have made sure that every step has been done with the full, knowing consent of all individuals involved. Efforts have been made to follow the AIATSIS Code of Ethics for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Research (2020) as closely as possible. The code of ethics is aimed at assuring that Indigenous Australians are afforded the full respect and self-determination that has been so often neglected in many fields of anthropological and scientific research since Invasion began. Four key principles are outlined:

1. Indigenous self-determination
2. Indigenous leadership
3. Impact and value
4. Sustainability and accountability

In the beginnings of all recordings made, it is announced clearly verbally to the participants of interviews that the recording has started. From this point onwards, all participants are aware that everything said is recorded using the audio recording equipment. Participants may enter or leave the room where the recording is taking place freely, and to those who enter during recording sessions, it is made clear that recording is underway at that point in time, enabling them to make a clear decision as to whether they would like to be a part of that session.

An essential part of working with a community is also that the data remains connected to its speakers in some way. In this sense, the Miriwoong community – including all those who participated in data collection for this project – retain full ownership rights over the data recorded. To this means, a formal written agreement was made with the Mirima Council Aboriginal Corporation, representing the Miriwoong community, and myself, regarding the research project and management of data. To this extent – as far as is seen in the Western legalist tradition of ownership – the data and results of this project remain firmly in the ownership of the Miriwoong community, not in the hands of the researcher, who is and will always remain a guest on their land, in their community.

Drawn up by the Mirima Council, among the terms of this agreement include the depositing of all recordings made during our stays in Kununurra with the Language Centre for their archives, as well as the scope for which I was able to use the data for research purposes. It is also made clear, both in the

agreement as well as with all speakers involved in data collection, that the community will have the final say on the publication of any data for the wider scientific community, including of this dissertation. Ownership of all data and products thereof remain with the Miriwoong community, represented in this case by the Language Centre. All our own copies of recordings are kept secure at the University of Cologne, and may be deleted at the request of the Language Centre or any participants individually.

It is also essential that the researcher provides something tangible back to the community. In the code of ethics, this is described in the third principle, that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people "should stand to benefit from and not be disadvantaged by the research" (AIATSIS 2020: 20), rather than the researcher simply extracting knowledge from the community for their own good. To this effect, several benefits of this research towards the Kriol speaking community of Kununurra have been discussed, namely its part in work towards the production of a larger grammatical description of Kununurra Kriol, as requested by the Language Centre to support the efforts of the community in supporting and educating in the language. Furthermore, the recordings made, including both language data as well as cultural information shared within, are accessible to the Miriwoong community for all future community driven research or knowledge sharing needs. Decolonisation, as proclaimed by Tuck & Yang (2012), is not a metaphor; material actions to repair damage need to be made and the colonial perspectives of both research and what comes from it abandoned.

Finally, the fourth principle outlined by AIATSIS in engaging in research with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities is the principle of accountability and sustainability. This must be accounted for not just on a short-term basis in the present but also into the long-term future, in that the researcher is not simply a brief observer of the community. The aforementioned measures to keep final ownership of data collected in this study contribute to the long-term sustainability and accountability of this project. This assures that the Language Centre is able to access data, as well as results thereof, for any future projects pertaining to Kriol or the cultural information contained therein. By placing ownership in the community for publication of this dissertation, this further assures that this project is held accountable to the Miriwoong community through the Language Centre.

These principles of accountability of the researcher and ownership of data show that the process of research is not one that is a one-sided process of data collection, but one that allows the exchange of information in both directions. The Western academe to which this project nominally belongs is just one part of the world's knowledge systems. Through sustainability and accountability towards the Miriwoong community, this barrier can be broken down, to foster the empowerment of Indigenous people as subjects of their own research, rather than beholden to an outsider. The independence of Indigenous research enables for material decolonisation, through the respect for Indigenous knowledges and methods, and a critique of the hegemonic Western knowledge system that has gone largely unchallenged (Ngarritjan-Kessaris & Ford 2007). As part of such a hegemonic system in a

colonial country, it is my duty to empower the Indigenous community whom I work with as much as my position allows it.

5.2. Collection methods

The data used for this project consists of several main components. The primary data is made up of approximately 7 hours of spoken Kriol data recorded on two field trips to Kununurra in 2018 and 2019, hosted by the Mirima Dawang Woorlab-gerring Language and Culture Centre. This data was collected by the author and colleagues in spoken interviews with Kriol speakers at the Language Centre and others in the Miriwoong community. The transcribed portion of this data contains roughly 6,000 words of Kununurra Kriol utterances, with more in English and Miriwoong. This primary data is complemented by archival data provided by the Language Centre, consisting of transcribed Kriol recordings dating back to the beginning of major linguistic work in the area in the 1970s, as well as fieldwork conducted by a local colleague. Our own fieldwork involved nine Miriwoong consultants, and additional fieldwork a further eight, as well as additional data from those original nine. In this section, the methods for data collection will be briefly described.

The bedrock of data collection done at the Language Centre was done through spoken conversation with Kriol language workers. Casual conversation in Kriol with the language workers enabled a closer, more relaxed relationship with the participants, and provided several hours of naturalistic conversational data for use in this project. These conversations occurred both spontaneously and arranged in advance, according to the availability and willingness of the participants. Efforts were made to have these casual recording sessions in quiet environments, however it was most important that the participants were comfortable talking, and thus some also occurred in other locations, such as outdoors and in working rooms of the Centre. Regardless of the spontaneity and location, all participants were first asked their permission before any recording could begin. Work by Bowern (2015) was a particularly useful guide in setting up the conditions for competent linguistic data collection. The method of more informal conversation in data collection is particularly important in an Australian context, where storytelling and yarning play a longstanding role in the sharing of Indigenous knowledge and experiences. Furthermore, this enables the teller of the story to control what they wish to share with the researcher, and in what detail, allowing for clear ownership and agency in the process (Smith 1999: 144-5, Bessarab & Ng'andu 2010).

Following brief analysis of conversational data after recording sessions, I could then further pinpoint specific features that I wished to examine in greater detail. For this purpose, a variety of targeted stimulus material was prepared for use with the participants. These stimulus-based recording sessions required some additional preparation and planning, as they often involved the use of computers,

projectors, or other physical material. This included such stimulus as describe-the-scene style pictures containing a variety of everyday activities, which the participants would describe in their own words and could be asked further details about. Other stimulus material included the use of picture storybooks, providing narrative descriptive language.

Videos were an important component of the stimulus used. They are of particular use as they show explicit actions being undertaken and a structured format, which brings about further elicitation of verbal constructions. Videos used included those such as the Pear Film, a dialogue-free narrative short film produced by the University of California at Berkeley in 1975 for use in linguistic elicitation, particularly that of narrative production across languages (Chafe 1980).[6] Other videos used for elicitation of descriptive language, particularly that which is culturally relevant to Miriwoong people, included those available from the archives of the Language Centre. Many of these additionally featured members of the community or individuals well known to the participants, producing enthusiastic responses to the content. Elicitation directly from video and image stimuli altogether accounted for approximately one hour of the available data collected.

Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, which started halfway through the planned timeframe of this project, several new methods of data collection were also used. As a result of the pandemic situation, where many international and internal borders were closed to help contain the spread of the virus, planned fieldwork trips to Kununurra in 2020 and 2021 could not occur. In their place, new video conferencing tools such as ZOOM were utilised to maintain a connection with the community in Kununurra, and collect data remotely. These sessions were organised through the first half of 2021 and involved scheduled ZOOM video calls with language workers at the Language Centre. These were recorded on both ends using the built-in session recording features, as well as in high quality on the Language Centre's end, which would serve as their archival copy. As well as conversational data, ZOOM's screen sharing functions provided a means to utilise stimulus videos and images to target particular structures, as happens with in-person interviews. Although allowing for remote data collection, scheduling issues meant that only two sessions were possible, for a total of just under two hours of recordings.

In addition to data collected remotely due to the pandemic situation, I have also been extremely fortunate to have received the assistance of another PhD candidate working on Kununurra Kriol, Connor Brown of the University of Western Australia, whose access to the community has remained open due to a better geographical position after Australia's external and internal borders shut down for movement. A formal data sharing agreement was made between with scholars of the University of Western Australia (Connor Brown and Dr. Ponsonnet) and the Language Centre (Dr. Olawsky) to enable this exchange of information between researchers for research purposes. Both projects had

[6] The video can be found here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bRNSTxTpG7U

additionally already received approval by the Miriwoong community in Kununurra to take place, with whom ownership of the data and results thereof are ultimately held. This kindly provided data added over six thousand lines of dialogue, or approximately 28,000 words of Kununurra Kriol.

Complementing the spoken data collected during the course of this project has been archival data provided by the Language Centre in Kununurra. Archival data consists of transcribed recordings made by various workers of the Centre and other visitors over the years of its operation, all of which have been deposited with the Centre for management and ownership. As the Language Centre's work is primarily on the revitalisation and documentation of Miriwoong, the focus of the archives is on Miriwoong recordings. However, Kriol remains a regular part of discourse amongst and with Miriwoong people, resulting in an ample trove of Kriol archival data. For this purpose, I spent some time going through the archives and picking out sections of Kriol dialogue, which, with permission, were copied and securely saved for use in this study. Overall, the inclusion of the archival data has added approximately four thousand lines, or roughly thirty thousand words, of Kriol dialogue to our Kununurra Kriol corpus.

Sensitive information that is contained within the archival data, including some details of cultural practices, was removed on request of the Language Centre. This point is important for maintaining Indigenous sovereignty and ownership not just over the data but also over their own cultural practices, following the previously mentioned principles outlined by AIATSIS. As a living culture, they are not simply objects to take data from; there are pieces of knowledge and practices that are held sacred and close to the community, whose access is controlled and not spread outside the direct community (Adone 2008). Recognition and support for Indigenous sovereignty has been relatively neglected in past. However more recent collaborative approaches to research in Indigenous communities, such as undertaken by James et al. (2020) have taken an approach that boosts, protects and respects Indigenous connections to their land and traditional culture, as well as restoring full Indigenous authority over Indigenous knowledge.

5.3. Transcription

Approximately half of the author-collected corpus is fully transcribed, with the remainder annotated. The processing of data was relatively straightforward. Files were organised according to date and the participants in each recording. As well, a logbook was used to keep track of the overall status of the files, including a rough description of the contents, and whether they had been transcribed yet. Transcription took place in ELAN, which is a common tool for field linguists to transcribe segments of speech, including overlapping dialogue. Some sections were double checked with another person if the audio was unclear, or I was unsure of what was being said. This was particularly an issue when

Miriwoong words were used; this required consultation with the Miriwoong dictionary or correspondence with the Language Centre if not available there.

The transcription itself was done with two main layers in ELAN for each speaker present. The first layer transcribed all speech being said, whilst the second was a separate layer for utterances that were identified as being in Kununurra Kriol. The differentiation between English and Kriol was sometimes difficult due to the common code-switching practised by Kununurra Kriol speakers, especially in conversation with white researchers. As such, even if only one word of Kriol was used in an utterance, it was also copied into the Kriol layer, so that the record still existed as Kriol. This Kriol layer has formed the core of the analysis in this dissertation.

The Kriol transcriptions done by myself mostly initially followed the Northern Territory orthography for Kununurra Kriol. For words that were in Miriwoong, and for sections that were acrolectal or standard English, the original orthography for these languages was used. As well, several idiosyncratic spellings were used to aid my own recognition of particular sounds and ways of speaking for individual speakers. As a result, the raw transcription files can often be somewhat inconsistent. However, in the presentation of examples in this dissertation, the formal Kununurra Kriol orthography as presented in chapter 4.3.1. is used.

In the examples used within this dissertation, basic details can also be found in the square brackets record entry following. Each code starts with the anonymised initials of the speaker who has said that utterance, followed by the file name. The file name codes the date of the recording, as well as participants present. For archival data, the year is used followed by *_archive*. Full names are not revealed to protect the privacy of participants.

All examples are glossed following the Leipzig Glossing Rules standard used in many linguistics publications. Each example therefore has four lines in total; the first with the utterance as originally written in the orthography of the language, second segmented into morphemes, third with interlinear translation of these morphemes, and finally a translation of the utterance into English. Some examples may have sections in bold, italics or otherwise highlighted, in which the details are explained within the accompanying text.

5.4. Issues encountered

As with any research project, especially one that engages with a community and all its many wonderful individuals, nothing happens perfectly to plan and without unexpected issues or problems arising. Anything can go wrong, technically or just in terms of planning and coordination. It is also important to be honest and clear that this dissertation is no different from others; problems must be

dealt with and addressed transparently, lest the integrity is damaged. Two main issues arose whilst working on this dissertation.

One of the most salient problems, as it became for many, was the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic in early 2020. Whilst fieldwork in Kununurra was possible in 2019, travel was severely restricted as part of global measures against the spread of the virus. As such, I was unable to visit Kununurra again, with borders remaining firmly closed until 2022. This meant that further fieldwork in person was not possible without significant cost and delay. Fortunately, as mentioned in the previous section, I was able to arrange alternative means of collecting data, including the use of ZOOM for some limited one-on-one interviews with language workers in Kununurra. As well, the aforementioned aid from another PhD candidate located in Western Australia was able to collect data and share it to great benefit.

During the fieldwork itself, when it was still possible, it was not immediately straightforward to begin interviews for the collection of data from Miriwoong participants at the language centre. Naturally, not everyone is comfortable to talk on tape with someone they have just met, especially with an outsider in a relatively small community. As such, it took some time to get to know the local community, making myself present at meetings and helping out with activities at the language centre. After about a week or so, without pressuring, people were more comfortable to start talking and offer their permission for it to be recorded. This is, more importantly, something which allows for the balance of power to shift from the researcher to the community; it is an integral right – a principle – for individuals, as part of a community, to take a leading role and have the choice of whether and how they wish to engage with a researcher (Dobrin 2008).

On this note, another issue encountered was that of register when interviewing participants in Kununurra Kriol. Whilst previous knowledge of Barunga Kriol was helpful, this was of a different variety, and I was still markedly an outsider to the community. At the start, many interviews turned out to be in fairly acrolectal Kriol, likely a result of accommodation for the mainly English-speaking researchers they were talking to. To encourage more basilectal Kriol – to reflect how Kununurra Kriol was actually spoken in everyday life – I sought to make participants comfortable in the social environment, so that they would speak as they normally would. Another approach that was taken was to give the recording equipment to one of the language workers, who would have control to record conversations made between language workers, without the presence of any outside researchers. This resulted in some much more casual and comfortable conversations in a register more reflective of everyday reality.

The issue of register in recordings and the comfort to talk on tape reflect a broader colonial dynamic in Australia (cf. Smith 1999). This is particularly clear as someone who is Australian as well, however one who is a white settler, enjoying the benefits and wealth of mainstream Australian society, without the historical trauma and governmental neglect and abuse faced by many Aboriginal communities. On top of this, I bring a dynamic of researcher and researched into the immediate relationship. Through

getting to know, give back to, and consult with the community, I aim to avoid or minimise issues that arise from this, and hopefully use some expertise to help empower Kununurra Kriol and its speakers, according to their wishes.

5.5. Analysis

In the previous chapters, I have looked at the broader theoretical, sociolinguistic and historical background that sets the scene for analysis of Kununurra Kriol. This covers background both within linguistics as a field as well as the important contextual information necessary for any adequate discussion of such a language, place, and its people.

In the following four chapters, analysis of four major aspects of the Kununurra Kriol verb will be presented, drawing from data that was collected for this dissertation. Each of these main content chapters consists of a short theoretical background section specific to that aspect of the grammar, followed by analysis of the available data and a short discussion, therefore making each chapter relatively self-contained and independent from a narrow perspective.

Analysis of the data in this dissertation generally follows that of the generative tradition of linguistics. That is to say, a base assumption in the analysis is that languages share a core base structure between them, notwithstanding the wide variation that the languages of the world also concurrently display, stemming from the Chomskyan theory of Principles and Parameters (Lohndal & Uriagereka 2014). This also gives us the assumption that there are typically underlying rules that determine the structures and appearance of any utterance that is made in a language, such as in Kununurra Kriol. One major goal of this dissertation is to identify such underlying structures. In the representation of these structures, constituency-based syntax trees are regularly used, showing the direct relations between constituents and their heads at each level of the phrase.

Whilst generative syntax and the rules that underlie the structure of Kununurra Kriol verb phrases are key to aims of this analysis, the sociolinguistics are an integral part of understanding the language and its situation. The role of substrate languages, as well as the ever-present superstrate, have had a major impact on Kununurra Kriol, and it would be nonsensical to ignore such an aspect even in the most generative of analyses. The relation between a speaker and the languages in their repertoire, particularly in such a multilingual community, is essential to understand. Living in a society at large, this helps us discuss the *why* and *how* to the *what* that traditional syntactic analysis provides.

Finally, this dissertation must be able to give back to the Miriwoong community. This is the most important work of a linguist, or any researcher (Adone 2008). In connecting the syntactic analysis to the everyday lived experiences of the language and its speakers, it can be hoped to advance its position

– especially in terms of support in society – as well as the general, public understanding of the language and how it works. Furthermore, one must help to acknowledge another core pillar of Miriwoong identity as it is experienced today in the Kununurra region. This language is the native language of many people, and it is important for this to be cherished and valued, on the terms of its speakers.

6. Borrowing and Code-Switching

It is well known that Aboriginal people are multilingual, and this is no different in such a contact situation as in Kununurra. As outlined in chapter 4 of this dissertation, Kriol is the main language of everyday use amongst the Aboriginal community of the area, however this also coexists alongside Miriwoong and other traditional languages. In Australian Indigenous communities, code-switching is indeed a common practice, due to the multilingual context of traditional languages coexisting with both one another as well as Kriol and English (Vaughan & Singler 2018, Hamilton-Hollaway 2023). Commonly, this is between the traditional language and the latter, due to the uneven relationship between the two, however code-switching also exists between traditional languages too (Vaughan 2021). As Kununurra Kriol is strongly associated with the Miriwoong community in particular, alongside the critically endangered status of the Miriwoong language, I find that, despite the shift towards Kriol, many Miriwoong lexical items are used in Kununurra Kriol discourse through borrowing and code-switching. Additionally, this extensive borrowing of Miriwoong lexicon demonstrates the continuity of Miriwoong culture within Kununurra Kriol, despite the shift of main language. This does, however, reflect the critically endangered status of Miriwoong compared to the position of Kununurra Kriol.

In this section, the use of Miriwoong verbs in Kununurra Kriol discourse will be analysed. Firstly, the theoretical framework of lexical borrowing and code-switching, particularly in relation to that within the verb phrase, will be discussed. This is then followed by an analysis of these practices by Kununurra Kriol speakers, including the strategies and outcomes of insertion of borrowed lexical items. Finally, it will be discussed the sociolinguistic implications of the findings with regards to Miriwoong cultural continuity, in which it is found that borrowing from Miriwoong appears to be a major signifier of Kununurra Kriol as a distinct variety, and one which is closely tied to the Miriwoong community in particular.

6.1. Theoretical Background

In the study of code-switching and borrowing, it is important to develop an understanding of the structural processes involved; where and when speakers insert material from one language into the other, as well as why. Some researchers also offer the term code-mixing as either equivalent or as a closely related concept involving hybridisation of the language and the emergence of a third, distinct code containing regular, grammaticalised elements of both languages involved (Romaine & Kachru 1992, Maschler 1998). In this dissertation, I will use the term code-switching. This is the most

common and general terminology used, and where the systems of both languages are distinctly retained (Grosjean 2010: 51-2). Here, as will be demonstrated, the phenomenon in Kununurra Kriol generally does not involve the mixing of grammatical systems. Further, this chapter is concerned inherently with intra-sentential code-switching, as the focus is on the verb phrase, rather than the inter-sentential switching of whole sentences between languages.

Several frameworks have been developed to produce an understanding of the processes involved, both structural and sociolinguistic. From a structural perspective, the Matrix Language Frame model provides an integral insight into the formal processes. Developed by Myers-Scotton (1993b), this model makes a distinction between items of the Embedded Language (EL), i.e. those that come from the identified donor language, and the recipient Matrix Language (ML), which the EL items have been inserted into. The key identifying factor of the ML in any code-switching situation is that the ML is the one that has provided the morphosyntactic frame for the utterance. For example, the ML determines the constituent order, and often provides grammatical morphemes, which are internally consistent with the structure of the ML (Myers-Scotton 1993a: 486-7). Myers-Scotton (1993a: 491) demonstrates this using data primarily from studies on Swahili code-switching practices, where the items in capitals are EL items from English:

(6.1) *Nikamwambia anipe ruhusa ni-end-e ni-ka-CHECK FOR YOU.*
and-I-told-him he-should-give-me permission 1SG-go-SUBJ 1SG-CONSEC-CHECK FOR YOU.
'And I told him he should give me permission so that I go and check for you.'
(Myers-Scotton 1993a: 491)

A major question therefore arises in the Matrix Language Frame model is how to identify which language serves as the Matrix Language and which as the Embedded Language, as it is often not immediately clear which provides the morphosyntactic frame, particularly with typologically similar languages. Socially, the ML is generally identified as the one that is considered to be the "unmarked" language in the sociolinguistic situation. The EL is conversely the marked choice that is switched by the speakers for particular effect (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 103). Structurally, the ML is proposed to be identifiable through the morphemes being used in the utterance.

In its most basic definition, the ML is the one that provides most morphemes in any given sentence (Myers-Scotton 1993a). This is considered to be a weak criterion alone, however, particularly when languages are equally represented (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 101-2). Myers-Scotton (1993a, b) therefore provides two principles for the ML's structural identification. Firstly, the surface order cannot violate the syntax of the ML. Secondly, the "syntactically relevant" morphemes come from the ML. This second principle, known as the *system morpheme principle*, refers to morphemes which interact with other parts for agreement and government relationships outside their own head.

Expanding upon this principle, the 4-M model clarifies what is meant precisely by function and system morpheme in the ML, accounting for additional code-switching data. This divides the system morpheme category into various stages as "early", "bridge" or "late", depending on their closeness to the functional morphemes. For example, determiners are early system morphemes, conceptually activated with the lexical item. In contrast, bridge and late system morphemes are not conceptually activated (Myers-Scotton & Jake 2000, Matras 2009: 131-2). Bridge system morphemes represent those which link together units, either within or without the clause, for example prepositions. Outsider late system morphemes are those which index and refer to information that is outside their immediate surroundings, for example case affixation or verbal agreement (Myers-Scotton & Jake 2017).

Several structural constraints also emerge in the replication of EL morphemes and lexemes within the ML. From the variationist approach, researchers such as Sankoff & Poplack (1981) produce a model of code-switching that is primarily based around the structural constraints to the practice. In this model, the key constraints, proposed to be universal in nature, govern where borrowed material may be used. These are summarised as the *clitic constraint*, whereby clitic subject and object pronouns must be sourced from the same language, the *free morpheme constraint*, in which a switch cannot occur between the lexical item and any attached bound morphemes, unless phonologically integrated (Poplack 1980). This has, however, been criticised as a somewhat strong constraint, and more recent data has shown that switches *can* indeed happen within the word between bound morphemes, shown in the Spanish morpheme (in bold) inserted into the German in (6.2) below (López, Alexiadou & Veenstra 2017). This is particularly seen in the instance of case marking and derivational morphemes, which can alternatively be analysed as governed by the head of the phase – a term introduced by Chomsky (2001) describing the overriding internally governing argument over a set of phrases (López, Alexiadou & Veenstra 2017).

(6.2) *Er war ganz schön **cabre**iert.*

er	war	ganz	schön	**cabre**iert
he	was	completely	pretty	angered

'He was pissed off.' (López, Alexiadou & Veenstra 2017: 11)

Finally, the *equivalence constraint* states that the order of constituents in the immediate surroundings of the switched material must still be grammatical in involved languages (Poplack 1980, Sankoff & Poplack 1981, Gardner-Chloros 2009). That is to say, the local, phrase-level word order from one language cannot be used with the words of another unless said order remains grammatical in the former. This constraint, further, suggests that there must be an equivalent category in both languages as a basic starting point (Di Sciullo, Muysken & Singh 1986: 3). Sebba (1998) expands upon this, stating that bilingual speakers will also create their own equivalences, or congruences, where there is a lack of a match between the structures of the two languages, and may find a middle ground between

the two to enable the switch to occur. If a switch is still not possible without a middle ground solution, the switch is thereby blocked.

Di Sciullo et al (1986) generalise these constraints down, and posit a new constraint based upon a single core variable involving the government relation between constituents that are being code-switched. This constraint suggests that code-switching cannot occur between two items with a direct governor-governed relationship. In this formulation, the head of a major category in the syntax – e.g. N, V, A, etc. – assigns the language which can be used in that relationship, whilst minor categories only index to the node they are governed by (Di Sciullo, Muysken & Singh 1986: 22-3). This approach has, however, revealed weaknesses in its applicability to wider code-switching conventions, for example the relationship between subject NP and the verb of the clause. In these cases, the subject should govern the main verb, however this is a regular target of code-switching. In response, the constraint has been narrowed down to only the government of lexical items by non-function words (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 97-8).

Poplack (1980) observes that code-switching occurs amongst both fluent and non-fluent bilingual speakers, although with different tendencies in how it is done. Non-fluent bilinguals largely practise inter-sentential code-switching, so as to avoid grammatical mistakes in either language. In contrast, fluent bilinguals are more likely to code-switch intra-sententially, owing to a higher level of competence in both languages. It is suggested, therefore, that code-switching is closely tied to the proficiency of speakers.

As well as being a structural process, code-switching and borrowing is also a sociolinguistic process. It is both motivated by speakers and serves a particular purpose in discourse. Myers-Scotton (2001) posits code-switching as involved within a process of rational choice. In this sense, several aspects are considered when code-switching and selecting which language to use: the speaker's linguistic abilities, the social setting of the interaction, the discourse structure, as well as the speaker's own beliefs and values in the interaction. Several discourse functions have been cited as main social motivations for code-switching: referential for the use of more familiar lexical items; directive for greater inclusion of the listener; expressive for a stress on a particular identity; emphatic to evoke a particular response; metalinguistic for linguistic commentary; and poetic in, for example, literary use for effect (Appel & Muysken 2005: 118-20).

In relation to the broader social setting, speakers must consider the roles of different languages in various domains, and the acceptance of each one's usage in such a setting. As well, one must consider formality and style in the conversation itself, depending on who the interlocutor is exactly. This involves constant accommodation to suit the setting and discourse linguistically appropriately (Appel & Muysken 2005: 22-31). Thus, code-switching is a practice that reflects not just the direct communicative needs and desires of the speaker, but also the broader social setting in which they are operating.

Several major strategies have been identified for how speakers choose to transfer the lexical and grammatical material from the donor language into the recipient matrix language, in ways which preserve the core values so desired by the speaker, as well as integrating it into the grammatical system of the matrix language. With regards to the verbal phrase, four main types, with variations to each, are generally identified in typologies of bilingual verbs (Muysken 2000: 184). The first type is that of insertion, whereby the borrowed verb is just inserted into the verb phrase as would any other verb. There are some variations to this practice, which Wichmann & Wohlgemuth (2008) further subdivide. Indirect insertion, also termed *adapted stems* by Muysken (2000: 191-2) occurs when the borrowed item is affixed with additional morphology reserved for loaned verbs in particular. This thereby allows the verb to be integrated relatively smoothly into the morphological system of the recipient language (Wichmann & Wohlgemuth 2008: 95).

Direct insertion, by contrast, does not involve any loan-specific morphology, and the verb is inserted in a bare form. This is regardless of the original form of the verb in the donor language, and may or may not carry over the original morphology too, however not in a productive manner (Muysken 2000: 185-93, Wichmann & Wohlgemuth 2008: 95-7). Direct insertion, as the name suggests, directly places the borrowed item into the verb phrase of the recipient language, without modification. In many creoles, which is of note for our study here, it is particularly common to use the direct insertion strategy with borrowed verbs, with all those surveyed, though only totalling six, by Wohlgemuth (2009: 192) exclusively taking this approach.

	Inherited: *phurjo(v)-* 'to grow old'		Turkish: *evlen-mek* 'to marry'	
Person	Present	Past	Present	Past
1SG	*phurjovav*	*phurilem*	*evleniim*	*evlendim*
2SG	*phurjo*	*phurilan*	*evlenisin*	*evlendin*
3SG	*phurjol*	*phurila*	*evlenii*	*evlendi*
1PL	*phurjova*	*phurilam*	*evleniis*	*evlendik*
2PL	*phurjon*	*phurilen*	*evlenisinis*	*evlendinis*
3PL	*phurjon*	*phurile*	*evleniler*	*evlendiler*

Table 6.1: Paradigm transfer of Turkish verbs into the Romani Kalburdžu dialect of Sindel, Northeastern Bulgaria (Matras 2009: 183).

In another method of insertion, known as *paradigm transfer*, the verb is borrowed into the recipient language not only in its bare form, but with the entire grammatical paradigm of the donor language as well. This means that the cases or inflection of the source language are fully functional, regardless of the grammar of the recipient language. For example, the complete verbal paradigm of Turkish is borrowed into a variety of Romani spoken in Bulgaria, alongside the inherited paradigm for Romani verbs, as can be seen in Table 6.1. (Matras 2009: 182-7). Table 6.1 shows us that the two inflectional, as well as potentially derivational, systems can operate in parallel with one another. This contrasts with examples where only part of the donor morphology is borrowed and fossilised. This can, of course, change within the language over time so that it is not identical to the donor language, however it remains that, in these cases, the two systems appear to be distinct (Wichmann & Wohlgemuth 2008: 97-8). This therefore becomes a case where borrowing and code-switching become especially difficult to differentiate.

Paradigm transfer typically appears only in particularly intense situations of language contact, in communities with high amounts of bilingualism, such that are commonly found in Indigenous communities of Australia (Vaughan & Singler 2018). This kind of subsequent transfer has been identified, for example, in some Romani varieties of the Balkan region, including the example from Bulgaria in the above table. Matras (2009: 183-5) accounts for this by the widespread acceptance of bilingualism between Romani and Turkish, as well as the typological similarities between the two grammatical paradigms in the verb. In comparison, Romani varieties in Greece show significantly less distinctness, and tend towards integration of Greek forms with Romani morphology (Matras 2009: 184-5). It has also been suggested that this kind of intense bilingualism and regular code-switching and borrowing of paradigms has resulted in the appearance of Mixed Languages; a type of language with a split grammatical and lexical system from two (or more) contributing languages, for example in the case of Gurindji Kriol (McConvell & Meakins 2005, Meakins 2011), although some dispute the extent to which this is possible from conventionalised code-switching alone (cf. Backus 2003).

Other methods of incorporation of borrowed verbal material utilise other morphosyntactic function words for their integration. One of these approaches is the use of a light or helping verb to create a single bilingual compound verb, adjoining the borrowed material with material from the recipient language (Muysken 2000: 193-4). The most common typological manifestation of the light verb strategy of integration often uses a verb with a ‘do’ meaning in the recipient language, having itself a fairly generic meaning for a wider potential than many other verbs (Wichmann & Wohlgemuth 2008: 92-5). Some other light verbs are also documented to be used in other languages, often in specific contexts governed by the syntactic role of the borrowed verb, for example the use of a causative ‘make’ for agentive borrowed verbs in Navajo (Muysken 2000: 193).

Closely related to the adjoined verb strategy using light verbs is the strategy of nominalisation of the borrowed verb, which is then accompanied by a verb, often also generic in meaning, from the recipient

language. In these cases, the borrowed verb is treated as a noun in the recipient language, using relevant nominal morphology and appearing within a syntactic noun phrase. This noun phrase is then incorporated into a complex verb through the use of a verbalising generic verb, often with a 'do' meaning as in the above method (Muysken 2000: 206-8). This strategy is observed in, for example, speakers of Portuguese in the US, who produce the loaned verb in a noun phrase with the *o* determiner, preceded by a generic helping verb *fazer* (Pap 1949, in Muysken 2000: 207).

Somewhere between nominalisation of the borrowed verb and insertion is the practice of treating the borrowed material as an infinitive as a complement to an auxiliary verb. In this approach, like inserted verbs, the borrowed material receives morphology generally assigned for infinitives in the verb phrase (Wohlgemuth 2009). However, rather than then just treating the inserted verb like any other verb as in the insertional method, this borrowed and adapted infinitive is accompanied by an auxiliary light verb (Muysken 2000). This produces a complex verb involving verbalisation of the borrowed material, rather than nominalisation as in the abovementioned, but quite similar, approach. Both of these approaches can be considered to be part of a light verb strategy as outlined by Wichmann & Wohlgemuth (2008).

These strategies are generally not to be considered mutually exclusive. It is very possible, and does happen, as for example as documented in Finnish, that some speakers and languages utilise multiple strategies concurrently for integrating different loanwords into the grammatical structure of the recipient matrix language (Wichmann & Wohlgemuth 2008: 99-100). Furthermore, as has been noted in the similarities and overlap between individual approaches, these strategies are less discreet and more a scale of how integrated the borrowed verb is into the morphology of the recipient language. Wichmann and Wohlgemuth (2008: 101) further suggest a hierarchy of more to less integration into the recipient language as:

> light verb strategy < indirect insertion < direct insertion <| paradigm transfer

6.1.1. Borrowing or Code-switching?

Borrowing and code-switching represent two parts of what has been described as essentially a continuum of similar processes involving the insertion of single lexical items from one language into another, particularly with reference to cases where only a single item is inserted. There is some debate as to how separate these two phenomena are, or whether they are fundamentally and structurally the same process. Operating within the Matrix Language Frame model, Myers-Scotton (1992) labels borrowed items as B, existing on a continuum with the aforementioned EL items, inserted into the Matrix Language (ML). Accordingly, these are to be regarded as stages of the same process, with the marked difference between EL and B forms being the latter's much closer integration with the mental

lexicon of the ML. In terms of phonology and morphosyntax, B forms tend to be only marginally more integrated into the ML, however the line is not clear between the two, as both forms demonstrate full integration as well as a lack thereof (Myers-Scotton 1992: 30-3). To this end, Eastman (1992: 1) declared that delineating a clear distinction between the two would be a futile endeavour.

Rather than wholly rejecting the formal distinction between borrowing and code-switching, several researchers have made attempts at formulating a clearer boundary between the two. This has been done in order to better recognise between forms that have been borrowed into a language from those that have been inserted as part of code-switching practices. In the loosest sense, Appel and Muysken (2005: 173) suggest that there is no diagnostic criteria that can clearly distinguish the two phenomena. They posit that borrowing is a gradual process, representing the endpoint where the code-switched item has been fully integrated into the recipient language's system. This, therefore, is only something that can only become clear over a period of time, rather than through the structural features of the loaned item. Indeed, this is supported by data from Poplack and Sankoff (1984) with Spanish-English bilinguals in New York, which shows borrowed English items to be similarly integrated into Spanish of younger speakers as adults; despite the shift towards English dominance in the younger community, the Spanish-integrated form has gained acceptance within their Spanish speech.

Nevertheless, there are some who suggest more strongly in favour of a formal distinction between borrowing and code-switching. Poplack and Sankoff (1984), for example, outline several diagnostic criteria in determining whether an inserted lexical item could be regarded as borrowed rather than a result of code-switching. These criteria for identifying borrowed items are thus summarised by Muysken (2000: 73) as falling under the following key features:

- Single word
- Phonological, morphological and syntactic integration
- Frequency
- Replacement of own word
- Recognition as own word
- Semantic change

Empirical studies into borrowed material have, to some extent, reaffirmed that borrowings are distinguishable from code-switching practices formally. In Igbo, for example, lexical items that have been borrowed from English demonstrate that, as lone borrowed items within otherwise wholly Igbo speech, they show almost identical morphological marking patterns. That is to say, they pattern entirely as if they were Igbo verbs, despite the English origin (Eze 1998). This, therefore, says that borrowed items are treated as fully part of the recipient language, both in the ways that speakers use them, as well as in their structural consequences. Integrated borrowings show marginal difference from other items in the recipient language, and do not activate the donor language's grammar

internally, whereas code-switching *does* activate both grammars within the speaker to operate (Poplack 2017).

Between code-switching and a fully integrated loanword, the term *nonce borrowing* is introduced. Nonce borrowings are such lexical items from a different language that are considered to be fully integrated into the morphology, phonology and syntax of the recipient language, yet are lacking in the above criteria of a full loanword in that they do not see widespread use or acceptance within the speech community. They therefore appear as single items surrounded by other material of the recipient language, and within its grammatical frame (Sankoff, Poplack & Vanniarajan 1990, Poplack 2012). Essentially, nonce borrowings have become integrated *structurally* into the recipient language, but are yet to achieve the *social* acceptance and recognition required to become fully integrated.

Myers-Scotton (1992) contends that the sole distinctive criteria is that borrowings – B forms within the Matrix Language Frame model – are used by monolingual speakers, whereas code-switching is not, and the concept of a nonce adds no qualitative value to the analysis of code-switching and borrowing practices. Indeed, looking at English borrowed items in Welsh, Stammers & Deuchar (2012) find that there is no clear difference between frequent and infrequent borrowings; the integration, phonologically and morphologically is equally productive. They, therefore, support the thesis that nonce borrowings are a redundant categorisation.

In the following sections, I will investigate the data from Kununurra Kriol where items from languages other than Kriol, typically from traditional languages of the area, are used in the verb phrase. I will further discuss whether the data accounts for regular code-switching or conventionalised borrowing.

6.2. Data Analysis

Typologically speaking, the most commonly borrowed lexical items are nouns, often considered to be more borrowable due to their typically less complex morphosyntactic structures than often appears in the verbal phrase cross-linguistically (Appel & Muysken 2005: 170-1, Marian & Kaushanskaya 2007, Matras & Sakel 2007: 48, Tadmor 2009: 61-3). This trend is continued in Kununurra Kriol. Of the 494 utterances containing borrowed lexical from Miriwoong in the preliminary 2019-2020 dataset, 126 were identified to be part of the verb phrase, or 25.5%. In this section, I will analyse the data from Kununurra Kriol in the context of the theoretical framework discussed in the previous section, both from a syntactic and sociolinguistic perspective.

6.2.1. Fitting Miriwoong Verbs into Kriol Sentences

Firstly, the grammar of borrowing in Kununurra Kriol must be analysed. In this section, I will generally follow the Matrix Language Frame model outlined in the previous section as established by Myers-Scotton (1993b). Initial analysis of Miriwoong lexical items used within the Kununurra Kriol verb phrase conforms with the typological analysis of borrowing patterns by Creole languages by Wohlgemuth (2009). As with the other Creole languages surveyed there, Kununurra Kriol's primary method of integrating Miriwoong verbs in the Kriol verb phrase is through the strategy of insertion. This is without additional morphology, particularly as verbal information such as tense, aspect and modality, as previously discussed, are expressed primarily through the use of preverbal particles. This is shown in example (6.3) below, demonstrating direct insertion of the Miriwoong verb (in bold) in the Kriol verb phrase.

(6.3) *Im **mimim** tharrei.*

im	**mimim**	tharrei
3SG	lightning.flash	that.way

'There's lightning that way' [GGN 20190815_Gl]

In this utterance, the *mimim* 'lightning flash' from Miriwoong is directly inserted into the verb phrase, in the position where one would expect the main verb to be in Kununurra Kriol, following the subject pronoun and preceding a directional adverb. With only one Miriwoong item within an otherwise Kriol utterance, this is a clear initial sign that the Matrix Language in this example is Kriol. Additionally, the Miriwoong item fills the role of a content word, being a lexical coverb within the Miriwoong grammar. The pronoun and adverb of the utterance both sourced from Kriol in this fairly simple clause.

(6.4) *Nomo bin **woorlab** prapli langa jawaleng.*

nomo	bin	**woorlab**	prapli	langa	jawaleng
NEG	PST	talk	properly	LOC	Aboriginal.people

'[he] did not talk properly to Aboriginal people' [BF 1991_archive]

(6.5) *Mardi e stil **yoog**.*

mardi	e	stil	**yoog**
maybe	3SG	still	sleep

'Maybe she's still sleeping' [JP 20210303_Ji]

In (6.4) and (6.5), the distinction between the Matrix Language and Embedded Language is considerably clearer. In (6.4), the Miriwoong lexical coverb *woorlab* 'talk' is directly inserted into the verb phrase in the position where the main Kriol verb would be expected to be. This is accompanied by the preverbal particles for tense, *bin* 'PST', as well as the Kriol negative particle *nomo*. It is overwhelmingly clear, from both the relative frequency of Kriol items, as well as the fact that all of the system morphemes are from Kriol, that the Matrix Language is Kriol, with the Miriwoong embedded. In (6.4), the Kriol frame is similarly clear. The aspectual *stil* from Kriol indicates a Kriol structural frame in the verb phrase, with the *yoog* 'sleep' directly inserted from Miriwoong, along with other elements in the utterance all also being sourced from Kriol.

It is likely that Miriwoong lexical coverbs are easier integrated into Kriol utterances as such due to the nature of the structure of the Miriwoong verb phrase. In Miriwoong, the verb phrase consists of a lexical coverb, which does not carry inflectional information such as person and tense, accompanied by an inflecting verb, selected according to the semantic domain of the coverb from a small inventory of verbs. These inflecting verbs are highly variable in their inflection, and carry tense and person information, including the indexing of gender and number of the subject (Kofod & Olawsky 2009).

(6.6) *Yu garra **ngenja** la him la present, gooloomboong.*

yu	garra	**ngenja**	la	him	la	present	gooloomboong
2SG	must	give	LOC	3SG	LOC	3SG	didgeridoo

'You must give him the present, the didgeridoo' [AA 2014_archive]

In example (6.6) too, the Miriwoong verb *ngenja* 'give' is directly inserted into the Kriol verb phrase. In this example, the Kriol ML can again be seen much clearer through the usage of the auxiliary *garra* 'must', used to signal obligation in most varieties of Kriol. This example, however, shows some differences stemmed from the transitivity status of the verb. The two objects of this ditransitive verb are marked using the locative preposition *la,* which is commonly used to mark indirect objects in Kriol. It is however more unusual to use the *la* preposition for marking direct objects in such a manner.

What is also unexpected for a Kriol utterance is that the verb in this utterance is lacking the transitive *-im* suffix, despite being a verb commonly and consistently identified to be high in transitivity. This appears to be something that is consistently applied by most Kununurra Kriol speakers for Miriwoong lexical items at a near categorical level, demonstrated once again in examples (6.7) and (6.8) below. Some exceptions are also reported, potentially of verbs considered to be more integrated into Kununurra Kriol than others (Brown, personal communication, 30th June 2023). Transitivity in Miriwoong would typically be marked on the inflected verb, along with indexation of the participants in the clause (Kofod & Olawsky 2009).

(6.7) *I garra **yigarr** mijelp.*

i	garra	**yigarr**	mijelp
3SG	must	scratch	REFL

'He must scratch himself' [DD 1994_archive]

(6.8) *Yu **wawij** that goanna garra ramang or goolyawoorrng.*

yu	**wawij**	that	goanna	garra	ramang	or	goolyawoorrng
2SG	cover	DET	goanna	with	grass	or	leafy.branches

'You cover that goanna with grass or leafy branches' [BF 1994_archive]

It appears that the apparent inability for the coverb to receive such grammatical marking from the Miriwoong grammar has been transferred into the Kriol system along with the lexical item. This would additionally suggest that the Miriwoong grammar is at least partially activated for the speaker in using these items, as otherwise one would expect transitivity to be marked.

On the other hand, the conventionalised differential treatment of borrowed lexical items depending on their etymological source has been documented in other languages, including closely related Creole languages. For example, it has been observed in Ngukurr Kriol of Arnhem Land, Northern Territory, that Marra-origin verbs do not receive transitivity marking, with very few exceptions (Dickson 2015). Similar effects are also observed in Barunga Kriol, with the addition of a handful of particularly archaic English loanwords (Batchelor 2017). Further afield in the Pacific region, Lynch (2010) observes that transitivity marking in Melanesian Creole languages such as Bislama, Tok Pisin, Pijin and Torres Strait Creole is less likely to be seen in verbs that are sourced from languages other than English.

The insertion of an inflected Miriwoong verb into an otherwise Kununurra Kriol utterance is demonstrated below in example (6.9), showing the high relative complexity compared with such examples using the coverb in other examples demonstrated previously in this chapter.

(6.9) *He not **nyindanyan** tharran.*

he	not	**nyindanyan**	tharran
3SG	NEG	3SG.GO/COME.PRS	that.one

'She [that one] is not going' [SD 1990_archive]

In this example, the inserted verb is *nyindanyan* '3SG.GO/COME.PRS'. Despite the complex Miriwoong morphology used, I would again argue that the ML remains Kriol; the pronoun, negation

marker and adverb are all Kriol, whilst only the verb is from Miriwoong. This is, however, made more complex by the properties of the Miriwoong verb. This verb is one of the inflecting verbs in Miriwoong grammar, which are commonly used in coordination with lexical coverbs in Miriwoong verb phrases (Kofod & Olawsky 2009). Rather than simply conveying lexical information, this verb here is additionally providing grammatical information of tense, as well as indexing the subject of the clause. In contrast with Kriol, where no gender is marked on pronouns, the inflected verb shows that the referent is feminine (in case of masculine, this verb would appear as *girayin*).

Example (6.9) is a clear case of code-switching rather than borrowing of lexical material from Miriwoong. This is due to the heavy amount of grammatical information that is being demonstrated in the Miriwoong verb. The indexing of the subject as well as the tense information in a complex inflected verb would require the activation of the Miriwoong grammar for the speaker, rather than the simple replication of Miriwoong-origin lexical items within an otherwise Kriol grammatical frame. Inflected verbs are additionally significantly more opaque in their formation than coverbs, with potentially hundreds of forms possible in different configurations, even after simplification (MDWg 2019). On the side of the Miriwoong source grammar itself, Meakins & O'Shannessy (2012) predict that source languages with a looser connection between the coverb and the inflected verb are more likely to separate the two when code-switching. Indeed, the core lexical information in Miriwoong verb complexes is contained within the coverb; the information contained within the inflected verb is primarily that suggested by the name – inflection – which is not required within the Kriol grammatical system.

The question of whether (6.9) represents a case of borrowing of an inflected verb or of code-switching also does not pass the frequency diagnostic criteria for borrowing. The insertion of inflected verbs from Miriwoong is a very rare occurrence in the dataset, with only one example found. This may be influenced by the small inventory of inflected verbs used in Miriwoong; the typical VP consists of one of just 33 inflected verbs, of which only seven are commonly used, with an uninflected lexical coverb (MDWg 2019). The general lack of inflected verbs being code-switched in Kriol could also partially be motivated by the lack of general congruence between the two languages, as per Sebba (1998); as mentioned, Kriol does not index much of this information in the VP, making this information superfluous to the Kriol speaker. Amongst bilingual speakers, it is well documented that morphological redundancy is a regular practice, where features can be indexed multiple times within the sentence, and can provide additional context to the listener (Appel & Muysken 2005: 49). However, this would require a level of proficiency in Miriwoong grammar, with its very complex VP morphology, that the vast majority of Kununurra Kriol speakers do not have. In contrast to the inflected verbs, the borrowing of Miriwoong lexical coverbs is made significantly easier by their relative lack of inflection.

In the case of borrowing, one would expect that this would occur more regularly, recalling the criterion of social acceptance. In the potential possibility of paradigm transfer, one might expect that the borrowing of these verbs would be a regular occurrence, however, as well as more frequently accompanying lexical coverbs due to the grammatical frame provided by Miriwoong. The possibility of a nonce borrowing, according to the analysis of Poplack (2012) discussed above, would similarly be rejected by the heavy amount of grammatical information conveyed in the verb; it is not *structurally* integrated into Kununurra Kriol to the degree that one could comfortably analyse it as a nonce borrowing, owing to the significantly different structures between the two languages.

Nevertheless, the analysis of direct insertion of Miriwoong lexical items is complicated even in the case of lexical coverbs. This becomes evident in the marking of TMA categories, particularly those that are typically marked directly on the main verb of the clause within the Kriol grammar. There are no examples in the corpus where a Miriwoong verb within a Kriol utterance is marked with the TMA suffixes that otherwise frequently appear on Kununurra Kriol verbs. In contrast, there are several tokens where a meaning that would otherwise utilise TMA markers is expressed.

Most prominent of these is with the progressive or iterative aspects, commonly marked in Kununurra Kriol with the *-bat* suffix.[7] TMA marking in Miriwoong is marked primarily in the inflected verb. However, some coverbs borrowed from Miriwoong also demonstrate a transfer of aspectual derivational marking. In these cases, the aspect of the coverb is also preserved within the Kununurra Kriol verb phrase, taking the place of expected Kriol aspectual morphology. Evidently, Miriwoong Early System Morphemes are activated and retained with the lexical functional morphemes as they become embedded in the Kununurra Kriol Matrix Frame, obviating the need for now-redundant Kriol TMA marking.

(6.10) *Im **birrga** that jimilwiring naw.*

im	birrga	that	jimilwiring	naw
3SG	make	DET	lightning	now

'He makes that lightning now' [BF 1994_archive]

(6.11) *Ngenjaying yu bin **birrgamib**?*

ngenjaying	yu	bin	birrgamib
that.one	2SG	PST	be.making

'Are you making that one?' [AA 2014_archive]

[7] The precise semantics of aspectual morphology such as *-bat* and *-in* are beyond the scope of this dissertation. For the purposes of this dissertation, 'progressive' is used. Detailed discussion and analysis of Kununurra Kriol temporal and aspectual semantics can be found in Brown (2023).

In these two examples (6.10) and (6.11) a surfacing contrast between the borrowed forms from Miriwoong within the Kriol Matrix Language Frame can be seen. In (6.10), the Miriwoong coverb *birrga* 'make' is used in the slot within the Kriol frame where the lexical verb sits, as with other previous examples. In this example, the verb is not marked with any TMA marking, either morphologically or using any of the particles Kriol has to offer for this purpose. It can also be noted that this example also demonstrates another lack of the transitive *-im* marker on the Miriwoong verb. The English-derived Kriol equivalent of this verb, *meik*, would typically appear as *meikim* in this transitive context. In contrast, example (6.11) uses the progressive aspect on the verb to ask whether the speaker's interlocutor is making something at that moment. Here, the expected Kriol progressive suffix *-bat* is not used. Instead, the speaker makes use of the Miriwoong derivational suffix *-mib*, which is sometimes taken to indicate a continuous aspect (Olawsky, personal communication 29th March 2021). Again, the English-derived equivalent would typically appear with the transitive marker and progressive suffix *-bat*. The contrast with the English-derived Kriol verbs is revealed in the following examples (6.12) and (6.13).

(6.12) *Dat warlayi yoo koverimap meiki dipa houl la grawen.*

dat	warlayi	yoo	kover-im-ap	meik-im	dipa	houl	la	grawen
DET	oven	2SG	cover-TR-up	make-TR	deeper	hole	LOC	ground

'You cover up that oven, make a deeper hole in the ground.' [GGN 20190815_Gl]

(6.13) *Lamboong weya dei meikimbat, you know?*

lamboong	weya	dei	meik-im-bat	you	know
coolamon	where	3PL	make-TR-PROG	you	know

Where they're making the coolamon, you know? [GGN 20190815_Gl]

It could, however, be considered in the two examples (6.10) and (6.11) that both of the speakers of these utterances were Elders who were known to be fluent speakers of Miriwoong in its traditional form. This would make it significantly more available to the speakers to access the Miriwoong grammar to its fullest, as native fluent speakers of the language. In cases such as these, it is likely that these examples could be closer to more standard code-switching, leaving the grammar of both languages relatively intact, rather than a case of borrowing where the Miriwoong morphology has also been borrowed with the coverb form. However, further analysis reveals that the borrowing of Miriwoong morphology and differential treatment of Miriwoong coverbs is still exhibited by most other speakers, who like many Miriwoong are less frequent speakers of the traditional language.

There are at least some consistent exceptions to the general lack of integration of Miriwoong coverbs into the Kriol morphology from a sociolinguistic perspective. One speaker in particular is identified in the dataset to regularly use aspectual suffixes such as the progressive *-bat* on Miriwoong-origin

coverbs within the Kriol grammatical frame. Outside this one speaker, there are only occasional individual tokens from a handful of younger speakers of this occurring. Perhaps to affirm this general categorical exclusion in the morphology, and to affirm that this speaker represents regular variation within Kununurra Kriol, in one dialogue, they use such a form in a group conversation. Another speaker immediately repeats a similar utterance to what has been said, albeit excluding the Kriol morphology on the Miriwoong coverb. This interaction is shown in (6.14a-c) below.

(6.14a) *Im noonajbat.*
im noonaj-bat
3SG nod-PROG
'He's nodding.' [GGN 20200813b_GGN_SS]

(6.14b) *Noonaj…*
noonaj
nod
'Nodding…' [SS 20200813b_GGN_SS]

(6.14c) *Imin noonaj.*
im=in noonaj
3SG=PST nod
'He was nodding/he nodded.' [SS 20200813b_GGN_SS]

Nevertheless, Miriwoong verbs are seen to be more receptive to receiving aspectual morphology compared to the abovementioned transitivity morphology, which is extremely rarely seen on Miriwoong-origin verbs. The vast majority of such tokens marked for aspect come from the one speaker in the available data, although more have been reported from other speakers (Brown, personal communication 30th June, 2023). This occurs even on reduplicated forms and those already containing Miriwoong derivational morphemes suggesting iteration or continuative lexical aspect. On the inverse, the transitivity marking extremely rarely appears on Miriwoong origin verbs, even from innovative speakers who readily attach aspectual morphology to these distinct stems, with only one token available.

Amongst semi-fluent speakers of Miriwoong such as those in examples (6.10) and (6.11), the derivational suffixes used to convey these aspects are considered to be less productive than as used by elder fluent speakers of traditional Miriwoong. This would suggest somewhat less of an accessible Miriwoong grammar when code-switching elements, which would therefore additionally imply that these cases are rather more examples of borrowing. Nevertheless, it reveals that these speakers also

have sufficient Miriwoong knowledge for the aspectual semantics of the different forms of Miriwoong words to also be retained in Kununurra Kriol when borrowed. Within the Kununurra Kriol system, these Miriwoong coverbs have become accepted as verb forms with different TMA marking properties.

This phenomenon of excluding loans from traditional substrate languages from morphological marking of TMA categories appears to not be unique to Kununurra Kriol either. Dickson (2015), for example observes in Ngukurr Kriol that verbs borrowed from the substrate Marra, as previously mentioned with transitivity, also do not receive TMA marking with few exceptions. It could be suggested that there is a certain familiarity with the Miriwoong lexicon amongst many Miriwoong people – many of them passive or semi-fluent speakers of the traditional language – that allows for their recognition and differential treatment within the grammar, whilst not having the fluency levels to produce full discourse in Miriwoong. The possible motivations for this differential treatment of Miriwoong verbs are further discussed below in section 6.3.

One complication in the analysis of Miriwoong coverbs used in Kununurra Kriol is that a vast majority of borrowed coverbs do have equivalents in the English-derived Kriol lexicon. Furthermore, these English-derived equivalents are used by speakers of Kununurra Kriol interchangeably, depending on the context of the conversation, where it is unclear whether the synonymy is full or partial. In this sense, these may not be strictly complete borrowings into Kununurra Kriol, as they have not replaced items from a lexicon shared with other varieties of Kriol across northern Australia that had developed prior and during creolisation, although this is certainly not a requirement for borrowings; semantic shift may also occur, as well as continued full or partial synonymy. They may also continue to coexist for differing discursive purposes. Nevertheless, these borrowings are still entirely syntactically – albeit not (yet) morphologically – integrated into the Kriol matrix language frame, rather than appearing to be a manifestation of regular code-switching between Miriwoong and Kununurra Kriol.

Furthermore, there appears to be a conscious distinction in using these terms, not only in structural terms in their abovementioned treatment in Kriol morphology, but also in the social setting. This is particularly evident towards those who are known to be outsiders to the Kununurra Kriol community. These sociolinguistic aspects of borrowing will be discussed in the following section.

6.2.2. Social Functions and Motivations

Beyond the structural features of code-switching and borrowing, the process is also one that is, as has previously been discussed, a motivated and social one (Myers-Scotton 1993a). That is to say, people code-switch and borrow material into their language of use fundamentally for social reasons, whether to express identity, to invoke solidarity, or for poetic effect, to name a few. In Garrwa and Kriol

speaking bilingual communities of the Northern Territory, for example, it has been documented that speakers will code-switch their Kriol with Garrwa to index their particular Garrwa identity, or to signal important traditional activities as opposed to mundane non-Garrwa business (Mushin 2010). Code-switching is, for many, a tool for the management of both discourse and indexing of social relations in conversation, as well as a structural process (Hamilton-Hollaway 2023). In this section, the sociolinguistic aspects of the use of Miriwoong verbs within Kununurra Kriol will be analysed.

To first demonstrate the varied social functions of Miriwoong verbs as they are used in Kununurra Kriol discourse, a first starting point was to code the utterances with these Miriwoong verbs according to the semantic field they belong to. For this, the semantic domains recommended by SIL for the compilation of dictionaries were used, with some modifications for the Miriwoong context and particular interests of this research.[8] The domains were defined as follows:

1. Environment – verbs that relate to environmental features, for example *lightning*.
2. Person – verbs that relate to people, including personal senses, for example *smell*.
3. Language and Thought – verbs that relate to language and thought processes, for example *talk*.
4. Social – verbs that relate to social interaction and relationships, not including language as covered above, for example *gather*.
5. Daily life – verbs that relate to actions that are done in daily life and in households, for example *bathe*.
6. Work and Occupation – verbs that relate to activities that are undertaken in a work environment or for a living, for example *hunt*.
7. Actions – verbs that refer to physical actions not otherwise covered by other semantic domains, for example *run*.
8. States – verbs that refer to states of being, for example *be black*.
9. General words – verbs with broad semantics that do not belong to a particular semantic domain intrinsically, for example *make*.
10. Cultural – verbs that refer to specific Miriwoong cultural activities and traditional practices, for example terms for rituals.

Each Kununurra Kriol clause that contained a Miriwoong verb was coded according to these ten semantic domains. This presents us with a general overview of the kinds of activities that are more frequently described using Miriwoong verbs, and if there are particular domains that show a higher concentration of Miriwoong lexical items. An additional tenth domain, *Cultural*, was added to the SIL list in order to investigate the predominance of Miriwoong cultural practices that are described using

[8] Adapted from SIL under the Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International Licence, website available here: https://semdom.org/ (archive: https://web.archive.org/web/20210118093022/https://semdom.org/)

the Miriwoong lexicon, as this would present some continuity across the language shift boundary from traditional Miriwoong to Kununurra Kriol.

Semantic Domain	**Tokens**	**Percentage**
1. Environment	9	4.1
2. Person	14	6.3
3. Language and Thought	37	16.7
4. Social	23	10.4
5. Daily life	22	9.95
6. Work and Occupation	4	1.8
7. Actions	64	28.95
8. States	14	6.3
9. General words	14	6.3
10. Cultural	20	9
Total	221	

Table 6.2: Distribution of Miriwoong verbs in Kununurra Kriol.

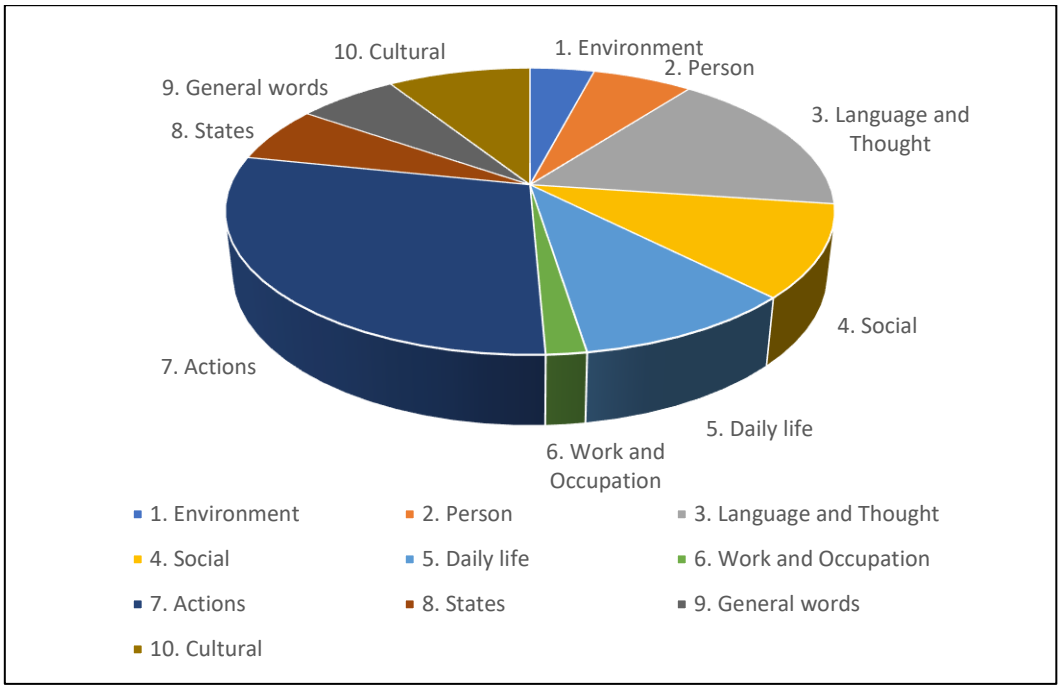

Figure 6.1: Distribution of Miriwoong verbs in Kununurra Kriol, visualised in a pie chart.

As can be seen in Table 6.2. and visualised in the pie chart of Figure 6.1., the majority of Miriwoong loanwords used in Kununurra Kriol come from only four of the ten semantic domains outlined above. Most predominant of these is the *actions* semantic domain, followed by *language and thought* and the

closely related *social* field, with notable presence from *cultural*, *environment* and *daily life* semantic domains. Already, it can be seen that the specific borrowing patterns of a Creole language do not seem to be something that can be generalised cross-linguistically. Saramaccan, spoken in Suriname, shows almost opposite patterns for the major domains borrowed (defined here as those not inherited from the lexifier, English): the most prominent domain of borrowing there was found to be "modern world", with cultural domains significantly less prominently borrowed (Good 2009).

One caveat must be mentioned with regards to the data presented here. Whilst much of the data used in this analysis was of a conversational nature, it was also collected through a variety of elicitation methods involving the description of, for example, scenes and images. As a result, the high proportion of action domain loans may simply reflect the elicitation of a variety of action related verbs in the data collection, rather than being an overall proportion of Miriwoong loans in Kununurra Kriol. Conversely, the actions domain is also a particularly broad domain full of very commonly used verbs, and would naturally become dominant in many datasets regardless of intent.

The large proportion of loans within the action, language and thought, and daily life domains together demonstrate an important factor in that the spread of loanwords from Miriwoong covers not just practices local to Miriwoong culture, but also everyday activities. The action domain includes such verbs as 'run', shown in example (6.15), and 'enter, come in', in example (6.16). These represent physical actions that could be done in a large variety of contexts, often involving the movement of an individual or item. Alongside these are items from the daily life semantic domain, which represent such actions that are undertaken as part of daily rituals and within the household, such as 'bathe' and 'swim', in example (6.17) and 'sleep', which can be seen previously in example (6.5). Example (6.17) additionally demonstrates the use of a serial verb construction using Miriwoong coverbs. Further structural analysis and discussion of serial verb constructions in Kununurra Kriol, including those using non-Miriwoong-derived lexical items, will be discussed in chapter 7.

(6.15) *Im **wooje**.*

im	wooje
3SG	run

'He runs' [RG 2014_archive]

(6.16) *Ol warnkantha pobaga **wootheb** la banjan, das all.*

ol	warnkantha	pobaga	wootheb	la	banjan	das all
all	cold	poor.people	enter	LOC	blanket	that's all

'All those cold people, all they can do is get into a blanket.' [GGN 20190815_Gl]

(6.17) *Imin go back la water **belwawoob ngoomoogab**.*

im=in	go	back	la	water	belwawoob	ngoomoogab
3SG=PST	go	back	LOC	water	bathe	swim

'He went back into the water to bathe and swim' [ML 2014_archive]

Alongside these Miriwoong coverbs describing fairly mundane everyday actions and activities are also those which fall under the language and thought domain. One particular Miriwoong coverb, along with its variants encoding additional aspectual information, represents the majority of tokens from this semantic domain. This coverb, *woorlab* 'talk', is also additionally the most frequently used Miriwoong item used in the Kununurra Kriol verb phrase overall, as has appeared in examples within this chapter already, for example in (6.4). Other coverbs relating to language, such as the alternative 'talk', *yirrg,* in (6.18) also appear within the dataset, however far less prominent than *woorlab,* which is also used in Miriwoong as the primary derivational base for other terms relating to the act of speaking, such as *woorlabgajing* 'tape recorder', *woorlabgang* 'phone' and *woorlab-gerring* 'place for talking', as in the name of the MDWg Language and Culture Centre (Kofod & Olawsky 2009). This is likely to have contributed to its prominence in discourse relating to speech and talking in general, as well as its commonality as a Miriwoong coverb within Kununurra Kriol.

(6.18) *He bin **yirrg** langa im gerloowirr.*

he	bin	yirrg	langa	im	gerloowirr
3SG	PST	talk	LOC	3SG	up

'He talked to him up there.' [SD 1990_archive]

Perhaps the most notable semantic domain that is heavily featured in Miriwoong coverbs being used in Kununurra Kriol is the cultural domain. This domain contains coverbs which refer to cultural activities and practices that are specific to the Miriwoong context. This includes specific rituals of, for example, initiation, as well as activities undertaken as part of the close, spiritual relationship between people and Country demonstrated by Miriwoong people. For example, *binkaj* in (6.19) demonstrates this spiritual people-country connection through a ritual that is done to make rain come or pay homage to someone, but contained within a single, concise Miriwoong coverb. *Warralab* in (6.20) furthermore, whilst initially appearing to describe a simple, perhaps overly specific, act of burning grass, refers to a practice done as part of the process of caring for country, as the smoke from the grass will prompt rains to come, as well as clear the land to prevent potentially devastating bushfires, and, importantly, prompt the growth of new, fresh grasses, as explained by one Miriwoong individual.

(6.19) *Kan **binkaj** longa him now.*

kan	binkaj	longa	him	now
cannot	'swish leafy twigs on rocks to make rain come or to pay homage'	LOC	3SG	now

'[You] can't swish leafy twigs on rocks to pay homage to him now.' [BF 1991_archive]

(6.20) *They bin **warralab** la him*

they	bin	warralab	la	him
3PL	PST	'be lighting fires to burn grass'	LOC	3SG

'They were lighting fires to burn grass for him.' [CTH 1989_archive]

The items within this domain of Miriwoong coverbs used in Kununurra Kriol are distinguished from those of the other categories additionally by the factor that they do not have succinct equivalents that previously existed in the English-derived lexicon of Kriol. This is a result of their cultural specificity for Miriwoong custom and local traditional knowledge, which has transcended a language shift and transferred into Kununurra Kriol directly. Other semantic domains discussed here are, in contrast, used alongside English-derived verbs for the same concepts. Many of these can be found in other varieties of Kriol across northern Australia in similar form and meaning.

As previously mentioned, the usage of these borrowings depends on the context of the conversation, for example with non-Miriwoong speakers of Kriol. It was noted during fieldwork for this project that Kununurra Kriol speakers were more likely to use the English-derived equivalents of Miriwoong lexical items when speaking Kriol with outsiders, such as researchers from outside. When talking with other Miriwoong people, it was observed that a significantly higher amount of the Miriwoong-borrowed lexicon was used. As more familiarity was achieved between fieldworker and consultant, it also appeared that the number of Miriwoong-derived items used in conversation also increased. This would therefore also contribute to an analysis of their borrowing rather than code-switching, as their use is observed with participants with a known lack of bilingual knowledge of Miriwoong.

6.3. Discussion

A major point of discussion that has come up several times in the course of this section has been the question of whether the phenomena covered here – the insertion of Miriwoong coverbs as the main verb within a Kununurra Kriol verb phrase – should be considered borrowing or a practice of code-switching. As previously discussed in the theoretical background of this section, the line between

borrowing and code-switching is an often blurry one, and still subject to debate. Therefore, I will now examine some of the abovementioned data in relation to theories of code-switching and borrowing, and discuss the degree to which Miriwoong items appear to actually be integrated into Kununurra Kriol.

The categorical exclusion of Kriol affixes, both in terms of TMA marking as well as the common transitive *-im* suffix, on verbs of Miriwoong origin, would also support several theories regarding the structural constraints on code-switching. In this chapter, I have shown that Miriwoong coverbs, when used as the main verb in a Kununurra Kriol verb phrase, rarely allow the affixation of Kriol verbal morphology.

The 4-M model of code-switching proposed by Myers-Scotton & Jake (2000, 2017) in elaborating upon the earlier Matrix Frame Language framework also adequately explains the structural processes occurring here. The code-switched coverb is a content morpheme, which is able to be code-switched with little issue. Miriwoong TMA marking is subsequently activated as an Early System Morpheme in close proximity to the content morpheme. It is thus retained when code-switching between Miriwoong and Kununurra Kriol. Later morphemes, such as the use of preverbal particles, are unaffected by the code-switch, and express the underlying Kununurra Kriol ML providing the overall structure of the clause. The 4-M model would also provide a structural explanation for the innovative speakers' ability to include Kriol TMA marking on the Miriwoong-origin coverbs. To these speakers, the Miriwoong coverbs are sufficiently integrated into Kununurra Kriol that no system morphemes, however early, are activated.

Other proposed structural constraints are also validated in this data. As previously discussed, Sankoff & Poplack (1981) posit the free morpheme constraint, whereby there cannot be a switch between the free morpheme and attached bound morphemes. This constraint appears to be validated; the only bound morphemes that appear to be possible on the Miriwoong-origin verbs in Kununurra Kriol are those that are also of Miriwoong origin. When it comes to other grammatical particles separate from the main verb itself, the opposite is true. In this case, Kriol particles are once again valid to be used in the verb phrase, as they are not bound morphemes attached to the verb. Nevertheless, they still interact with the morphology of the Miriwoong verb itself, as discussed in relation to TMA in particular, whose aspectual semantics and marking can be carried over from Miriwoong.

The constraint of government relations, as proposed by, for example, Di Sciullo (1986) is also observed and further validated from this data. Although the Miriwoong coverb inserted in the Kriol syntactic matrix provides a semantic head to the verb phrase, the governance structure is maintained by the analysis of the TMA marking particles as part of a syntactic Tense Phrase, rather than as subordinate to the head of the VP. In this sense, it is provided that there is not the kind of close governor-governed relationship between these particles that would constrain the use of Miriwoong

code switching in the wider verb phrase. An example of a Tense Phrase analysis of example (6.18) can be seen in Figure 6.2.

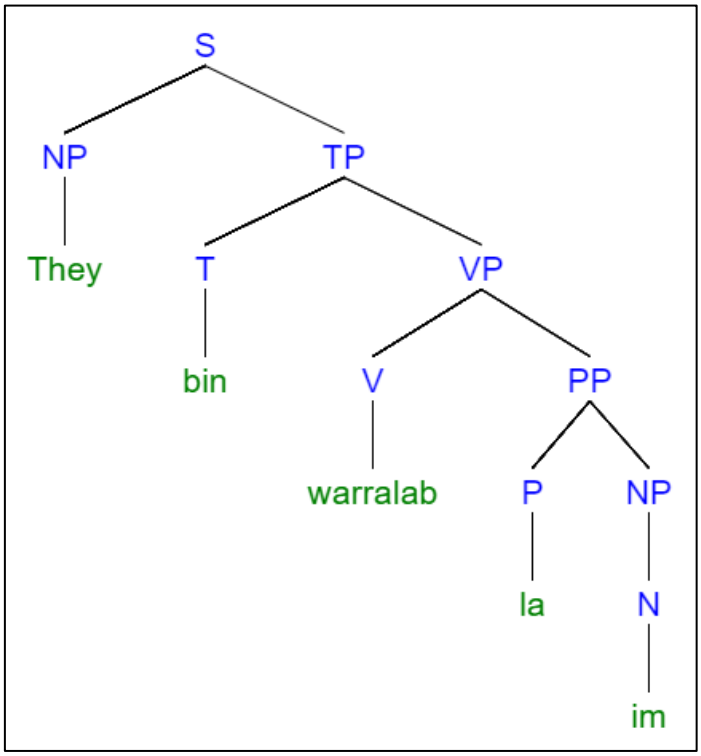

Figure 6.2: Tense Phrase and Verb Phrase government relations in Kununurra Kriol example (6.20).

Figure 6.2. represents a relatively simplified example of a Tense Phrase structure, although does demonstrate the structural relationship between the parts of the verb phrase in question here. In this case, it can be seen that the verb, *warralab* 'light fires to burn grass', is a separate major head as a V to the VP, from the particle marking the past tense, *bin*, which is also its own major head as the T of the TP. To summarise, this entails that there is no structural clash between the governor and governed, enabling the switching or insertion of embedded language lexical material, because these TMA markers are, themselves, major heads in the structure of the Kriol matrix. In contrast, the bound morphemes that are the Kriol affixes are directly attached to the Miriwoong verb itself.

The differential treatment of Miriwoong coverbs when used within the Kununurra Kriol grammatical system raises questions as to the motivations and degree of integration of these forms into the Kununurra Kriol lexicon. The categorical exclusion of Kriol morphology on the Miriwoong verb suggests a continued separation between the Miriwoong embedded item and the Kriol matrix language in terms of the grammars accessible to the speakers of Kununurra Kriol. This is additionally evident in the transfer of aspectual semantics and, sometimes, the TMA marking that is believed to be productive in Miriwoong itself.

These factors each require some knowledge of Miriwoong to be actively accessed by Kununurra Kriol speakers, which is likely possible as many do indeed have at least passive understanding of the language. This is further supported by the efforts of the MDWg Language and Culture Centre at actively revitalising it, bringing such linguistic knowledge further into the forefront and encouraging its use, potentially with these effects of additional use of Miriwoong grammar intertwined with Kriol. Amongst multilingual Tiwi/English/Kriol speaking children of the Tiwi Islands, it was found that they could easily distinguish verbs from different source languages from a very young age (Wilson, Hurst & Wigglesworth 2017: 139-40). This would support the view that there is sustained, distinct acquisition to some degree of Miriwoong as well, even if just at the level of acquiring passive knowledge of the lexicon, despite most Miriwoong people using Kununurra Kriol as their primary language. Alternatively, the derivational nature of the aspectual morphology may potentially make it easier to borrow the coverb with aspectual semantics without such a grammatical understanding of Miriwoong. However, this hypothesis would only account for the differential treatment in TMA elements, and would require further experimentation, particularly on the specific understanding Miriwoong.

In a particularly radical and somewhat tangential hypothesis, it could perhaps be suggested that, due to the treatment of Miriwoong coverbs in the Kriol grammatical frame, that Kununurra Kriol is on its way to becoming a Mixed Language, as a potential case study of conventionalised code-switching, similar to the development of Gurindji Kriol several hundred kilometres away (McConvell & Meakins 2005). This could be potentially expanded by the apparently close connection between Kununurra Kriol and Miriwoong identity amongst some speakers. However, this analysis would appear to be, at the very least, premature. The nature of borrowing and code-switching from Miriwoong in Kununurra Kriol bears significant differences from the code-switching practices that produced Mixed Languages elsewhere. Backus (2003), for example, states that Mixed Languages observe a replacement in their content lexicon. In contrast, in Kununurra Kriol, it is widely observed that Miriwoong coverbs are used parallel to existing English-derived Kriol lexicon, with the exception of such verbs described in this chapter that pertain to Miriwoong cultural practices. This potential route is further discredited by the lack of grammatical material from Miriwoong being code-switched into the Kriol, instead restricted to lexical items. In this case, the use of Miriwoong verbs in Kununurra Kriol remain a practice of insertional code-switching or borrowing.

The expression of identity in Kununurra Kriol through the use of Miriwoong lexicon is nevertheless an interesting line of investigation with several wider implications. Whilst Kununurra Kriol is largely mutually intelligible with other varieties of Kriol across northern Australia, the use of Miriwoong compounds with such influences discussed in this dissertation to produce a closer connection between Miriwoong people and culture and this variety of Kriol. In the course of fieldwork, it was observed that speakers would use more Miriwoong verbs when speaking with other Miriwoong people,

including when left to speak to one another without presence of a researcher. In contrast, with outsiders, speakers appeared to opt more for English-derived verbs assumed to be more familiar to the interlocutor, alongside regular code-switching into English. This would appear to signify this use of lexicon as a kind of in-group language amongst those with some understanding of Miriwoong.

This is not necessarily only amongst those who are Miriwoong or are (semi-fluent) speakers of Miriwoong either. As familiarity with speakers increased during the process of fieldwork, speakers appeared to feel more comfortable using Miriwoong verbs in Kununurra Kriol, rather than the previously mentioned English-derived verbs. This follows a similar pattern of Kriol speakers shifting from more acrolectal (as well as, frequently, local varieties of English) to more basilectal Kriol as it becomes clear that the interlocutor also has familiarity with Kriol. This may suggest that this is the more natural way for Kununurra Kriol to be used, without the pressures of making sure an outsider was better able to understand.

This additionally provides evidence that these items are in fact loanwords integrated into Kununurra Kriol rather than code-switching practices, the latter of which would assume both speakers to have a larger accessible Miriwoong grammar than the interlocutors tend to actually possess. These loanwords also only appear to be present as content words, such as coverbs as main verbs, within an otherwise Kriol grammatical frame and using Kriol grammatical particles, as previously discussed. It is only on the morphology of the coverb itself that things become differentially treated and Miriwoong morphology takes place of Kriol morphology. Therefore, the use of Miriwoong coverbs in Kununurra Kriol would appear to be largely a practice of borrowing, due to their apparent integration and regular use even with those without knowledge of Miriwoong. However, they are, for most speakers, less integrated than full borrowings at this stage and demonstrate a degree of paradigmatic insertion through their differential treatment in the morphology.

Finally, a major aspect of Miriwoong verbs in Kununurra Kriol is the cultural continuity they display that has transcended the language shift boundary from traditional Miriwoong into Kriol. As has previously mentioned in this chapter and within Adone et al. (2019), specific cultural practices are maintained in the use of Miriwoong lexicon to describe them. This has demonstrated that such traditional knowledge has not been lost across the language shift boundary; although the grammar is different, traditional practices are still referred to as they traditionally have been previously. This is even apparent in the calquing, rather than direct insertion, of Miriwoong concepts using English-derived lexicon, such as that of *gudenap*, referring to the practice of only taking what is necessary for the consumer at that moment. This continuity is certainly not unique to Miriwoong people in Australia, and has been widely seen in other contexts of language shift in Indigenous Australia, such as has been documented in Dalabon and Marra in their shifts towards local varieties of Kriol (Dickson 2015, Ponsonnet 2020).

6.4. Summary

In this chapter, I have examined the use of Miriwoong coverbs as they appear in Kununurra Kriol discourse. From the data, it appears that Miriwoong coverbs occupy a particular position in the Kununurra Kriol grammar as well as its sociolinguistic context that profess a strong connection to the traditional Miriwoong language and set it as its own distinct variety.

Structurally, Miriwoong coverbs are inserted into a Kununurra Kriol grammatical frame as the main content verb of the phrase. Although they are within the Kriol matrix frame, they are treated in a differential manner from other, English-derived Kriol content verbs. Most prominently, they do not take on Kriol morphology, for example marking transitivity or tense, modality and aspect through regular suffixes. Instead, their aspectual semantics and productive morphology from Miriwoong are transferred into Kununurra Kriol, professing some degree of paradigm transfer in the process, and potentially drawing off a deeper understanding of Miriwoong grammar and lexicon. This phenomenon – the differential treatment of verbs sourced from traditional languages – has been observed in other varieties of Kriol, as well as other Creole languages in the Pacific, and may be an avenue of further research, particularly comparatively and observing diachronic and synchronic practices of their use across generations.

Borrowed and code-switched verbs cover semantic domains that represent everyday life, as well as importantly, cultural aspects that have been practised traditionally by Miriwoong people for many generations. This demonstrates a clear cultural connection and continuity across this language shift boundary, one that permeates not just these cultural practices but the conceptualisation of many basic, everyday activities.

The borrowing of Miriwoong verbs is perhaps the most salient and lasting manifestation of the influence that the traditional Miriwoong language has had on Kununurra Kriol, establishing a tangible, salient link between Miriwoong people and the new language that has become one of the main languages of the community since European invasion of their country. In the following chapters, more subtle influences of Miriwoong upon the structures of Kununurra Kriol will be analysed and discussed.

7. Transitivity and the Verb

It has long been held as a linguistic universal that all languages have some kind of internal distinction between word classes, particularly some equivalent of 'noun' and 'verb' (Greenberg 1963). Whilst the reality may be more nuanced and complicated than any absolute terms, in any syntactic system, there is a relationship that is expressed between the verb and its arguments in a clause. Whilst the exact expression of these relationships varies considerably across the world, the core fact remains. Transitivity is this basic status held by every clause which defines and restricts the number of direct nominal arguments that can be attached to the verb. All languages are well known to have at their core, intransitive clauses, with only one argument: the subject. Transitive clauses, as will be discussed, are more complex across the world's languages, but at their minimal syntactic definition, contain two arguments; the agent and the patient or object (Hopper & Thompson 1980).

Kununurra Kriol is a language that has been born out of contact between a nominative-accusative language that primarily uses word order to express morphosyntactic relations, English, and many languages that have complex inflectional morphology. Some express ergative (or mixed) morphosyntactic alignment systems between the verb and its arguments, found across Australia, such as in Rembarrnga of Arnhem Land or Warlpiri of the Central Desert region (Blake 1976). As with many other Creole languages in Australia, Kununurra Kriol has developed a system that conveys the influences and complexities that arise from both alignment systems over the course of its contact history.

In this section, the status of transitivity in Kununurra Kriol is analysed and discussed. I find that Kununurra Kriol follows familiar patterns with other varieties of Kriol in north Australia in terms of transitivity. Kriol varieties possess a remarkably productive morpheme for the derivation of not just transitive verbs out of a diverse range of roots, but also inchoative forms through zero marking for transitive status.

7.1. Theoretical Background

Transitivity refers to the basic status of a verb in terms of the arrangement of the core arguments that are syntactically attached to it. It is commonly purported that there are three universal core arguments that exist cross-linguistically. These consist of the S, the subject of intransitive clauses; those with only a single core argument, the A, the subject or agent of transitive clauses, and the O, the object or patient of transitive clauses (Dixon 1994: 6-7, Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000). Semantically, the S and A are regularly conflated as a singular 'subject' role, however this is complicated in many languages of

the world which do not follow the nominative-accusative pattern. This is evident especially in Australia, relevant to our study, where ergativity is a common morphosyntactic alignment pattern, wherein rather than the alignment of S with the A, the S aligns with and pivots with the O (Dixon 1994: 113-27). In addition, there exists an additional E role, representing an 'extended' transitive role in some languages, commonly appearing in clauses referring to "giving, showing or telling" (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000: 2-4).

Within a generative approach to syntax, which attempts to formulate the underlying rules behind syntactic structures, each argument in a clause is assigned a theta-role according to the verb that is governing it. Theta-roles reflect varying thematic relations within a clause, such as Agent, Experiencer, or Theme, with varying outcomes in morphosyntactic appearance. According to the theta-criterion put forward by Chomsky (1988: 36), "each argument bears one and only one theta-role, and each theta-role is assigned to one and only one argument". That is to say, only one argument can occupy each of the three core morphosyntactic roles – S, A and O, as well as additional indirect theta-roles, such as *location* – and each argument can only be a single one of them, to the exclusion of all others. Extending from this, a particular verb governs for a certain number of theta-roles to be occupied by its arguments, and any additional or fewer arguments would be deemed ungrammatical. All of these roles must be filled on a one-to-one basis (Carnie 2013: 229-36).

Ambitransitive verbs are, according to Dixon & Aikhenvald (2000), verbs which may appear as either intransitive or transitive, therefore making the O role optional in the syntax. These complicate this analysis somewhat, as there is no fixed number of theta-roles to be assigned. In response, it has been suggested that the theta-roles in such intransitive formulations are in fact simply omitted and implied through convention, rather than the theta-criterion flaunted (Rice 1988). Similarly, passivisation allows for the movement and subsequent omission of theta-roles through its externalisation (Bowers 2002: 214-5). Bowers (2002) further argues that there is in fact a distinct transitive Tr category that assigns the theta-roles of clauses, and may even take on such roles itself. The Tr itself may be realised through the morphology – for example, as will be discussed in this chapter regarding the Kununurra Kriol *-im* – or remain underlying within the syntactic structure of the clause.

Alternatively, as it has been suggested by some, ambitransitive verbs are instead to be seen at the lexical level as underlyingly transitive, or underlyingly intransitive, verbs, rather than the addition of an object argument being optional (Keyser & Roeper 1984). In these cases, the theta-role for the object is assigned to an unexpressed trace, leaving the resultant surface clause without an overt object argument, and the theta-criterion unchallenged. Indeed, it has been widely discussed that arguments can remain implicit without surface representation, whilst retaining syntactic relations in the clause (Landau 2010). Roeper (1987) shows that even in an intransitive state, ambitransitive verbs may still licence agentive arguments through a prepositional phrase, thus revealing its implicit status in the syntax.

(7.1) ***Der Mann*** *frisst*

der	**Mann**	frisst
DET.MASC.NOM.SG	**man**	eat.PRS.3SG

'**The man** eats.'

(7.2) ***Der Mann*** *frisst* *den Apfel*

der	**Mann**	frisst	den	Apfel
DET.MASC.NOM.SG	**man**	eat.PRS.3SG	DET.MASC.ACC.SG	apple

'**The man** eats the apple.'

Examples (7.1-.2) demonstrate the three core morphosyntactic roles as they appear in basic German clauses. In these two German clauses, the roles are distinguished through the use of the nominative and accusative cases. The S and A roles are both marked using the nominative case, showing their common alignment, here marked in bold text. In contrast, the O in the transitive clause of (7.2) is differentially marked with the accusative case, here underlined. To compare, examples (7.3-.4) demonstrate the contrasting alignment pattern of ergative languages, which, as mentioned, can be widely found across Australian languages, as well as others around the world, such as Basque and the languages of the Caucasus region (Dixon 1994: 3-4). In these examples, the S and O share the common zero marking for the absolutive case, with the A in the transitive clause of (7.4) differentially marked with the ergative suffix.

(7.3) *Tjitji anu.*

tjitji	a-nu
child.ABS	go-PST

'The child went.' (Bowe 1990: 10)

(7.4) *Tjtijingku minyma nyangu.*

tjitji-ngku	minyma	nya-ngu
child-ERG	woman.ABS	see-PST

'The child saw the woman.' (Bowe 1990: 10)

Ergative alignment often brings with it further complexity in the syntactic makeup of a language. Many ergative languages exhibit a mix of morphosyntactic systems. Commonly, this acts in conjunction with an animacy hierarchy, with referents on the more animate side of the scale often receiving the nominative-accusative alignment, and the less animate referents tending towards ergative marking. In Pitjantjatjara, Pama-Nyungan language of central Australia, for example, pronominals

follow a nominative-accusative case marking pattern, whilst other nominals align with the ergative pattern (Bowe 1990: 8-14).

Additionally, discourse may play a major role in the over marking of participants in a clause, without affecting the syntactic role of the affected NP. This appears in several ergative languages of Australia, with several in northern areas where Kriol varieties are also spoken. In Warrwa, a Nyunyulan language of the Kimberley region of Western Australia, for example, ergative marking on the A is sometimes omitted in order to express a lack of agentivity on behalf of the referent. Conversely, alternative focal ergative markers are used when the referent is unusually agentive (McGregor 2006). Similar functions of expectations towards the referent in a given role is found in Dalabon, a Gunwinyguan language of southwestern Arnhem Land (Luk & Ponsonnet 2019).

Transitivity more broadly has also been widely recognised to be closely related to discourse motivations and semantics in interaction. That is to say, whilst the definition for intransitivity remains that there is only one argument on the verb, the presence of two arguments, the A and O, does not necessarily mean that the verb is considered to be fully transitive in a particular language. This suggests that there is a continuum of transitivity on which verbs exist. Næss (2007: 5), for example, describes prototypical transitivity as an event "involv[ing] two clearly distinct and independent participants". In a more transitive clause, this would typically involve marking in the grammatical system through means such as case marking or adpositions.

	HIGH	LOW
(1) A. PARTICIPANTS	2 or more participants, A and O.[1]	1 participant
B. KINESIS	action	non-action
C. ASPECT	telic	atelic
D. PUNCTUALITY	punctual	non-punctual
E. VOLITIONALITY	volitional	non-volitional
F. AFFIRMATION	affirmative	negative
G. MODE	realis	irrealis
H. AGENCY	A high in potency	A low in potency
I. AFFECTEDNESS OF O	O totally affected	O not affected
J. INDIVIDUATION OF O	O highly individuated	O non-individuated

Table 7.1: Ten transitivity features and their resultant values (Hopper & Thompson 1980: 252)

The verb 'kill' and its equivalents are frequently cited as the most prototypically transitive verb cross-linguistically. Semantically, the verb describes an action which involves a clear-cut semantic Agent, committing the act, as well as a distinct and individual Object receiving the act. Furthermore, the Object is required definitionally to have radically changed its semantic state – from living to dead –

and the action must be completed (Dixon 1994: 115, Næss 2007: 14). This continuum of transitivity has seen several attempts to build a framework for the evaluation of verbs according to different semantic values within verbs cross-linguistically. Perhaps the most important of these are the syntactic and semantic features of transitivity outlined by Hopper and Thompson (1980), which specified ten core values that tend to influence whether a verb could be considered transitive in a language, shown in Table 7.1.

According to the framework given above, these ten features allow for the prediction of transitivity status typologically. In the *high* column, the higher transitive tendencies for each feature is outlined, and in the *low* column, the less transitive tendencies. For example, a clause that has two or more participants, involves a kinetic action, is affirmative, and with an individuated and highly affected O, such as "she killed the bald man" would be significantly more transitive than a clause that has only one participant, is negative and in the irrealis, which would have extremely little transitive value within it, such as "I would not look". This can surface in the morphosyntax of the language directly, as in example (7.5a-b) below, where the increased individuation, realised in the difference in animacy, necessitates additional marking in Spanish.

(7.5a) *Busco mi sombrero.*
I seek my hat
'I am looking for my hat.'

(7.5b) *Busco **a** mi amigo.*
I seek my friend
'I am looking for my friend.' (Hopper & Thompson 1980: 256)

It should be noted however that these are simply tendencies cross-linguistically; different languages value different features differently in their syntactic and semantic systems, resulting in variation (eg. Meyerhoff 1996, Batchelor 2017 etc.). Direct counterexamples also exist to the hierarchy of transitivity for individual features given by Hopper and Thompson. For example, in Muna, an Austronesian language of Sulawesi, definiteness in the O – reflecting higher individuation – corresponds with a decrease in the transitivity of the clause (van den Berg 1995). In Australia, Light Warlpiri treats the irrealis mode as more transitive than realis, opposite to their expected status tendentially (O'Shannessy, Carter & Kalyan 2022).

Tsunoda (1985) further observes that there is a strong degree of correlation between some of the features presented by Hopper and Thompson (1980) above, with some of them suggested to be almost inseparable, such as Volitionality and Agency. The ten transitivity features are rearranged according to these patterns of correlation into a series of semantic frames of transitivity, describing verbs in classes from whether there is a direct effect on the patient as most transitive through 'perception', 'knowledge' and 'feeling' classes, with a total of seven major frames (Tsunoda 1985: 388). Testelec

(1998) further refines the correlating factors of transitivity into just two parameters. The first of these two parameters is 'control', which measures the degree to which the participants – on either side of the clause, both Agent and Patient – are in control of the action, reflecting the mixture of correlating Volitionality and Agency discussed by Tsunoda (1985). This parameter is combined with the second of the affectedness of the O, as per the previously mentioned factor. Accordingly, it is suggested that the greater the disparity between the arguments of the verb in terms of these two parameters, the greater the degree of transitivity (Testelec 1998: 41).

Contact between differing systems of transitivity and the assignment of roles to arguments in the clause can result in significant differences, as the systems are often incongruous with one another, often resulting in the marginalisation or refunctionalisation of ergative morphosyntax. In more extreme cases of two systems intertwining, a split system can result. In Gurindji Kriol, for example, a Mixed Language with sources in the ergative Gurindji, which marks through case, and nominative-accusative Ngukurr Kriol, which marks through word order, the latter has prevailed in signalling roles. The ergative marker has been retained and refunctionalised as a marker of discourse prominence, similar to the optional ergative systems detailed prior (Meakins & O'Shannessy 2010). In cases of code-switching between French or Spanish and ergative Basque, the presence of a determiner head from either Spanish or French results in the loss of the ergative marking from Basque (Epelde & Oyharçabal 2020).

As has been previously established in chapter 6 of this dissertation, borrowing has also affected the transitivity marking of verbs in Kununurra Kriol, particularly in the categorical exclusion of Miriwoong loanwords from the transitive suffix. This has also been observed in several other English-lexified Creole languages of the Australia-Pacific region (Meyerhoff 1996, Batchelor 2017). This also occurs in non-Creole languages that experience a significant amount of contact. For example, Greek-origin loanwords in ancient Coptic show some different behaviour from native Coptic-origin words, such as the inability for Greek-origin verbs to index for Patient nouns, only Agent, and the non-marking of differential object marking (Grossman 2019). It appears, therefore, that the levels of integration of loanwords into a recipient language affects how much will be retained. More extensive contact – and retained bilingual linguistic knowledge – may prevent the full integration and, therefore, preserve internal complexity in the contact language.

7.2. Data Analysis

Transitivity marking in Kununurra Kriol at its core follows similar patterns as found in other varieties of Kriol in Australia (cf. Sandefur 1979, Hudson 1983, Batchelor 2017). In this section, a short overview of transitivity in Kununurra Kriol will be given. This will be followed by analysis of the

productivity of transitive and intransitive verb derivation in Kununurra Kriol, and the variation in the marking behaviour within the language's internal transitivity framework. Finally, the relation between the verb and its core arguments will be analysed in light of their ability to be omitted or moved around the clause.

As in other varieties of Kriol, transitivity is primarily expressed using a suffix appended to the verb stem. Generally, this suffix appears in the form of *-Vm,* grammaticalised from reduced forms of the English object pronouns *him* or *them* (Koch 2011). There is some degree of harmonisation in the vowel selected with preceding stem's syllable. Most commonly, it appears as *-im* or unstressed as *-əm* (often written as *-im* in the orthography), as shown in example (7.6). The suffix also appears as the allomorph *-oom,* often but not always following back vowels, as in (7.7). In some verb stems that end in a vowel, the suffix can be reduced further to *-m,* as it does in (7.8). In contrast to some other varieties of Kriol, for example in Barunga, the final *m* of the suffix is rarely elided in Kununurra Kriol (cf. Batchelor 2017). Additionally, there also exists a further variation of the suffix as *-it,* which only appears, although not to the total exclusion of *-im,* on the verb *gib* 'give', as in example (7.9).

(7.6) *Ibin faindim dem.*

i=bin	faind-im	dem
3SG=PST	find-TR	3PL

'He found them.' [SS 20200811b_GGN_SS]

(7.7) *Maidi fo kookoom mayeng.*

maidi	fo	kook-im	mayeng
maybe	PRP	cook-TR	veg.food

'Maybe to cook [vegetable] food.' [GGN 20200910k_GGN_RN]

(7.8) *Wi gada doom na samthing.*

wi	gada	doo-im	na	samthing
1PL	must	do-TR	EMPH	something

'We must do something.' [JP 20200817a_GGN_JP]

(7.9) *Wen ai gibit la e grog.*

wen	ai	gib-it	la	e	grog
when	1SG	give-TR	LOC	3SG	alcohol

'When I give him alcohol.' [TC 20190806_TC_b]

The position of the suffix is immediately following the verb stem. Following this, aspectual suffixes such as *-bat* may also be added. This is demonstrated below in (7.10). There is additionally further interaction with aspect marking, specifically with the progressive aspect suffix *-in*. This suffix and the transitive suffix cannot coexist with one another in the same verb; *-in(g)* is distinct from other aspectual suffixes and occupies the same slot as the transitive marker. It is further possible that the verb may take progressive aspectual suffixes in addition to this, contributing different semantic values to the verb (Brown 2023). Verbs that use the *-in* suffix do not additionally mark for transitivity, and there appears to be no variation between intransitive and transitive *-in.* Verbs that do use this suffix are most commonly intransitive, nevertheless, with transitive forms comparatively rare. This form is also more generally significantly less common than the standard progressive aspect suffix *-bat*, with which it may also coexist with on a single verb, as it does in (7.10). It is therefore argued by Brown (2023) that the *-in* is best analysed as a derivational morpheme rather than an inflectional one, as *-bat* is, occupying the same slot as the transitive derivation.

(7.10) *Henginapbat ola kloths.*

heng-in-ap-bat	ola	kloths
hang-PROG-TR-up-PROG	DET.PL	clothes
‘Hanging up the clothes.’		[SS 20200813b_GGN_SS]

Additionally demonstrated in example (7.10) is the position of the transitive marker in verbs that take on additional suffixes expressing directionality or aspect. The transitive suffix appears closest to the verb stem in all cases. This is then followed by any directional suffixes that a verb may take. These directional suffixes are similar to those found in other varieties of Kriol in northern Australia, as can be seen listed by Sandefur (1979). Following the directional suffixes, if they are applicable, aspectual suffixes such as the progressive *-bat* may also be added, as can be seen in the same example.

In Table 7.2. below, the internal morphological structure of a Kununurra Kriol verb is given, with comparisons between several verbs, both transitive and intransitive, as well as with and without directional and aspectual suffixes. There are four slots in total that may be filled by morphological elements. Within each slot there can be only one morpheme at any one time. Two of these slots, direction and aspect, are evidently optional and dependent upon the verb itself as well as relevant semantic and pragmatic information. The transitive slot is argued to be obligatorily marked, due to its relative salience in Kriol discourse and core function in the morphosyntactic system. The intransitive verb may be marked either with a zero morpheme or with the aforementioned progressive *-in*, which may carry both intransitive and transitive values and therefore covers the function of this core element.

	Verb	Stem	Transitive	(Direction)	(Aspect)
a.	*leidanabat*	lei 'lay'	∅ [-TRANS]	dan 'down'	abat PROG
b.	*henginapbat*	heng 'hang'	in [+TRANS, +PROG]	ap 'up'	bat PROG
c.	*wekin*	wek 'work'	in [-TRANS, +PROG]	-	-
d.	*faindim*	faind 'find'	im [+TRANS]	-	-
e.	*haidimbat*	haid 'hide'	im [+TRANS]	-	bat PROG
f.	*katimap*	kat 'cut'	im [+TRANS]	ap 'up'	-
g.	*gedap*	ged 'get'	∅ [-TRANS]	ap 'up'	-
h.	*go*	go 'go'	∅ [-TRANS]	-	-

Table 7.2: Internal structure of selected Kununurra Kriol verbs.

A brief tangential note must also be made regarding regular TMA marking and negation in Kununurra Kriol. As may have been noticed in many examples of Kununurra Kriol in this dissertation, as well as the aspectual morphology that attached directly on the verb, a series of particles are commonly used in a preverbal complex. These particles most often include tense information, as well as modality marking. In this preverbal complex also appears the negative particle, most commonly *nomo*, which usually appears preceding the TMA particles, but can occasionally follow them. In contrast with the Creole features of Bickerton (1981/2016), negative concord is not required in the vast majority of nondefinite NPs. Only a limited set of indefinite pronouns require agreement in polarity.

7.2.1. Variation

The determination of whether a verb is considered to be transitive within Kununurra Kriol, and therefore requiring transitivity marking, extends beyond the simple presence of A and O arguments in the clause. It is possible for a clause to operate with both of these arguments present, yet the verb itself is not treated as transitive and the suffix not included. As will be demonstrated in this section, the

variability in transitive marking appears to be linked to the semantics of the clause, as well as, to a lesser degree, the etymological source of the verb stem itself.

It has been previously shown in other varieties of Kriol across Australia, as well as other English-lexified Creoles in the Asia-Pacific region, that transitivity marking is not a straightforward matter of there being an O theta-role present. There is likely a heavy influence present from the substrate languages contributing to their grammatical and semantic systems (Meyerhoff 1996). For example, in Barunga Kriol, there is a tendency to omit the transitive marker on verbs of clauses where there is little affectedness upon the O (Batchelor 2017). The trend towards semantic variation in transitivity, affected by the substrate, appears to be replicated in Kununurra Kriol as well.

Kununurra Kriol verbs can be divided into four main categories depending on the marking they receive when appearing in transitive clauses. The first category are the verbs which receive the transitive suffix invariably. The vast majority of transitive verbs fall into this category, as well as ambitransitive verbs when they appear in transitive clauses (for further discussion on their productivity, see section 7.2.2. of this chapter). This can be seen in example (7.11), using an invariably transitive verb. In examples (7.12) and (7.13), an ambitransitive verb, *draib* 'drive' can be seen firstly in an intransitive clause, followed by one in a transitive clause, with the transitive suffix appended. This verb, *drive*, is frequently transitive, but can also be intransitive where the manner of motion is encoded within its semantics, most often implied to be using a car (Levin 1993: 268).

(7.11) *Ibin hidim det woodinwan boks.*

i=bin	hit-im	det	woodinwan	boks
3SG=PST	hit-TR	DET	wooden	box

'He hit that wooden box.' [GGN 20200817a_GGN_JP]

(7.12) *Ebritaim ai draib throo deya.*

ebritaim	ai	draib	throo	deya
every.time	1SG	drive	through	there

'Every time I drive through there.' [RB 20200910g_RB]

(7.13) *Im draibim det baik.*

im	draib-im	det	baik
3SG	drive-TR	DET	bike

'He rides that bike.' [AD 20200901h_BaG_AD]

The next major category of transitive verbs is for those which invariably do *not* take on the transitive suffix, regardless of the presence of an O in the clause. Many of these verbs are those whose semantics

imply little, if any, affectedness upon the O. These verbs largely belong to semantic categories that involve receptive sensory, such as in examples (7.14) and (7.15), or cognitive, as in example (7.16) processes. This does not appear to include the sensory verb *smelim* 'smell', which is generally marked. Omission of transitivity marking does not extend to the primarily progressive *-in* suffix, which occupies the same slot in the morphology and may carry variable transitivity values, as above. This category also does not include verbs of Miriwoong origin. These are left unmarked for transitivity, and are expanded upon further below as well as in the previous chapter of this dissertation. This may be due to the fact that their transitivity status is at least partially semantically encoded in the verb itself, distinct from the solely etymological basis of Miriwoong verbs' morphological behaviours.

(7.14) *Yoo gin look det dawang.*

yoo	gin	look	det	dawang
2SG	can	look	DET	country

'You can see the country.' [GGN 20200910k_GGN_RN]

(7.15) *Ai neba bin lisin dem tok Kriol.*

ai	neba	bin	lisin	dem	tok	Kriol
1SG	NEG	PST	listen	3PL	talk	Kriol

'I have not heard them talk Kriol.' [AD 20200903a_AD]

(7.16) *Ai neba sabi darran.*

ai	neba	sabi	darran
1SG	NEG	know	that.one

'I don't know that one.' [GGN 20200907c_BaG_RP]

A smaller third category of verbs are those verbs which can be variable in whether they are marked with the suffix in clauses that are syntactically transitive. In these cases, the semantics of the whole clause are considered. This results in a preference for marking where the verb of a clause describing an action that is physical or affects the O of the clause in some way is marked for transitivity, whereas those which describe less physical, less affecting actions tend to be left unmarked. This is demonstrable within the verb *fiyil* 'feel' in particular. Clauses in which the 'feel' involves physical touch are marked with the suffix, as in (7.17), whereas those which involve emotional responses are unmarked, as in (7.18). Additionally, the inclusion of the reflexive pronoun *mijelp* will result in the inclusion of the suffix, perhaps reflecting a stressed sense of affectedness in the case of emotional responses, as shown in (7.19).

(7.17) *E gin fiyilim holo yoono.*

e	gin	fiyil-im	holo	yoono
3SG	can	feel-TR	hollow	EMPH

'It can feel hollow, you know.' [GGN 20200811d_GGN]

(7.18) *Wen wi bin gowat deya laiki ai bin fiyil hom deya yoono.*

wen	wi	bin	go-at	deya	laiki	ai	bin	fiyil	hom	deya	yoono
when	1PL	PST	go-out	there	EMPH	1SG	PST	feel	home	there	EMPH

'When we went out there I felt home there, you know.' [RB 20200910g_RB]

(7.19) *Dei fiyilim mijelp tayad wik.*

dei	fiyil-im	mijelp	tayad	wik
3PL	feel-TR	REFL	tired	weak

'They feel tired, weak.' [GGN 20190815_Gl]

The fourth category of verb are those which are of Miriwoong etymological origin. In both Barunga Kriol and Melanesian Creoles, the etymological source of the verb form appears to play a major role in whether it is able to take on the transitive suffix (Lynch 2010, Batchelor 2017). As has been discussed earlier in chapter 6, Miriwoong-origin verbs are treated differently from non-Miriwoong verbs in Kununurra Kriol. Whilst English-derived verbs often do take on the transitive suffix, this is not the case for transitive verbs of Miriwoong origin. Miriwoong-origin verbs are, with rare exceptions including the one consistently innovative speaker discussed in the previous chapter, consistently excluded from Kriol morphology, especially the transitive suffix. This can be exemplified, amongst many others, in example (6.10) from the previous chapter, repeated below with the Miriwoong verb in bold. The English-origin equivalent of Miriwoong *birrga* 'make' is *meik*, which is consistently marked with the transitive suffix in such positions, as can be seen in (7.20).

(6.10) *Im **birrga** that jimilwiring naw.*

im	birrga	that	jimilwiring	naw
3SG	make	DET	lightning	now

'He makes that lightning now' [BF 1994_archive]

(7.20) *E meikimbat nois.*

e	meik-im-bat	nois
3SG	make-TR-PROG	noise

'He's making noise.' [GGN 20200817a_GGN_JP]

As well as the systematic variation detailed within this section, the transitive suffix may additionally be omitted according to the pragmatic context of the utterance. As a major salient feature identified with Kununurra Kriol, the transitive suffix is commonly omitted in more acrolectal speech, where the Kriol shifts to a form closer to Aboriginal English. The use of such forms depends highly upon both the speaker and the context in which the utterance is made, with more acrolectal Kriol more likely to be used in conversations with non-Aboriginal interlocutors, or when the interlocutor is not seen to be proficient in Kriol. These mixed acrolectal forms also appear when speaking English as instances of code-switching between the two languages, as is frequent in such multilingual communities.

7.2.2. Productivity

The transitivity suffix is remarkably versatile in its derivational ability to produce transitive verbal forms of both verb and non-verb stems, as has been suggested already throughout this chapter. Inversely, omission of the suffix, and arguable use of a zero morpheme in its place, can produce intransitive and inchoative forms of inherently transitive verbs.

Any verb in Kununurra Kriol can be turned transitive, even if it is considered to be primarily or predominantly intransitive. This can, for example, create a target or recipient of the action, who is promoted into the O position in the clause, where otherwise they would be introduced with a prepositional phrase. This can be seen in example (7.21) below, where the verb *grawel* ‘growl’ is made unambiguously transitive. Through the addition of the transitive suffix, it may now take on an O, in this case the target of the growling, which in this sense becomes a metaphor indicating reprimand or scolding.

(7.21) *Im grawelim det dodawan.*

im	grawel-im	det	doda-wan
3SG	growl-TR	DET	daughter-NML

‘He tells off the daughter.’ [BG 20200827b_BG]

This transitive productivity seen again in examples (7.22-23) below. The verb *growap* ‘grow up’ is commonly used, as in its English etymon, as an intransitive verb to refer to the process of ageing from a child through to adulthood, as shown in (7.22). Yet unlike the English etymon, and an innovation in Kununurra Kriol, this verb can be made transitive through the addition of the suffix, mirroring a similarly productive verb in Miriwoong (Kofod & Olawsky 2009: 18). In this case, as seen in (7.23), the verb can be translated as ‘raise’, syntactically demoting the S of the intransitive equivalent to the O

argument as a direct benefactor of the new A, who acts as the impetus behind the 'growing up' of the O, thereby adding a Source theta-role to the clause. This further reflects a causative alternation between the two verbs, and opens the potential for any Kriol verb to act in such a dichotomous manner through the use of transitivity marking.

(7.22) *Ai bin growap iya gada bigismob kid.*

ai	bin	grow-ap	iya	gada	bigis-mob	kid
1SG	PST	grow-up	here	with	biggest-PL	kid

'I grew up here with lots of kids.' [RB 20200910g_RB]

(7.23) *Alb as gromap dem, lilil boi.*

alb	as	gro-im-ap	dem	lil~il	boi
help	1PL	grow-TR-up	DET	little~REDUP	boy

'Help us raise these little boys.' [SS 20200903d_SS]

The obverse of the transitive derivation is also true; transitive verbs can be made intransitive – and therefore semantically anticausative – through the deletion of the transitive suffix, and the movement of arguments in the clause. Such clauses function similarly to passive constructions, expanded upon in chapter 8 of this dissertation, in promoting the previous O of the clause to the S position, and removing the previous A, in the transition from transitive to intransitive. Anticausative constructions are made distinct from passive constructions through their inability to allow the previous A to resurface, whether through an adjunct prepositional phrase or otherwise (Schäfer 2009). Such constructions are found to be common amongst Creole languages in a "partial passive" function for the semantic agent to remain unexpressed, whilst not as syntactically complex as the full passive (Markey & Fodale 1983). The previous O, shifted to the S, becomes the main focus of the clause.

(7.24) *Dei bin opinim dowa na.*

dei	bin	opin-im	dowa	na
3PL	PST	open-TR	door	EMPH

'They opened the door.' [GGN 20200817a_GGN_JP]

(7.25) *Dowa bin opin na.*

dowa	bin	opin	na
door	PST	open	EMPH

'The door opened.' [IN 20200817a_GGN_JP]

The verb *opinim* ‘open’, for example, is most typically used in a transitive clause in Kununurra Kriol, as shown in (7.24) above. However, it is also possible to allow the O to be moved to the S position, as can be seen in example (7.25). The previous A is, as described above, removed from the clause. Its reappearance as an Adjunct through a prepositional phrase, as in a passive construction, does not appear to be possible. This, therefore, removes the Agent theta-role attached to the transitive verb, leaving the Experiencer as the sole theta-role. In the morphology, this is signalled through the omission of the transitive suffix on the verb. This, therefore, additionally makes the causative alternation relatively overt within the morphology of Kununurra Kriol.

This potential to create transitive verbs out of non-transitive verb stems also extends to some non-verb stems as well, producing new verb forms. This can be done to create intransitive verbs as well, whereby other verbal morphology is used, such as the progressive aspect suffix. One example of such verb creation out of a non-verbal stem can be seen in (7.26). In this case, the noun *nyoos* ‘news’ has been verbalised to describe the act of sharing news, or perhaps gossiping, with one another. The verb therefore retains the core semantic features of the noun, but is shifted into the verb’s position and showing verbal morphology, without necessitating the use of any additional verb or light verb construction.

(7.26) *Dei laik nyoosimabat too.*

dei	laik	nyoos-im-abat	too
3PL	like	news-TR-PROG	too

‘They like gossiping [with each other] too.’ [GGN 20200804c_GGN]

The productivity of the transitive suffix in Kununurra Kriol allows for a high degree of flexibility in the lexicon of the language through the adjustment of word classes and features of the existing vocabulary. The transitive suffix, therefore, is one that is primarily derivational in nature, rather than inflectional, through its demonstrated flexibility and variability in the semantic outcomes of its use. This is a feature that is reflected in many Creole languages, which are often described as having a relatively small lexicon (Green & Ozón 2019). Further implications of its behaviour, and how Kununurra Kriol fits in with other Creole languages in the Asia-Pacific region and further afield in terms of transitivity, will be discussed in section 7.3. of this chapter.

7.2.3. Topicalisation and Argument Omission

Core arguments and their relevant theta-roles in the Kununurra Kriol verb phrase are, similarly to the English superstrate, typically distinguished through the use of a fairly fixed word order. Typically, the word order used in Kununurra Kriol is SVO, both in declarative and interrogative clauses. However, it

is possible for these arguments to be omitted and implied, as well as experience movement for topicalisation in the clause. Lacking the morphology of many Australian languages for the explicit marking of discourse prominent information, management of this information is performed in Kununurra Kriol through such movement, in conjunction with the aforementioned variability of transitivity marking.

In Kununurra Kriol, omission of arguments is the less frequent of strategies used for information structure. Typically, if practised, it is the object of the clause that has potential to be omitted, if such information has already been recently provided in the context of the utterance, often directly preceding the clause that omits the object. It is, therefore, restricted to information that is considered Given (cf. Rochemont 2016). This can be seen in the story being recounted in examples (7.27-28) below, where the basket has already been specified earlier in the conversation, and does not need to be specified again, not even with a pronoun referring to the antecedent object, as would be the norm in the superstrate English. Transitivity marking on the verb is not affected by the lack of an overt O in the clause. Subjects or agents of clauses are generally not omitted, but their NP replaced with the relevant pronoun, as is common cross-linguistic practice.

(7.27) *Ah, finij im teikim fool basket, yoono.*

ah	finij	im	teik-im	fool	basket	yoono
EMPH	end	3SG	take-TR	full	basket	EMPH

'Ah, in the end he's taking the full basket, you know.' [BG 20190807_Br_Ju_Sy_a]

(7.28) *Ol dem teikim ∅ la dat wan bais, yoono.*

ol	dem	teik-im	∅	la	dat	wan	bais	yoono
PL	3PL	take-TR	OBJ	LOC	DET	one	bike	EMPH

'They all take [it] to that one bike, you know.' [BG 20190807_Br_Ju_Sy_a]

As in many other languages, including other varieties of Kriol such as the variety spoken in Barunga, it is also possible to omit the subject of the clause as well (Brown & Ponsonnet 2021). This can occur at both a local level in the form of standard coordination, where the verb is directly coordinated with another verb, which itself has an overt subject, as in (7.29), as well as occurring as a form of more distant anaphora, where the subject has been already mentioned in a previous utterance or there is little ambiguity that the discourse follows that particular earlier-established subject. In (7.30a-b), for example, the subject is inferred through the question it is answering, and therefore omitted. This example also shows the omission of the object, inferred through the context of the stimulus video being watched. Further analysis of discourse and pragmatic structure of such information structure management is unfortunately beyond the scope of the present dissertation.

(7.29) *Yoo ken gobek en ∅ talimbat dem la kemp.*

yoo	ken	go-bek	en	∅	tal-im-bat	dem	la	kemp
2SG	can	go-back	and	SUBJ	tell-TR-PROG	3PL	LOC	camp

'You can go back and tell them at home.' [GGN 20190815_Gl]

(7.30a) *Wat e dooin den?*

wat	e	doo-in	den
what	3SG	do-PROG	then

'What's he doing then?' [BG 20190807_Br_Ju_Sy_a]

(7.30b) *∅ Pooloom ∅ long im olwei.*

∅	pool-im	∅	long	im	olwei
SUBJ	pull-TR	OBJ	LOC	3SG	whole.way

'[He's] pulling [it] with him all the way.' [Ju 20190807_Br_Ju_Sy_a]

Topicalisation is significantly more frequent a practice in information structure management in Kununurra Kriol. This generally involves the movement of the topicalised element towards the front of the clause through a process of left-dislocation. This can be done to both the subject and the object of a clause, however with slightly different implications for the surface realisation of the underlying syntactic structure. As in examples (7.30-31) showing the topicalisation of the subject of the clause, the subject is dislocated from the structure into the initial position. Its expected position in the standard structure of the clause is overtly held by a co-referential resumptive pronoun, typical of what is often termed an H-type dislocation (López 2016). Topicalisation of the subject is a relatively frequent practice in Kununurra Kriol discourse, in order to highlight the agency of the subject in discourse.

(7.30) *Det berd im boosim deya.*

det	berd	im	boos-im	deya
DET	bird	3SG	push-TR	there

'That bird, it's pushing [it] there.' [RB 20200916e_RB_MW]

(7.31) *Dijan im skratjimbat im hed en singin seimtaim.*

dijan	im	skratj-im-bat	im	hed	en	sing-in	seimtaim
this.one	3SG	scratch-TR-PROG	3SG.POSS	head	and	sing-PROG	same.time

'This one, he's scratching his head and singing at the same time.' [BG 20200910k_GGN_RN]

(7.32) *Det ola botshed dei bin aboom bifo.*

det	ola	botshed	dei	bin	aboom	bifo
DET	PL	boatsheds	3SG	PST	have	before

'They had the boatsheds before.' [BG 20200818a_BG]

(7.33) *Maidi koin ibin maidi loosim.*

maidi	koin	i=bin	maidi	loos-im
maybe	coin	3SG=PST	maybe	lose-TR

'Maybe he lost the coin.' [BaG 20200901h_BaG_AD]

Similar to the topicalisation of the subject, albeit less common in practice overall, topicalised objects are also dislocated to the left, occupying the same focus position at the beginning of the clause. This can be seen in examples (7.32-33) above, where the object has been shifted towards the front, away from the unmarked SVO constituent order. In contrast with the topicalisation of the subject, the dislocation of the object does not leave a pronoun in the prior underlying position of the argument. Instead, no overt resumptive element is used, and it is left as an unrealised trace in the underlying structure of the clause, similar to the above discussed practice of omitting certain arguments whose information is not deemed discursively prominent enough to be repeated.

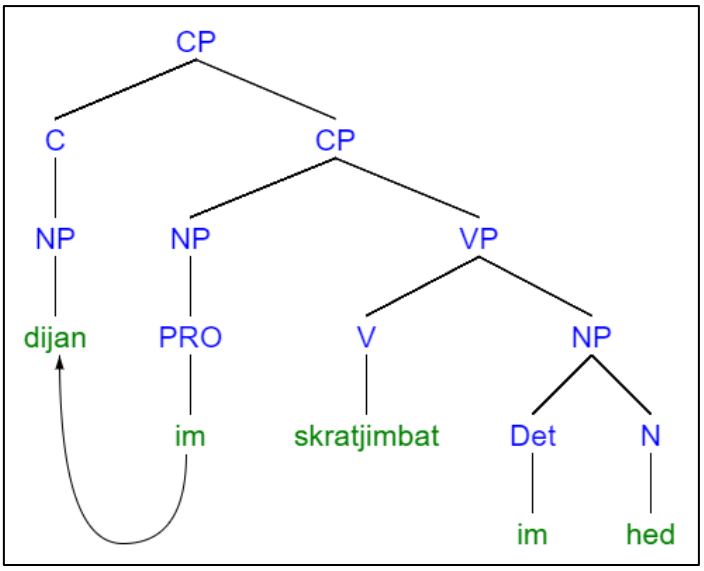

Figure 7.1: The underlying syntactic structure of example (7.31), showing the copying of the topicalised subject.

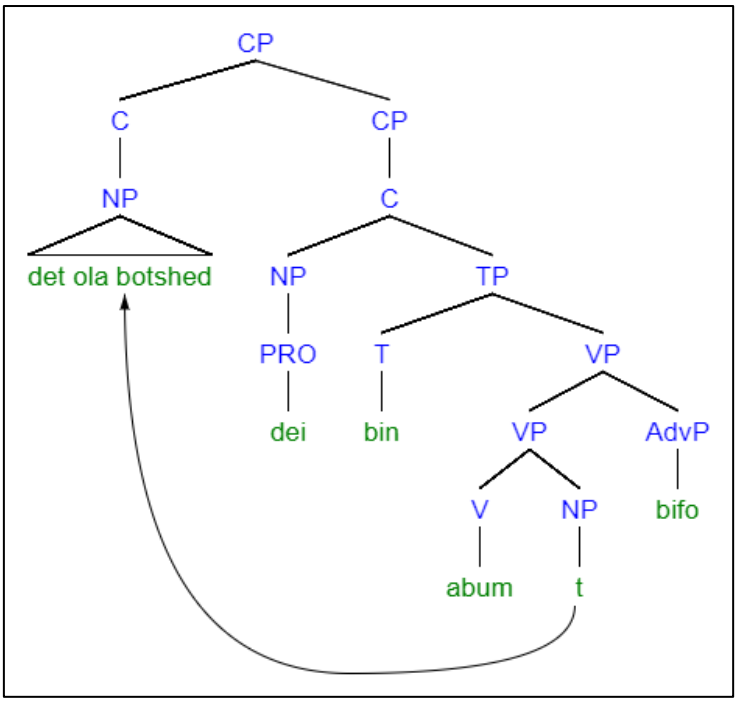

Figure 7.2: The underlying syntactic structure of example (7.32), showing the movement of the topicalised object and the unexpressed trace.

Figures 7.1-2 demonstrate the underlying structure of the clause as they experience topicalisation through left-dislocation. The contrast between the treatment of the trace elements of the subject and object from examples (7.31) and (7.32) respectively can be observed. As is demonstrated here, despite the movement (and omission) of arguments within the clause, Kununurra Kriol still follows a core underlying SVO structure in its clauses. Such structures and movement rules are typical of many Creole languages in the world, which tend towards left-dislocation as the primary means of topicalisation and most common form of movement (Bickerton 1981/2016: 48-52).

(7.34) *Bon iya growap iya ai bin.*

bon	iya	gro-ap	iya	ai	bin
born	here	grow-up	here	1SG	PST

'I was born here, grew up here.' [BG 20200818a_BG]

As well as the topicalisation of the core arguments of the clause, it is additionally possible for the verb itself to become topicalised and dislocated to the left. In these cases, such as in example (7.34) above, the entire VP is dislocated to the left, to the front of the clause. Interestingly, only the VP where the lexical verb is the head experiences this move. The preceding preverbal TMA particle complex remains in situ, rather than dislocating with the rest of the VP. Tangentially, this provides clear evidence that the TMA particles in Kununurra Kriol are in fact distinct words, negating the potential

for their analysis as morphemes attached to the verb. Furthermore, it demonstrates the validity of a distinct TP in the syntactic structure, separate from the VP, which can also be seen in figure 7.2.

7.2.4. Double-Object Constructions

Whilst the most common number of arguments that a verb can carry is one or two, it is also a regular occurrence for a selection of verbs in many languages to take on two object arguments, for a total of three altogether. Typically, the transitive verbs that are able to take on three arguments are those that carry semantics of transfer or communication, licensing the roles of sender, the object or message, and the recipient (Bruyn, Muysken & Verrips 2000, Adone 2004).

There are three main strategies most commonly utilised cross-linguistically for the handling of these additional arguments. Double-Object Constructions (DOCs), the most common strategy, present the two object arguments as asymmetric NPs in the VP, resulting in a V NP NP sequence. The second NP in this sequence is considered to be subordinated to the first one (Barss & Lasnik 1986). In some languages, the morphology shows the respective roles through their case marking which, in turn, enable more flexible movement, for example the differential case marking between dative and accusative objects in German (Larson 1988). Prepositional Dative Constructions (PDCs) are a second strategy, which typically involve the secondary object being introduced through a prepositional phrase (Bruening 2010). Finally, some languages that allow for Serial Verb Constructions also allow for their use as Serial Dative Constructions (SDCs) in such a role, where, for example, a verb such as *give* may be use to mark the recipient object (den Dikken 1991).

Across Creole languages, the most common strategy utilised are DOCs, which virtually all currently documented Creole languages employ, even when the lexifier language does not have them, pointing towards an innate development (Bruyn, Muysken & Verrips 2000). Michaelis & Haspelmath (2003) however note their conspicuous absence in some Melanesian Creole languages such as Bislama and and Pijin, opting alternatively for a substratist explanation. Many Creole languages also utilise PDCs alongside DOCs, whilst a handful also allow for SDCs (Adone 2004: 193). Kununurra Kriol, in following closely with such trends, most commonly employs the DOC strategy for dealing with verbs that have multiple object arguments, but also regularly allows for PDCs, most likely driven by discursive motivations.

(7.35) *Im gibimbat im samthin.*

im	gib-im-bat	im	samthin
3SG	give-TR-PROG	3SG	something

‘He’s giving him something.’ [SS 20200804a_SS_GGN]

(7.36) *Ibin talimbat as stori.*

i=bin	tal-im-bat	as	stori
3SG=PST	tell-TR-PROG	1PL	story

'He was telling us a story.' [SS 20200903c_SS]

(7.37) *E bin talim mi e bin stendinap la windowe.*

e	bin	tal-im	mi	e	bin	stend-in-ap	la	windowe
3SG	PST	tell-TR	1SG	3SG	PST	stand-PROG-INTR-up	LOC	window

'He told me he was standing at the window.' [GGN 20190815_Gl]

As exemplified in (7.35-36) above, the most common two verbs to licence multiple objects are *gib* 'give' and *tal* 'tell', the two main verbs used for transfer and communication respectively. In these examples, the DOC strategy is shown, where the recipient is in the first NP position, with the object (7.35) and message (7.36) filling the second NP slot respectively. Particularly in *tal* clauses, the second argument slot can be filled with a relative clause, optionally marked with or without a relative pronoun, representing the message being communicated, as in (7.37). This ordering of arguments is consistent, and largely to be expected given the lack of morphological case marking in Kununurra Kriol.

(7.38) *Wen ai gibit la e grog.*

wen	ai	gib-it	la	e	grog
when	1SG	give-TR	LOC	3SG	alcohol

'When I give him alcohol.' [TC 20190806_TC_b]

(7.39) *E talim fo det toobala deya …*

e	tal-im	fo	det	toobala	deya
3SG	tell-TR	BEN	DET	3DU	there

'He tells those two over there…' [GGN 20200910c_GGN]

(7.40) *Wen wi aut la kantri wi talimbat ola bla stori.*

wen	wi	aut	la	kantri	wi	tal-im-bat	ola	bla	stori
when	1PL	out	LOC	country	1PL	tell-TR-PROG	3PL	about	story

'When we are out on Country, we tell them the stories.' [TC 20190806_TC_b]

Less common is the PDC strategy, which uses prepositions for introducing the recipient object of the clause. The choice of preposition for this construction is not consistent across all verbs. Rather, the

selected preposition appears to be governed by the verb. The verb *gib* 'give', as in (7.38), licences PDCs with the locative *la* preposition for its recipient. In contrast, PDCs licensed by the verb *tal* 'tell' can use the benefactive preposition *fo*, as seen in (7.39), although this construction is marginal in the available data. In PDCs, the recipient still tends to remain in the same position, following the verb, but the preposition allows for its occasional movement, without loss of marking for the role. In verbs of communication, the communicated item can also be introduced as a prepositional phrase using *bla*, but only if the message itself is an NP, as it is in (7.40).

Whilst noted to appear in other varieties of Australian Kriol (cf. Adone 2004), and the affirmed presence of SVCs in Kununurra Kriol (see chapter 9 of this dissertation), SDCs do not appear to be used in this variety, or are too marginal to have appeared naturalistically during data collection. Rather, the most common strategy for dealing with two object arguments in a clause is with DOCs, followed by some use of PDCs. This is similar to many Creole languages previously surveyed, which tend towards the use of DOCs, although is notably different from some other English-lexified Creole languages in the Asia-Pacific region, which only allow for the use of PDCs (Bruyn, Muysken & Verrips 2000, Michaelis & Haspelmath 2003).

Whether this can be attributed to substrate influence, as suggested by Michaelis & Haspelmath (2003), or represents an element of an innate predisposition, is unclear in this case. In Miriwoong, the major substrate for Kununurra Kriol, double-object constructions are relatively complex, with extensive use of personal enclitics for marking benefactive and indirect object relations (Kofod & Olawsky 2009). Nevertheless, even the presence of the template for DOCs within Miriwoong does hint towards the probability of being an influence in their presence in Kununurra Kriol as well, albeit lacking the complex morphological marking. Further information regarding Miriwoong forms of DOCs is, at the time of writing, unfortunately unavailable for deeper analysis for a full comparison.

7.3. Discussion

The use of a transitive suffix to mark the transitivity status of verbs is certainly not a unique development to Kununurra Kriol. It is used not just in other varieties of Kriol in northern Australia, but also further afield in other English-lexified Creole languages of the Asia-Pacific region, all generally taking an -V*m* form (Meyerhoff 1996). The suffix is likely to be a reduced form of the English object pronouns *him* or *them* (Koch 2011). Dillard (1993) further notes the use of similar morphemes in Creole languages in the Atlantic region as well. This recalls the interlinked nature of imperial rule particularly in the 18th and 19th centuries, when many of these Creole languages emerged in British colonies, which maintained some degree of contact with one another through movement of labour and administration (cf. Baker & Mühlhäusler 1996).

Some, such as Mosel (1980: 41) suggest that the suffix originated in Chinese Pidgin English and spread from there across the Asia-Pacific region, whilst others, such as Baker & Mühlhäusler (1996: 556-7), place its origin in Sydney. However, it may also have been an independent development in several Creole languages, reinforced by these subsequent colonial contacts, at the very least accounting for its appearance in Australia. Such development is strongly suggested by review of historical records and accounts of the early NSW Pidgin in Australia, where the gradual development of the suffix can be seen (Troy 1994a, Koch 2011).

Although the form has a relatively clear origin in Kununurra Kriol, the source of its functions and variation are somewhat more elusive. English, the superstrate language of Kununurra Kriol, for instance, does not require any morphological marking of the transitive status of its verbs. This would, therefore, suggest that there may be a degree of substrate influence involved in the development and reinforcement of such a morpheme in the grammar of Kununurra Kriol, as well as other similar Creole languages. In the Pacific, for example, many Oceanic languages have productive morphology for marking transitivity on the verb, whether as a suffix or through reduplication (Blust 2013: 453). This offers a similar function to the English-derived transitive suffix that is used in such Creole languages in the region as Tok Pisin, Bislama and Pijin, often correlating with similar patterns. The transitive suffix here, therefore, had a distinct, congruent, and functional niche in the grammatical system, into which the morpheme was easily transferred (cf. Bao 2012).

Whilst transitivity is generally not marked in such an explicit manner as in Oceanic languages, transitive verbs in many Australian languages do indeed show differential marking from intransitive ones. In Miriwoong, for example, lexical coverbs are accompanied by one of a limited set of inflecting verbs which not only show its transitivity status in their selection, but also index the direct arguments in the clause (Kofod & Olawsky 2009, Kofod in preparation). Bininj Gun-wok, one of the substrate languages of neighbouring Barunga Kriol, has not just verbal morphology indexing the arguments of verbs, but additionally has a transitivising suffix which may produce transitive verbs, including from non-verbal stems, when combined with a verbalising suffix (Evans 2003a: 317-45).

In the case of Kununurra Kriol and the Miriwoong substrate, there is no direct transfer of morphological functions. It appears likely that the marking of transitive verbs in such a manner may have played a reinforcing role on the transitive suffix. This satisfies an expectation for the grammar to signal to the listener in some way the number of arguments, where no marking indicates one argument, and its presence signals more. It is, nevertheless, a suffix which was inherited into, not independently developed within Kununurra Kriol. The suffix had already existed in the NSW Pidgin before its arrival in northern Australia, and was likely innovated early in the NSW colony before its diffusion into the Pacific (Baker & Mühlhäusler 1996). It, therefore, is a retention of the earlier form, likely reinforced by expectations of some form of argument indexation common across the Indigenous substrate languages that contributed.

The variability of the transitive suffix in where it is used in a canonically transitive clause is one that is more likely to be a result of substrate influence in the development of the language. A key point of reasoning behind this assumption is that the superstrate, English, does not vary transitivity status semantically, and does not even mark it to begin with. Secondly, degrees of semantic transitivity have been found to be present in several Indigenous Australian languages, affecting the marking of verbs and the argument NPs, as well as pragmatic notions affecting their markedness within discourse (cf. McGregor 1992, 2010, Luk & Ponsonnet 2019).

The behaviour of the transitive suffix in Kununurra Kriol appears to be similar to that in Barunga Kriol, a trend which likely is followed in other varieties of Kriol, such as in Ngukurr, as well (Batchelor 2017). Using the framework developed by Hopper & Thompson (1980), the data strongly suggests that one of the key semantic factors affecting the presence or omission of the suffix is in the affectedness of the O role, particularly demonstrable in the third category of verbs, such as *fil* 'feel', where physical touch prompts marking but not emotions, unless stressed by a reflexive pronoun. Further, the categorically unmarked category is made up of those primarily receptive and cognitive verbs, where little action is involved, and the O left unaffected. Again, similarly to Barunga Kriol, but separate from conceptions of transitivity, is the factor of Miriwoong verbs being categorically left unmarked, as is discussed in greater detail in chapter 6.

As has been discussed previously, agentivity plays a major role in the argument marking of some languages, including those in the Kimberley region such as Gooniyandi in Fitzroy Crossing (McGregor 1992). The data from Kununurra Kriol would suggest that agentivity plays a similarly major role in the marking of transitivity on the verb. Indeed, looking into the grammar of the Miriwoong substrate, some core similarities with Kununurra Kriol in how a verb's transitivity is regarded are visible. In Miriwoong, this is distinguished through the selection of a relevant inflecting verb, which carries the transitivity value of the whole verbal complex. Coverbs being used in a transitive clause are generally accompanied by transitive inflecting verbs, most frequently GET, PUT and HIT[9]. Likewise, intransitive verbs are frequently accompanied by the intransitive inflecting verbs BE/STAY, GO/COME, and FALL/GO DOWN. Additionally, there is one common middle verb, SAY/DO (Kofod & Olawsky 2009). The choice of inflecting verb can differ depending on the precise semantics intended by the speaker (Kofod 1994, in preparation).

For example, the Miriwoong equivalent of the prototypically transitive verb *kilim* 'kill', which is invariably marked for transitivity in Kununurra Kriol, is the coverb *merd* or *deb*. This coverb is, in this sense, typically accompanied by the transitive inflecting verb BRING/TAKE, which in turn indexes values relevant to the transitivity of the clause, such as the person and number of the arguments. In contrast, the verb *lisin* 'listen, hear', in Miriwoong translated to the coverb *rangga,* can be

[9] Inflecting verbs are glossed in majuscule as their semantics are often metaphorical, serving a primarily grammatical role in Miriwoong grammar. See Kofod & Olawsky (2009) for further information.

accompanied by either the intransitive BE/STAY or transitive BRING/TAKE inflecting verbs. Yet despite this transitive option available, the preferred collocation is with BE/STAY, which does not index arguments in its morphology, despite having the ability to take on such transitive arguments in the clause (Olawsky, personal communication, 13th November 2023).

Out of verbs which are variable in their marking, such as the *fiyil* 'feel' described in examples (7.17-19), a similar pattern to the Kriol emerges. This verb in Miriwoong is divided into several lexemes; *doorrwajib* 'feel good' and *boothal* 'feel sad' are the common verbs expressing an emotional sense, marked with the transitive HAVE and intransitive SAY/DO respectively, whereas 'feel, touch' is expressed with *mard,* whose typical accompanying inflecting verb is the unambiguously transitive GET. This reflects a distinct range of transitivity present in different conceptions of 'feeling', including differing degrees in the emotional semantic field.

There are, however, some key problems in ascribing the root of this variation to Miriwoong. For example, the verb *smelim* 'smell' is marked for transitivity in Kununurra Kriol, yet its Miriwoong equivalent uses the intransitive GO/COME inflecting verb. Inversely, the unmarked *look* 'look, see' in Kununurra Kriol can in Miriwoong potentially be accompanied by the particularly transitive HIT or GET inflecting verb, depending on the precise choice of lexeme; several coverb lexemes for 'look, see' exist, with differing semantics and collocated inflecting verbs. The variability of transitivity marking on syntactically transitive verbs is, therefore, certainly not one of direct transfer from the Miriwoong substrate. Rather, the principle of such variation depending upon the semantics of the verb has been carried over or reinforced, but not the specifics of the system; the transitive hierarchy – and its role in the selection of inflecting verbs – in Miriwoong is complex and presently not well understood (Kofod 1994).

High degrees of productivity, as with the transitivity suffix in producing new transitive verbs in Kununurra Kriol, is certainly not a rare occurrence in Creole languages of the world. Indeed, the commonality of Serial Verb Constructions in Creole languages is often cited as one such demonstration of productivity; lacking the morphology and prepositions of the superstrate and substrate languages, verbs are commonly recruited to fill the roll instead (Bickerton & Muysken 1988: 303). Similarly, Kununurra Kriol takes a reduced lexicon inherited from English and allows for its full expansion through the production of new verb forms, reflecting the elaboration of a system that was previously simplified during its earlier pidginisation. Similar productivity is found in, for example, Cameroon Pidgin English, whose verbs are typically limited neither in valency nor lexical category, which can be adjusted through use of light verb and serial verb constructions (Green & Ozón 2019). This allows for the expansion of a "relatively small lexicon" (Green & Ozón 2019: 52) to fill the functions required of any natural language, such as is demonstrated in the flexibility of the Kununurra Kriol lexicon in comparison with the English etymons.

The lack of formal distinction between verb and noun in many Australian languages may also play a role in influencing the ease in which verbs can be created out of nouns or other lexemes in Kununurra Kriol. Walsh (Walsh 1996), for example, describes a "category squish" between verbs and nouns present in Murrinh-patha, where little distinction is made between them. In Miriwoong, similarly, there is little structural difference between nouns and the coverbs that make up the core lexical portion of the verb phrase. In Kununurra Kriol, any lexical item can theoretically be made into a verb, whose syntactic identifier is the presence of the underlying Tr, which is thereby filled with the transitive *-im,* transitive/progressive *-in* or an intransitive zero morpheme. The optional slots for aspectual and directional suffixes can consequentially be filled thereafter.

Finally, the apparent rigidity of the SVO word order in expressing relations between arguments of the verb is less rigid than it initially appears, given the lack of case marking as in many Australian languages. As could be seen in section 7.2.3. of this chapter, Kununurra Kriol speakers frequently topicalise elements of the clause, typically through left-dislocation, where the topicalised element is placed at the front. This can be done not just to the subject and object arguments of the clause, but also the verb itself, which is moved separately from its relevant TMA marking. As has been mentioned prior, such a strategy of left-dislocation has been previously noted as a common feature amongst Creole languages seeking to topicalise elements of the clause (Bickerton 1981/2016: 48-52). Such prominence of topicalisation and management of information in discourse is something that is also common in many Australian languages, including those in the northern part of the continent (cf. Meakins & O'Shannessy 2010, Luk & Ponsonnet 2019, etc.). It is rather, therefore, no surprise that Kununurra Kriol speakers continue to utilise strategies available to them to manage information structures in their language as well.

7.4. Summary

In this chapter, I have investigated the behaviour of the Kununurra Kriol verb in relation to its associated arguments, how those arguments are assigned the relevant theta-roles, and the potential for their movement and adjustment. A core part of this has been in the treatment of transitivity as a value that is overtly marked on the verb through a specific suffix, a feature that is found across English-lexified Creole languages of not just Australia but also of the wider Asia-Pacific region.

In the case of Kununurra Kriol, it has been found that the transitive marker is one that is both productive and variable in its usage. It is possible for the derivation of new transitive verbs from intransitive verbal stems, as well as from other word classes, such as nouns or adjectives. However, this transitive value – as in many languages – is not as clear-cut as the simple presence of the two A and O arguments typical of a transitive clause in English. There is notable variation in which verbs are

marked with the transitive suffix when they satisfy the basic argument requirements. Namely, many verbs whose semantics are of a cognitive or sensory nature tend to be left unmarked more often than those involving physical actions. This is likely corresponding with the affectedness feature of transitivity within the framework developed by Hopper & Thompson (1980), as well as showing some similarities in the treatment of such verbs in several Australian languages, including Miriwoong.

Whilst the assignment of roles to the arguments of the clause primarily relied on a fairly rigid unmarked SVO word order, this word order can be manipulated as the pragmatic discourse situation demands it. Arguments, as well as the VP itself, can be readily moved away from their unmarked position and to the front of the clause, in order to mark and stress new or important information that the speaker wishes to topicalise. This leaves an unrealised trace element in the prior position in the clause, with the exception of topicalised subjects, which are copied to leave a co-referential resumptive pronoun in their place. Additional movements of arguments, their promotion and demotion, in the form of the passive, will be examined in depth in the following chapter.

8. Passive and Related Constructions

Whilst the agent of a clause is, by default, often the natural focus of a clause, there are many cases in which the discourse calls for the defocussing of that argument and, potentially, additional focus on a different one, without fundamentally changing their semantic roles. One such complex construction to enable such a function is the passive construction. Passive constructions allow for the transformation of underlyingly transitive clauses into surface intransitive clauses through the promotion of the O into the S position of the transitive clause, and the demotion of the A into a peripheral argument (Dixon 1994: 146). Passive constructions are to some degree related to the inchoative constructions analysed in the previous chapter, which also allow for the promotion of the O and demotion of the S to create a clause that is semantically anticausative. However, passive constructions are syntactically distinct and allow for the overt realisation of the agent in the periphery of the clause, often through the use of a prepositional phrase. Often, they are morphologically distinct as well, as in English (Chomsky 2002: 42).

Whilst common in languages across Eurasia, Africa, and the Americas, passive constructions are less prevalent amongst languages of the Asia-Pacific region, including in Australia (Siewierska 2013). Passive constructions were also previously erroneously believed to have been virtually absent in Creole languages, ascribed to their relative complexity in formation, opting rather for alternative formulations to cover similar semantic functions (Bickerton 1981/2016, Amastae 1983, Markey & Fodale 1983, Adone 2012a). However, more recent data has shown their presence in several Creole languages, such as, for example, Jamaican Creole and Seselwa, among others (LaCharité & Wellington 1999, Adone 2012a). Recent research has also shown several different ways in which passive equivalent constructions can be expressed in a language, which will also be discussed in this chapter.

In this chapter, I find that passive constructions are present in Kununurra Kriol. They appear both in the form of periphrastic and morphological constructions similar to the English superstrate, as well as innovative passive equivalent constructions that enable the expression of similar functions. I will also briefly touch upon the loosely related reflexive constructions, which overlap in their function of backgrounding the agent. More broadly, this provides additional evidence for the capability of Creole languages to develop such complex constructions, beyond the direct borrowing from superstrate languages.

8.1. Theoretical Background

As has been mentioned, passive constructions are present in many languages. They serve the purpose of enabling the omission of a semantic agent in a transitive clause through syntactic processes, commonly moving the semantic object into the syntactic S position. Khrakovsky (1973: 60) describes the function of the passive as a clause where the "concrete lexically expressed agent does not occupy the position of the subject". The core function of the passive is, therefore, for the defocussing of the semantic agent of a clause, and the subsequent realignment of focus upon the semantic object. Some of the functions of the passive may also overlap with those of reflexive and impersonal constructions, which similarly externalise the agent, to the extent to which some languages use the same constructions for both (Shibatani 1985).

In many languages, passive constructions are expressed through morphological processes on the verb. In English, for example, the passive is primarily expressed through a periphrastic construction involving the auxiliary verb *be* + the past participle of the selected verb, which is limited to transitive verbs only (Chomsky 2002: 42-5). The demoted agent of the verb may be introduced through a prepositional phrase, most frequently using *by.* It is essential that a passive construction be *able* to also accept an agent in a peripheral role, as it should be reminded that passive constructions, whilst only realising one surface argument, are fundamentally underlyingly transitive clauses; it is not possible to produce a passive form of an intransitive clause (Puckica 2009). Examples (8.1-2) below demonstrate the typical passive construction in English, with the now-focussed object in bold and the optional *by* phrase of the underlying agent marked in square brackets. The addition of the passive *-en* morpheme to the verb, as well as the use of an auxiliary verb, is also clear.

(8.1) The man eats **the apple**.

(8.2) **The apple** *is eaten* [by the man].

Based upon initial analyses of the underlying passive structures of English, the syntactic element BE has been proposed in the generative framework as an underlying feature common to many languages that allow for passive constructions. BE is proposed to be an unspecified argument present in such constructions to signal the movement of the O into the S position. It further provides for the omission of the A from the clause, which in English immediately follows the BE. This argument is specified through its namesake in English, but in many languages, it may also remain unrealised (Langacker & Munro 1975). In a generative analysis, this means that the passive construction is a transformational process, as it requires the movement and omission of arguments in an underlyingly transitive clause; they are not a core part of the phrase structure rules, hence the fact that some languages do not allow for their construction (Chomsky 2002: 46). They are also optional due to its particular function of defocussing the agent. Roeper (1987) shows that the externalised agent argument still remains a part of

the core syntax through its ability to reappear in a prepositional phrase, among others, but is nevertheless suppressed as an implicit argument by the passive.

There are some, nevertheless, that have argued that the suggested underlying BE element is in fact not something that is drawn out of the syntax of the passive clause. According to the analysis of Frajzyngier (1978), the BE is rather likely an accident in the historical development of the periphrastic passive in many languages; in others, where the morphological passive dominates, such a copula is frequently not detectable in these constructions.

Figure 8.1. below shows the underlying structure of a passive construction in English, with the accompanying movement.

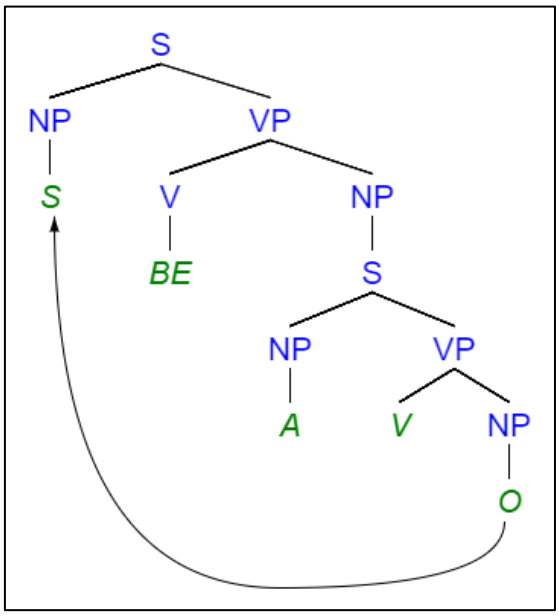

Figure 8.1. The underlying structure of a basic English passive construction, adapted from Langacker & Munro (1975: 793)

It has been further argued that the passive morpheme, represented in English by the *-en* suffix on the participle of the passivised verb in such a clause, is itself an argument. Baker et al (1989) argue thus that it is a core argument contained within the inflectional phrase of the clause. The morphological marking of the passive therefore allows for the core theta-roles required of the underlying transitive clause to be preserved by assigning the missing role from the movement to the passive morpheme. Roberts (1987) extends this further, arguing that passive and active clauses are structurally the same, with the passive morpheme receiving the role of the semantic subject.

This analysis regarding passive morphology extends beyond English passives, as well, as one of the identified cross-linguistic criteria for the passive as posited by Dixon (1994: 146) requires formal marking in the morphosyntax (see table 8.1. for the key criteria for passive and antipassive

constructions). The contrastive marking of passive in opposition to active voice, whether the latter is itself marked or unmarked, is overwhelmingly the most common strategy for passive constructions cross-linguistically (Zúñiga & Kittilä 2019: 91).

Insofar that passive constructions allow for agentless transitive clauses in many languages that follow a nominative-accusative alignment pattern, the opposite can often be true for languages that follow an ergative alignment, such as many languages in Australia. In these languages, it is not uncommon to find an antipassive construction. It should, however, be noted that whilst the passive is common amongst and associated with nominative-accusative and the antipassive common amongst and associated with ergative languages, this correlation is by no means a firm rule. The antipassive has been documented in accusative languages as well, for example in Bantu languages of southern Africa (Bostoen, Dom & Segerer 2015).

In ergative languages, as has been discussed in chapter 7, the morphosyntactic pivot of the S is with the O, rather than the A. Therefore, the antipassive seeks to create an objectless transitive clause, rather than agentless as in the passive. The antipassive follows similar principles as the passive construction, however it is the O argument of the transitive clause that is demoted to the periphery, rather than the A, in the production of the surface intransitive clause. The peripheralisation of the object can be done through case marking or, in some languages, through incorporation of the noun into the verb itself (Polinsky 2017). The key difference in which core element is being defocussed also has implications upon its semantic reading; in a passive construction, the focus is on the affect of an action upon the O, whereas the antipassive puts focus on the action of the A, without having to bring up the O (Dixon 1994: 149). The two constructions operate in parallel with one another, but in opposition with regard to their functionality. Dixon (1994: 146) provides the following criteria to compare and distinguish the two phenomena, adapted into Table 8.1. below:

Passive	Antipassive
Underlyingly transitive clause derived into an intransitive	
Underlying O becomes S	Underlying A becomes S
Underlying A shifted to a peripheral role, optionally included with eg. prepositional phrase	Underlying O shifted to a peripheral role, optionally included with eg. prepositional phrase
There is some formal marking in the morphosyntax	

Table 8.1: Comparison of criteria for the identification of passive and antipassive constructions, according to Dixon (1994: 146).

In the following sections of this chapter, I will discuss some of the different ways in which the passive and equivalent constructions surface, and their status within the broader class of Creole languages, to which Kununurra Kriol belongs.

8.1.1. Types of Passive Constructions

The typical passive (and antipassive) construction is generally identified, as per the criteria given by Dixon (1994) and displayed above in table 8.1., as having formal marking in the morphosyntax of the language. As well as formal morphological marking, there are also passive-equivalent constructions that use alternative formulations to achieve similar agentless clauses. These alternative passive-equivalent constructions can be particularly found amongst languages that do not have a typical passive construction, however nevertheless find such a role fulfilled by these equivalents, such as through reflexive or anticausative constructions (Shibatani 1985, Kallulli 2007).

The most common type of passive construction is the verbal passive using a BE syntactic construction, as has been discussed in the previous section. Cross-linguistically, the BE role is marked primarily either in a periphrastic manner, as it is done in English using the auxiliary *be* with the past participle, or in an inflectional manner, directly using the morphology of the verb, as in Japanese (Zúñiga & Kittilä 2019: 91). Whilst appearing different in their surface formulation, both periphrastic and inflectional strategies for the marking of passive constructions both retain the BE role, whether as the auxiliary verb or within the passive morpheme. Additionally, it should be noted that often, even periphrastic constructions of the passive involve some morphological marking on the verb, as with the English passive's selection of the past participle verbal form (Haspelmath 1990).

Such constructions lead us into similar passive equivalent constructions present in many languages. Adjectival passives, for example, take a form that is, as the name would suggest, within the adjective category of a language, distinct from the verbal passives that have been the main focus of this chapter thus far. Whilst verbal passives represent a morphosyntactic transformation, adjectival passives instead are formed as lexical derivations (Wasow 1977). Such a distinction between verbal and adjectives is clear through their behaviour within a language. For example, adjectival passives in English may take the *un-* prefix, whereas verbs cannot. On the other hand, adjectival passives present more restrictions on the licencing of external arguments (Levin & Rappaport 1986). Nevertheless, Bruening (2014), for example, argues that adjectival passives are indeed still formed through similar syntactic processes and potential pool of verbs. However, their semantics can be irregular and not all adjectival passives have a verbal passive form, as may be possible vice versa.

A third type of passive construction is the so-called *get*-passive, named for its formulation in English. Previously, it was believed that the *get*-passive was syntactically identical to the BE verbal passives previously detailed, albeit using a different auxiliary verb, however more recent analysis has revealed the *get*-passive to be a distinct passive structure. In contrast to the auxiliary verb used in BE passives, the *get* verb is not an auxiliary. Rather, it still retains its status as a lexical verb, even when used in this

passive role, and does not have the ability to be used in the same manner as a typical auxiliary (Haegeman 1985, Fleisher 2006). A particular feature of the *get*-passive is the role assigned to the external argument of the clause. The *get*-passive does not accept any external argument, but is limited to those with high agentivity, assigning the argument a high value of Control over the clause, as well as giving it a different, causal event structure (Reed 2011, Biggs & Embick 2022). Thus, *get*-passives are more limited in their semantic and syntactic scope than BE or adjectival passives.

As has been mentioned previously within this chapter, reflexive constructions are used by many languages to fulfil a similar agentless function as the passive. In some languages, where passive constructions are also present, the morphology can even appear the same, such as in Spanish, Quechua, Russian, and Turkish (Shibatani 1985: 825-7). Although having less ability to take on an external argument, reflexive constructions allow for the agent to be defocussed by essentially copying the argument to the object position, thus overlapping greatly in function. Syntactically, they also function to create a semantically intransitive clause out of a verb that is underlyingly transitive, much as passive constructions also do. *Get*-passives in particular can show strong semantic similarities to reflexive constructions (Horgan 1976).

Finally, passive constructions show a lot of similarities to anticausative constructions. As with passives, anticausatives have only one argument, which is the semantic object, and are devoid of an agent argument. Often, the morphology used is once again shared between these constructions (Kallulli 2006). Nevertheless, the passive remains distinct from the anticausative due to the fact that, whilst semantically similar, the underlying syntax reveals a separate structure. Whereas passive constructions show an underlyingly transitive clause that surfaces with only one core argument, the anticausative is often analysed as an intransitive derivation of a transitive verb. For example, anticausative constructions cannot take on agentive external arguments, whereas passive constructions can (Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou & Schäfer 2006: 193-5, Mallya & Visser 2019). Some analyses of anticausatives, however, argue that they belong to a subset of passive constructions, with the external argument being limited to a cause rather than an actor (Kallulli 2007).

8.1.2. Passives in Creole Languages

Passive constructions are relatively complex constructions, hence their presence in only just under half of currently documented languages, and many languages' preference for alternative constructions to fill similar functions (Siewierska 2013). Amongst languages that do use a passive construction, it has been noted, for example, that children often have difficulty in acquiring full passive constructions in English, owing to the complexity of the movement of roles, and in particular the resurfacing of the agent in the *by*-phrase (Fox & Grodzinsky 1998). Truncated passives, without the *by*-phrase may arise

much earlier. There is also some variation by language, for example in several Bantu languages, the passive is found much earlier in first language acquisition, possibly a result of higher levels of input of this construction (Demuth 1989, Alcock, Rimba & Newton 2012).

As well as the relative lack of evidence collected from Creole languages, it has previously been argued that Creole languages tend to avoid the use of passive constructions. This assumption also draws from evidence of difficult acquisition in childhood language development and further invoking early 'baby-talk' theories of Creole genesis (Markey & Fodale 1983: 75-6). Instead, they have been described as opting for alternative, less complex formulations, as well as those which are found in higher frequency in spoken discourse. In Bickerton's (1981/2016) survey of Creole languages from which his twelve Creole features are presented, for example, the absence of a passive construction is listed as the twelfth feature. In the Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Structures, roughly a third of the languages had no passive construction whatsoever, and almost half utilised passive constructions that were not encoded on the verb, but using alternative means such as the movement of arguments (Haspelmath & APiCS Consortium 2013).

Early research into complex structures of Creole languages found that many either did not have morphological passive constructions, or if they do, are borrowed directly and recently from the superstrate (Bickerton 1981/2016: 67). Markey & Fodale (1983), for instance, suggest that Creole languages tend to avoid such complex constructions in favour of a lexical or notional solution, where the passive semantics are conveyed without any morphosyntactic transformations taking place. In cases where a passive construction was possible, it was found to be rare and generally very restricted in basilectal varieties, as in several French-lexified Creoles of the Indian Ocean, such as Seychelles and Mauritian Creole, when surveyed in the 1970s (Corne 1977: 154).

In Papiamentu, the auxiliary verbs for passive constructions have been borrowed directly from Dutch and Spanish over the course of the language's post-genesis contact with the two languages, although further evidence suggests that the nature of their usage reflects a diachronic innovation, rather than wholesale borrowing (Eckkrammer 2004, Jacobs 2011). In other Dutch-lexified Creole languages, Bruyn & Veenstra (1993) found the presence of passive structures. Nevertheless, there was a clear distinction between Afrikaans, closer to the superstrate, and the other Creole languages surveyed. Only Afrikaans is shown to use morphological marking in its passive constructions, whereas the other Dutch Creole languages do not, and may be limited in their realisation of the externalised agent argument.

Amastae (1983) found that Dominican French Creole lacked a BE verb required to form a 'true' passive construction, opting instead for an ergative structure by placing the object in the agent position with certain verbs. This, however, was later disputed in analysis of the same language by Winford (1988), who counters that the Dominican French Creole, amongst other Caribbean French Creoles, offers a productive passive construction utilising the movement and omission of arguments, with the

BE remaining unexpressed. Similar underspecified passive constructions can also be found in Jamaican Creole, for example, whose syntax offers a productive passive construction, however without overt morphological marking (LaCharité & Wellington 1999). Similarly, Mauritian Creole has been found to have developed a fully capable passive in a non-morphological form, through the movement of agent arguments, as can be seen in (8.3) below with the *ar* 'by' preposition to introduce the externalised agent (Seuren 1995). Such features in Creole languages have made passive constructions less obvious on the surface, despite nevertheless still existing in the syntax itself.

(8.3)	Mo	fin	tan	dir	sa	nuvel-la	ar	so	papa
	I	PERF	hear	say	that	news-the	by	his	father

'I have heard that news being spread around by his father.' (Seuren 1995: 560)

It has been mentioned several times in this chapter the overlapping functions of passive and reflexive constructions in terms of defocussing the agent of a clause. In contrast to the passive, there has been extensive documentation of reflexive constructions in Creole languages. These are generally classified into six main types of reflexive, which generally are the result of a process of grammaticalisation of either a noun, pronoun or intensifier into a role marking reflexivity on the verb (Heine 2005). It should also be noted that many of these reflexive systems tend to be innovative in the Creole languages, rather than directly borrowed from the superstrate or substrate. The etymology of the reflexive often appears derivative of the superstrate, but in fact show similar patterns of grammaticalisation, often with a transparent derivation common of Creole languages. This results in superficial similarity, however with a distribution and function distinct from the superstrate (Muysken & Smith 1994). In section 8.2.2. of this chapter, I will briefly look at the reflexive as it appears in Kununurra Kriol.

8.2. Data Analysis

As has been increasingly found amongst Creole languages across the world, passive constructions are also present in Kununurra Kriol. This basic principle is not unique to the Kriol of the Kununurra region in particular; passive constructions have also been noted to exist in other varieties of Kriol across northern Australia (Schultze-Berndt, Meakins & Angelo 2013). This development is not seen in Torres Strait Creole, however, which only allows for passive-like agentless constructions similar to the derived agentless anticausative form seen in Kununurra Kriol in chapter 7 of this dissertation (Schnukal 1988: 40).

8.2.1. *Git*-passives

The most common form of the passive in Kununurra Kriol – similarly to that in other varieties of Kriol – is a periphrastic construction using the auxiliary verb *git*. Whilst lexically derived from the English *get*, this passive construction does not bear specific resemblance to the type of *get*-passive discussed earlier in this chapter. The use of the *git* auxiliary verb does not convey any additional Control to the externalised agent, as it does in its English etymon. The auxiliary verb is positioned preceding the main verb of the clause, following any potential TMA marking in the clause. It is itself invariable for person or tense, as with other grammatical particles in Kununurra Kriol.

(8.4) *Ol hawes git bild deya yoono.*

ol	hawes	git	bild	deya	yoono
DET.PL	house	BE	build	there	EMPH

'The houses are built there, you know.' [BG 20200818a_BG]

(8.5) *Yoo mait git shok from det kod.*

yoo	mait	git	shok	from	det	kod
2SG	might	BE	shock	from	DET	cord

'You might get shocked by the cord.' [BG 20200827b_BG]

As can be seen in examples (8.4-5) above, the inclusion of the external agent argument is optional. It may be left out of the clause altogether, as in example (8.4), or reintroduced as an oblique argument in a prepositional phrase. The preposition used for the reintroduced external agent is, in the available data, exclusively the *brom* preposition. This preposition is etymologically derived from the superstrate English *from*, and has several common variations in its realisation, such as *brom* or *from*, amongst others, largely depending on the speaker. The example of this prepositional phrase for the reintroduced external agent using the *from* form is seen in example (8.5) above.

(8.6) *Dei don wana git barnd.*

dei	don	wana	git	barnd
3PL	NEG	want	BE	burn.PASS

'They don't want to get burnt.' [RB 20200818c_RB_BaG]

(8.7) *Bed bin gowei en i bin git poukd longa as.*

bed	bin	go-wei	en	i	bin	git	poukd	longa	as
bird	PST	go-away	and	3SG	PST	BE	poke.PASS	LOC	arse

'The bird went away and he was poked in the arse.' [MM 1971_archive]

The form of the main verb used in passive constructions can be occasionally unpredictable. For the vast majority of verbs, the passive form is identical to the plain form of the verb. However, for a selection of verbs, there also exists a form that is used exclusively for passive constructions. Generally, this appears to be etymologically derived from a fossilised past participle in English, with the addition of a *-d* or *-t* suffix on the verb. This can be seen in (8.6) above, whose plain verb form is *barn*, as well as in (8.7), whose plain form is *pouk*. This variation of forms may also be motivated by the individual speakers, who may opt for more acrolectal forms at times, depending on the discourse context.

Given its lack of lack of morphological marking and its position within the verb phrase, *git* functions as a particle rather than an auxiliary verb, in contrast to its etymon in English. It may be tempting to analyse the *git* particle as a verb, particularly as there also exists the homophonous *get* transitive verb from the same etymological source. Therefore, the utterance in, for example, (8.5) on the previous pages, could be analysed as a V NP sequence, with the *shok* 'shock' analysed as a nominal variant of the verb. However, when used as a main verb *get* is also marked for its transitivity status, with the *-im* suffix, as in (8.8) below. The lexical *get* verb further has the potential to additionally take on the progressive aspectual suffix. In such a passive clause, to the contrary, there is never any such marking present.

(8.8) *Ai bin getim lil tetool.*

ai	bin	get-im	lil	tetool
1SG	PST	get-TR	little	turtle

'I got the little turtle.' [DD 20190819_Ro_Di]

The passive *git* is invariable for aspect and transitivity. It appears in a position following TMA marking and immediately preceding the main verb of the clause. As a whole, it behaves as a typical grammatical particle within the Kununurra Kriol system. Consequently, one could analyse this as an innovation with Kununurra Kriol, rather than a direct borrowing of an English passive structure in its entirety. I would argue that this passive construction was likely initially derived from the marked *get*-passive in English, owing to its similarity, but subsequently reanalysed into a general passive particle, without the element of Control inherent to the English *get*-passive, as well as losing its verbal properties.

Within the syntax of Kununurra Kriol, it is clear that the *git* auxiliary functions exclusively as a particle for indicating that the verb is in the passive voice. Therefore, it is also quite straightforward that the *git* occupies a position within the syntactic system that is equivalent to the passive BE, as discussed in section 8.1. of this chapter. Accordingly, the syntactic structure of a typical Kununurra

Kriol passive is demonstrated in Figures 8.2-3. below, using (8.5) as an illustrative example with the optional external agent.

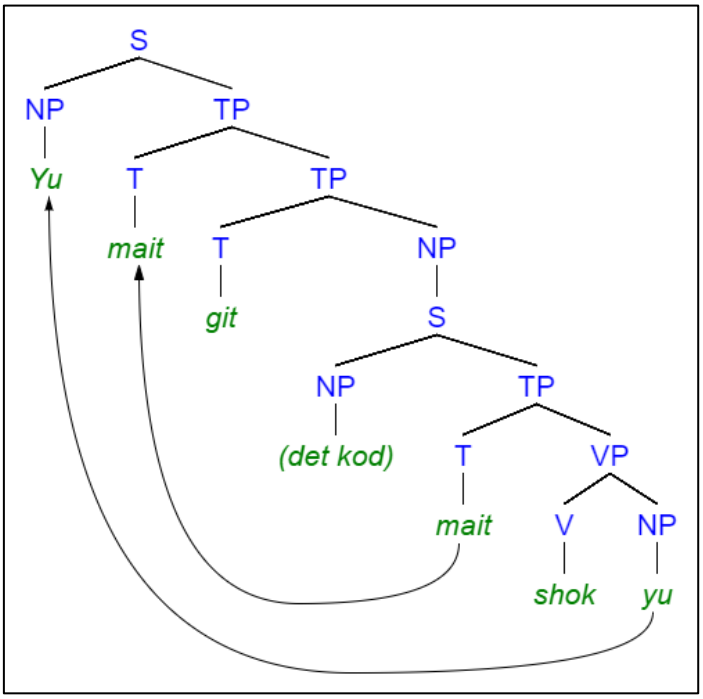

Figure 8.2. The underlying syntactic structure of (8.5), showing movement of the object and *git* operating as a BE particle.

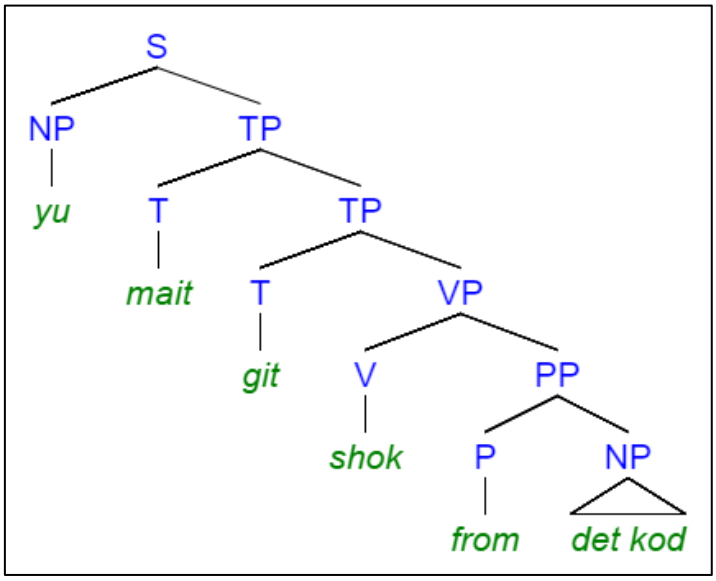

Figure 8.3. The surface realisation of (8.5), following the movement of the object and the externalisation of the agent.

Figure 8.2. shows the underlying movement between the active and the passive clause, whilst Figure 8.3. shows the surface outcome, where the external agent appears as a prepositional phrase. Striking similarities can be observed between this structure and the structure of the prototypical English passive given in Figure 8.1. on the previous pages within this chapter. It can also be seen that the *git* is clearly part of the TP (or alternatively analysed, IP), as the preverbal complex retains its ordering when this movement takes place, whilst the VP remains in its previous position.

8.2.2. Passives without *git*

A second major departure from the passive in the superstrate is the general lack of morphological marking of the main verb in passive constructions. Aside from the occasional fossilised past participle forms used exclusively in the passive, there is no productive morphology to directly mark the main verb form in the passive. In the majority of passive constructions, therefore, the weight of passive indexation lies on the *git* particle carrying the BE passive role. As I will briefly demonstrate in this section, the fossilised passive verb forms nevertheless do still carry their own passive weight within them.

(8.9) *Kantri bin destroid.*

kantri	bin	destroid
country	PST	destroy.PST

'Country was destroyed.' [DN 20190821_Da]

(8.10) *Ol Waringarri bifo det Waringarri bin bild darrei.*

ol	waringarri	bifo	det	waringarri	bin	bild	darrei
old	waringarri	before	DET	waringarri	PST	build.PASS	there

'Old Waringarri before the Waringarri [Arts Centre] was built there.' [RB 20200910g_RB]

Example (8.9) above demonstrates the typical *git*-less passive. The verb of the clause is seen to be in a form of the past participle that is generally only found in acrolectal Kriol speech and these limited passive constructions without *git*. Examples such as (8.10) can appear ambiguous as to whether the verb's form is still the fossilised past participle or the standard verb; these can become homophonous given the common levelling of voiced and voiceless stops in Kununurra Kriol (and as occurs in many Aboriginal languages). From the available data, this form of the passive construction only appears in the past tense, given its collocation with the invariably past tense *bin* particle.

This matches with the tendency for passive constructions to generally correspond with the past tense and perfect aspect, both in their form and their discourse usage, as they frequently do in English (Comrie 1981, Shaw 1992). Consequently, it would therefore be suggested that this component of the construction has been borrowed and, lacking a copula for the present tense, only the past tense form remains. Therefore, this form of the passive construction can be somewhat described as a calque from English. This form is far less malleable than the aforementioned *git* passive construction, which is generalised for all tenses, and is able to collocate with other preverbal tense markers (an example of such collocation can be seen in (8.6) on the previous pages).

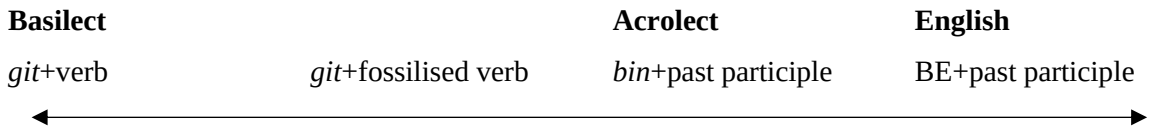

Figure 8.4. The Kriol passive construction continuum

As a result of the calquing of the English passive construction, its relative rarity within Kununurra Kriol, as well as the fossilised forms of the past participle from the English superstrate, it is apparent that this *git*-less passive construction tends to be found only in more acrolectal varieties. This represents an intermediate step between the typical English passive construction and the innovative Kriol passive that has been demonstrated within this chapter, using a dedicated passive particle. Such a continuum can be visualised in Figure 8.4. above.

The closeness of this calqued construction with the English passive construction itself also blurs the line between acrolect and code-switching practices to some extent. Kununurra Kriol speakers are highly multilingual in both Kriol and English (alongside varying levels of traditional Miriwoong), raising such a possibility. As explored in chapter 6 of this dissertation, code-switching and borrowing of verbs from Miriwoong is frequent in Kununurra Kriol, including the borrowing of certain morphology accompanying the source language material. As is the case of many Creole languages, the delineation of acrolect and code-switching, particularly where the lexifier language is in such close contact, can be somewhat unclear. Nevertheless, such forms of the passive are – to the extent that they are *also* understood from English – accepted in Kununurra Kriol discourse as well.

8.2.3. Passive Equivalent Constructions

As well as the typical periphrastic passive construction introduced in the previous section, there are also other passive-equivalent constructions that are able to create an agentless transitive clause. As has

been discussed, these serve a similar function to the passive itself, whilst being structurally distinct from a full passive. These constructions are common amongst Creole languages, having been identified earlier than the more uncommon complex passive constructions.

Introduced earlier in chapter 7 of this dissertation, the anticausative middle voice constructions are relatively more common compared to prototypical passive constructions in Kununurra Kriol. These constructions offer similar semantic functions in eliminating the need to include the agent of the clause. For example, example (8.11) below shows a typically transitive clause whose agent has been eliminated and the object moved into its position, with the transitive counterpart of the same verb shown in (8.12). As was previously demonstrated, the transitive suffix is also not present in these constructions.

(8.11) *Ebri reintaim e yoostoo filap gada deti wada.*

ebri	rein-taim	e	yoostoo	fil-ap	gada	deti	wada
every	rain-time	3SG	PST.HAB	fill-up	with	dirty	water

'Every time it rained it used to [get] fill[ed] up.' [RB 20200910g_RB]

(8.12) *Filimap mowa hot wada la im.*

fil-im-ap	mowa	hot	wada	la	im
fill-TR-up	more	hot	water	LOC	3SG

'Fill it up with more hot water.' [BG 20200827b_BG]

These passive-equivalent constructions are less syntactically complex than the passive constructions introduced earlier within this chapter, but enable for similarly agent-defocussing functionality in their use. It is therefore little surprise that they tend to be more common. Unlike passive constructions, they do not licence an external argument that can be introduced in a prepositional phrase or otherwise. Further, they do not require an additional particle or further morphological transformations beyond the movement of the object into the position previously occupied by the agent.

The use of the anticausative further could potentially be linked to the semantics of the clause itself. Whilst many of the verbs used in passive constructions within this chapter are highly agentive and high in transitivity – *shok* 'shock', *bilt* 'build', *barn(d)* 'burn', *pouk(d)* 'poke', *destroi(d)* 'destroy' – clauses that are often used with the middle voice are often much less so (cf. DeLancey 1984). In contrast, these clauses frequently represent semantics that are generally low in agentivity, such as *opin* 'open', or *growap* 'grow up, raise', *boil* 'boil', or *filap* 'fill up'. In these events, the identity of the agent is often less important to the discourse, whilst the object receiving the action is more often the main focus.

(8.13) *Dij pleit wal e neba bast.*

dij	pleit	wal	e	neba	bast
this	plate	EMPH	3SG	NEG.PST	break

'This plate, well it never broke/got broken.' [DD 20200901h_BaG_AD]

(8.14) *Ibin dropim det hama en bastim det pleit.*

i=bin	drop-im	det	hama	en	bast-im	det	pleit
3SG=PST	drop-TR	DET	hammer	and	break-TR	DET	plate

'He dropped the hammer and broke the plate.' [GGN 20200817a_GGN_JP]

This is, however, not a firm rule. Rather, there may simply be a preference for passive constructions with more highly agentive clauses. There are also anticausative constructions that do indeed carry highly transitive properties, such as the *bast* 'break' in (8.13) above, which is frequently used in a fully transitive form with both agent and object present, as in (8.14). These constructions represent, fundamentally, a syntactically less complex strategy of achieving a clause wherein the agent has been backgrounded. Furthermore, when the interest of the speaker is in removing the agent, there is less motivation to use such complex structures to reintroduce them in an optional capacity.

The anticausative constructions present in Kununurra Kriol thus offer a similar function to the full periphrastic passive construction also available within the grammar. Nevertheless, they present a less complex alternative strategy of defocussing the agent of the clause, and are accordingly relatively commonly used compared to *git* and *git*-less passive constructions previously presented in this chapter.

8.2.4. Reflexive Constructions

As has previously been discussed in this chapter, reflexive (as well as reciprocal) constructions often overlap significantly in both form and function with passive constructions in the world's languages. They are, alongside middle, unspecified subject and inverse constructions, a related but distinct phenomenon commonly used as an alternative to the passive in the world's languages (Keenan & Dryer 2007). By reproducing the agent of the clause in the object position, reflexive constructions essentially demote the valency of the verb in a similar manner to the passive, leaving its agent and object identical (Shibatani 1985). Whilst morphologically and syntactically distinct from passive constructions, Kununurra Kriol reflexive constructions nevertheless allow for similarly agent-defocussing functions. In this section, the reflexive constructions of Kununurra Kriol will be briefly outlined.

Reflexives, along with reciprocals, are considered by Bickerton (1988) to be one of the grammatical classes that is essential in any language as a core part of the bioprogramme. That is, if the reflexive morpheme is lost, it must be somehow recreated in the language. The sources from which they are reconstituted may however be diverse. A common source cross-linguistically is from body parts, whence for example reflexives in Cape Verdean Creole (Baptista 2002: 55). Other common sources include the use of a personal pronoun, whether plain or in a distinct form, an intensifier – such as the *-self* form in English, or the adverb 'alone' or 'lonely' (Heine 2005, Heine & Miyashita 2008: 174). Studies have shown that children tend to group reflexives with other, non-reflexive pronouns until fairly late in the acquisition process, and may have trouble using the correct form (Adone 2012a).

Overwhelmingly, the most productive and common strategy of forming a reflexive clause in Kununurra Kriol is through the use of the reflexive pronoun *mijelp,* similar to other varieties of Kriol in northern Australia (Ponsonnet 2016). Although derived from the English *myself,* the variability for person in the etymon is not present in Kununurra Kriol. To this extent, within Kununurra Kriol it functions as a distinct reflexive pronoun, rather than directly formed from an intensifier as it was in English.

The Kriol *mijelp* is invariable for both person and number, in contrast to the large inventory of pronouns otherwise available to the language (cf. Schultze-Berndt, Meakins & Angelo 2013). In its phonological form, it can be somewhat variable, appearing as *miself, mijel,* or *mijelb,* among others, depending on the speaker and whether they tend towards a more acrolectal or basilectal variety. Such variation in form can also be found in other varieties of Kriol across northern Australia (Dickson & Durantin 2019).

(8.15) *E skrajimbat mijelp seimtaim.*

e	skraj-im-bat	mijelp	seimtaim
3SG	scratch-TR-PROG	REFL	simultaneously

'He's scratching himself at the same time.' [SS 20200813c_GGN_SS]

(8.16) *Dei koloom mijelp Miriwoong.*

dei	kol-im	mijelp	Miriwoong
3PL	call-TR	REFL	Miriwoong

'They call themselves Miriwoong.' [BG 20190808_Br_Gl_Ju_a]

In the transcribed 2019-2020 Kununurra Kriol dataset, 75% of reflexive tokens use a *mijelp* or *mijel* form for the pronoun. The remaining form in the data is *imselp*. Unlike its more common counterpart, this form of the reflexive pronoun *does* require concord with its antecedent subject. In this case, the subject must be in the third person singular. Whilst the form appears to be at first glance more

acrolectal, the utterances in which it appears are otherwise relatively basilectal Kriol. Tokens also appear from several different speakers, so it is also not an idiolectal variation of the reflexive. Many of these examples are also introduced by prepositions, as does (8.17) below, or represent the emphatic function of the pronoun. There are no examples of other personal pronouns being used in a similar form.

(8.17) *Im maidi meikimbat sanwij fo imselp.*

im	maidi	meik-im-bat	sanwij	fo	imselp
3SG	maybe	make-TR-PROG	sandwich	for	REFL.3SG

'Maybe he's making a sandwich for himself.' [BaG 20200910k_GGN_RN]

As a pronoun, the reflexive occupies the same position as any other object pronoun or NP, following the main verb of the clause. It can also appear in other pronominal positions, such as within a prepositional phrase. This can be seen in examples (8.15-16) above, showing a prototypical reflexive clause. The lack of agreement for person or number can also be seen in these examples, where the form of reflexive is consistent despite the difference in the identity of the object. A clear exception is seen for those using *imselp*.

Although intransitive forms are available, some verbs frequently opt to take a reflexive form and maintain their transitivity when the identity of the object is the same as the agent of the clause. Example (8.18) below shows such a verb, *haid*, in its common reflexive form, and (8.19) the less commonly used intransitive form.

(8.18) *Det lil frog bin maidi go insaid deya haidim mijelp.*

det	lil	frog	bin	maidi	go	insaid	deya	haid-im	mijelp
DET	little	frog	PST	maybe	go	inside	there	hide-TR	REFL

'That little frog might have gone inside there and hid [itself].' [BG 20200818b_RB_BaG]

(8.19) *Ibin go haid na rok deya.*

i=bin	go	haid	na	rok	deya
3SG=PST	go	hide	LOC	rock	there

'He went to hide in the rock there.' [BG 20200907d_RP_BaG]

The use of the reflexive in (8.18) serves to pragmatically defocus the agent in the clause. Rather than focussing on the act of the hiding, the focus is placed upon the one being hid, through the use of the reflexive construction; a narrative corollary to being the one who is being sought after by another agent. In contrast, in the intransitive equivalent of the same verb in (8.19), the focus remains on the

agent and their action of hiding behind the rock. This contrast reveals some of the semantic overlap between the reflexive and passive constructions in Kununurra Kriol discourse.

Alongside its function as a reflexive pronoun, *mijelp* also possesses additional functions. Related to the reflexive function, it is also used as a reciprocal pronoun. This can be seen in (8.20) below. Such an overlap between reflexive and reciprocal functions is observed in other varieties of Kriol, and common across Australian languages in general, although some do also use a distinct pronoun for the reciprocal role (Ponsonnet 2016). The overlap between reflexive and reciprocal forms is further observed in other Creole languages around the world (Bickerton 1988, Adone 1994a: 36).

(8.20) *Toobala tokin na talimbat mijelp maitbi weya to go.*

toobala	tok-in	na	tal-im-bat	mijelp	maitbi	weya	to go
3DU	talk-PROG	EMPH	tell-TR-PROG	RECP	maybe	where	to go

'They [two] are talking, maybe telling each other where to go.' [RB 20200818c_RB_BaG]

Similarly to other varieties as well, *mijelp* can also be used as an emphatic pronoun. This can be used to stress, for example, that the speaker was doing something alone, as in (8.21), or to emphasise inalienable possession, for example the body part in (8.22). As has been discussed in chapter 7 as well, this emphatic reflexive can also lend further weight to the transitivity of some emotional verbs. Comparable emphatic functions are also observed with the reflexive *-self* forms used in the English superstrate (König & Gast 2002).

(8.21) *Ai jidan mijelb iya.*

ai	jidan	mijelb	iya
1SG	sit	REFL.EMPH	here

'I stay here by myself.' [PC 2004_archive]

(8.22) *E neba katim mijelp foot.*

e	neba	kat-im	mijelp	foot
3SG	NEG.PST	cut-TR	REFL.EMPH	foot

'He didn't cut his own foot.' [AD 20200901h_BaG_AD]

Despite being a distinct construction, the reflexive in Kununurra Kriol offers some overlap with the passive construction in functionality. Alongside its own varied functions as a reciprocal and emphatic pronoun, the core reflexive function of *mijelp* enables the defocussing of the agent of the clause, similar to the functions of the more complex passive. The reflexive, therefore, can be broadly considered as a passive-equivalent construction in some respects.

8.3. Discussion

Before being tempted to make any sweeping judgements of earlier work on passive constructions in Creole languages by extrapolating the data of Kununurra Kriol presented in this section, a major caveat must first be raised. Overall, passive and passive-equivalent constructions are largely not a common occurrence in naturalistic Kununurra Kriol speech data collected for this project.

The *git* passive constructions explored in section 8.2. are a clear innovation in Kununurra Kriol, producing a fully functioning passive particle that is not directly derivative of the English passive construction, despite having some etymological connection in the source of the form. This demonstrates clearly that Creole languages are indeed capable of developing complex structures, including the passive, however this should not be presented as an outright rebuttal to earlier studies suggesting their relative scarcity in Creole languages as per Bickerton (1981/2016) and others.

The Kununurra Kriol passive is certainly not a recent innovation; it appears in archival records as far back as 1971, which represent the earliest entries in the available archive, proving its long presence in the language. Nevertheless, it is still relatively marginal to the language as a whole in regular discourse. This construction is available in the repertoire of Kununurra Kriol speakers, but is not a commonly used construction, rather opting for less complex equivalents to achieve similar agent backgrounding outcomes. This, therefore, still does validate some earlier claims that passive constructions can be less common in Creole languages, but not to the extent wherein their innovation and potential for use is absent.

Once again it should be reiterated that the *git* passive in Kununurra Kriol appears to be an innovation within the language, rather than a borrowing. Whilst it is clearly etymologically derived from the English *get*-passive, it does not carry the same values as its English etymon, such as the element of Control, and its restrictions on external arguments (cf. Reed 2011). The Kununurra Kriol *git*, in contrast, has been generalised to become available for any potential passive construction. In English, the *get*-passive is by far the less common passive construction overall (Wanner 2009: 85-6). This begs the question – why was this form borrowed for the new passive?

Whilst rarer than the regular *be*-passive in English, studies have nevertheless found that the *get*-passive is more common in colloquial, spoken language. Furthermore, and perhaps more importantly here, it is distinctively more commonly used by working-class speakers of English, where it makes up half of all passive constructions used (Givón & Yang 1994). Given the conditions in which Kununurra Kriol experienced its genesis, as well as the status of Kununurra today as a predominantly working-class town, this would give us a clear link for its adoption. Working-class English speakers were the ones who are most in direct contact with Kriol and earlier Pidgin speakers, often having worked side-

by-side, however unequally, on stations and the like previously. Further, the *get*-passive is structurally more marked than the *be*-passive, which adds to its complexity with the highly variable English copula. It is, then, less surprising how *get* came to be selected as the etymological source of Kununurra Kriol's own innovative passive construction.

Alongside the natively innovated passive constructions that have developed diachronically within Kununurra Kriol, can be seen in section 8.2.1. that these constructions continue to coexist with borrowed ones. These alternative constructions closely follow the pattern of the superstrate English passive constructions, albeit with some *Kriolisations* in their appearance, to the extent where they may be co-equal with code-switching or direct borrowing, as with the borrowing of Miriwoong verbs explored in chapter 6. For example, rather than using the variable English copula BE in these passive constructions, the regularised past tense particle, *bin*, is used, whilst the past participle form of the verb remains. This, therefore, appears to be a case where the English passive construction has undergone a degree of indigenisation in Kununurra Kriol through its calquing. Nevertheless, this has also rendered this form of the passive operable only in the past tense when used in Kununurra Kriol, as it does not appear to be used when not co-occurring with the *bin*, whose past tense value cannot simply be stripped away from it. In other cases, thus, the plain passive *git* is seen to be used instead.

As was mentioned in section 8.2.1., this therefore leaves us with what appears to be a continuum in passive constructions available to Kununurra Kriol speakers. This is something that is not all too surprising for a Creole language such as this, as continuums have been widely observed cross-linguistically. Contrary to the status of many Creole languages undergoing decreolisation, however, the situation of the passive in Kununurra Kriol appears to be favouring the development of the basilectal variety; whilst overall the passive is relatively infrequently used, the basilectal *git* form is most common. Similarly, only a smaller selection of verbs appears to be regularly used in their fossilised English passive form, as used in the more acrolectal ends of the continuum, potentially as code-switching from English. In this respect, Kununurra Kriol is continuing its development as a language clearly distinct and autonomous from English, rather than undergoing the decreolisation that sees many Creole languages reconverge with their superstrate.

Nevertheless, the development of the Kununurra Kriol passive means that it is, as has been much discussed in this chapter, still a less preferred construction for its speakers in regular discourse. Alternative passive-equivalent constructions, such as anticausative derivations and reflexive constructions, are more common in regular speech. These are accordingly less complex in their form, requiring little movement, yet simultaneously allow for the core function of the passive to be maintained – the defocusing of the agent of a transitive clause. In the anticausative, this is its outright removal. In the reflexive, it is with an object pronoun whose identity is identical to the syntactic agent. Comparatively, although, these still generally lack the ability for the externalisation of the agent argument, which remains the domain of the passive.

The data available from Kununurra Kriol regarding the reflexive constructions has also validated prior analyses that place reflexive and passive constructions under similar functionality as, for example, stated by Shibatani (1985). The reflexive *mijelp,* as has been demonstrated in section 8.2.3. of this chapter, is a reasonably versatile pronoun in encoding the reflexive, as well as reciprocal and emphatic pronominal functions. This core reflexive function, however, is the main interest in this chapter. It has been shown that it is possible to create clauses that defocus the agent in a similar manner to the function of the passive.

Such a thesis is further confirmed by the discourse variability in its usage; it can be variably omitted or included depending on whether the speaker wishes to focus or defocus the agent of the clause. This productive discourse behaviour is similar to the aforementioned anticausative constructions, where the speaker is able to omit arguments if they wish to remove their focus altogether. Both of these constructions together offer Kununurra Kriol speakers an alternative means of adjusting their discourse to remove focus on particular arguments. Concurrently, they are less syntactically complex than full passive constructions, which involve the addition of a particle and, sometimes, a modified verb form. It is possible that, as the language continues to mature, particularly in its written form following the adoption of the community orthography, passive constructions continue to develop in frequency and complexity.

8.4. Summary

This chapter has given an overview not only of the passive constructions that are available to Kununurra Kriol speakers, but other passive-equivalent constructions that can be used in lieu thereof. Like many Creole languages, the passive in Kununurra Kriol is relatively marginal in its occurrences. Nevertheless, it is clear that a native, innovative passive construction is present in the language, rather than relying on direct borrowings from the English superstrate, which do indeed coexist alongside this natively innovative construction.

Passive constructions are widely held to be a complex construction, and are only present in roughly half of all languages. Accordingly, alongside the prototypical passive construction, other equivalent constructions have been shown in this chapter to also be available to speakers wishing to remove focus on the agent of a transitive clause. These constructions offer a less complex alternative, whilst preserving much of the same functionality in discourse. Anticausatives – also discussed in chapter 7 – allow for the derivation of a transitive verb into an intransitive one, where the action of the verb affects the syntactic agent. Reflexive constructions, noted for their overlapping form and function with the passive cross-linguistically, similarly allow such defocussing of the agent through its replication in the object position.

Trends shown within this chapter regarding the passive and its equivalent constructions align more or less within the expectations of many languages, Creole languages notwithstanding. I have observed that there exists a continuum within the passive, with a range of more and less acrolectal forms available, with the innovative form on the basilectal end. As a primarily spoken language, too, the passive remains a relatively marginal construction in the Kununurra Kriol corpus; and although the development of a native form does stand in contrast with early analyses of Creole passives, this factor makes the Kununurra Kriol fairly typical for a Creole language, and brings it in line with more recent cross-linguistic surveys and analyses.

9. Serial Verb Constructions

Serial Verb Constructions (SVCs) are a common feature both in the traditional languages of Australia, as well as many Creole languages around the world. SVCs are just one type of several complex predicates that operate at a monoclausal level available to languages of the world (Baker & Harvey 2010). These constructions involve the usage of two or more verbs which act as a single predicate, encoding a single event, or a sequence of events that are conceived of as closely related (Aikhenvald 2006). Following their common occurrence both in Australia and in Creole languages cross-linguistically, they also exist in Kununurra Kriol. Although they are not an overly common construction, in this chapter I will examine the occurrence of SVCs in Kununurra Kriol, and discuss their behaviour where they are found. Furthermore, it could be suggested that there is some substrate influence that is to be taken into account in their appearance in Kununurra Kriol, despite the lack of a complete analogue in Miriwoong.

In this section, an account of SVCs, particularly in the context of Creole languages, will be first discussed. SVCs are of particular interest in the development of Kununurra Kriol due to their relationship with similar multiple verb constructions that are used in Miriwoong. This is then followed by an analysis of the SVCs that have found to have occurred in the Kununurra Kriol data collected for this project. Their behaviour will be described and compared with those in other varieties of Kriol. I suggest that Miriwoong has likely played a role in shaping the appearance of SVCs in Kununurra Kriol through its position as a major substrate in this variety of Kriol, alongside innovations that have occurred within Kununurra Kriol itself. The influence of Miriwoong here is less salient than, for example, the usage of loanwords described in chapter 6, but represents a major connection between the two languages, demonstrating its deep influence on the language in the syntax.

9.1. Theoretical Background

The Serial Verb Construction was first identified and described as a typological unit in studies of west African languages, with the first references towards them appearing in the 1870s (Sebba 1987: 5-6). Since early scientific descriptions of the phenomena started to appear in the early 1960s, the scope for their proliferation in the world's languages has expanded from this region of Africa to additionally become recognised as a major areal feature across languages of the Pacific, as well as in many Creole languages, including those whose superstrate languages do not possess them (Crowley 2002, Haspelmath 2016, Veenstra & Muysken 2017). They can also be found in many sign languages (Couvee & Pfau 2018). As is revealed in this chapter, this is also true for Kununurra Kriol. This

section will first, nevertheless, provide an overview of the theoretical underpinnings and definitions of SVCs in the languages of the world.

The development of a prototypical definition for the SVC has been underway for some decades since their initial description. Early analyses of SVCs in west African languages described them as "a combination of verbs found in many West African languages where all the verbs share a common subject in the surface structure", achieved through the deletion of the shared identical NP across two underlying sentences (Bámgbóṣé 1974: 17). Deletion of shared arguments is not just the subject of the clause, but also possible with the object, making argument sharing perhaps the most core feature of any prototypical SVC, an example of which can be seen in (9.1) below (Baker 1989, Collins 1997).

(9.1) *ó mú ìwé wá*

ó	mú	ìwé	wá
he	took	book	come

'He brought a book.' (Bámgbóṣé 1974: 17)

However, SVCs remain distinct from a "regular" non-serial verb chain, as is present in English, through a distinct syntactic structure which has been gradually identified over the years. The most substantial and more or less unified cross-linguistic definition of the prototypical SVC to date is that developed by Aikhenvald (2006), which has since gained fairly wide acceptance. These criteria bridge the category across the regions and languages in which they can be found. Nevertheless, the scope of several parts may be open for interpretation or significant degrees of variability between languages (Bisang 2009). The six core criteria will be explained in the following brief sections.

1. Single Predicate

The first criterion for verb serialisation states that the verbs that make up the SVC form a single predicate unit in the clause. That is to say, they act "as a syntactic whole" (Aikhenvald 2006: 4-5), rather than as separate verbs with their own syntactic properties and alignment, and cannot be separately embedded or otherwise marked. At the same time, each of the elements in the SVC may be able to function independently outside the SVC. This makes them distinct from coverb or light verb constructions, such as those that can be found commonly in Miriwoong in the construction of many regular verb phrases (Aikhenvald 2006, Kofod & Olawsky 2009).

2. Monoclausality

SVCs operate as a single clause. This second criterion expands upon the first to the clausal level, in that the SVC is distinct from other verb chains by being the predicate of a single, independent clause alone (Aikhenvald 2006: 6). This can be diagnosed through the possibility of using separate negation or TMA marking for different verbs in the clause. Definitionally speaking, if the clause can be divided

with multiple instances of such features, it cannot be part of the same clause, and therefore no longer monoclausal; the verbs must work together as a single clause for it to be classified as an SVC (Fan 2017). Arguments further cannot be dependent on an individual component of the SVC complex but not the others (Bisang 2009: 796-7).

3. Prosodic Properties

As well as operating as a single syntactic unit, the characteristics of SVCs also extend to the phonology. The third criterion for an SVC is that they operate as a single prosodic unit, without a break in the intonation between the individual elements (Aikhenvald 2006: 7-8). In a tonal language such as the Creole language Saramaccan and its West African substrate Fon, this also entails that the suprasegmental sandhi rules apply across the verbal elements of the SVC, in this case through the spread of the tone to consecutive syllables across the word boundary, although here they are blocked by intervening NPs within the construction (Kramer 2004). Nevertheless, it is important to note that the individual elements of the SVCs do still retain their status as independent words, despite acting as a single unit in the prosody. They continue to, for example, carry their own stress patterns independently of one another (Aikhenvald 1999).

4. Shared TMA

In line with their status as a single clause and single predicate despite several verbs being involved, the fourth criterion states that all elements must share the same "tense, aspect, mood, modality, illocutionary force, and polarity values" (Aikhenvald 2006: 8). This can be marked on any one of the verbs in the clause, or equally possibly on several of them, but it must nevertheless be the same value across the whole clause. Regarding negation in particular, Aikhenvald (2006) further states that, whilst there can only be one negator for a whole SVC, this may be applied at any level within the clause in its scope. Such scope must often be ambiguated through context.

5. One Event

Crossing over into the semantic domain, the fifth criterion for the unity of the separate elements that combine to form an SVC is that they collectively refer to what can be conceived of as a single event (Aikhenvald 2006: 10-2). Within the main event of the SVC, there may also be additional subevents, represented by the individual elements within the construction (Veenstra & Muysken 2017). Single Eventhood is perhaps the most contentious of the criteria for SVCs, as the precise definition of what makes an event can vary considerably across cultural and linguistic divides. Indeed, Aikhenvald (2006: 10) in defining SVCs does remark upon the fuzziness of the category cross-linguistically.

In one language, what may be conceived of as a single event may actually be considered a series of events in another. Even within a language, events can be regarded as single or separate when faced with different combinations of temporal and aspectual modifiers (Bisang 2009). What may be one

event in one formulation may be multiple, sometimes potentially even in more clauses, in another (Bohnemeyer et al. 2007). Foley (2010) highlights the issues of eventhood in further noting the distinct difference in clarity between NPs and VPs; whilst the former often represent concrete objects or ideas, and tend to be relatively unvarying, the latter represent a significantly higher amount of complexity. This can be seen in the translation of lexical items; whilst a noun frequently has a direct equivalent in any given language, a verb can be expressed in wildly different manners, such as through light verb or coverb constructions, or through paraphrasing with clause chains (Foley 2010).

The choice of verbs to be used in an SVC can also be influenced by the cultural norms of a language community. The precise interpretation of these verbs as well as their sequencing can easily vary between differing cultural contexts, reflecting the frame within which they exist (Adone, Brück & Gabel 2018). Senft (2004), accordingly, underlines that SVCs cannot be considered in purely syntactic terms, but must consider semantic and pragmatic information specific to a language and the setting in which they occur.

6. Shared arguments

Finally, the sixth criterion in defining SVCs cross-linguistically is that the contributing elements of the SVC must share at least one argument with one another (Aikhenvald 2006: 12-4). The sharing of arguments has long been an observed feature of SVCs (cf. Bámgbóṣé 1974). This requires at least one core argument to be shared, but can also include peripheral arguments being shared across the verbs as well. Of arguments shared in SVCs cross-linguistically, the most common is the subject. Shared instrumental arguments are also fairly common amongst peripheral arguments (Aikhenvald 2006: 13, Bisang 2009: 799). It is also common that the shared argument between verbs undergoes a switch in its role. For example, the subject of one verb may be the object of another verb, within the same SVC (Aikhenvald 2006: 14-6). The configuration of arguments in such a manner is a key factor in the subclassification of SVCs, which will be further expanded upon shortly in section 9.1.1.

Alongside these six core criteria outlined by Aikhenvald (2006), other scholars have suggested additional or more precise criteria for their identification and description, further refining their definition. Haspelmath (2016), for example, regards the criterion of eventhood as impractical, and those of TMA and argument sharing, as well as that of intonation, as unnecessary to the description of SVCs. Rather, these are to be considered generalisations, not diagnostic features. Two additional diagnostic criteria are added in their place; there should be no linking element, such as a coordinating conjunction, between elements, and there should be no predicate-argument relation between the verbs. The latter, for example, makes sure to exclude English verbal chains, whereby the second verb is in fact a pseudocomplement argument of the first, evidenced by the strong semantic restrictions generally not seen in SVCs (Pullum 1990, Seuren 1991).

9.1.1. Types of SVCs

SVCs are, like many other grammatical constructions, classifiable into a series of subtypes based upon their characteristics. Types of SVCs may be identified based upon their syntactic configurations, as well as semantic values conveyed in them. Within the principles outlined in the six core identifying features of SVCs discussed above, Aikhenvald (2006) further classifies the constructions using four main parameters, within which there is cross-linguistic variability: composition; contiguity of components; wordhood of components; and the marking of grammatical categories within the SVC.

SVCs may be described as being either symmetrical or asymmetrical in their composition. Asymmetrical SVCs describe those in which one verb is significantly more restricted than the other. Typically, this involves one "minor" verb being selected from just a narrow set of verbs in the language, and the "major" component of the SVC being open to most verb classes. The minor verb is frequently one that depicts functional semantic values such as direction or aspect (Bisang 2009, Aikhenvald 2018: 6-7). This can be somewhat similar to the function of light verbs, which come from a restricted set of verbs for use in combination with other verbs or nouns, but not to the extent of sharing arguments (Seiss 2009, Butt 2010). In contrast, symmetrical SVCs describe those which can draw from any verb in the language in composing the construction. In contrast to asymmetrical SVCs, these tend to represent a series of closely linked actions, rather than using a restricted class of minor verb to modify other verbs in the clause (Aikhenvald 2018: 73-5). Many languages only allow for the use of one of these types of SVC, whether asymmetrical, such as Tetun Dili or Sezo (cf. Hajek 2006, Desta 2021), symmetrical only as in Ewe (cf. Ameka 2006), or may allow both to be used, as they are used in Klon or Dyirbal (cf. Baird 2010, Dixon 2011).

Asymmetrical SVCs in particular demonstrate that a degree of grammaticalisation has occurred in a language, due to their restricted nature, as well as the functions exhibited by the minor verbs in the constructions. In Etulo, a Niger-Congo language of west Africa, asymmetrical SVCs using the verbs *say* and *go* appear to be on a path towards full grammaticalisation as a complementiser and directional particle respectively, the former almost entirely having lost its original semantics in such constructions (Ezenwafor 2019). Similarly, in Klon, a Papuan language of Indonesia, a series of temporal grammatical markers is emerging through the use of some verbs as components in asymmetrical SVCs (Baird 2010). Again, this sees the disconnection between the original semantics of the verb and its generalisation into marking a specific grammatical feature.

Within the languages of Oceania, another means of classification according to the relation of the verb to the arguments of the clause has arisen, combining both the semantic function and the syntactic integration. Clauses are divided into three layers of juncture between the nucleus, which consists of the verb and its associated TMA properties, the core, which is the verb with its associated arguments,

and finally the periphery, which covers additional external arguments and temporal adverbs (Crowley 2002: 42-3, Senft 2004). Accordingly, SVCs are divided based upon their relations to these levels of juncture in the clause. Nuclear SVCs do not allow for separate arguments between the verbs in the construction, and tend to follow temporal or posture related functions. Core SVCs allow for new arguments to be introduced to the clause (whilst nevertheless sharing at least one, as per above), and can, for example, allow for interceding arguments to appear in between the verbs, in a demonstration of their comparative looseness (Crowley 2002: 42-3, Defina 2016). At the peripheral level, SVCs can consist of more loosely connected sequential verbs, often adding locational or temporal functions to the clause (Defina 2016).

SVCs are often also described in terms of which arguments are shared between the verbal elements of the construction, and resultantly the functions that are served by such combinations. The primary division at this level is between SVCs where the shared argument is the object, and those whose shared argument is the subject (Haspelmath 2016). Crowley (2002: 39-42), leading on from the typology of Foley & Olson (1985), makes a four-way distinction between SVCs in relation to their argument sharing structure. This four-way description was first developed to match Paamese data, but has quickly found similar suitability for other Oceanic languages of the region (Sperlich 1993).

1. Same-subject SVCs, the most common variety, have the subject of both verbs in the construction as the same. They can include both intransitive and transitive verbs (Crowley 2002: 40).
2. Switch-subject SVCs often have the object of the first verb being shared as the subject of the second verb in the construction, often expressing a causative relation between the two (Crowley 2002: 40-1). Whilst the role is switched, the NP argument itself is shared across the two verbs. These frequently appear as non-contiguous SVCs, with the shared argument appearing in between the verbs (Campbell 1996).
3. Multiple-object SVCs may occur when the verbs in the SVCs are both transitive, where each verb takes its own object, with either same- or switch-subject relations to fulfil the shared argument criterion (Crowley 2002: 41). This kind of SVC is relatively rare amongst languages of the world (Senft 2004: 54).
4. Ambient SVCs do not have a specific referential argument being shared, but instead refer back to the event being described by the first verb of the construction as a whole, for example describing the manner in which the event of the first verb is being carried out (Crowley 2002: 42).

Working primarily from the SVCs of Saramaccan and several other Creole languages, Veenstra & Muysken (2017) take a more functional approach to the classification of SVCs. Their approach classifies SVCs on two main axes of comparison, with a total of four types of SVCs in the resulting schema, which is displayed below in table 9.1. The first factor is based upon the independence of the

subevents that make up the larger event described by the SVC. For SVCs with less independence between subevents, this tends to entail modality and aspectual marking, whilst those with more independence are those which combine event verbs more freely.

	Less independence between subevents	More independence between subevents
Lexically constrained	Type 1	Type 2
Lexically free	Type 3	Type 4

Table 9.1: Four major types of SVCs according to Veenstra & Muysken (2017: 12)

The second factor is how constrained the SVCs are lexically. More constrained classes correspond with the earlier discussed asymmetrical SVCs, where the choice of verbs is from a smaller selection, whilst lexically free SVCs are similar to the aforementioned symmetrical type. Accordingly, type 1 and 2 SVCs represent a subdivision of what were described as asymmetrical by Aikhenvald (2006). The key difference between these two is in the composition of the events. Whilst type 1 SVCs encode aspectual and modal information, with little room for interpretation as separate events, the type 2 SVCs follow subevents that can be more distinctly recognised. These, for example, are SVCs that encode causative relations, or otherwise introduce new external arguments to the clause (Veenstra & Muysken 2017: 13-20).

Symmetrical SVCs – lexically free according to this schema – are divided between type 3 and 4 based upon the structure of their subevents. In the terms established by Veenstra & Muysken (2017: 20-1), type 3 SVCs with less independence between the subevents consist of constructions with a resultative meaning. These subevents are semantically less independent as there is a direct action-result link established between the two verbs. Whilst semantically similar to causative constructions that appear in type 2 SVCs, this type is a theoretically open lexical class. Such constructions are common in, for example, Thai or varieties of Mandarin Chinese (Thepkanjana & Uehara 2009, Zhu & Sheng 2021). Finally, type 4 SVCs cover all other symmetrical constructions "as long as it is semantically and/or pragmatically apt" (Veenstra & Muysken 2017: 21), with little lexical restriction beyond such concerns.

9.1.2. SVCs in Creole Languages

Alongside the west African languages where they were first described, Serial Verb Constructions have long been remarked as a common feature of many Creole languages of diverse origins, particularly in the Caribbean region, which are in turn heavily influenced by a west African substrate (Jansen,

Koopman & Muysken 1978). SVCs have also become a major point of contention regarding the genesis and development of Creole languages, and particularly the role of not just generative grammar but also the substrate languages in their formation due to their innovative status in many of these languages.

In his Language Bioprogram Hypothesis, Bickerton (1981/2016: 114-7) regards verb serialisation to be an important strategy in early creolisation (albeit not one of the twelve core features), evidenced by its appearance in more conservative Creole languages. It is claimed that these structures are invented by Creole-speaking children in the absence of adequate input with regards to prepositions, as a clear alternative way of marking argument relations and complementation. They are, therefore, a supposed sign of an innate universal grammar that children fall back on given the lack of other options passed down through the stable input of non-Creole first language acquisition (Bickerton 1989). This can be followed by further grammaticalisation into prepositions and other functional items, as has been previously documented and discussed prior with special regard to asymmetrical SVCs (Lord 1973).

On the other hand, some contend that the presence of SVCs in Caribbean Creole languages is more or less just down to substrate influence. They are present in Creole languages in the region from not just English superstrates, such as Jamaican and Sranan, but also French lexified Creole languages such as Haitian Creole and Martinican (Sebba 1987, Déchaine 1989, Patrick 2008, Zribi-Hertz & Jean-Louis 2022). Jansen et al (1978), therefore, suggest that the presence of SVCs in these Caribbean Creole languages is primarily due to the substrate influence of the Kwa languages of western Africa, which also possess SVCs and similarly provide a strong substrate for many of these languages as a result of the transatlantic slave trade. The use of SVCs in the Creole languages can therefore be pointed to as retention from the substrate. Such a strong role of the substrate languages in the development, though not necessarily the genesis altogether, of SVCs has been found in analysis of their history in Saramaccan (McWhorter 1992, Migge 1998). Jansen et al (1978) further point to the absence of SVCs in comparable Creole languages with substrates that similarly lack their own, such as those of the Indian Ocean.

However, further analysis of French-lexified Indian Ocean Creole grammars suggests that these languages do indeed also possess SVCs to some extent. Since then, SVCs have been extensively documented in particular in Seselwa and Morisyen, both French-lexified Creole languages of the Seychelles and Mauritius respectively, by Bickerton (1989) and more recently by Adone et al (2018), and Gramatke (2019). It is suggested that the lack of a substrate model for serialisation for these Creole languages demonstrates that it is a device available in the universal grammar "to distinguish adjuncts from complements and accomplished from nonaccomplished actions" (Bickerton 1989: 178) amongst languages that also lack extensive morphological marking. Syea (2013), nevertheless, argues against both substrate and universal origin of SVCs in these languages. Instead, it is argued that they were a diachronic innovation amongst *adult*, rather than child, speakers of the language. This would

have developed with influence from contact with French, although French itself does not have SVCs per se. The source, rather, would potentially be from the use of semantically transparent consecutive imperatives, such as the type seen in (9.2). These would have been commonly heard by the early L2 speakers in colonial settings whence Seselwa and Morisyen began their genesis.

(9.2) Allez laver les mains!
go wash DET hands
'Go wash your hands!' (Syea 2013: 47)

SVCs have been extensively documented in languages of the Asia-Pacific region, as one of the first areas they were widely documented (Crowley 2002, van Staden & Reesink 2008). Accordingly, they are also present in Creole languages of the region, echoing much of the situation found in the Caribbean. Nevertheless, the ways in which they materialise can differ considerably. Whilst directional SVCs are common in Creole languages of both regions, the Melanesian Creoles (Tok Pisin, Bislama, Pijin) do not have SVCs using 'take' and 'give'. This contrasts with their commonality in the Caribbean, which Crowley (2002: 253-4) ascribes to a lack of a substrate template in Oceanic languages, but also to the presence of suitable prepositions available in the earlier stages of their formation, obviating the need for such serialisation.

SVCs are present to some extent in a number of languages of Australia, both from Pama-Nyungan and non-Pama-Nyungan groupings (McGregor 2002, Nordlinger 2014, Laughren 2016). Additionally, the similar coverb or light verb constructions are also available in many Australian languages, including Miriwoong, where they form a core component of the verb phrase (Kofod & Olawsky 2009, Baker & Harvey 2010, Luk 2022). Amongst the contact languages of the continent, asymmetrical SVCs have been found to have developed as independent innovations within the Mixed Language Gurindji Kriol, with influence from both Kriol and Gurindji (Meakins 2010). As well, they have been found to occur to some extent in Roper, West Side and Daly River varieties of Kriol, primarily in the domain of motion, with a limited set of verbs available in the first slot (Hoffmann 2015). In the following sections, I will expand upon this limited survey of serialisation in Australian contact languages and investigate the appearance of SVCs in Kununurra Kriol.

9.2. Data Analysis

Kununurra Kriol, as with many other Creole languages discussed throughout this chapter, possesses Serial Verb Constructions. In many respects mirroring the coverb constructions overwhelmingly common in the substrate Miriwoong, as well as similar to those found in other varieties of Kriol in Australia (cf. Hoffmann 2015), the most prominent kind of SVC in Kununurra Kriol are those of the

asymmetrical variety. As well as asymmetrical constructions, there is some evidence that some types of symmetrical SVCs may be possible in the grammar, albeit not as common or dispreferred in everyday discourse. In this section, the SVCs available to Kununurra Kriol speakers, as appears in naturalistic data collected for this project, will be described and analysed.

9.2.1. Directional SVCs

The majority of asymmetrical SVCs in Kununurra Kriol consist of a small, closed class of directional verbs. Within this class of serial verbs, the most common one used by speakers is *go* 'go', which can be combined with a wide range of other verbs. Most predominantly, the accompanying verb in such SVCs is also a motion verb, as shown in example (9.3) below. Such constructions allow for a sense that the motion is happening away from the speaker or the subject's original location. Commonly, the motion verb pairing further depicts the manner in which the movement is happening, for example the walking happening in (9.3).

(9.3) *Wi go wok la paak.*

wi	go	wok	la	paak
1PL	go	walk	LOC	park

'We walk to the park.' [AD 20200901g_BaG_AD]

A combination with the verbs *stop* 'stop' or *paj* 'pass' can further elaborate the motion event being described. In such a case, *stop* can introduce an additional argument where the motion is ending, as it does in (9.4). As the location is introduced by a preposition, no transitive marking is seen. The verb *paj* 'pass' on the other hand signals that the motion continues past the location, as seen in (9.5). In the latter example, the verb is additionally marked for transitivity, as would be expected of many transitive verbs, and by extension validating its status as a verb rather than, potentially, grammaticalised into a preposition. These occurrences are nevertheless comparatively rare.

(9.4) *Mai sista bin gobek stop la Molly Spring na.*

mai	sista	bin	go-bek	stop	la	Molly Spring	na
1SG.POSS	sister	PST	go-back	stop	LOC	Molly Spring	EMPH

'My sister went back to Molly Spring.' [Sy 20200903d_SS]

(9.5) *Wi yoostoo gorawen long rawen gorawen pajim det eyastrip.*

wi	yoostoo	go-rawen	long	rawen	go-rawen	paj-im	det	eyastrip
1PL	PST.HAB	go-around	long	around	go-around	pass-TR	DET	airstrip

'We used to go around the long way around, around the airstrip.' [GGN 20200901f_GGN_JP]

However, SVCs using *go* are not limited to verbs of motion. They can also be used for a variety of other actions. Such a combination carries the semantics that the action is taking place away from where the speaker or subject's main location is at that point in the discourse. Further examples of such implications carried by these *go* directional SVCs can be seen in (9.6) below. Whilst the accompanying verb in this example is for a stationary event, the serialised *go* adds to the weight of the distance in which it took place from the home of the speaker.

(9.6) *Wi bin go kembinad deya.*

wi	bin	go	kemb-in-ad	deya
1PL	PST	go	camp-PROG-out	there

'We went camping out there.' [SS 20200903b_SS]

Alongside the common *go*, several other serialised verbs may express related senses in asymmetrical SVCs. The counterpart of the aforementioned *go*, which has the sense of the action being away from a location, is the verb *kam* 'come'. This verb, although less common when used in a serialised manner, suggests the opposite sense. When paired with a motion verb, the motion is moving towards the speaker or subject's location, as in (9.7). With other verbs, it may express that the action is taking place closer to the speaker or subject, with the implication that the participants have moved there for such a purpose, as can be seen in (9.8). Both *kam* and *go* may also be affixed with their own directional affixes, as can be found in several examples given in this section.

(9.7) *Wataim wi gada kamat boontha?*

wataim	wi	gada	kam-at	boontha
when	1PL	must	come-out	arrive

'When do we have to arrive?' [GGN 20200911c_GGN_AD]

(9.8) *Shi bin kam stat na Miriwoong deya la skool.*

shi	bin	kam	stat	na	Miriwoong	deya	la	skool
3SG.F	PST	come	start	EMPH	Miriwoong	there	LOC	school

'She started Miriwoong there at school.' [AD 20200903a_AD]

In both directional SVCs, intervening nominal or adverbial elements are also possible without breaking the structure. With *go* SVCs, the intervening NP or adverb is most often the destination of the motion or where the subject is heading to undertake the action in the second verb. This can be seen in examples (9.9-11) below. SVCs using *kam* are a lot less likely to appear with intervening elements, but when they do, they take the form of *kambek*, signifying the prompt return of the subject following the action as part of the event, as can be seen in both (9.10), where it appears with *go*, and (9.11).

(9.9) *Athasaid weya pipool go dam swiminabat.*

athasaid weya pipool go dam swim-in-abat

other.side where people go dam swim-PROG-about

'The other side where people go to the dam to swim' [SS 20200903c_SS]

(9.10) *Ai bin go Darwin kambek igin.*

ai bin go Darwin kam-bek igin

1SG PST go Darwin come-back again

'I went to Darwin and back.' [RB 20200910g_RB]

(9.11) *Drai raidap darrei kambek.*

drai raid-ap darrei kam-bek

try ride-up there come-back

'Try to ride up there and back.' [JP 20200901d_JP_BG]

These asymmetrical directional SVCs, belonging to Type 1 within the typology developed by Veenstra & Muysken (2017), have also been documented as being relatively common in other varieties of Kriol in Australia, such as in Roper, West Side and Daly River Kriol (Hoffmann 2015). It is, perhaps, therefore unsurprising that Kununurra Kriol similarly follows such a pattern of basic directional verb serialisation.

9.2.2. Serialised Posture Verbs

A second type of asymmetrical SVCs in Kununurra Kriol are those of serialised posture verbs. Such a phenomenon has been described as a feature in some Australian languages, such as the non-Pama-Nyungan Ngan'gityemerri of the Daly River region and other nearby languages, where they have also been found to have extended their semantics into marking aspectual relations in the clause (Reid 2002).

There are two posture verbs that are most commonly used by Kununurra Kriol speakers in a serialised manner, alongside their regular use as lexified main verbs in a clause. The most common of the two is *sidan* 'sit', which is comparable to its English etymon in meaning. In SVCs containing this verb, the action being described in the second verb is often taking place with the participants sitting down, as is shown in example (9.12) below. To underscore the literal semantics of the verb in terms of physically sitting, the serialised form of *sidan* is always with the directional *-dan* suffix attached, although a bare form of *sit* is possible and documented in other, non-serialised environments.

(9.12) *Dei maidi sidindan tokin.*

dei	maidi	sid-in-dan	tok-in
3PL	maybe	sit-PROG-down	talk-PROG

'They're maybe sitting and talking.' [RB 20200818d_RB_BaG]

Whilst this form of asymmetrical SVC does appear to retain the core posture semantics of sitting inherent to the verb, there is potential for this to evolve into an aspectual marker similar to that of some other languages in Australia. This is marked by the extremely frequent collocation of this serialised posture verb with other verbs of the progressive aspect. In such cases, aspect is marked on the accompanying verb and, most frequently, on the *sidan* itself, in the form of the progressive *-in* suffix. Examples of each of these cases can be seen in (9.13-14) respectively below, as well as the previous example (9.12).

(9.13) *Nat weya dei sidan goorloongbat owat?*

nat	weya	dei	sid-dan	goorloong-bat	owat
NEG	where	3PL	sit-down	drink-PROG	EMPH

'[It's] not where they're sitting [and] drinking?' [GGN 20200907b_BaG_RP]

(9.14) *Det sanwan en det dadiwan deya sidindan weitabat fo fiyid.*

det	san-wan	en	det	dadi-wan	deya	sid-in-dan
DET	son-NML	and	DET	father-NML	there	sit-PROG-down

weit-abat	fo	fiyid
wait-PROG	for	food

'That son and father are sitting there waiting for food.' [BaG 20200901h_BaG_AD]

Such frequent collocation with the progressive aspect may suggest that there is a particular cognitive association between sitting and a progressive aspect. This mirrors to some extent, notably, the pattern of coverb constructions in the substrate Miriwoong, where the BE/STAY inflecting verb is often matched with stative coverbs (MDWg 2019). Whilst it must be remembered that these constructions in

Miriwoong are *not* SVCs, with a clear division of functions in the grammar, they do show an asymmetrical relationship in what is fundamentally a complex multi-verb construction (Kofod in preparation). A major difference here is that the accompanying verb with a serialised *sidan* may be transitive, as in (9.15), whereas Miriwoong BE/STAY is only possible with coverbs intended to be used intransitively.

(9.15) *Im sidindan lookinat doobala deya.*

im	sid-in-dan	look-in-at	doobala	deya
3SG	sit-PROG-down	look-PROG.TR-at	3DU	there

'He's sitting down looking at those two there.' [GGN 20200817a_GGN_JP]

The serialised posture verb counterpart to *sidan* is *stend* 'stand'. In contrast to the sitting of the former, the latter is used to describe actions that are being undertaken whilst standing, again with similar semantics to the English etymon from which it was originally derived. A simple example of this verb in an SVC can be seen below in (9.16) below. Once again, the progressive aspect is marked on both verbal elements of the construction, as well as the directional *-ap* suffix.

(9.16) *Det nathawan stendinap lookinat ah powa thing.*

det	natha-wan	stend-in-ap	look-in-at	ah	powa	thing
DET	other-NML	stand-PROG-up	look-PROG.TR-at	EMPH	poor	thing

'That other one is standing looking at that poor thing.' [BaG 20200901h_BaG_AD]

In contrast to *sidan*, *stend* appears to be less likely to be serialised. Due to the relative scarcity of tokens with this verb, it is not possible to assess whether a comparable phenomenon occurs of collocation or common correspondence with particular aspectual or tense semantics in the accompanying verb when used in an SVC, to the extent where one may judge whether the verb itself brings such implications as well.

As with the directional SVCs in section 9.2.1., posture SVCs also allow for intervening elements to appear between the verbs that make up the construction. This feature appears to apply to both *sidan* and *stendap* constructions, similarly to the directional verbs in the previous section. The intervening element can take the form of a temporal adverb, as it does in (9.17), or as an NP in (9.18). Despite the temporal adverb appearing between the serialised verbs, it applies to the construction as a whole, as would be expected of an SVC. This construction further may suggest a somewhat aspectual extension of the posture verb. In the latter example, the NP describes a manner in which the standing is happening, that the individuals involved are standing in one line.

(9.17) *Wi ola sidan oldei bogibat.*

wi	ola	sid-dan	oldei	bogi-bat
1PL	all	sit-down	all.day	swim-PROG

'We all sit and bathe all day.' [RB 20200910g_RB]

(9.18) *Dei stendinap wan lain oldimbat det goowana.*

dei	stend-in-ap	wan	lain	old-im-bat	det	goowana
3PL	stand-PROG-up	one	line	hold-TR-PROG	DET	goanna

'They're standing in one line and holding the goanna.' [GGN 20200910h_GGN_RN]

The serialisation of posture verbs presents an interesting case within Kununurra Kriol, potentially following similar patterns to other languages of Australia in nearby regions, opening up the possibility of some contact influence in their formation. As they are currently used, nevertheless, they appear to remain reasonably literal in their semantics, describing the stance of the subject when the action is being undertaken. One cannot, however, discard the possibility that this may develop with further semantic extensions common amongst such languages that make use of serialised posture verbs. Brown (2023) considers the aspectual semantics of Kununurra Kriol verbs, including serialised verbs, in greater depth.

9.2.3. Serialised Causative Verbs

Alongside the two types of asymmetrical SVCs described in the above two sections of this chapter, there is evidence of a further argument-adding serial verb construction; that of the causative construction. Many serialising languages make use of SVCs for the production of causative constructions, as they involve a shared argument that is switched between two verbs, and that are frequently not grammaticalised. Within Veenstra & Muysken's (2017) typology of SVCs, serial causative constructions are classified and commonly found within Type 2 of the categorisation, representing strong constraints on the first verb of the construction, but potentially relatively loose connection between subevents in the clause.

In Kununurra Kriol, causative constructions are formed in a similar strategy, through the use of a serialised *meik* 'make' verb. This verb is then followed by its object, which is itself in turn the subject for the next verb in the SVC. It is commonly, but not always, marked with the transitivity suffix, as it is in (9.19) below; contrasted with the non-causative *meik* 'make', which is generally universally marked for transitivity, such that its sense entails the construction of something. Example (9.20) shows

that the causative *meik* may not always be marked as such, despite being syntactically transitive (see chapter 7 for discussion on transitivity).

(9.19) *Dei bin meikim det dog teikof.*

dei	bin	meik-im	det	dog	teikof
3PL	PST	make-TR	DET	dog	run.off

'They made the dog run off.' [RB 20200818b_RB_BaG]

(9.20) *Berd pooda stop en meik det lilboi foldan indit tambooldan.*

berd	pood-im	stop	en	meik	det	lilboi	fol-dan	indit	tambool-dan
bird	put-TR	stop	and	make	DET	little.boy	fall-down	EMPH	tumble-down

'The bird put a stop and made that little boy fall down, tumbling down.'

[BaG 20200818b_RB_BaG]

Perhaps to validate that this verb is not one that has grammaticalised into a causative particle – akin to other preverbal particles prevalent in Kununurra Kriol – the causative *meik* is also regularly found in such a function when the result is an adjective. One such example can be found in (9.21) below. This demonstrates its full versatility as a verb in its own right, alongside its treatment as a verb in marking of transitivity and TMA values. It is still independent and can function as the main verb in a clause, as would be expected of any verb found in an SVC.

(9.21) *Dei meik yoo med.*

dei	meik	yoo	med
3PL	make	2SG	angry

'They make you angry.' [JP 20200901e_JP_BG]

The serialised causative verb therefore appears to be quite demonstrable in Kununurra Kriol. It is clear that it is not a preverbal particle and maintains its semantics and can be used similarly in an independent fashion without additional verbs. It also appears in a fixed order in these SVCs, with the shared argument appearing in between the two verbs. This represents the last of the asymmetrical SVCs found thus far in naturalistic Kununurra Kriol data. In the following section, I will explore the possibility of symmetrical SVCs existing as well.

9.2.4. Symmetrical SVCs

In the previous section, asymmetrical SVCs have been, although not the most common in discourse, fairly well established as constructions for particular functions available to speakers of Kununurra Kriol. In addition to this, there appears to be some evidence that there is also potential for symmetrical SVCs. Recalling the typological profiles in section 9.1.1. of this chapter, these are SVCs which are an open class, allowing for theoretically any combination of verbs, limited only by pragmatic and semantic interpretations of eventhood.

There is some ambiguity whether these are indeed to be classified as SVCs, or whether they should rather be classified as multiple-verb constructions, without the clausal coherency and open class required for the former. It should be noted that these are relatively rare in naturalistic data, rather than a common feature of Kununurra Kriol, thus leaving us with such ambiguity for the time being. Nevertheless, the possibility for their usage sets Kununurra Kriol apart from other varieties of Kriol in northern Australia documented thus far, which tend to only allow for asymmetrical SVCs (Hoffmann 2015).

Many of the symmetrical SVCs that appear in Kununurra Kriol could be described as belonging to Type 3 in the quadripartite typology of serialised verbs. That is to say, in these constructions, the relation between subevents in the SVC remains relatively tight, and often takes on a meaning that is strongly resultative. In (9.22) below, for example, the first verb, *boldan* 'fall down', describes the main event, whereas the second verb in the clause, *leindan* 'lie down', describes the end result of the falling; that the subject has fallen down into a position where they are now lying on the ground. Looser subevent structure does not appear to be possible in a serialised form.

(9.22) *Dena we ibin boldan leindan.*

dena	we	i=bin	bol-dan	lein-dan
dunno	where	3SG=PST	fall-down	lie-down

'Don't know where he fell down flat.' [AD 20200910i_GGN_RN]

These SVCs also allow for a switch-subject structure between the first and second subevent. The second subevent remains a direct result of that described by the first verb, only with the object now the subject. For example, the first verb in (9.23) describes the kangaroo swinging its tail, then the result of the tail hitting the brolga, following a similar event-result pattern as the previous example. Example (9.24) again follows such a pattern, with the water cooling down the subject's body as a result of the drinking in the first verb. Both of these examples show the direct and immediate aftermath of a kinetic action, conceptually unifying them into a single event in a single clause. This shows some contrast

with the English equivalents, which would be conceived of in separate but connected clauses using appropriate conjunctions.

(9.23) *Det keingooroo bin swingim is teil hitim im det brolga.*

det	keingooroo	bin	swing-im	is	teil	hit-im	im	det	brolga
DET	kangaroo	PST	swing-TR	3SG.POSS.M	tail	hit-TR	3SG	DET	brolga

'The kangaroo swung his tail and hit that brolga.' [AD 20200910j_GGN_RN]

(9.24) *Im drinkimbat wada kolimbat e bodi dan.*

im	drink-im-bat	wada	kol-im-bat	e	bodi	dan
3SG	drink-TR-PROG	water	cool- TR-PROG	3SG.POSS	body	down

'He drinks the water and [it] cools his body down.' [RB 20200818c_RB_BaG]

It is also possible for the verbs to share both subject and object, without a switch in arguments. Interestingly, many of the common discourse contexts for these are utterances talking about the preparation and consumption of food, frequently using the verb *idim* 'eat' in the second position, as in both examples (9.25-26) below. In a sense, the eating is the resulting state of the cooking or other preparation of the food, once again following this resultative pattern familiar in Type 3 SVCs. In (9.26), the symmetrical SVC can additionally be seen used in conjunction with an asymmetrical directional SVC as well, all forming one clause together. Again, these examples show closely related sequential events that are connected in a single clause without the necessity for coordination.

(9.25) *Dat big na wi bin tjakam la na faya kookoombat idimbat.*

dat	big	na	wi	bin	tjak-im	la	na	faya
DET	pig	EMPH	1PL	PST	throw-TR	LOC	LOC	fire

kook-im-bat	id-im-bat
cook- TR-PROG	eat-TR-PROG

'That pig we threw onto the fire to cook and eat [it].' [GGN 20190815_Gl]

(9.26) *Wi bin go darrei gedimbat idimbat mayeng.*

wi	bin	go	darrei	ged-im-bat	id-im-bat	mayeng
1PL	PST	go	there	get-TR-PROG	eat- TR-PROG	veg.food

'We went there and got [non-meat] food to eat.' [GGN 20200907b_BaG_RP]

These examples suggest that it may be largely possible for speakers of Kununurra Kriol to acceptably produce a range of symmetrical SVCs, even if they do not currently represent a major discursive device in everyday speech. Generally speaking, they tend to be used in a resultative sense, neatly

falling into Type 3 of Veenstra & Muysken's (2017) classification. They can also be both transitive and intransitive, and even appear to allow for a switch-subject structure in some cases. Whilst the data is presently limited, the connection between the subevents in the examined section appears to be strong enough to warrant description as being serialised verbs, rather than simply multi-verb constructions. Further discussion of the remaining ambiguity can be found in section 9.3.

9.2.5. Taking Stock: Criteria and Typological Classification

Having examined the available data and types of SVCs that appear to be possible in Kununurra Kriol, I will now briefly recall the six key diagnostic criteria outlined by Aikhenvald (2018) and explored earlier in this chapter.

The first criterion, the status as a single predicate, is clear in all the types of SVCs identified in Kununurra Kriol in this chapter. In all of these examples, the verbs are not separately marked, and act as a single coordinated unit. At the same time, all of the verbs that have been identified as being present in SVCs, in particular those that belong to the two types of asymmetrical SVCs – *go, kam, sidan,* and *stendap* – are very much independent verbs that can act as a main verb in clauses outside such constructions. In general, there appears to be no constraint on the source of the verbs which are used in a serialised manner, with no differential treatment of verbs borrowed from Miriwoong, with one such example shown below in (9.27).

(9.27) *Bigmob ob tri deya jandinap ebriweya yirrb.*

bigmob ob	tri	deya	jand-in-ap	ebriweya	yirrb
many	tree	there	stand-PROG-up	everywhere	gather

'Many trees were gathered together there' [GGN 20200811a_GGN]

This would lend further credence to the independence of individual elements of the SVCs in Kununurra Kriol, and their ability to act as individual words outside these constructions. As well as their usage outside SVCs, this also validates that the verbs, particularly in the asymmetrical constructions, are indeed not (yet) grammaticalised preverbal particles, but full lexical verbs in their own right.

Similarly, the second criterion of monoclausality is demonstrated in these Kununurra Kriol examples. All the verbs in the SVCs act, as above, in a single clause, with clear shared arguments and no division between them. All verbs in the constructions work in conjunction with one another, and cannot be separated whilst retaining the same semantic and pragmatic meanings they carry. At the clause level,

adverbial aspect marking, for example, is applied consistently throughout upon the semantics of the verbs contained within, as does aspectual marking on verbs directly, whether on each verb or just one.

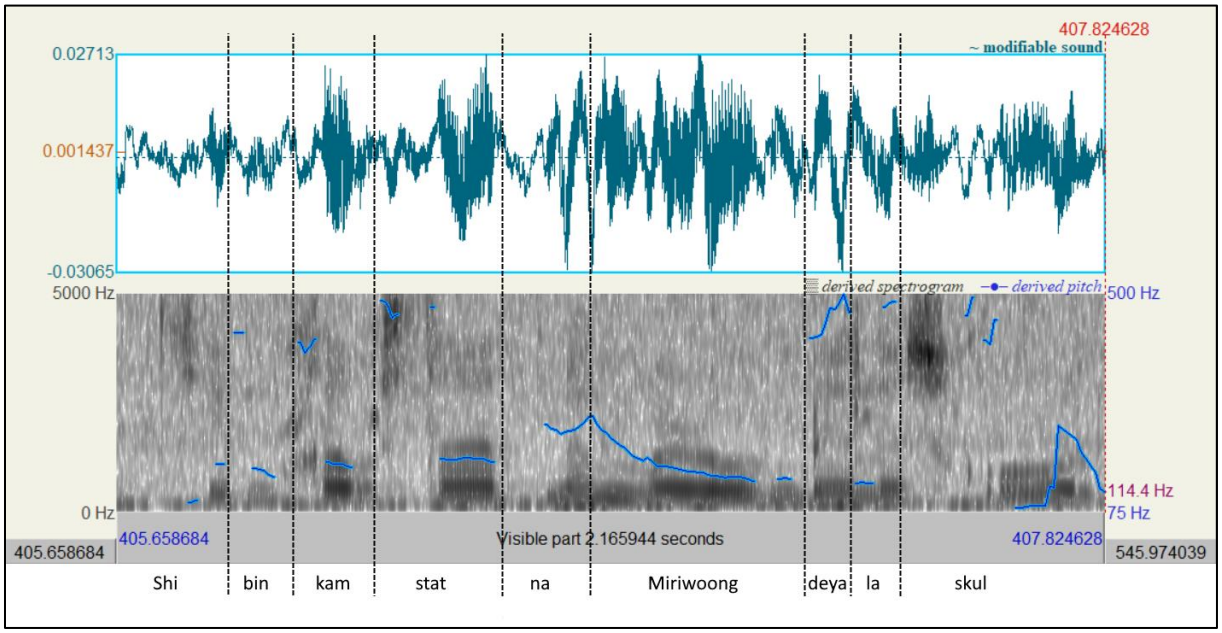

Figure 9.1: View of spectrogram in Praat for (9.8); there is no pause between the verbs and intonation remains steady until the object of the clause.

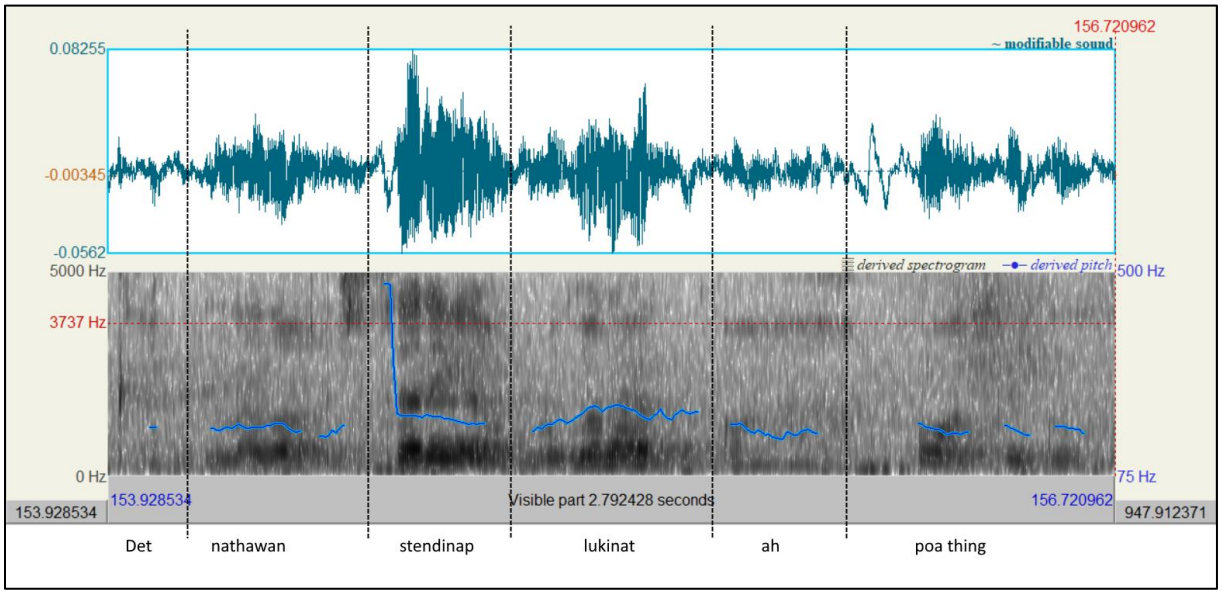

Figure 9.2: View of spectrogram in Praat for (9.16); once again no pause is seen between the two verbs of the clause, whereas a pause is seen before the object.

Whilst phonology has neither been a major focus of this chapter nor the dissertation more broadly, the third criterion of prosodic properties is also applicable here. This is somewhat harder to analyse in

depth in Kununurra Kriol, without further analysis of, for example, phonological processes that spread beyond the word boundary. Additionally, there is no suprasegmental feature such as tense to signal clear continued prosodic patterning. Nevertheless, these SVCs are shown without any major breaks in the intonation between words distinct from the general prosody of the speaker and their speech. Figures 9.1-2 above show the spectrograms for examples (9.8) and (9.16) respectively as an illustration of such continued unbroken prosody in the SVCs.

These figures can be contrasted with the spectrogram in figure 9.3, which shows the intonation in clauses where a verb may be repeated for clarification, elaboration, or other verbal sequences without being a single construction. In this case, example (9.27) sees the speaker using multiple verbs to describe a sequence of events, which are albeit not closely connected enough for serialisation. Unlike identified symmetrical SVCs in Kununurra Kriol, this is additionally not a construction where the typical resultative semantics can be seen. A phonetic spectrogram for this example can again be seen in Figure 9.3 below.

(9.27) *En det lilboi raning haiding oldimbat is hed.*

en	det	lilboi	ran-ing	haid-ing	old-im-bat	is	hed
and	DET	little.boy	run-PROG	hide-PROG	hold- TR-PROG	3SG.POSS.M	head

'And the little boy [was] running, hiding, holding his head.' [RB 20200818b_RB_BaG]

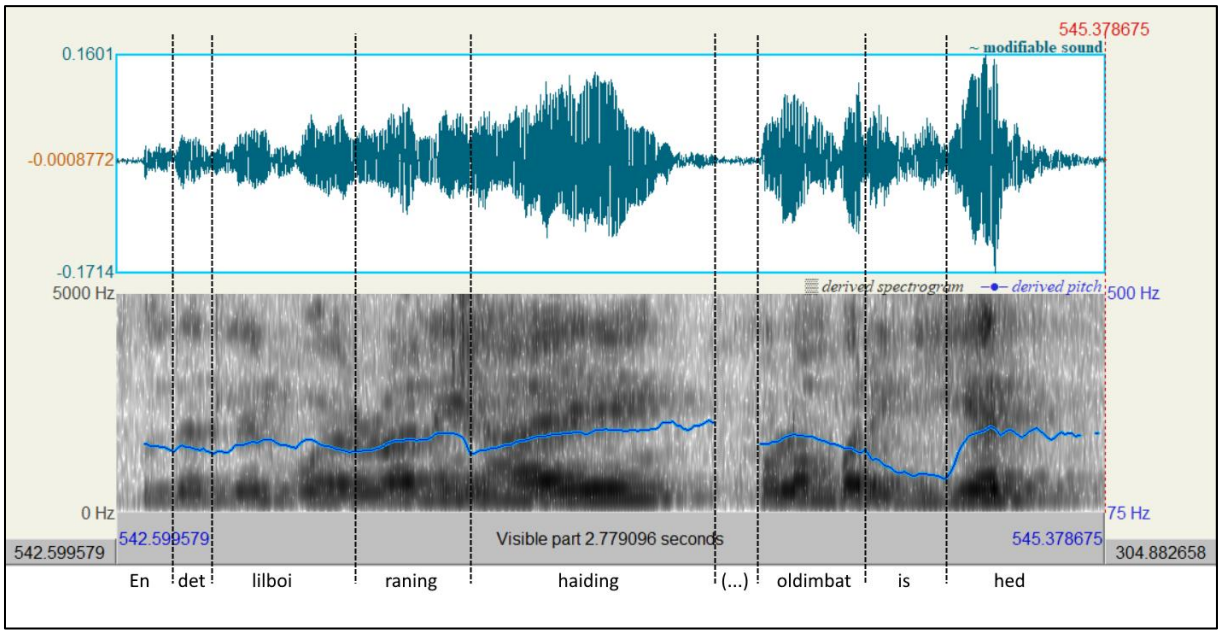

Figure 9.3: An example (from (9.27)) of a multiple-verb construction without serialisation; a significant pause can be seen before the third verb.

Following their status of monoclausality and acting as a single predicate, the fourth criterion of shared TMA is also particularly clear in Kununurra Kriol SVCs. All TMA marking in the clause is applied to the whole clause, including all verbs. This appears to occur even when only one of the verbs in the SVC is explicitly marked for the progressive aspect. It is particularly clear however with regards to preverbal particles, which are prominent in Kununurra Kriol grammar. Preverbal particles are not repeated for each verb, only appearing once before the first verb, yet they still apply to the whole construction. Whilst data for negation is minimal in the naturalistic corpus, there is one example in (9.13) showing the negation of the whole clause using only one negative polarity item, *nat*, at the start.

As has been mentioned previously, eventhood is a concept that can vary significantly depending upon the cultural context of the speaker. In all the examples presented here, nevertheless, there is a clear link between the subevents described by the verbs that can be conceived in the form of a single event, or a closely related sequence of events. One very clear example is in the common appearance of *idimbat* 'eat' in symmetrical SVCs of Kununurra Kriol. Eating generally immediately follows the preparation of the food; Miriwoong culture values sustainable consumption, which also means rules such as eating your catch of fish promptly. Preservation or otherwise taking more than is required of your immediate needs is frowned upon, as this exploits and upsets the deep link between people and Country (Adone et al. 2019). In posture and directional verbs, the link of eventhood is also clear, being (near-)simultaneous with the other verbs included.

Whilst not uniformly cross-linguistically a strictly singular and unified event – a factor that is variable depending on language and culture – the particularly close relation in eventhood between serialised sequential events in some SVCs in this chapter is also shown in the contrasting intonation patterns (Aikhenvald 2006, Foley 2010). A clear contrast is seen between those constructions that have been serialised, therefore hinting towards their single eventhood, and those which are simply multiple-verb constructions containing a series of distinct events. This contrast in intonation suggests that the less closely connected sequential events are not conceived of as part of the same event for the purposes of serialisation.

Finally, clearly demonstrated across all these examples is that one of the key criteria for serialisation is being followed in Kununurra Kriol; that of shared arguments. According to Crowley's (2002) typology of argument sharing in SVCs, there are examples of two of the four types. Most common are those whose shared argument is the subject, as in most of the directional and posture SVCs, but also several symmetrical SVCs, such as (9.22) and (9.25). Causative SVCs are a clear example of a switch-subject relation between the verbs in the construction. Several symmetrical SVCs also show a switch-subject structure, particularly (9.23-24), which describe the impact of the first verb's object on the second verb's object, in an extended resultative sense.

9.3. Discussion

Although they are not as common as in some serialising languages, the presence of serial verb constructions in Kununurra Kriol nevertheless comes of little surprise, particularly as they have already been found in other varieties of Kriol in Australia. They are also typologically common across Creole languages in general, as has been discussed at several points in this chapter. However, other Kriol varieties in Australia have only attested asymmetrical SVCs, whereas Kununurra Kriol appears to have the potential for symmetrical SVCs as well. In this section, I will discuss the underlying structures and substrate influences that may have brought the language in this direction, and other implications found in this data.

Syntactically, as discussed in section 9.1. of this chapter, early analyses of serial verb constructions described their underlying structure as being akin to a chain of clauses, with the shared arguments between the verbs of the clauses deleted (Baker 1989: 523). Indeed, the sharing of core arguments is repeatedly stated to be one of the vital components of verb serialisation. This is also true of the SVCs that can be found in Kununurra Kriol. In this language, argument relations are generally marked by the (relatively) fixed SVO word order, which is also found in these SVCs. It has been shown that across same-subject SVCs that the subject, and potentially object in transitive clauses, remains in the same position, with serialised verbs directly following the subject. Relations between the arguments, and the assignment of theta-roles, can therefore be deduced from the word order, as in non-serialised clauses.

Nevertheless, this still leaves us with multiple words assigning theta-roles to the same overlapping arguments, whilst remaining within the same clause. Evidence against the status of the verbs as separate clauses with a null subject argument in between can be seen in the TMA marking when it comes to Kununurra Kriol. In all of these SVCs, preverbal TMA marking is, when present, only found once across the clause, despite applying to all verbs contained therein. In a multiple-clause chain, such as one where coordination occurs, the preverbal particles would be expected to reappear preceding each verb individually. This, therefore, demonstrates that only a single clause is present.

The same can be said of switch-subject SVCs in Kununurra Kriol. Despite the intervening NP between the verbs, TMA marking is still shared between them. Only the first verb in the construction carries the preverbal particles for such marking, yet they nevertheless extend their semantics to the entire clause, including that second verb. The second verb, despite having a different subject from the first, does not have these preverbal TMA particles repeated. For these reasons, I would suggest that Kununurra Kriol's SVCs demonstrate a structure of allowing for double-headed VPs in the clause. As argued by Baker (1989), two separate verbs may, following the Projection Principle, project their theta-roles onto the same overlapping arguments. Figure 9.4. shows the subsequent clause structure for

(9.12), with the TP once again clear as its own component distinct from the separate (here double-headed) VP.

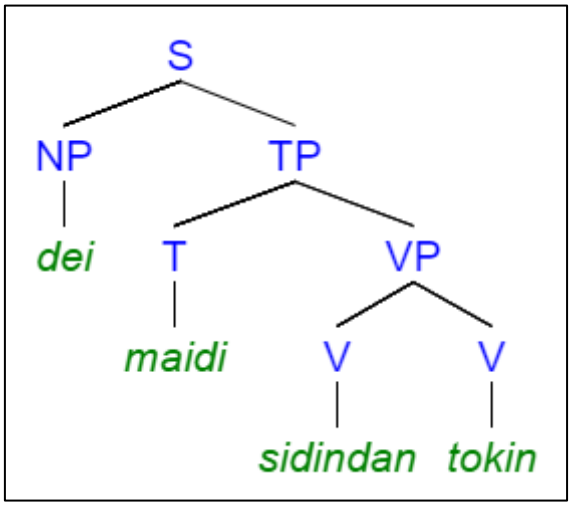

Figure 9.4: The syntactic structure of example (9.12), demonstrating the double-headed VP, and the TP it is dependent upon.

In Figure 9.5. below, the structure of a switch-subject SVC in Kununurra Kriol can similarly be seen. In this figure, example (9.23) is taken as an illustrative sentence. The VP of this clause has two heads, with the intervening shared argument, *is teil* 'his tail', appearing as a dependent of the first verb and in a level above the second verb of the clause. As with the previous figure, the TP is distinct from the double-headed VP and appears above it, containing the preverbal tense particle.

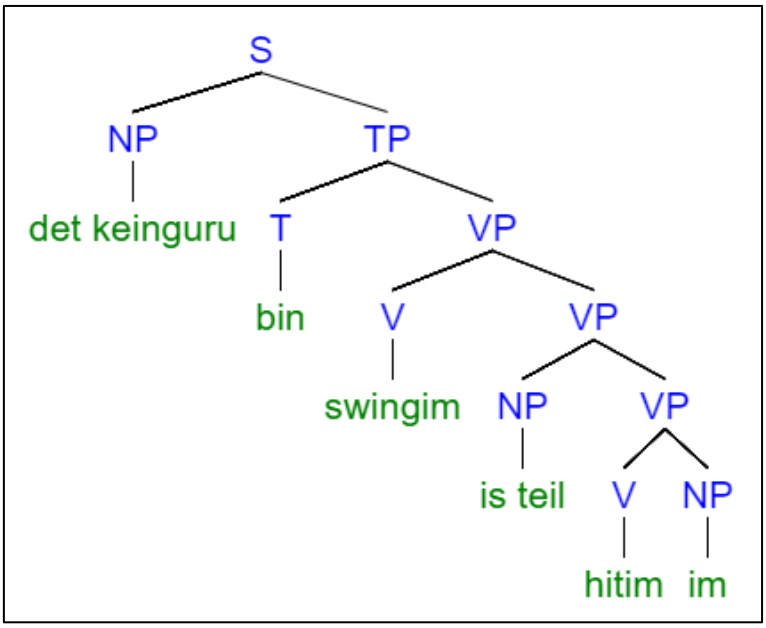

Figure 9.5: Syntactic structure of the switch-subject SVC from example (9.23), with the intervening shared argument seen between the two heads of the VP.

Overall, SVCs are not overly common in Kununurra Kriol discourse, consisting of approximately 150 tokens altogether in the collected data. Nevertheless, the potential for their further use is clearly demonstrated in the data presented here. As of yet, directional and posture SVCs are of particular interest as they currently remain relatively literal in their semantics. That is to say, directional SVCs indicate simply a direction of movement, and posture SVCs frequently describe the literal stance in which an action is being taken. Compared with many languages that use asymmetrical SVCs, these have a fairly limited scope. In many other languages, the senses of such verbs, especially posture, have been extended beyond their initial scope to cover such things as aspectual semantics, commonly progressive and habitual senses, or broader locative senses, which can be found in languages in Australia and the Pacific region (Early 2000, Reid 2002).

Presently, therefore, Kununurra Kriol has not seen considerable grammaticalisation of its serialised verbs. This is despite the fact that Kununurra Kriol frequently features preverbal particles, many of which have been initially derived from etymological sources which were themselves also (primarily functional) verbs, such as the past tense *bin* 'PST' from English *been.* It has been demonstrated several times through this chapter that the verbs in these SVCs have not yet become grammaticalised, and continue to function as independent lexicalised verbs both within and without the serial verb construction. Yet, it may still be possible, albeit not necessarily likely, that eventually the language may be seen heading in this direction, particularly from the influence of the Miriwoong substrate, or other internal motivations for language change independent thereof, such as more frequent usage. Additionally, I have shown that the *sit* posture SVCs also commonly collocate with the progressive aspect, which may hint towards a future potential development.

In Miriwoong, the grammar heavily features coverb constructions, which make use of one heavily grammaticalised inflecting verb alongside the uninflected lexical coverb (Kofod & Olawsky 2009). Whilst SVCs are not believed to be used in the language in their full sense, multiple-coverb constructions are possible, wherein a single inflecting verb can be paired with several coverbs, and arguments shared between them. The shared inflecting verb entails its monoclausality and the sharing of TMA marking. However, they are not considered to be SVCs due to several departures from the typical structure, notably the lack of independence of coverbs (Olawsky, personal communication, 19th December 2022). Perhaps a similar structure has been borrowed into Kununurra Kriol, yet due to the lack of heavy inflection and coverbs as a category, in contrast to Miriwoong, these verb chains have become more receptive to full serialisation. Recalling the examples of Seselwa and Morisyen in section 9.1.2, as suggested by Syea (2013), it is not entirely impossible for a Creole language to have developed SVCs from the influence of a similar yet not equivalent construction. In those cases, however, the influence was through partial acquisition of the lexifier, whereas in this case it is of a

substrate. Nevertheless, levels of fluency in Miriwoong do vary significantly amongst speakers of Kununurra Kriol.

It is therefore difficult to determine with any certainty whether SVCs in Kununurra Kriol are a result of an independent innovation within the language, or a result of substrate influences. Their presence in Kununurra, along with other Kriol varieties, in line with many Creole languages, would certainly provide some evidence for a bioprogrammatic origin in the process of creolisation as per Bickerton (1981/2016) and others. On the other hand, similar structures, albeit with key differences, are also present in the major substrate of the language, which is likely to have influenced their behaviour in the Creole too. The distinction of allowing symmetrical SVCs, in contrast to other Kriol varieties, may provide some such evidence. Alas, an answer to this enduring question remains inconclusive, and further experimentation, documentation, and descriptive work on Miriwoong and other substrate languages, is required.

A general caveat towards this section and its analysis must nevertheless be stated. One major limitation in assessing the potential for symmetrical SVCs, as well as the depth of analysis of SVCs in general, in Kununurra Kriol in the course of this project is the current unavailability of experimental data, due to various constraints placed upon data collection by the pandemic. To this effect, only naturalistic data is available on SVCs, leaving us unable to assess some criteria in their identification and typology, for example the lack of tokens with negative polarity (only one appears in the available data). Nevertheless, the naturalistic data available does show that the SVCs identified therein are indeed used in everyday discourse without prompting, testifying to their utility for Kununurra Kriol speakers. In returning to this study in future, such diagnostic experimental data would be immensely helpful in analysing the full extent of SVCs possible in the language.

9.4. Summary

This chapter has investigated and, on the basis of the available data, confirmed the presence of serial verb constructions in Kununurra Kriol. Although they are not a frequent construction, they are nevertheless used and accepted as part of the language. Having found that the language does in fact allow for the use of SVCs in its grammar, I have further analysed the structures available, and to what extent the SVCs of Kununurra Kriol fit within the broader typologies of verb serialisation in Creole and other languages around the world.

Several varieties of Kriol in northern Australia have been documented to have SVCs in their grammar (Hoffmann 2015). Kununurra Kriol is no different in this core respect. What distinguishes Kununurra Kriol from these varieties is that, whilst other varieties only allow for asymmetrical SVCs, Kununurra

Kriol appears to also allow for those of the symmetrical type, although these are not remarkably common in regular discourse.

Within asymmetrical SVCs of Kununurra Kriol, three main types have been identified, based upon the common verbs used. The first are directional SVCs, which use *go* and *kam* to describe whether the action is taking place away from or towards the speaker. The second are posture SVCs, which describe the posture of the subject, whether sitting with *sidan* or standing with *stendinap*. These posture verbs are of particular interest as they commonly appear in the progressive aspect; several languages of Australia have been found to use posture verb serialisation to encode aspectual meaning (Reid 2002). The third type are causative verbs, where a switch-subject structure is found. All of these have been found to follow the key criteria outlined by Aikhenvald (2018) for the diagnosis of SVCs in a language.

Symmetrical SVCs, a feature found only in this variety of Australian Kriol, largely follow resultative semantics. This is one common typological type of SVC that has been identified by Veenstra & Muysken (2017). These allow for both same-subject and switch-subject alignments in their structures. Such constructions are not found in other varieties of Kriol, which may suggest a strong potential for influence from the substrate, Miriwoong, in their development. In particular, Miriwoong multiple-coverb constructions may have played such a role, following other evidence that Miriwoong has had an influence upon many parts of Kununurra Kriol.

10. Discussion

Over the preceding four chapters, I have investigated several key morphosyntactic elements of the verb phrase in Kununurra Kriol. Within these elements, several major themes can be seen: the substrate influence of substrate languages, particularly Miriwoong; the inheritance of features that have been long identified with Pidgin and Creole languages of Australia and the wider Asia-Pacific region; and several notable innovations that mark Kununurra Kriol as its own distinct language. In this chapter, I will discuss the results of this dissertation from these three main vectors, which form three major pillars that shape a contact language such as Kununurra Kriol.

Beyond the morphosyntax at play throughout the dissertation, the implications thereof further extend into the realms of sociolinguistics; language at its very core is a tool for social interaction and communication. Key to this is the formation of a distinct Kununurra Kriol identity, as many Miriwoong speakers of the language recognise it, and how this may be expressed and shown in the grammar of the language itself. This is both within the umbrella of Australian Kriol, as it is spoken across the north of Australia, but also its identity as a Creole language in an ostensibly post-colonial world containing many others.

Finally, I will examine some of the broader implications of the findings presented in this dissertation, in what it has shown of verbal morphosyntax of one Creole language in Australia. As with any other language in the world, Kununurra Kriol can offer us an invaluable window into the use and configuration of spoken human languages worldwide, and broaden our understanding of linguistics, even just a bit.

10.1. Influence: Kununurra Kriol as a Contact Language

Most languages of the world are, in some way or another, influenced by contact with other languages, even those that are not generally classified as contact languages. Above all, however, stand Creole languages, along with Pidgins and Mixed Languages, as perhaps the most extreme result of language contact and contact-induced change (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 1-5). As a Creole language itself, Kununurra Kriol has, too, been born out of extensive language contact; first of all in its origins via the early days of European settlement in Australia, in the form of the NSW Pidgin that expanded ahead of the frontier of invasion (Harris 1986).

As it underwent creolisation in Kununurra, as other varieties of Kriol did in other regions of northern Australia in the early decades of the 20th century, Kununurra Kriol experienced its own significant substrate influences, particularly from the local traditional language, Miriwoong. I have demonstrated

these influences throughout this dissertation in the previous four chapters examining particular grammatical aspects of the verb phrase in the language.

Perhaps the most salient of all substrate influences on Kununurra Kriol manifests in the borrowing of Miriwoong lexical items. As shown in chapter 6, I have found that verbs consist of around a quarter of all Miriwoong borrowings into Kununurra Kriol. As such to highlight the heavy influence and continued contact between the two languages, Miriwoong-origin verbs – generally coverbs in the source lexicon – are treated somewhat differently from verbs of other origins. They are (generally) not used with Kriol morphology, but continue to use their own Miriwoong-origin derivational morphemes. This shows us that, whilst Miriwoong may not be the main language of many Miriwoong today, but Kununurra Kriol, its speakers do indeed have a continued knowledge of the language, to the extent that the relationship between the two is not just simple borrowing from a foreign language, but on the level of code-switching. Following Myers-Scotton's (1993b) framework, Kununurra Kriol acts as the Matrix Language, providing a grammatical frame, within which Miriwoong acts as the Embedded Language. Early System Morphemes from the EL appear to be preserved in code-switching within the ML. As will be discussed further in section 10.4., the use of Miriwoong lexicon in Kununurra Kriol forms a core part of the local identity, and reflects cultural worldviews accordingly.

Miriwoong substrate influence is not limited to such overt code-switching practices either. In chapters 7 and 9, discussing transitivity and SVCs respectively, more subtle likely contact-induced influences have been seen within the very grammatical system of Kununurra Kriol itself. Whilst it may not be certain that Miriwoong is *the* origin of these features, the similarities between such structures in the languages does present the language as a strong candidate for the, or a, source. Beyond the lexicon, these influences upon the grammar are an important part of what distinguishes Kununurra Kriol as its own distinct language.

Miriwoong transitivity is not encoded directly as its own morpheme as it is in Kununurra Kriol, but in chapter 7 I found that the treatment of transitivity in the language, particularly in the way some syntactically transitive verbs are not marked as such, patterns closely with the use of inflecting verbs in Miriwoong verb complexes in their semantic values. This is, however, with some exceptions, which blurs the line between the two languages somewhat, but does not preclude the influence that has been affected. It nevertheless reflects the shared frames within which both languages exist, where the world is conceived of in similar ways that affect the grammar itself to a limited degree. Indeed, bilingualism is often found to be a major cause of diachronic language change, where two languages inhabiting the same brain enables the easy borrowing and transfer of features between them (Marian & Kaushanskaya 2007, Meisel 2010).

Substrate influences are also found in the Serial Verb Constructions of Kununurra Kriol, explored in chapter 9. Miriwoong verb phrases prominently feature coverb constructions using one inflecting verb, carrying inflectional information such as TMA, transitivity, and indexation of arguments, and one

coverb that carries the core semantic information of the phrase (Kofod & Olawsky 2009). Kununurra Kriol, like other varieties of Kriol, uses asymmetrical SVCs, which follow a similar pattern of having one verb from a limited inventory, accompanied by another with fewer limitations in its selection. At their core, these structures both use multiple verbs in a clause, sharing arguments, to convey what is conceived of as a single event (Aikhenvald 2018). Similarly, coverb constructions and asymmetrical SVCs offer a similar structure in that one verb is from a limited set of verbs with relatively generic semantics with which they elaborate the second verb.

Simultaneously, SVCs highlight the distinct typological differences between the two languages. Coverb constructions are not to be equated with SVCs, as they display an inherent imbalance between the two verbs, whereas SVCs treat both equally and independently within a single clause (Baker & Harvey 2010). Nevertheless, what can be provided from the coverb constructions is a template for multiple-verb constructions in general which, lacking the requirement for inflectional morphology as in Miriwoong, provides room for the development of SVCs in their place in Kununurra Kriol. As well, SVCs are, as has been discussed, a prominent feature of Creole languages (cf. Bickerton 1989). The similar structures in Miriwoong could have very well provided and influence that has shaped which verbs in particular have been selected for the asymmetrical constructions, and reinforced their general usage in the language, despite the differences.

Neither of these cases of substrate influence would qualify as cases of functional transfer, which is a major process of substrate influence in contact languages. Under the functional transfer framework, as outlined by Siegel (2012), one would see the near wholesale mirroring of features and functions of discrete morphemes between Miriwoong and Kununurra Kriol. This has not occurred, and Kununurra Kriol has clearly maintained its own innovative structures. Miriwoong, rather, is a major influence in the underlying shape of many features, yet does not act as a template wholesale. Earlier within this section, it was said that code-switching shows that the two systems are frequently shared and interchanged within a single person. Here, it can be demonstrated that these two languages do maintain themselves as separate, distinct systems. Even if these influences do cross between them, the two languages occupy their own niches. Indeed, it is Kununurra Kriol that appears to be the more dominant language in this situation, as the language of everyday life in Kununurra, whilst Miriwoong is ubiquitous culturally but limited in its actual usage.

When one talks of influences in the development of Kununurra Kriol, it does not necessarily entail the wholesale transfer of structures from the substrate to the Creole. As I have examined in this dissertation, the influences are often more subtle than this. Very little in the Kununurra Kriol verb phrase is copied structurally from Miriwoong, yet at the same time the language shows the hallmarks of Miriwoong's influence within the grammar and in the particularities of the syntax-semantic interface on display in the language.

10.2. Inheritance: Kununurra Kriol as an Old Language

As with any other language, not all features are new or borrowed from another language but can be considered inherited from older forms. There is a certain amount of diachronic continuity that can be found in any living language, Creole languages notwithstanding. Kununurra Kriol has inherited a significant amount of its features from older forms of the language and its antecedents. This includes from both the superstrate, by which many linguists make genetic classifications with regards to Creole languages, in this case English, as well as the earlier Pidgin whose own origins lie well before its creolisation in the north of Australia.

Particularly, it is the inheritance from earlier NSW Pidgin features that strengthens the link between Kununurra Kriol and the other Creole languages of Australia. Rather than being a singular isolated event in Kununurra, creolisation of Kununurra Kriol was one manifestation of a new language amongst many sharing similar roots, yet being born in their own distinct environments. Even at the surface level, the basic forms of most morphemes used in the Kununurra Kriol verb can be found in other Kriol varieties in the north of Australia, beyond what could be conceived of as an isolated coincidence. This is not to say that this would make all of these languages the same; the realisations of such morphemes at a more fundamental level shows their distinctive influences and innovations that set each language apart.

Prominent examples of such include aspectual and directional suffixes attached to the verb itself, such as *-bat* and *-ap,* as well as the form of the transitive suffix *-im,* whose behaviour was examined in chapter 7. All of these have been extensively documented to have been present in the NSW Pidgin in varying yet markedly similar forms (Troy 1994a, Koch 2011). Their broader functions in Kununurra Kriol roughly match their functions recorded in both the antecedent Pidgin as well as in other Kriol varieties. Outside the main purveyance of this dissertation, yet still relevant, are also Australian wanderwörter such as *bogi* ‘swim, wash’ and *pikinini* ‘child’, which are present in Kununurra Kriol, and whose origins lie respectively in the Indigenous language of Sydney and an eighteenth-century nautical jargon, many thousands of kilometres and at least a century away from contact with Miriwoong people (Harris 1993).

In terms of the morphosyntax itself, Kununurra Kriol has inherited many basic structures from earlier forms, which it continues to share with other Creole languages in Australia, and English, despite the creolisation process. Among the most basic of these, not discussed in detail in this dissertation, are features such as word order, which remains SVO, as well as the configuration of the verbal complex. Within the verbal complex, the tense phrase is clear through the preverbal TMA particles, which it has in common with other varieties of Kriol in Australia. Similarly, the passive BE in the form of *git* appears in this space, rather than as an auxiliary verb as it does in English.

Often remarked upon as one of the more salient features identifying Kriol speech in Australia, the transitive suffix *-im* is also clearly inherited from earlier forms. It has been earlier identified as likely coming from a reduced form of the English *him/them* pronoun, reanalysed as a grammatical transitivity suffix, and appears to be documented throughout NSW Pidgin records (Troy 1994a, Koch 2011). Its basic function as a marker of transitivity status on the verb is inherited in Kununurra Kriol as well, and plays a similarly prominent role in the verb phrase as in other varieties. Nevertheless, at the same time, the specifics of the marking are influenced by the substrate Miriwoong, rather than acting identically to others.

Simultaneously, these commonalities, particularly with other Creole languages around the world, recall major theories of Creole genesis, and where Kununurra Kriol lies within them. Indeed, the continuity, if somewhat restricted, between the superstrate English and the modern Kununurra Kriol does remain relatively clear, despite the nature of creolisation and major disruption of regular language transmission.

What can be inferred from this is that the creolisation of Kununurra Kriol is linked to those other creolisation events in Australia. It is undeniable, from these commonalities, that there are shared roots to other Creole languages of Australia to be found in the NSW Pidgin, something that is accepted by both monogenetic and multiple-origin theories of the origin of Kriol. Whilst this conclusion is far from groundbreaking, it can also be said that Kununurra Kriol is, at heart, an old language. This is manifested not only through its deep links to Miriwoong, but also its history of pidginisation and creolisation stretching back centuries to the beginnings of invasion in Australia.

10.3. Innovation: Kununurra Kriol as a Young Language

Influences and contact-induced change, and inheritance from older forms of a language are but two elements that explain the evolution of a contact language. Owing to their origins, Creole languages are inherently young languages. They are the result of a catastrophic disruption to natural language transmission (Bickerton 1988). Creole languages are also living languages; they cannot simply be explained solely as a sum of their contributing parts. As living autonomous systems independent of both superstrate and substrate, their influences notwithstanding, they also are very capable of innovating their own features. In this description of Kununurra Kriol verbs, it has been shown that there is some degree of innovation in this domain as well.

Two of the areas discussed in this dissertation stand out as particular innovations, particularly in comparison with other varieties of Kriol in Australia, and Creole languages in general. First of all, the presence of passivisation is something that can be considered to be somewhat unexpected to find in a Creole language. Bickerton (1981/2016), notably, included the lack of passive constructions – or, if

present, directly borrowed from the superstrate – as one of the twelve Creole features. Other scholars have discussed their relative rarity in Creole languages in light of their complexity in the morphosyntax, with a preference for alternative, less complex constructions (cf. Markey & Fodale 1983).

Nevertheless, Kununurra Kriol ranks amongst Creole languages such as Jamaican and Mauritian Creoles that have been found more recently to definitively possess productive passive constructions (Seuren 1995, LaCharité & Wellington 1999, Adone 2001, 2012a). Among these, only a third of Creole languages utilise a passive construction that is encoded in the verb phrase, akin to a 'typical' passive (Haspelmath & APiCS Consortium 2013). Whilst it is not particularly common (compared to, for example, English passives) in regular discourse, it was demonstrated in chapter 8 that Kununurra Kriol does indeed have such a construction in the verb phrase. Further, rather than being directly borrowed – although the etymon of the BE particle itself is – the construction appears to be an innovative one in Kununurra Kriol, structurally distinct from the English passive.

The passive in Kununurra Kriol sets it apart as a Creole language, but is also found in other varieties of Kriol in Australia (Sandefur 1979: 136-7). This may be an innovation that happened in multiple places, or via the extensive contact between Kriol speakers across the region. What does, in contrast, set Kununurra Kriol apart from other varieties even within Australia from this dissertation is in the structure of SVCs. As discussed, other varieties, particularly around Ngukurr, do indeed allow for asymmetrical SVCs in their grammar. Symmetrical SVCs, however, are not found or are extremely marginal (Hoffmann 2015). As demonstrated in this dissertation, Kununurra Kriol on the other hand does allow for a limited range of symmetrical SVCs, largely with resultative semantics in their construction.

The case of symmetrical SVCs in Kununurra Kriol presents the clearest innovation in the language within the scope of this dissertation. As well as not being present in other Kriol varieties, they are also not used in the substrate Miriwoong, which has multiple-verb constructions, making heavy use of inflecting verbs and coverbs, but without serialisation present. It can be, therefore, disregarded that they are transferred wholesale from a substrate template, as some, for example Jansen et al (1978), have proposed for their origins in Creole languages, although they may have been reinforced by Miriwoong coverb constructions to some extent. Thus, they appear to be an innovation by Kununurra Kriol speakers themselves, potentially expanding upon the structural base provided by asymmetrical SVCs and coverb constructions. Owing to their relatively limited scope, however, the present state may be somewhat early in their development, rather than being a major component of regular discourse, as asymmetrical SVCs are.

SVCs, in contrast to the passive constructions, have long been known to be quite common amongst Creole languages (Jansen, Koopman & Muysken 1978). With regards to asymmetrical SVCs, these roughly follow what Bickerton (1981/2016) would expect in the development of a children's language,

reflecting the organisation of arguments within a clause whilst lacking adequate prepositions via normal transmission of language. In Kununurra Kriol, they also show some potential for grammaticalisation, particularly those posture verbs that tend to be collocated with the progressive aspect.

Both innovative features remind us of the fact that Kununurra Kriol is a living language that continues to be used as an autonomous linguistic system, alongside Miriwoong and English. It is not wholly reliant on either substrate or superstrate to provide the framework for its grammar. The innovation of passive constructions in particular shows that it is very much capable of forming complex constructions, and adds to the growing body of evidence that Creole languages are not inherently limited in complexity. Nonetheless, their development is seen to be relatively small and uncommon compared to other languages. The innovation of SVCs links Kununurra Kriol with many other Creole languages of the world, and lends credence to their utility for children's innate grammar lacking a stable and clear input for first language acquisition.

10.4. Identity: Kununurra Kriol as a Creole and *A Kriol*

Whilst morphosyntax is the primary focus in this dissertation, a major running theme throughout has taken a more abstract social sense. That is, the verb phrase of Kununurra Kriol has revealed a great deal about the cultural and linguistic continuity between pre- and post-invasion Miriwoong communities. Rather than experiencing a great break in cultural and linguistic transmission, the abandonment of one culture and language and (forced) adoption of another, there is instead a clear line that can be traced between them. Colonisation and the resultant creolisation had an undeniably violent impact upon Indigenous communities and their languages, yet there is significant resilience that is often ignored in the academy, wherein these communities continue to thrive despite these catastrophic disruptions.

Recent surveys have found that Kriol has, in recent years, been increasingly adopted and viewed by some, especially younger, Aboriginal Australians as having imbued within it a distinct Aboriginal identity (Ponsonnet 2010, Simpson 2013). In the findings of this dissertation, it would appear that this is indeed true, and goes even further to the point that in Kununurra Kriol, the language also carries a great deal of Miriwoong identity within it too. This is clear right from the onset of data collection at the MDWg Centre, where one of the popular names for Kununurra Kriol makes plain the connection with Miriwoong identity; Miriwoong Kriol.

In section 10.1, influences upon the Kununurra Kriol verb phrase from substrate sources, namely Miriwoong, were discussed. Once again, the direct borrowing and code-switching of Miriwoong verbs into the Kununurra Kriol grammatical frame is the most prominent example of a clear expression of

Miriwoong identity in the language. Within these loaned and code-switched Miriwoong verbs, it was found that there are a significant number of cultural terms that are used, alongside more regular everyday lexical items for common activities. This, in particular, demonstrates a clear cultural linkage that has been passed down *despite* language shift, which in many cases would have represented a major divergence. Yet, in Kununurra Kriol, a cultural core to the language can be seen that is closely tied in particular to Miriwoong heritage and cultural concepts.

Miriwoong identity can also be seen in subtler ways in the grammar itself. In SVCs, for example, eventhood as a concept, and the acceptability of which verbs can be put together, can be highly variable and deeply connected to the cultural context within which the language is spoken (Foley 2010, Adone, Brück & Gabel 2018). Of these, some of the common asymmetrical SVCs that were found in Kununurra Kriol were those using posture verbs as one of the pair, which also have a particular association with progressive aspectual senses. Whilst sitting is hardly unique to Australia, many longer social events and processes, such as meetings and manufacture of food or objects, in Aboriginal communities are done whilst sitting together, often accompanied by yarning – a cultural practice of respectful sharing of knowledge and listening to others (cf. Bessarab & Ng'andu 2010). As well, the variability of what is considered transitive in Kununurra Kriol was found to be likely influenced by the transitivity values of those same verbs in Miriwoong.

Kununurra Kriol is as distinct as it is familiar with other varieties of Kriol in Australia. It is Kununurra Kriol itself alone, but it is also *a Kriol,* with ties to many other communities in ostensibly post-colonial Australia. The language has, as discussed previously, inherited many features from the NSW Pidgin that it continues to share with other varieties, such as the marking of transitivity, and the preverbal TMA particles. Speakers of Kununurra Kriol are able to communicate effectively with speakers of these other Kriol varieties, which they often do as many frequently move between communities for work, family, friends, or events, highlighting the linguistic links in practice.

This also involves some accommodation for others; when non-Miriwoong are speaking Kriol, English-origin lexical items are used in place of Miriwoong-origin, coexisting within the same language but in the form of this different register. This was experienced during fieldwork for this dissertation too, as it took some time to "fit in" as a foreign researcher. Indeed, my own Kriol prior to working in Kununurra was learnt from Barunga, and on the first day, this was immediately identified as such. These practices illustrate the status of Kununurra Kriol as being both linked to other Kriol varieties through intercommunication and shared roots, but also being distinct in its identity to constitute an independent language, reflecting its own unique origins in Kununurra.

Just as Kununurra Kriol is a Kriol, it is also a Creole, taking a clear place alongside many other post-colonial communities that have adopted a new language as their own around the world. Whilst the aforementioned cultural continuity with Miriwoong is clearly seen in the language, it cannot escape the context it was born in, with the colonial language, English, acting as its superstrate and biggest

source of lexicon. The passive, for example, whilst structurally an innovation within the grammar of Kununurra Kriol, has the source of the particle *git* from an English etymon, and many fossilised verbal forms can be seen that trace their origin to the English source, providing some irregularity and opacity to the passivisation process.

There is further the relationship with both languages traditional and colonial. Kununurra Kriol is the primary language spoken by most Miriwoong people in Kununurra. Miriwoong itself, however, is nevertheless the primary language that people identify with most of all, as can be seen in Australian census records, where only one language can be chosen; 131 individuals in 2016 elected Miriwoong as their primary language, but only 47 Kriol. Miriwoong is also the main goal for revitalisation programmes at the MDWg Centre, owing to its core position in traditional life and present status as being critically endangered. It is, consequentially, and quite understandably, the language that holds most sociolinguistic prestige in the community. Such a status, accompanied by the active revitalisation programmes, could further provide some additional impetus for the strengthening of Miriwoong substrate influences and code-switching seen throughout this dissertation.

Concurrently, English is the language spoken by most non-Miriwoong in the town of Kununurra, as well as most of Australia today. Most major public domains, including government services, media, and education, are performed almost exclusively in English. No variety of Kriol is formally recognised for official purposes in Australia, Kununurra included, although there are interpreting services available. Communication outside the Miriwoong community is thus also generally done in English. Therefore, Miriwoong people are highly multilingual, generally at the very least being able to command both English and Kununurra Kriol, but often also several traditional languages, not least Miriwoong. Kununurra Kriol finds itself in between the pressures of highly imposing English-speaking Australia, and Miriwoong. This echoes similar positions that are commonly experienced by Creole language communities, especially considering the lack of official recognition for Kununurra Kriol.

Despite all this, Kununurra Kriol has become a core part of identity amongst Miriwoong people in Kununurra. Whilst Miriwoong may be the traditional language with which people identify most, and acknowledging the colonial roots of Kununurra Kriol, the community expresses unequivocal ownership over the language and a desire to foster and develop it accordingly. Among commonly positive attitudes about using Kununurra Kriol, the community has shown this through recent initiatives for developing its own orthography, as well as promoting research on the language, this dissertation being one result thereof.

Kununurra Kriol is both a Kriol and a Creole. It reflects a post-colonial reality where a new language sits in between the colonial and the traditional, coexisting with both. It carries the heritage of the invasion within it, but also a continuing and enduring traditional culture. This is despite the catastrophic language shift during creolisation that brought about the context for its genesis.

10.5. Implications: Kununurra Kriol from a Theoretical Perspective

Withdrawing somewhat from the immediate context of Kununurra Kriol and its speakers, I now turn to the results of this dissertation in light of a broader theoretical perspective. In this dissertation, several structural features of the verb phrase in Kununurra Kriol have been examined and analysed. These features have been discussed within their closer theoretical context in those chapters. Here, the ways in which Kununurra Kriol broadly fits typologically in the world will be discussed, and what its syntax may reveal to us about language. Further, Kununurra Kriol's structures have several implications for the study of Creole languages at large.

10.5.1. Creole Languages and Creole Genesis

The verb phrase as a whole in Kununurra Kriol reflects many features common of Creole languages cross-linguistically. From amongst the three typological features suggested by McWhorter (1998), it has been shown that there is no inflectional morphology present on any verbs in the language; verbs are invariable for person and number, and other categories such as TMA are marked with preverbal particles. Secondly, the derivation of verbs is frequently semantically transparent. In this dissertation, a major example of such transparent derivation is the use of the transitive *-im* suffix, which is wholly opaque when used to produce a transitive verb out of a typically intransitive stem. The specifics of when it is *not* used in a syntactically transitive clause, however, are a different matter, as extensively documented. The third feature, the lack of tone, is largely not relevant to this study, but is also seen in the language.

The twelve Creole features put forward by Bickerton (1981/2016) present a similar story, a summary of which is seen in Table 10.1. Of the features relevant to the verb, highlighted in the above table, Kununurra Kriol generally fits in with the typological assessment. Topicalisation, for example, was found in chapter 7 to be leftward in nature. Alongside this, Kununurra Kriol also uses a zero copula, preverbal TMA particles, adjectives can be ambiguous with verbs, and there is no syntactic distinction between indicative and interrogative clauses. These features were not the focus of this dissertation, but are present in the language nevertheless.

The biggest major exclusion from this list in terms of the verb and its structure is the status of passive constructions. As discussed extensively in this dissertation, especially chapter 8, Kununurra Kriol *does* have the ability to form passive constructions, and in a form that is innovative rather than directly borrowed or inherited from the superstrate language. Kununurra Kriol also uses different lexical items

for existential and possessive functions – the possessive verb *gadim*[10] is extensively used for the latter and not possible for the former.

Feature	**Kununurra Kriol**
Leftward focus	Yes
Use of definite articles	Yes
Preverbal TMA particles	Yes
Complementisers	Yes
Lack of relative pronouns	Yes
Negation in NP and VP	No
Existential and possessive overlap	No
Zero copula	Yes
Verbal adjectives	Ambiguous
Indicative/interrogative distinction in syntax	Yes
Preposed Wh-questions	Yes
Lack of passive	No

Table 10.1. Bickerton's (1981/2016) twelve Creole features and their agreement in Kununurra Kriol.

Serialisation of verbs, also closely identified with Creole languages typologically, although they are not recognised as a major feature, are also found to be present in Kununurra Kriol. As mentioned within this chapter, this is additionally a feature that is innovative to the language, without a direct source in either the substrate Miriwoong or in superstrate English.

The prominent exclusion of passivisation notwithstanding, Kununurra Kriol appears to exhibit largely typical Creole features overall, vindicating, to some extent, the assessments of Creole languages as a typological class. This one exception in particular can be understandably explained by the lack of documentary evidence for the passive in Creole languages that was available at the time of writing these typological feature lists, whereas recent research has found more such examples of passive constructions in Creole languages. This dissertation, therefore, adds to the body of research on this matter, and provides evidence of the potential for a Creole language to independently innovate complex structures such as the passive.

On the whole, the combination of features deemed typical of Creole languages is in fact reflected in Kununurra Kriol. This would support the suggestion of Creole languages as a typological class, rather

[10] Many alternative forms are found for this verb; eg. *gotem, garram, gat,* etc.

than as derivations or varieties of their superstrates, or as direct reflections of the substrate. However, this may be an overly simple explanation, as Kununurra Kriol is also an English-lexified Creole language. This is a feature that it has in common with quite a number of other Creole languages that have been surveyed to create these Creole typological feature lists. One must also consider the role of the NSW Pidgin as a vector in the genesis of other English-lexified Creole languages in the region, which created a tangible link between them. A counter to this assumption may be in the innovations that are clearly part of neither English or Miriwoong grammar but *are* present in Kununurra Kriol, such as serialisation, and therefore not simply a reflection of input from the various strata.

The evidence from the verb phrase in Kununurra Kriol discussed within this dissertation would point towards a genesis that was driven by children and expanded by adults. This bears similarities to that suggested by the language bioprogramme hypothesis of Bickerton (1984). The acquisition from the earlier Pidgin is clear in the maintenance of transitivity marking, yet this system is highly influenced by the Miriwoong substrate. Miriwoong, in turn, is notably intertwined with the Kriol, most prominently in the lexicon. This reflects the bilingual development of children in Kununurra, which further reflects the unbalanced nature of the acquisition. Miriwoong is no longer a primary language at home, supplanted by the former, but is still passed down. Serialisation, as well, is a complex process that can be found to be productive in children's language even by the age of 3, independent of adult input (Adone 2012a, Sarvasy 2021). Again, it is an innovation here that is not present in the substrate and superstrate inputs prior to the genesis of the language, thus pointing to its potential development amongst children.

Passivisation, on the other hand, has been found to be frequently difficult for children to acquire, especially following the English model using resurfacing agents in the *by*-phrase (Fox & Grodzinsky 1998). Lacking a standard and consistent English input from native speaking adults, it would therefore make sense that Miriwoong children in the early days of creolisation would also not have the appropriate model available to them to acquire such a complex construction. This is consequently reflected in its initial absence in Kununurra Kriol. Later, however, it has been shown that the passive has once again become innovated, albeit following its own innovative model rather than that of the superstrate.

Meakins (2023) suggests that many Australianists describing Creole languages have an outsized focus on the influence of substrate input upon them, particularly in describing their genesis and development. This is perhaps true, given the heavy focus on Indigenous languages in both this and other studies on varieties of Australian Kriol. However, as has been demonstrated here, there are remarkable similarities between Miriwoong features and those that can be found in the Kununurra Kriol verb phrase. Such a strong link to the substrate can be easily explained by the continued coexistence of both Creole language and substrate, frequently within the same, multilingual person. As Meakins also suggests, however, it is important not to forget the long journey the language has taken

to reach this point, including the inherited and borrowed features from NSW Pidgin and other Indigenous languages along the way. This has also been examined and verified within this dissertation as well. From a theoretical standpoint, Kununurra Kriol very much affirms that a Creole language can develop out of a Pidgin stage directly. Concurrently, it also shows that the substrate does indeed play a heavy role in the development and shape that the Creole eventually turns out to be, as well as the innovations that can be found amongst children and, eventually, adult speakers that are independent of outside sources.

10.5.2. Decreolisation

Decreolisation has been often suggested as a notion unique to Creole languages, and one that could potentially have affected Kununurra Kriol too, owing to its continued close contact with its lexifier language, English. As introduced earlier in section 2.3., decreolisation is suggested by DeCamp (1971) to occur to Creole languages where the lexifier exists in parallel and retains de facto (or de jure) official status (and the prestige that this status carries therein), and where colonial social barriers have broken down to allow the colonised to enter previously colonial hierarchies. These are two conditions that have become gradually realised in Australia over the last decades, with major improvements to the rights and conditions of Indigenous Australians in society. Since Sandefur's (1982) assessment that Australian racism generally keeps Aboriginal mobility within and between Kriol speaking communities – and thus resisting decreolisation – there has been a general increase in the presence of Indigenous Australians in the wider public eye, including in positions of government .

The data from the Kununurra Kriol verb phrase has shown that decreolisation has still not taken place, even amidst these improvements to social mobility of Indigenous Australians within the country's wider non-Indigenous social and political spheres. Rather, the language has seen its own developments internal to the language, some of which that resemble constructions that are *also* found in English, which may have influenced their formation, such as the innovation of a distinct passive construction using the *git* particle. Other developments show no echo of English in their outcomes, such as the presence of verb serialisation.

I do not believe that the continued existence of intense racism and prejudices, as well as institutional blocks to the restoration of Indigenous land ownership, is a cause for the lack of decreolisation in Kununurra Kriol. Virtually all Indigenous Australians, including Miriwoong, are able to speak and use both Aboriginal English and mainstream Australian English, and many of them also a variety of Australian Kriol and an array of traditional languages (Vaughan & Singler 2018). In Kununurra, these are used alongside Kununurra Kriol and Miriwoong as languages of wider communication. This is reinforced by state policy enforcing English in most domains, including its requirement in education at

all levels, although there is more recently growing acceptance of multilingual modes in Australian schools (Angelo 2021). Under these conditions, one could possibly predict the decreolisation of Kununurra Kriol, yet it remains a distinct marker of identity and exists in a strongly multilingual context.

Perhaps in agreement with those against Creole exceptionalism, decreolisation need not necessarily be a part of the Creole life cycle after all. Rather, as argued by Aceto (1999) and, most recently, Mayeux (forthcoming), decreolisation represents a description of regular internal and contact-induced language change, applied exceptionally as a feature of Creole languages in contact with their lexifiers. This change is, fundamentally, internally motivated change, akin to any other kind of language change, especially when in contact with other languages. This is demonstrated by Mayeux (forthcoming)in the (re)borrowing of French morphosyntax into Louisiana Creole, showing that it is, at its core, no different from any other kind of language change processes experienced by other types of non-Creole languages.

10.5.3. On the Structure of the Verb Phrase

In examining the verb phrase of Kununurra Kriol, I have also identified in this dissertation the existence of a clear Tense Phrase or Auxiliary Phrase in the language. There is some debate as to whether such a phrase type exists in all languages, particularly those that do not have a morphological tense category, such as in Chinese languages, as opposed to those that do, such as English (cf. Law & Ndayiragije 2017). Such a phrase, for example, has been shown to underly the differing verb movement rules between English and French (Pollock 1989). Kununurra Kriol is one such language that does not have morphological tense marking, and neither does it use a copula that would easily signal its existence in the grammar.

This dissertation has shown several times that the TP is identifiable in having separate movement behaviour from the VP as well. For example, it was demonstrated in chapter 7 that movement of the verb is distinct from the movement of the preverbal particle complex. Whereas the former can be, for example, topicalised by being brought to the front of the clause, the TP remains in its position following the subject NP, as in example (7.32). Such movement formally detaches the TP from the VP. The subject NP, in turn, remains subordinate to the head of the TP by staying in its position immediately preceding it. Serial Verb Constructions also show a non-repetition of the preverbal complex, but rather multiple heads to the VP, above which a single TP sits. This makes the structure of the clause distinct from English, whose TP and VP are closely tied together by morphological values. Only in the case of the aspectual *-bat* suffix is this overlap seen in Kununurra Kriol, perhaps pointing towards an analysis of *-bat* that presents it as a derivational, rather than inflectional,

morpheme. This would further resemble the aspectual morphemes that can be found on Miriwoong coverbs, which additionally carry over such derivation when used in Kununurra Kriol and may present itself as another source of substrate transfer into or influence on the language.

Chomsky (1988) combines tense features together with those of agreement under a single INFL Phrase. It is not easily possible to determine whether the Kununurra Kriol TP is also part of the InflP, as inflectional agreement simply does not exist in the Kununurra Kriol grammar. The only feature represented is that of tense (as well as the accompanying values of aspect and modality). As well, within the preverbal particle complex, the *git* particle marking for passivisation may be found, which also remains with the TMA particles in the phrase, again distinct from the VP itself. Perhaps, therefore, this TP cannot be said to be a Tense Phrase, as it is not restricted to values of tense, but rather an Auxiliary Phrase. Further analysis and experimentation is required to more firmly answer the question of the phrasal status of the preverbal particle complex.

Nevertheless, this again assures us of the distinctiveness of Kununurra Kriol structurally from its English superstrate. Whereas many English syntactic phrases such as the TP, AuxP, or InflP, among others, frequently collapse into one another through the use of morphological processes, such processes do not exist in Kununurra Kriol. That is not to say that Kununurra Kriol is a simpler language, as is often assumed of Creole languages. Instead, it is because it avoids such processes through alternative structures, namely and most prominently the use of preverbal particles, to convey TMA and other auxiliary and modal information.

10.6. Summary

In this chapter some of the key themes and theoretical considerations that have arisen over the course of this dissertation have been summarised and discussed. Four terms in particular can be used to aptly capture the major motifs that have run through this discussion: *influence, inheritance, innovation* and *identity.* These represent factors that underpin the shape, evolution and experiences of Creole languages and their speakers in particular. Kununurra Kriol is no different in these respects.

In terms of influence, Creole languages, like any natural language, are influenced by the languages that surround them and the speakers with which their own speakers maintain contact with. This includes, but is not limited to, the high levels of multilingualism that is frequently inherent to both Indigenous Australian and Creole speaking communities, where such contact occurs not just between speakers but within the same very speaker. In Kununurra Kriol, it can be seen that there is extensive influence from the major substrate language, Miriwoong, with which many Kununurra Kriol speakers are bilingual in, upon both the grammar and lexicon of the language, most prominently in the form of lexical borrowing and code-switching, but also in the underlying logic behind systems such as

transitivity marking and the structures of serial verb constructions. Kununurra Kriol is, fundamentally, a contact language.

As well as any natural language, Kununurra Kriol has shown inherited features from earlier forms of the language, including its superstrate English, and earlier pre-creolisation forms from the NSW Pidgin. Many of these take the form of inherited morphemes, including derivational morphemes such as the transitive suffix, as well as directional and aspectual marking on the verb as well. Such inheritance places Kununurra Kriol in relation with other Creole languages of northern Australia, as well as the wider Asia-Pacific region. Many of these share similar roots and early influences in the NSW Pidgins, from its origins in colonial language contact in the Sydney region. This is not to mention the ancient roots of Indigenous languages which have influenced it along the way. Whilst Kununurra Kriol may have only emerged in the last century, it is at its core an old language, with roots further back.

From there, nevertheless, Kununurra Kriol has innovated and developed these morphemes into their own distinct character, and even built new structures. This has been seen most notably in the development of an emerging passive construction, not present in many Creole languages, which is also distinct from the passive structure found in the superstrate English. Serial Verb Constructions, additionally influenced by the substrate Miriwoong, have also been an innovation compared to both substrate and other Creole languages in Australia. The latter of these only feature asymmetrical SVCs, but Kununurra Kriol also allows for the limited use of symmetrical types. As a Creole language born out of a chaotic linguistic situation, Kununurra Kriol is rapidly innovating and developing new structures. It is, therefore, not just an old language but also, perhaps almost paradoxically, a young one.

Much like many Creole languages in particular, as well as many Indigenous and minoritised languages, Kununurra Kriol is also shaped by its speakers' sense of identity. The language is, as a result of its sociolinguistic situation, a Creole language. It is a language that is born out of a mixed, chaotic linguistic situation. This situation has produced a unique post-colonial identity, which places it between dominant colonial and endangered traditional Indigenous languages. Such an identity has also been embraced by many in the community, who see it as containing within it a continuation of Miriwoong identity and culture, despite the language shift. It also exists alongside traditional Miriwoong, rather than supplanting or replacing it altogether, seen in the efforts for its revitalisation. Within Kununurra Kriol, core cultural values are encoded that allow the language to become deeply attached to its community and country. As well as a Creole, it is also a *Kriol.* It is fundamentally tied to other Creole languages of northern Australia, spoken by many Indigenous communities, too, in between colonial English and traditional Indigenous languages.

Finally, I have also discussed several implications of the data from this dissertation at a theoretical linguistic level. It has been demonstrated that Kununurra Kriol does in fact embody the vast majority

of typical Creole features, vindicating those who support the notion of a typological class for Creole languages. As well, I have discussed some implications regarding the structure of the language itself, namely the presence of a clear and discrete Tense Phrase, or Auxiliary Phrase, within the grammar of Kununurra Kriol.

11. Conclusion

In this dissertation, several major features of the verb phrase in Kununurra Kriol, a variety of Australian Kriol spoken in the Kununurra area of northern Western Australia, have been discussed. The aims of this dissertation were to provide a detailed discussion of these morphosyntactic features and, in the process, analyse their structural features from a generative standpoint. As well, I sought to investigate the development of Kununurra Kriol structures, with reference to the broader study of Creole languages. This took into particular consideration, as a contact language, the unique potential for a high degree of input from the sociolinguistic context any Creole or contact language exists in, beyond what is typically experienced by most non-contact, hegemonic languages.

Overall, this dissertation has demonstrated evidence of complex morphosyntactic constructions in Kununurra Kriol. From the available data, it has been shown in this dissertation that Kununurra Kriol has exhibited several internally motivated cases of language change, driven by the innovation of its speakers. Alongside innovation, demonstrated the likely input of other languages has also been demonstrated, a factor that is highly relevant in such a multilingual community, where several languages may inhabit the same space and the same speakers simultaneously. For Kununurra Kriol, this includes both the superstrate lexifier language, English, as well as the major substrate in the form of the local traditional language, the Jarrakan language Miriwoong.

11.1. Summary of key findings

This dissertation has, as intended, provided an in-depth discussion of four selected aspects of the Kununurra Kriol verb, supporting community goals for greater scientific documentation of the language. In the first part of this dissertation, the language was situated in its theoretical, historical, and sociolinguistic context. Chapter 2 provided a review of key theoretical developments in the study of Creole languages and their genesis, as well as building the core theoretical basis for the dissertation. Chapter 3 presented the historical background necessary for understanding the context of any language in Australia, in particular any contact language that has resulted in the immense upheaval that European invasion and settlement brought to the continent and its Indigenous peoples. In Chapter 4, Kununurra Kriol was described within its more immediate sociolinguistic context, within Australian languages and the traditional languages spoken in the Kununurra area, most importantly Miriwoong.

Following the discussion of methodologies and ethical concerns in Chapter 5, the second part of this dissertation is where the relevant data from Kununurra Kriol of four selected features of its verb phrase was presented. In these chapters, the theoretical background and state of the art for each aspect of the grammar was first introduced. This was then followed by the presentation and analysis of data from Kununurra Kriol, which in turn was discussed with an eye towards the theory and potential

implications in a third subsection. Here, the key findings and implications from each of these four main analysis chapters will be briefly recapped.

Chapter 6 examined the intertwined practices of code-switching and borrowing within the verb phrase in Kununurra Kriol, with a focus on material from the substrate Miriwoong. The use of Miriwoong coverbs is frequently attested in Kununurra Kriol, owing to the widespread knowledge of – if not fluency in – the language. This factor showed that there is still a significant amount of cultural transmission that continues within Kununurra Kriol despite the ongoing language shift away from the traditional language. Many cultural concepts are preserved through their borrowing into Kununurra Kriol. It was also found that these Miriwoong coverbs, when embedded in the Kununurra Kriol matrix frame, almost categorically do not receive native Kriol morphology. Rather, they are, with few exceptions from particular speakers and with the aspectual *-bat*, left only with Miriwoong derivational morphology. Again, this shows the continuation and awareness of Miriwoong grammar and lexicon by the speech community.

Chapter 7 analysed the status of transitivity marking on the Kununurra Kriol verb, as well as the morphosyntactic relation between the verb and its arguments, which are primarily assigned by word order. Like other neighbouring varieties of Australian Kriol, Kununurra Kriol marks transitivity in its verbs through the use of the *-im* suffix. This can vary depending on the semantic transitivity of the verb, in particular the affectedness of the O, similar with other varieties. There is also some input from Miriwoong, whose coverbs are frequently paired with inflecting verbs which encode differing levels of transitivity themselves to match. The *-im* suffix is derivational in nature, allowing for it to be highly productive in creating transitive, and conversely intransitive, stems. The chapter also examined the topicalisation and omission of arguments, both of which are frequently practised as a means of information structure management. Topicalisation is primarily done through left-dislocation, similarly to many Creole languages, and can also be applied to the VP, where the TP is left in situ. With multiple objects, argument relations can be assigned through the use of a fixed word order, as well as the use of prepositional phrases.

Chapter 8 investigated the presence of passive constructions, which are a comparatively rare complex structure in Creole languages. In this chapter, it was found that an innovative form of the passive is in fact present in Kununurra Kriol, most prominently through the use of the passive *git* particle, taking the role of the passive-marking BE morpheme. This was found to be an innovative form of the passive; whilst the etymon for *git* has roots in the lexifier, the construction itself in Kununurra Kriol has departed significantly from its English equivalent, having been generalised and not carrying the sense of Control as used in the latter. Alongside the innovative *git* passive, other forms of passive exist in Kununurra Kriol, including more acrolectal *kriolised* constructions using the past tense *bin*. Fossilised passive forms also exist in the case of some verbs, which may also be considered code-switches from

English. Anticausative constructions also provide a morphology-free passive equivalent that utilise the movement and omission of arguments to achieve a similar agent-defocussing effect.

Chapter 9 explored Serial Verb Constructions (SVCs), a type of construction that is, conversely, relatively common in Creole languages. Kununurra Kriol, too, allows for the use of SVCs in several different forms. Like other varieties of Australian Kriol, asymmetrical SVCs are the most prominent type of this construction present. These include several types, most notably directional, posture and causative SVCs, utilising a closed class of serialised verbs. In a departure from other varieties, however, Kununurra Kriol also allows for the use of symmetrical SVCs. The vast majority of these symmetrical SVCs are of a resultative type, with a closer relation between the component verbs than other looser types of SVC present in other languages, such as those with sequential relations. This is innovative to Kununurra Kriol, but may have some influence from the frequent use of coverb constructions in the typical Miriwoong verb phrase, although Miriwoong itself does not allow for the full serialisation of verbs or coverbs per se.

Connecting the findings of these four main analysis chapters are the intersecting themes of influence, inheritance, innovation, and identity, which were explored in Chapter 10. These four themes are particularly characteristic of contact languages such as Creole languages, which exist in a context of severe disruption not just of language transmission and a discrete speech community, but also in the identity and culture of their speakers. Many of these languages, like Kununurra Kriol, continue to exist in contact with both their superstrate lexifier languages and the substrate languages which were displaced by the arrival of the former. At the same time, it has been shown through Kununurra Kriol that these influences – both of morphosyntactic features and the transfer of cultural concepts from the substrate – balance with the unique innovations that occur in the course of any natural language's life. A Creole language like Kununurra Kriol is a language both old and new, which has found a place in ostensibly post-colonial Australia as a major element of Miriwoong identity.

Chapter 10 also discussed some of the wider linguistic implications of the findings from the Kununurra Kriol verb phrase. Many of these verbal features, for example, were found to conform with the features outlined by Bickerton (1981/2016) as being typical of Creole languages. This is, however, with the notable exception of the use of passive constructions, which follows more recent scholarship that has found their presence in Creole languages to be more common than previously thought. In relation to other Creole languages, further, Kununurra Kriol has resisted decreolisation, despite its close proximity – accompanied by widespread multilingualism – to the superstrate. Structurally speaking, in this chapter the apparent presence of a discrete Tense Phrase was also discussed, potentially as part of an Inflectional Phrase in the underlying structures of the Kununurra Kriol grammar.

11.2. Limitations and future research

Due to the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic from early 2020, and the extensive travel restrictions imposed by national and local governments, a follow up on the initial data collection was not possible. Fortunately, this gap was significantly reduced by data made available by the Language Centre in Kununurra remotely. Future research on the selected aspects of the Kununurra Kriol verb phrase could greatly benefit from additional targeted elicitation for more specific and richer data to support analysis, going beyond the largely conversational data collected. Further, experimental data would also be highly beneficial for this purpose, allowing for expansion of analysis into other areas such as first or second language acquisition and psycholinguistics. Nevertheless, the data that was collected provided a valuable insight into the language and was sufficient for an in-depth morphosyntactic analysis.

As well in the collection of data, the observer's effect is always a concern, particularly considering the specific dynamics of many multilingual Creole speaking communities, where there is frequently a conscious divide between speech towards insiders and outsiders. It was possible to experiment with more autonomous data collection, where speakers were able to record themselves having conversations. This was extremely valuable, however only contributed a small portion to the overall dataset. More of this would be highly beneficial in obtaining a window into the most naturalistic styles of Kriol, with fewer worries for interference from speech styles aimed at outsiders, such as more acrolectal forms and increased code-switching with English. Another aim for future documentation would be to expand the scope of data collection outside the town of Kununurra itself, exploring some of the variation that may occur in nearby neighbouring areas, and particularly amongst those who are not Miriwoong. A steady eye on the speech of young Kununurra Kriol speakers would also give an insight into its future directions – particularly in comparison to the findings here.

This dissertation was also limited in scope to a small selection of aspects of the verb phrase, as this is just one dissertation with limits to both length and time. I have had a focus on some morphosyntactic structures in the verb phrase. There is, naturally, far more to be explored and analysed in Kununurra Kriol. Future research can expand upon the aspects given in this work, as well as explore further aspects of the grammar, whether part of the verb phrase or not. Additional approaches outside the generative tradition would also be valuable to our overall understanding of the structures of the language. In other fields, semantics and pragmatics of Kununurra Kriol, for example, similarly remain under-documented.

11.3. Final Remarks

The data collected for this dissertation represents a hopefully major contribution towards an in-depth analysis of Kununurra Kriol and its grammatical structures. Prior work on Kununurra Kriol existed only incidentally in archival records, where much research was focussed on the documentation of the highly endangered local traditional language, Miriwoong, understandably so given the critically endangered status of the latter. Kununurra Kriol was thus secondary to this very important goal. The development of the Mirima Dawang Woorlab-gerring Language and Culture Centre over the years has allowed for its expansion to cover Kununurra Kriol, the other mother tongue of many Miriwoong, as well.

The corpus collected for this dissertation will hopefully be just the start of the process of full documentation and recognition of a major community language. This dissertation has provided vital documentation for the language itself, a major milestone for local community goals for wider recognition of its unique status in the region. It further contributes important new perspectives to the wider study of Creole languages both in Australia and abroad, a field that remains relatively understudied.

References

Aboh, Enoch O. 2019. Our creolized tongues. In Edit Doron, Malka Rappaport Hovav, Yael Reshef & Moshe Taube (eds.), *Language Contact, Continuity and Change in the Genesis of Modern Hebrew*, 287–320. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Aboh, Enoch O. & Michel DeGraff. 2016. A Null Theory of Creole Formation Based on Universal Grammar. In Ian Roberts (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Universal Grammar*, 401–58. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

ABS, Australian Bureau of Statistics. 2016a. Census 2016, Language spoken at home by Sex (SA2+) http://stat.data.abs.gov.au/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=ABS_C16_T09_SA#.

ABS, Australian Bureau of Statistics. 2016b. Kununurra Community Profile. https://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2016/quickstat/SSC50792.

Aceto, Michael. 1999. Looking Beyond Decreolization as an Explanatory Model of Language Change in Creole-Speaking Communities. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 14.1, 93-119.

Adone, Dany. 1994a. *The Acquisition of Mauritian Creole*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Adone, Dany. 1994b. Creolization and language change in Mauritian Creole. In Dany Adone & Ingo Plag (eds.), *Creolization and Language Change*, 23-44. Berlin: Max Niemeyer Verlag.

Adone, Dany. 2001. *A Cognitive Theory of Creole Genesis*. Habil. dissertation, University of Düsseldorf.

Adone, Dany. 2004. Double-object constructions in two French-based creoles. In Geneviève Escure & Armin Schwegler (eds.), *Creoles, Contact, and Language Change: Linguistic and social implications*, 189-208. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Adone, Dany. 2008. Fieldwork Research: A Matter of Taking and Giving. In Claudia Maria Riehl & Astrid Rothe (eds.), *Was ist linguistische Evidenz?* , 109-24. Aachen: Shaker Verlag.

Adone, Dany. 2012a. *The Acquisition of Creole Languages: How Children Surpass their Input*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Adone, Dany. 2012b. Language emergence and creolisation. In Roland Pfau, Markus Steinbach, Bencie Woll & Dany Adone (eds.), *Sign Language: An International Handbook*, 862-89. Amsterdam: De Gruyter.

Adone, Dany, Melanie A. Brück & Astrid Gabel. 2018. *Kot nou vire tourne nou tand li* Serial Verb Constructions at the Interface between Grammar and Culture: Case-Study Kreol Seselwa (Seychelles Creole). *Quaderni di Linguistica e Studi Orientali / Working Papers in Linguistics and Oriental Studies* 4, 15-46.

Adone, Marie Carla D., Thomas Batchelor, Rozanne Bilminga, Melanie A. Brück, Bryan Gallagher & Jimmy Paddy. 2019. “Caring for dat land…, as mob bin teik keya of dat Kantri longtaim”. In

Marie Carla D. Adone & Melanie A. Brück (eds.), *Fire, Water and Land in Indigenous Australia*, 81-97. Cologne: Cologne University Press.

AIATSIS. 2020. AIATSIS Code of Ethics for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Research. ed. Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies. Canberra: AIATSIS.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra. 1999. Serial Constructions and Verb Compounding Evidence from Tariana (North Arawak). *Studies in Language* 23.3, 469-97.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra. 2006. Serial Verb Constructions in Typological Perspective. In Alexandra Aikhenvald & Robert M. W. Dixon (eds.), *Serial Verb Constructions: A Cross-Linguistic Typology*, 1-68. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra. 2018. *Serial Verbs*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Aitchison, Jean. 2004. *Language Change: Progress or Decay?*, Third edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Alcock, Katherine J., Kenneth Rimba & Charles R.J.C. Newton. 2012. Early production of the passive in two Eastern Bantu languages. *First Language* 32.4, 459-78.

Alexiadou, Artemis, Elena Anagnostopoulou & Florian Schäfer. 2006. The properties of anticausatives crosslingustically. In Mara Frascarelli (ed.), *Phases of Interpretation*, 187-212. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Allen, Lindy. 2015. Message Sticks and Indigenous Diplomacy: "Thomson's Treaty" —Brokering Peace on Australia's Northern Frontier in the 1930s. In Kate Darian-Smith & Penelope Edmonds (eds.), *Conciliation on Colonial Frontiers : Conflict, Performance, and Commemoration in Australia and the Pacific Rim*, 113-31. New York: Routledge.

Amastae, Jon. 1983. Agentless constructions in Dominican creole. *Lingua* 59.1, 47-75.

Ameka, Felix K. 2006. Ewe Serial Verb Constructions in their Grammatical Context. In Alexandra Aikhenvald & Robert M. W. Dixon (eds.), *Serial Verb Constructions: A Cross-Linguistic Typology*, 124-43. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Amery, Rob & Mary-Anne Gale. 2023. Language, land, identity, and wellbeing. In Claire Bowern (ed.), *The Oxford Guide to Australian Languages*, 667–79. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Angelo, Denise. 2021. Creoles, Education and Policy. In Umberto Ansaldo & Miriam Meyerhoff (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Pidgin and Creole Languages*, 286-301. London: Routledge.

Appel, René & Pieter Muysken. 2005. *Language Contact and Bilingualism*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Arends, Jacques. 1989. *Syntactic Developments in Sranan: Creolization as a Gradual Process*. Nijmegen:

Arends, Jacques. 1993. Towards a Gradualist Model of Creolization. In Francis Byrne & John Holm (eds.), *Atlantic Meets Pacific: A Global View of Pidginization and Creolization*, 371-80. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Arends, Jacques. 1994. The socio-historical background of creoles. In Jacques Arends, Pieter Muysken & Norval Smith (eds.), *Pidgins and Creoles: An Introduction*, 15-24. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Arends, Jacques & Adrienne Bruyn. 1994. Gradualist and developmental hypotheses. In Jacques Arends, Pieter Muysken & Norval Smith (eds.), *Pidgins and Creoles: An Introduction*, 111-20. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Attenbrow, Val. 2010. *Sydney's Aboriginal Past: Investigating the archaeological and historical records*. Sydney: UNSW Press.

Avram, Andrei. 2018. On the relationship between Arabic Foreigner Talk and Pidgin Arabic. In Stefano Manfredi & Mauro Tosco (eds.), *Arabic in Contact*, 251–73. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Backus, Ad. 2003. Can a mixed language be conventionalized alternational codeswitching? In Yaron Matras & Peter Bakker (eds.), *The Mixed Language Debate: Theoretical and Empirical Advances*, 237-70. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Baird, Louise. 2010. Grammaticalisation of asymmetrical serial verb constructions in Klon. In Michael C. Ewing & Marian Klamer (eds.), *East Nusantara: Typological and Areal Analyses*, 185-202. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

Baker, Brett, Rikke Bundgaard-Nielsen & Simone Graetzer. 2014. The Obstruent Inventory of Roper Kriol. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 34.3, 307-44.

Baker, Brett & Mark Harvey. 2010. Complex predicate formation. In Mengistu Amberber, Brett Baker & Mark Harvey (eds.), *Complex Predicates: Cross-linguistic Perspectives on Event Structure*, 13-47. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Baker, Mark C. 1989. Object Sharing and Projection in Serial Verb Constructions. *Linguistic Inquiry* 20.4, 513-53.

Baker, Mark, Kyle Johnson & Ian Roberts. 1989. Passive Arguments Raised. *Linguistic Inquiry* 20.2, 219-51.

Baker, Philip & Peter Mühlhäusler. 1990. From business to Pidgin. *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication* 1.1, 87-115.

Baker, Philip & Peter Mühlhäusler. 1996. The Origins and Diffusion of Pidgin English in the Pacific. In Stephen A Wurm, Peter Mühlhäusler & Darrell T Tryon (eds.), *Atlas of Languages of Intercultural Communication in the Pacific, Asia and the Americas*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Bakker, Peter. 1994. Pidgins. In Jacques Arends, Pieter Muysken & Norval Smith (eds.), *Pidgins and Creoles: An Introduction* (15), 25-40. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

Bámgbóṣé, Ayọ. 1974. On Serial Verbs and Verbal Status. *Journal of West African Languages* 9.1, 17-48.

Bao, Zhiming. 2005. The Aspectual System of Singapore English and the Systemic Substratist Explanation. *Journal of Linguistics* 41.2, 237-67.

Bao, Zhiming. 2012. Substratum transfer targets grammatical system. *Journal of Linguistics* 48.2, 479-82.

Baptista, Marlyse. 2002. *The Syntax of Cape Verdean Creole: The Sotavento Varieties*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Baptista, Marlyse. 2015. Continuum and variation in Creoles: Out of many voices, one language. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 30.2, 225-64.

Barker, Anthony. 2000. *What Happened When: A chronology of Australia from 1788*. St Leonards: Allen & Unwin.

Barss, Andrew & Howard Lasnik. 1986. A Note on Anaphora and Double Objects. *Linguistic Inquiry* 17.2, 347-54.

Batchelor, Thomas. 2017. *Making Sense of Synchronic Variation: Semantic and Phonological Factors in Transitivity Marking in Barunga Kriol*. Honours dissertation, University of Sydney.

Batchelor, Thomas & Dany Adone. 2020. *A Rock and a Hard Place - Choosing an Orthography for Kununurra Kriol*. Unpublished manuscript: University of Cologne, Charles Darwin University.

Battersby, Paul. 2007. *To the Islands: White Australians and the Malay Archipelago since 1788*. Plymouth: Lexington Books.

Behrendt, Larissa. 2010. Asserting the Doctrine of Discovery in Australia. In Robert J. Miller, Jacinta Ruru, Larissa Behrendt & Tracey Lindberg (eds.), *Discovering Indigenous Lands: The Doctrine of Discovery in the English Colonies*, 171-86. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bell, Roger T. 1976. *Sociolinguistics: Goals, Approaches, and Problems*. London: B.T. Batsford Ltd.

Bessarab, Dawn & Bridget Ng'andu. 2010. Yarning About Yarning as a Legitimate Method in Indigenous Research. *International Journal of Critical Indigenous Studies* 3.1, 37-50.

Bickerton, Derek. 1973. The Nature of a Creole Continuum. *Language* 49.3, 640-69.

Bickerton, Derek. 1981/2016. *Roots of Language*, 2016 edn. Berlin: Language Science Press.

Bickerton, Derek. 1984. The language bioprogram hypothesis. *The Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 7, 173-221.

Bickerton, Derek. 1988. Creole languages and the bioprogram. In Frederick J. Newmeyer (ed.), *Linguistics: The Cambridge Survey*, vol. 2: Linguistic Theory: Extensions and Implications, 268-84. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bickerton, Derek. 1989. Seselwa Serialization and its Significance. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 4.2, 155-83.

Bickerton, Derek & Pieter Muysken. 1988. A dialog concerning the linguistic status of creole languages. In Frederick J. Newmeyer (ed.), *Linguistics: The Cambridge Survey*, 302-6. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Biggs, Alison & David Embick. 2022. On the Event-Structural Properties of the English Get-Passive. *Linguistic Inquiry* 53.2, 211-54.

Bisang, Walter. 2009. Serial Verb Constructions. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 3.3, 792-814.

Blackshire-Belay, Carol. 1993. Foreign Workers' German: Is it a Pidgin? In Francis Byrne & John Holm (eds.), *Atlantic Meets Pacific: A Global View of Pidginization and Creolization*, 431-40. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Blake, Barry J. 1976. On ergativity and the notion of subject: Some Australian cases. *Lingua* 39.4, 281-300.

Bloomfield, Leonard. 1933. *Language*. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.

Blust, Robert. 2013. *The Austronesian Languages: Revised Edition*. Canberra: Asia-Pacific Linguistics.

Bohnemeyer, Jürgen, Nicholas J. Enfield, James Essegbey, Iraide Ibarretxe-Antuñano, Sotaro Kita, Friederike Lüpke & Felix K. Ameka. 2007. Principles of Event Segmentation in Language: The Case of Motion Events. *Language* 83, 495-532.

Bollée, Annegret. 1993. Language policy in the Seychelles and its consequences. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 102, 85–99.

Bostoen, Koen, Sebastian Dom & Guillaume Segerer. 2015. The antipassive in Bantu. *Linguistics* 53.4, 731-72.

Bowe, Heather J. 1990. *Categories, Constituents, and Constituent Order in Pitjantjatjara, An Aboriginal Language of Australia*. London: Routledge.

Bowern, Claire. 2015. *Linguistic Fieldwork A Practical Guide*, Second edn. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bowers, John. 2002. Transitivity. *Linguistic Inquiry* 33.2, 183-224.

Bradley, John & Yanyuwa Families. 2010. *Singing Saltwater Country: Journey to the Songlines of Carpentaria*. Crows Nest: Allen & Unwin.

Brown, Connor. 2023. *Temporality and aspect in Kununurra Kriol: Toginabad bla taim garra Kriol*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Western Australia.

Brown, Connor, Iris Menzies & Alex Stephenson. 2022. Proposal for a Kununurra Kriol Orthography. Kununurra: MDWg.

Brown, Connor & Maia Ponsonnet. 2021. Constraints on subject elision in northern Australian Kriol: Between discourse and syntax. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 41.3, 287-313.

Bruening, Benjamin. 2010. Double Object Constructions Disguised as Prepositional Datives. *Linguistic Inquiry* 41.2, 287-305.

Bruening, Benjamin. 2014. Word formation is syntactic: adjectival passives in English. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 32, 363-422.

Bruyn, Adrienne, Pieter Muysken & Maaike Verrips. 2000. Double object constructions in the Creole languages: development and acquisition. In Michel DeGraff (ed.), *Language Creation and*

Language Change: Creolization, Diachrony, and Development, 329-73. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Bruyn, Adrienne & Tonjes Veenstra. 1993. The Creolization of Dutch. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 8.1, 29-80.

Bundgaard-Nielsen, Rikke & Brett Baker. 2016. The continuum in Kriol: Fact or furphy? In Felicity Meakins & Carmel O'Shannessy (eds.), *Loss and Renewal: Australian Languages Since Colonisation*, 177-216. Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

Butt, Miriam. 2010. The light verb jungle: still hacking away. In Mengistu Amberber, Brett Baker & Mark Harvey (eds.), *Complex Predicates: Cross-linguistic Perspectives on Event Structure*, 48-78. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Campbell, Richard. 1996. Serial verbs and shared arguments. *The Linguistic Review* 13, 83-118.

Cardoso, Hugo C. 2009. Jacques Arends' model of gradual creolization. In Rachel Selbach, Hugo C. Cardoso & Margot van den Berg (eds.), *Gradual creolization; Studies celebrating Jacques Arends*, 13-23. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Carnie, Andrew. 2013. *Syntax: A Generative Introduction*, Third edn. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Carr, Therese, Melanie Wilkinson & Philippa Stansell. 2017. Language Revitalisation in a Bilingual Program—The Case of Numbulwar School. In Brian Clive Devlin, Samantha Disbray & Nancy Regine Friedman Devlin (eds.), *History of Bilingual Education in the Northern Territory: People, Programs and Policies*, 149-64. Singapore: Springer.

Chafe, Wallace. 1980. *The Pear Stories: Cognitive, Cultural, and Linguistic Aspects of Narrative Production*. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex.

Chaudenson, Robert. 2001. *Creolization of Language and Culture*. London: Routledge.

Chomsky, Noam. 1988. *Lectures on Government and Binding: The Pisa Lectures* Fifth edn. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.

Chomsky, Noam. 2001. Derivation by Phase. In Michael Kenstowicz (ed.), *Ken Hale: A Life in Language*, 1-52. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.

Chomsky, Noam. 2002. *Syntactic Structures*, Second edn. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Chomsky, Noam. 2015. *The Minimalist Program: 20th Anniversary Edition*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Clarkson, Chris, Zenobia Jacobs, Ben Marwick, Richard Fullagar, Lynley Wallis, Mike Smith, . . . Colin Pardoe. 2017. Human occupation of northern Australia by 65,000 years ago [07/19/online]. *Nature* 547, 306-10.

Clements, J. Clancy. 1992. Foreigner Talk and the Origins of Pidgin Portuguese. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 7.1, 75-92.

Clements, J. Clancy. 1993. A Contribution by an Old Creole to the Origins of Pidgin Portuguese. In Francis Byrne & John Holm (eds.), *Atlantic Meets Pacific: A Global View of Pidginization and Creolization*, 321-31. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Coleman, Hywel. 1996. Shadow puppets and language lessons: Interpreting classroom behaviour in its cultural context. In Hywel Coleman (ed.), *Society and the Language Classroom*, 64-85. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Collins, Chris. 1997. Argument Sharing in Serial Verb Constructions. *Linguistic Inquiry* 28.3, 461-97.

Comrie, Bernard. 1981. Aspect and Voice: Some Reflections on Perfect and Passive. *Syntax and Semantics* 14, 65-78.

Connor, John. 2002. *The Australian Frontier Wars, 1788-1838*. Sydney: UNSW Press.

Cook, James & William James Lloyd Wharton. 1893/2014. *Captain Cook's Journal during his First Voyage round the World, made in H.M. Bark Endeavour, 1768–71: A Literal Transcription of the Original MSS*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Corne, Chris. 1977. *Seychelles Creole Grammar: Elements for Indian Ocean Proto-Creole Reconstruction*. Tübingen: TBL Verlag Gunter Narr.

Corne, Chris. 1984. On the transmission of substratal features in creolisation. *The Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 7, 191-2.

Couvee, Sascha & Roland Pfau. 2018. Structure and Grammaticalization of Serial Verb Constructions in Sign Language of the Netherlands—A Corpus-Based Study. *Frontiers in Psychology* 9, 933.

Crowley, Terry. 1996. Bislama: Orthographic Attitudinal Evolution. *Language and Linguistics in Melanesia* 27, 119-46.

Crowley, Terry. 2000. The Language Situation in Vanuatu. *Current Issues in Language Planning* 1.1, 47-132.

Crowley, Terry. 2002. *Serial Verbs in Oceanic: A Descriptive Typology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Crowley, Terry. 2004. *Bislama Reference Grammar*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Csehó, Tamás. 2009. Zum Einfluss des foreigner talk auf die Entstehung des Migrantendeutsch. *Germanistische Studien* VII, 153-68.

Cziko, Gary A. 1986. Testing the Language Bioprogram Hypothesis: A Review of Children's Acquisition of Articles. *Language* 62.4, 878-98.

Daval-Markussen, Aymeric. 2013. First steps towards a typological profile of creoles. *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia: International Journal of Linguistics* 45.2, 274-95.

Daval-Markussen, Aymeric & Peter Bakker. 2017. Typological features of creoles: From early proposals to phylogenetic approaches and comparisons with non-creoles. In Peter Bakker, Finn Borchsenius, Carsten Levisen & Eeva Sippola (eds.), *Creole Studies – Phylogenetic Approaches*, 103–40.

DeCamp, David. 1968. The Field of Creole Language Studies. *Latin American Research Review* 3.3, 25-46.

DeCamp, David. 1971. Toward a generative analysis of a post-Creole speech continuum. In Dell Hymes (ed.), *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages*, 347-70. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Déchaine, Rose-Marie. 1989. An Account of the Serial Verbs in Haitian Creole: Argument Structure Coalescence. In Paul Newman & Robert D. Botne (eds.), *Current Approaches to African Linguistics*, vol. 5, 237-52. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Defina, Rebecca. 2016. Serial verb constructions and their subtypes in Avatime. *Studies in Language* 40.3, 648–80.

DeGraff, Michel. 1992. *Creole grammars and acquisition of syntax: The case of Haitian*. PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.

DeGraff, Michel. 2002. Relexification: A reevaluation. *Linguistic Anthropology* 44.4, 321-414.

DeGraff, Michel. 2003. Against Creole exceptionalism. *Language* 79.2, 391-410.

DeGraff, Michel. 2005. Linguists' Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Creole Exceptionalism. *Language in Society* 34.4, 533-91.

DeGraff, Michel. 2007. Kreyòl Ayisyen, or Haitian Creole ('Creole French'). In John A. Holm & Peter L. Patrick (eds.), *Comparative Creole Syntax: Parallel Outlines of 18 Creole Grammars*, 101-26. London: Battlebridge.

DeLancey, Scott. 1984. Notes on Agentivity and Causation. *Studies in Language* 8.2, 181-213.

Demuth, Katherine. 1989. Maturation and the Acquisition of the Sesotho Passive. *Language* 65.1, 56-80.

den Besten, Hans, Pieter Muysken & Norval Smith. 1994. Theories focusing on the European input. In Jacques Arends, Pieter Muysken & Norval Smith (eds.), *Pidgins and Creoles: An Introduction*, 87-98. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

den Dikken, Marcel. 1991. Serial Verbs, 'Object Sharing', and the Analysis of Dative Shift. *Linguistics in the Netherlands* 8.1, 31-40.

Desta, Girma Mengistu. 2021. Serial verb constructions in Sezo. In Derib Ado, Almaz Wasse Gelagay & Janne Bondi Johannessen (eds.), *Grammatical and Sociolinguistic Aspects of Ethiopian Languages*, 197-212. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Devlin, Brian Clive. 2017. Policy Change in 2008: Evidence-Based or a Knee-Jerk Response? In Brian Clive Devlin, Samantha Disbray & Nancy Regine Friedman Devlin (eds.), *History of Bilingual Education in the Northern Territory: People, Programs and Policies*, 203-18. Singapore: Springer.

Di Sciullo, Anne-Marie, Pieter Muysken & Rajendra Singh. 1986. Government and Code-Mixing. *Journal of Linguistics* 22.1, 1-24.

Dickson, Gregory Francis. 2014. Explainer: the largest language spoken exclusively in Australia – Kriol. In *The Conversation*.

Dickson, Gregory Francis. 2015. *Marra and Kriol: the loss and maintenance of knowledge across a language shift boundary*. PhD dissertation, Australian National University.

Dickson, Gregory Francis. 2023. Kriol. In Claire Bowern (ed.), *The Oxford Guide to Australian Languages*, 667–79. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dickson, Gregory Francis & Gautier Durantin. 2019. Variation in the reflexive in Australian Kriol. *Asia-Pacific Language Variation* 5.2, 171–207.

Dillard, J. L. 1993. The Transitivizer and Pidgin Chronology. In Francis Byrne & John Holm (eds.), *Atlantic Meets Pacific: A Global View of Pidginization and Creolization*, 333-40. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Disbray, Samantha & Deborah Loakes. 2013. Writing Aboriginal English & Creoles: Five case studies in Australian education contexts. *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics* 36.3, 285–301.

Dixon, R. M. W. 1994. *Ergativity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dixon, R. M. W. 2004. *Australian Languages: Their Nature and Development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dixon, R. M. W. 2011. Serial Verb Constructions in Dyirbal. *Anthropological Linguistics* 53.3, 185-214.

Dixon, R. M. W. & Alexandra Aikhenvald. 2000. Introduction. In Robert M. W. Dixon & Alexandra Aikhenvald (eds.), *Changing Valency: Case Studies in Transitivity*, 1-29. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dobrin, Lise M. 2008. From Linguistic Elicitation to Eliciting the Linguist: Lessons in Community Empowerment from Melanesia. *Language* 84.2, 300-24.

Dubois, Sylvie & Megan Melançon. 2000. Creole is, Creole ain't: Diachronic and synchronic attitudes toward Creole identity in southern Louisiana. *Language in Society* 29.2, 237-58.

Eades, Diana & Jeff Siegel. 1999. Changing Attitudes towards Australian Creoles and Aboriginal English. In John R. Rickford & Suzanne Romaine (eds.), *Creole Genesis, Attitudes and Discourse: Studies Celebrating Charlene J. Sato*, 265-78. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Early, Robert. 2000. Sit, stand, lie: posture verbs and imperfectives. In Bill Palmer & Paul Geraghty (eds.), *SICOL. Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Oceanic linguistics*, vol. 2, Historical and descriptive studies, 81-103. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

Eastman, Carol M. 1992. Codeswitching as an Urban Language-Contact Phenomenon. In Carole M. Eastman (ed.), *Codeswitching*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Eckkrammer, Eva Martha. 2004. Passive voice in Papiamento. In Geneviève Escure & Armin Schwegler (eds.), *Creoles, Contact, and Language Change: Linguistic and social implications*, 209-20. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Epelde, Irantzu & Bernard Oyharçabal. 2020. Ergative marking in Basque-Spanish and Basque-French code-switching. *Zeitschrift für Katalanistik* 33, 77–98.

Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Twentieth edition http://www.ethnologue.com <Accessed 11/07/2017>.

Evans, Nicholas. 1992. Macassan loanwords in top end languages. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 12.1, 45-91.

Evans, Nicholas. 2003a. *Bininj Gun-wok: a pan-dialectal grammar of Mayali, Kunwinjku and Kune* (Pacific Linguistics 541). Canberra: Australian National University.

Evans, Nicholas. 2003b. Comparative non-Pama-Nyungan and Australian historical linguistics. In Nicholas Evans (ed.), *The non-Pama-Nyungan Languages of Northern Australia: Comparative Studies of the Continent's Most Linguistically Complex Region*, 3-25. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

Eze, Ejike. 1998. Lending Credence to a Borrowing Analysis: Lone English-Origin Incorporations in lgbo Discourse. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 2.2, 183-201.

Ezenwafor, Chikelu Ihunanya. 2019. Serial Verb Construction in Etulo. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies* 9.9, 1221-30.

Fan, Ying. 2017. Excessive serial verb construction: A quasi-resultative serial verb construction in Mandarin Chinese. *Language and Linguistics* 18.2, 201–27.

Farquharson, Joseph T. 2007. Typology and grammar: Creole morphology revisited. In Umberto Ansaldo, Stephen Matthews & Lisa Lim (eds.), *Deconstructing Creole*, 21-38. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Ferguson, Charles A. 1968. Absence of Copula and the Notion of Simplicity: A Study of Normal Speech, Baby Talk, Foreigner Talk and Pidgins. Paper presented at Conference on Pidginization and Creolization of Languages, Kingston, Jamaica.

Fleisher, Nicholas. 2006. The origin of passive get. *English Language and Linguistics* 10.2, 225-52.

Flood, Josephine. 2007. *The Original Australians: Story of the Aboriginal People*. Crows Nest: Allen and Unwin.

Foley, William A. 2010. Events and serial verb constructions. In Mengistu Amberber, Brett Baker & Mark Harvey (eds.), *Complex Predicates: Cross-linguistic Perspectives on Event Structure*, 79-109. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Foley, William A. & Mike Olson. 1985. Clausehood and verb serialization. In Johanna Nichols & Anthony C. Woodbury (eds.), *Grammar inside and outside the Clause: Some Approaches to Theory from the Field*, 17-60. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fon Sing, Guillaume. 2017. Creoles are not typologically distinct from non-Creoles. *Language Ecology* 1.1, 44-74.

Fox, Danny & Yosef Grodzinsky. 1998. Children's Passive: A View from the By-Phrase. *Linguistic Inquiry* 29.2, 311-32.

Frajzyngier, Zygmunt. 1978. An analysis of be-passives. *Lingua* 46.2-3, 133-56.

Frost, Alan. 2019. *Botany Bay and the First Fleet: The Real Story*. Carlton: Black, Inc.

Gammage, Bill. 2012. *The Biggest Estate on Earth: How Aborigines made Australia*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin.

Garde, Murray. 2009. The language of fire: seasonality, resources and landscape burning on the Arnhem Land Plateau. In Jeremy Russell-Smith, Peter Whitehead & Peter Cooke (eds.), *Culture, Ecology and Economy of Fire Management in North Australian Savannas: Rekindling the Wurrk Tradition*. Canberra: CSIRO Publishing.

Garde, Murray. 2013. *Culture, Interaction and Person Reference in an Australian Language: An ethnography of Bininj Gunwok communication*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Gardner-Chloros, Penelope. 2009. *Code-Switching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gerritsen, Rupert. 2010. Evidence for Indigenous Australian Agriculture. *Australasian Science* 31.6, 35-7.

Gilligan, Ian. 2010. Agriculture in Aboriginal Australia: Why Not? *Bulletin of the Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association* 30, 145-56.

Givón, T. & Lynne Yang. 1994. The Rise of the English GET-Passive. In Barbara A. Fox & Paul J. Hopper (eds.), *Voice: Form and Function*, 119-50. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Good, Jeff. 2009. Loanwords in Saramaccan, an English-based creole of Suriname. In Martin Haspelmath & Uri Tadmor (eds.), *Loanwords in the World's Languages: A Comparative Handbook*, 918-43. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Gramatke, Astrid. 2019. *Monte Desann - Serial Verb Constructions in Kreol Seselwa*. PhD dissertation, Universität zu Köln.

Green, Melanie & Gabriel Ozón. 2019. Valency and Transitivity in a Contact Variety: The Evidence from Cameroon Pidgin English. *Journal of Language Contact* 12, 52-88.

Greenberg, Joseph H. 1963. Some Universals of Grammar with Particular Reference to the Order of Meaningful Elements. In Joseph H. Greenberg (ed.), *Universals of Language*, 58-90. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Grosjean, François. 2010. *Bilingual: Life and Reality*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Grossman, Eitan. 2019. Language-Specific Transitivities in Contact: The Case of Coptic. *Journal of Language Contact* 12, 89-115.

Haegeman, Liliane. 1985. The get-passive and burzio's generalization. *Lingua* 66.1, 53-77.

Hajek, John. 2006. Serial Verbs in Tetun Dili. In Alexandra Aikhenvald & R. M. W. Dixon (eds.), *Serial Verb Constructions: A Cross-linguistic Typology*, 239-53. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hamilton-Hollaway, Amanda. 2023. Code-switching. In Claire Bowern (ed.), *The Oxford Guide to Australian Languages*, 645–55. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Harris, John. 1986. *Northern Territory Pidgins and the Origin of Kriol* (Pacific linguistics C-89). Canberra: Dept. of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.

Harris, John. 1993. Losing and gaining a language: the story of Kriol in the Northern Territory. In Michael Walsh & Colin Yallop (eds.), *Language and Culture in Aboriginal Australia*, 145-54. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press.

Harris, John. 2007. Linguistic responses to contact: Pidgins and creoles. In Gerhard Leitner & Ian G. Malcolm (eds.), *The Habitat of Australia's Aboriginal Languages: Past, Present and Future*, 131-52. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Haspelmath, Martin. 1990. The Grammaticization of Passive Morphology. *Studies in Language* 14.1, 25-72.

Haspelmath, Martin. 2016. The serial verb construction: Comparative concept and cross-linguistic generalizations. *Language and Linguistics* 17.3, 291-319.

Haspelmath, Martin & The APiCS Consortium. 2013. *Passive constructions* (Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures Online). Oxford: Oxford University Press. https://apics-online.info/parameters/90.chapter.html

Heine, Bernd. 2005. On reflexive forms in creoles. *Lingua* 115.3, 201-57.

Heine, Bernd & Hiroyuki Miyashita. 2008. The intersection between reflexives and reciprocals: A grammaticalization perspective. In Ekkehard König & Volker Gast (eds.), *Reciprocals and Reflexives: Theoretical and Typological Explorations*, 169-224. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Hendy, Caroline & Catherine Bow. 2023. Should Munanga learn Kriol?: Exploring attitudes to non-Indigenous acquisition of Kriol language in Ngukurr. *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics* 46.1, 76-98.

Himmelmann, Nikolaus P. 1998. Documentary and descriptive linguistics. *Linguistics* 36.1, 161-96.

Hinton, Leanne. 1997. Survival of Endangered Languages: The California Master-Apprentice Program. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 123.1, 177-91.

Hoffmann, Dorothea. 2015. Asymmetrical Serial Verb Constructions in Kriol, a Creole of Northern Australia. Paper presented at Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics Winter Meeting 2015, Portland, OR.

Holm, John. 2000. *An Introduction to Pidgins and Creoles*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hopper, Paul J. & Sandra Thompson. 1980. Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse. *Language* 56.2, 251-99.

Hopper, Paul J. & Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 2003. *Grammaticalization*, Second edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Horgan, Dianne. 1976. The Development of the Full Passive. Paper presented at Boston University Conference on Language Development, Boston.

Hudson, Joyce. 1983. Transitivity and aspect in the Kriol verb. *Papers in Pidgin and Creole Linguistics* 3, 161-76.

Hudson, Joyce. 1985. Grammatical and Semantic Aspects of Fitzroy Valley Kriol. In *Work Papers of SIL-AAB*. Darwin: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Hugo, Graeme. 2012. Population Distribution, Migration and Climate Change in Australia: An Exploration. In *ACCARNSI Discussion Papers*. Canberra: NCCARF.

Jacobs, Bart. 2011. The origin and originality of passivization in Papiamentu. *Journal of Portuguese Linguistics* 10.2, 31-56.

James, Bentley, Marie Carla D. Adone & Elaine L. Maypilama. 2020. Decolonizing Research Methodologies: Insights from Research on Indigenous Sign Languages of Australia. *Sign Language Studies* 20.2, 201-30.

Jansen, Bert, Hilda Koopman & Pieter Muysken. 1978. Serial verbs in the Creole languages. *Amsterdam Creole Studies* 2, 125-59.

Jarraud-Leblanc, Cendrine. 2012. *The Evolution of Written Bislama*. PhD dissertation, University of Auckland and l'Université de la Nouvelle-Calédonie.

Jourdan, Christine. 1991. Pidgins and Creoles: The Blurring of Categories. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 20, 187-209

Jourdan, Christine. 2009. Bilingualism and creolization in the Solomon Islands. In Rachel Selbach, Hugo C. Cardoso & Margot van den Berg (eds.), *Gradual creolization; Studies celebrating Jacques Arends*, 245-56. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Jourdan, Christine. 2018. The Shades of Legitimacy of Solomon Islands Pijin. In Jacqueline Knörr & Wilson Trajano Filho (eds.), *Creolization and Pidginization in Contexts of Postcolonial Diversity: Language, Culture, Identity*, 78-95. Leiden: Brill.

Kallulli, Dalina. 2006. A Unified Analysis of Passives and Anticausatives. *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung* 10.1, 171-82.

Kallulli, Dalina. 2007. Rethinking the Passive / Anticausative Distinction. *Linguistic Inquiry* 38.4, 770-80.

Keenan, Edward L. & Matthew S. Dryer. 2007. Passive in the world's languages. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*, 325-61. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kelly, Piers. 2019. Australian message sticks: Old questions, new directions. *Journal of Material Culture* 1.20,

Kelly, Piers & Patrick McConvell. 2018. Evolving Perspectives on Aboriginal Social Organisation: From Mutual Misrecognition to the Kinship Renaissance. In Patrick McConvell, Piers Kelly & Sébastien Lacrampe (eds.), *Skin, Kin and Clan: The Dynamics of Social Categories in Indigenous Australia*, 21-42. Canberra: ANU Press.

Kertzer, David I. & Dominique Arel. 2004. Censuses, identity formation, and the struggle for political power. In David I. Kertzer & Dominique Arel (eds.), *Census and Identity: The Politics of Race, Ethnicity, and Language in National Censuses*, 1-42. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Keyser, Samuel Jay & Thomas Roeper. 1984. On the Middle and Ergative Constructions in English. *Linguistic Inquiry* 15.3, 381-416.

Khrakovsky, Viktor S. 1973. Passive Contructions. In F. Kiefer (ed.), *Trends in Soviet Theoretical Linguistics*, 59-75. Dordrecht: Springer Dordrecht.

Koch, Harold. 2000. The Role of Australian Aboriginal Languages in the Formation of Australian Pidgin Grammar: Transitive Verbs and Adjectives. In Jeff Siegel (ed.), *Processes of Language Contact: Studies from Australia and the South Pacific*, 13-46. Quebec: Les Editions Fides.

Koch, Harold. 2004. A methodological history of Australian linguistic classification. In Claire Bowern & Harold Koch (eds.), *Australian Languages: Classification and the Comparative Method*, 17-60. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Koch, Harold. 2011. Substrate influences on New South Wales Pidgin: The origin of -im and -fela. In Claire Lefebvre (ed.), *Creoles, their Substrates, and Language Typology*, 489-512. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Koefoed, Geert & Jacqueline Tarenskeen. 1996. The making of a language from a lexical point of view. In Herman Wekker (ed.), *Creole Languages and Language Acquisition*, 119-38. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Kofod, Frances. 1994. Transitivity and definiteness in Jarragan languages. Paper presented at Australian Linguistic Society Conference.

Kofod, Frances. in preparation. *Miriwoong verbs*. Kununurra: Unpublished Manuscript.

Kofod, Frances & Knut Olawsky. 2009. Introduction to Miriwoong grammar. Kununurra: Mirima Dawang Woorlab-gerring Language and Culture Centre.

König, Ekkehard & Volker Gast. 2002. Reflexive pronouns and other uses of self-forms in English. *Zeitschrift fur Anglistik und Amerikanistik* 3, 1-14.

Kramer, Marvin. 2004. High tone spread in Saramaccan serial verb constructions. *Journal of Portuguese Linguistics* 3, 31-53.

Kuck, Mary Hills. 2016. The Reception in Jamaica of Non-native Speakers of Jamaican Creole. *International Journal of Christianity and English Language Teaching* 3, 6-35.

LaCharité, Darlene & Jean Wellington. 1999. Passive in Jamaican Creole: Phonetically Empty But Syntactically Active. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 14.2, 259-83.

Landau, Idan. 2010. The Explicit Syntax of Implicit Arguments. *Linguistic Inquiry* 41.3, 357-88.

Langacker, Ronald W. & Pamela Munro. 1975. Passives and Their Meaning. *Language* 51.4, 789-830.

Larson, Richard K. 1988. On the Double Object Construction. *Linguistic Inquiry* 19.3, 335-91.

Laughren, Mary. 2001. What Warlpiri 'avoidance' registers do with grammar. In Jane Simpson et al. (eds.), *Forty years on: Ken Hale and Australian Languages*, 199-226. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

Laughren, Mary. 2016. Serial verbs in Waanyi and its neighbours In Peter Austin, Harold Koch & Jane Simpson (eds.), *Language, Land & Song: Studies in honour of Luise Hercus*, 172-93. London: EL Publishing.

Law, Paul & Juvénal Ndayiragije. 2017. Syntactic Tense from a Comparative Syntax Perspective. *Linguistic Inquiry* 48.4, 679-96.

Lawrence, Susan & Peter Davies. 2011. *An Archaeology of Australia Since 1788*. New York: Springer.

Lefebvre, Claire. 1999. *Creole Genesis and the Acquisition of Grammar: The Case of Haitian Creole*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lefebvre, Claire. 2004. *Issues in the Study of Pidgin and Creole Languages*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Lefebvre, Claire. 2009. The contribution of relexification, grammaticalisation, and reanalysis to creole genesis and development. *Studies in Language* 33.2, 277-311.

Lefebvre, Claire. 2014. *Relabeling in Language Genesis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Levin, Beth. 1993. *English Verb Classes and Alternations: A Preliminary Investigation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Levin, Beth & Malka Rappaport. 1986. The Formation of Adjectival Passives. *Linguistic Inquiry* 17.4, 623-61.

Lipski, John & Salvatore Santoro. 2000. Zamboangueño Creole Spanish. In John A. Holm & Peter L. Patrick (eds.), *Comparative Creole Syntax: Parallel Outline of 18 Creole Grammars*, 373-96. London: Battlebridge.

Lohndal, Terje & Juan Uriagereka. 2014. Principles and Parameters/Minimalism. In Andrew Carnie, Yosuke Sato & Daniel Siddiqi (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Syntax*, 509-25. New York: Routledge.

López, Luis. 2016. Dislocations and Information Structure. In Caroline Féry & Shinichiro Ishihara (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Information Structure*, 402–21. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

López, Luis, Artemis Alexiadou & Tonjes Veenstra. 2017. Code-Switching by Phase. *Languages* 2.3, 9.

Lord, Carol. 1973. Serial Verbs in Transition. *Studies in African Linguistics* 4.3, 269-96.

Luk, Ellison. 2022. Multifunctional converbs in Australian languages: A typological study. Paper presented at Emerging Research in Australian Studies Workshop, 16th–17th September, 2022, Cologne, Online.

Luk, Ellison & Maia Ponsonnet. 2019. Discourse and Pragmatic Functions of the Dalabon 'Ergative' Case-marker. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 39.3, 287-328.

Lumsden, John S. 1996. On the acquisition of nominal structures in the genesis of Haitian Creole. In Herman Wekker (ed.), *Creole Languages and Language Acquisition*, 185-205. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Lumsden, John S. 1999. The Role of Relexification in Creole Genesis. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 14.2, 225-58.

Lumsden, John S. 2003. Relexification, Reversed Interference, Double Signals and the Organization of the Mental Lexicon. In Dany Adone (ed.), *Recent Development in Creole Studies*, 53-66. Berlin: Max Niemeyer Verlag.

Lynch, John. 2010. Unmarked Transitive Verbs in Melanesian Pidgin. In Kenneth McElhanon & Ger Reesink (eds.), *A Mosaic of Languages and Cultures: Studies Celebrating the Career of Karl J. Franklin*, 227-45. Dallas: SIL International.

Macknight, C. C. 1986. Macassans and the Aboriginal Past. *Archaeology in Oceania* 21.1, 69-75.

Malcolm, Ian G. 2004. Australian creoles and Aboriginal English: phonetics and phonology. In Bernd Kortmann & Edgar W. Schneider (eds.), *A Handbook of Varieties of English*, 656-70. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Mallya, Aurelia & Marianna Visser. 2019. Passive and anticausative constructions: A new perspective to morphosyntax and lexical semantic interfaces. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies* 37.4, 315-24.

Marian, Viorica & Margarita Kaushanskaya. 2007. Cross-linguistic transfer and borrowing in bilinguals. *Applied Psycholinguistics* 28.2, 369-90.

Markey, Thomas L. 1982. Afrikaans: Creole or Non-Creole? *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* 49.2, 169-207.

Markey, Thomas L. & Peter Fodale. 1983. Lexical diathesis, focal shifts, and passivization: the creole voice. *English World-Wide* 4.1, 69-84.

Marlow, Mikaela L. & Howard Giles. 2008. Who You Tink You, Talkin Propah? Hawaiian Pidgin Demarginalised. *Journal of Multicultural Discourses* 3.1, 53-68.

Marmion, Doug, Kazuko Obata & Jakelin Troy. 2014. Community, identity, wellbeing: the report of the Second National Indigenous Languages Survey. Canberra: Australian Institute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies.

Maschler, Yael. 1998. On the transition from code-switching to a mixed code. In Peter Auer (ed.), *Code-Switching in Conversation: Language, interaction and identity*, 125-50. London: Routledge.

Matras, Yaron. 2009. *Language Contact*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Matras, Yaron & Jeanette Sakel. 2007. The borrowability of structural categories. In Yaron Matras & Jeanette Sakel (eds.), *Grammatical Borrowing in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, vol. 38, 31-74. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Matsuda, Matt K. 2012. *Pacific Worlds: A History of Seas, Peoples, and Cultures*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mayeux, Oliver. forthcoming. Decreolization: A special case of language change? In Dany Adone & Astrid Gramatke (eds.), *On the Evolution, Acquisition and Development of Syntax: Essays in honour of Derek Bickerton*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McConvell, Patrick. 2003. Headward migration: a Kimberley counter-example. In Nicholas Evans (ed.), *The non-Pama-Nyungan Languages of Northern Australia: Comparative Studies of the Continent's Most Linguistically Complex Region*, 75-92. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

McConvell, Patrick. 2010. Contact and Indigenous Languages in Australia. In Raymond Hickey (ed.), *The Handbook of Language Contact*, 770-98. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

McConvell, Patrick. 2018. Introduction: Revisiting Aboriginal Social Organisation. In Patrick McConvell, Piers Kelly & Sébastien Lacrampe (eds.), *Skin, Kin and Clan: The Dynamics of Social Categories in Indigenous Australia*, 1-20. Canberra: ANU Press.

McConvell, Patrick, Piers Kelly & Sébastien Lacrampe (eds.). 2018. *Skin, Kin and Clan: The Dynamics of Social Categories in Indigenous Australia*. Canberra: ANU Press.

McConvell, Patrick & Felicity Meakins. 2005. Gurindji Kriol: A Mixed Language Emerges from Code-switching. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 25.1, 9-30.

McGregor, William B. 1992. The semantics of ergative marking in Gooniyandi. *Linguistics* 30, 275–318.

McGregor, William B. 2002. *Verb Classification in Australian Languages*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

McGregor, William B. 2004. *The Languages of the Kimberley, Western Australia*. Abingdon: RoutledgeCurzon.

McGregor, William B. 2006. Focal and optional ergative marking in Warrwa (Kimberley, Western Australia). *Lingua* 116, 393-423.

McGregor, William B. 2010. Optional ergative case marking systems in a typological-semiotic perspective. *Lingua* 120, 1610-36.

McWhorter, John. 1992. Substratal influence in Saramaccan Serial Verb Constructions. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 7.1, 1-53.

McWhorter, John. 1995. The Scarcity of Spanish-Based Creoles Explained. *Language in Society* 24.2, 213-44.

McWhorter, John. 1998. Identifying the Creole Prototype: Vindicating a Typological Class. *Language* 74.4, 788-818.

McWhorter, John. 2001. The world's simplest grammars are creole grammars. *Linguistic Typology* 5.2-3, 125-66.

McWhorter, John. 2005. *Defining Creole*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

MDWg (ed.) 2019. *Miriwoong Woorlang Yawoorroonga-woorr: A Miriwoong Lexicon for All: Second Edition.* Kununurra: Mirima Dawang Woorlab-gerring Language and Culture Centre.

Meakins, Felicity. 2010. The development of asymmetrical serial verb constructions in an Australian mixed language. *Linguistic Typology* 14.1, 1-38.

Meakins, Felicity. 2011. *Case-Marking in Contact: The development and function of case morphology in Gurindji Kriol.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

Meakins, Felicity. 2014. Language contact varieties. In Harold Koch & Rachel Nordlinger (eds.), *The languages and linguistics of Australia: A comprehensive guide*, 361–411. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Meakins, Felicity. 2023. What have we missed? Theorising about Creoles in the absence of Melanesia and Australia. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 38.1, 170-87.

Meakins, Felicity & Carmel O'Shannessy. 2010. Ordering arguments about: Word order and discourse motivations in the development and use of the ergative marker in two Australian mixed languages. *Lingua* 120, 1693-713.

Meakins, Felicity & Carmel O'Shannessy. 2012. Typological constraints on verb integration in two Australian mixed languages. *Journal of Language Contact* 5, 216–46.

Meehan, Dorothy. 2017. Starting Out at Bamyili: Factors Specific to the Development of the Kriol Program. In Brian Clive Devlin, Samantha Disbray & Nancy Regine Friedman Devlin (eds.), *History of Bilingual Education in the Northern Territory: People, Programs and Policies*, 61-72. Singapore: Springer.

Meisel, Jürgen M. 2010. Bilingual language acquisition and theories of diachronic change: Bilingualism as cause and effect of grammatical change. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 14.2, 121–45.

Melchor, Jillian Loise & Miguel Blázquez-Carretero. 2022. Zamboanga Chavacano: From español de cocina to un poquito español. A postcolonial inquiry into creole language preservation. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 37.1, 72-113.

Meyerhoff, Miriam. 1996. Transitive marking in contact Englishes. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 16.1, 57-80.

Meyerhoff, Miriam. 2001. Another Look at the Typology of Serial Verb Constructions: The Grammaticalization of Temporal Relations in Bislama (Vanuatu). *Oceanic Linguistics* 40.2, 247-68.

Michaelis, Susanne & Martin Haspelmath. 2003. Ditransitive constructions: Creole languages in a cross-linguistic perspective. *Creolica* [23/04/2003],

Michaelis, Susanne Maria. 2020. Avoiding bias in comparative creole studies: Stratification by lexifier and substrate. *Isogloss. Open Journal of Romance Linguistics* 6.8,

Migge, Bettina. 1998. Substrate influence in creole formation: The origin of give-type serial verb constructions in the Surinamese Plantation Creole. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 13.2, 215-66.

Migge, Bettina. 2003. *Creole Formation as Language Contact: The case of the Suriname Creoles*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Moreton-Robinson, Aileen. 2015. *The White Possessive: Property, Power, and Indigenous Sovereignty*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Mosel, Ulrike. 1980. *Tolai and Tok Pisin: The influence of the substratum on the development of New Guinea Pidgin*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

Mountford, Charles P. . 1978. The Rainbow-Serpent Myths of Australia. In Ira R. Buchler & Kenneth Maddock (eds.), *The Rainbow Serpent: A Chromatic Piece*, 23-97. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Mufwene, Salikoko. 1991. Pidgins, Creoles, Typology, and Markedness. In Francis Byrne & Thom Huebener (eds.), *Development and Structures of Creole Languages: Essays in Honor of Derek Bickerton*, 123-43. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Mufwene, Salikoko. 1996. The Founder Principle in Creole Genesis. *Diachronica* 13.1, 83–134.

Mufwene, Salikoko. 1997. Jargons, pidgins, creoles and koines: What are they? In Arthur K. Spears & Donald Winford (eds.), *The Structure and Status of Pidgins and Creoles: Including selected papers from meetings of the Society for Pidgin and Creole linguistics*, 35-70. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Mufwene, Salikoko. 2000. Creolization is a social, not a structural, process. In Ingrid Neumann-Holzschuh & Edgar Schneider (eds.), *Degrees of Restructuring in Creole Languages*, 65–84. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Mufwene, Salikoko. 2001. *The Ecology of Language Evolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mühlhäusler, Peter. 1996. *Linguistic Ecology: Language Change and Linguistic Imperialism in the Pacific Rim*. London: Routledge.

Munro, Jennifer M. 2000. Kriol on the Move: A Case of Language Spread and Shift in Northern Australia. In Jeff Siegel (ed.), *Processes of Language Contact: Studies from Australia and the South Pacific*. Quebec: Les Editions Fides.

Munro, Jennifer M. 2004. *Substrate Language Influence in Kriol: The Application of Transfer Constraints to Language Contact in Northern Australia*. PhD dissertation, University of New England.

Mushin, Ilana. 2010. Code-Switching as an Interactional Resource in Garrwa/Kriol Talk-in-Interaction. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 30.4, 471-96.

Muysken, Pieter. 1981. Halfway between Quechua and Spanish: The case for relexification. In Arnold Highfield & Albert Valdman (eds.), *Historicity and variation in creole studies*, 52-78. Ann Arbor: Karoma.

Muysken, Pieter. 2000. *Bilingual Speech: A Typology of Code-Mixing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Muysken, Pieter & Norval Smith. 1994. Reflexives in the creole languages: an interim report. In Dany Adone & Ingo Plag (eds.), *Creolization and Language Change*, 45-64. Berlin, New York: Max Niemeyer Verlag.

Muysken, Pieter & Tonjes Veenstra. 1994. Universalist approaches. In Jacques Arends, Pieter Muysken & Norval Smith (eds.), *Pidgins and Creoles: An Introduction*, 121-36. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Myers-Scotton, Carol. 1992. Comparing codeswitching and borrowing. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 13.1-2, 19-39.

Myers-Scotton, Carol. 1993a. Common and uncommon ground: Social and structural factors in codeswitching. *Language in Society* 22, 475-503.

Myers-Scotton, Carol. 1993b. *Duelling Languages: Grammatical Structure in Codeswitching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Myers-Scotton, Carol & Agnes Bolonyai. 2001. Calculating Speakers: Codeswitching in a Rational Choice Model. *Language in Society* 30.1, 1-28.

Myers-Scotton, Carol & Janice L. Jake. 2000. Testing the 4-M model: An introduction. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 4.1, 1-8.

Myers-Scotton, Carol & Janice L. Jake. 2017. Revisiting the 4-M model: Codeswitching and morpheme election at the abstract level. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 21.3, 340-66.

Næss, Åshild. 2007. *Prototypical Transitivity* (Typological Studies in Language). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Ngarritjan-Kessaris, Terry & Linda Ford. 2007. Tyikim/Blekbala perspectives on language. In Gerhard Leitner & Ian G. Malcolm (eds.), *The Habitat of Australia's Aboriginal Languages: Past, Present and Future*, 355-70. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

NNTT, National Native Title Tribunal. 2022. Kimberley Native Title Claimant Applications and Determination Areas As per the Federal Court (31 December 2022). ed. National Native Title Tribunal. Canberra: Geospatial Services, National Native Title Tribunal.

Nordlinger, Rachel. 2014. Serial verbs in Wambaya. In Rob Pensalfini, Myfany Turpin & Diana Guillemin (eds.), *Language Description Informed by Theory*, 263-82. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Nunn, Patrick D. & Nicholas Reid. 2015. Aboriginal Memories of Inundation of the Australian Coast Dating from More than 7000 Years Ago. *Australian Geographer* 47.1, 11-47.

O'Shannessy, Carmel. 2005. Light Warlpiri: A New Language. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 25.1, 31-57.

O'Shannessy, Carmel, Amelia Carter & Siva Kalyan. 2022. Transitivity Marking in Light Warlpiri, an Australian Mixed Language. *Languages* 7.3, 235.

Olawsky, Knut. 2010a. Going public with language: involving the wider community in language revitalisation. In John Hobson, Kevin Lowe, Susan Poetsch & Michael Walsh (eds.), *Re-awakening languages: Theory and practice in the revitalisation of Australia's indigenous languages*, 75-83. Sydney: Sydney University Press.

Olawsky, Knut. 2010b. Revitalisation strategies for Miriwoong. In John Hobson, Kevin Lowe, Susan Poetsch & Michael Walsh (eds.), *Re-awakening languages: Theory and practice in the revitalisation of Australia's indigenous languages*, 146-54. Sydney: University of Sydney Press.

Olawsky, Knut. 2013. The Master-Apprentice Language Learning Program Down Under: Experience and Adaptation in an Australian Context. *Language Documentation & Conservation* 7, 41-63.

Owens, Jonathan. 1980. Monogenesis, the Universal and the Particular in Creole Studies. *Anthropological Linguistics* 22.3, 97-117.

Parkvall, Mikael. 2000. *Out of Africa: African influences in Atlantic Creoles*. London: Battlebridge Publications.

Pascoe, Bruce. 2014. *Dark Emu: Black Seeds: Agriculture or Accident?* Broome: Magbala Books.

Patrick, Peter L. 2008. Jamaican Creole: morphology and syntax. In Bernd Kortmann & Edgar W. Schneider (eds.), *Varieties of English*, vol. 2: The Americas and the Caribbean, 609-44. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Pearson, Warren & Grant O'Neill. 2009. Australia Day: A Day for All Australians? In David McCrone & Gayle McPherson (eds.), *National Days: Constructing and Mobilising National Identity*, 73-88. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

Phillips, Joshua. 2018. A sense of agency: Accounting for a change-in-progress in Australian Kriol pronoun distribution. *Studies in Language* 42.2, 329-68.

Plag, Ingo. 2002. On the Role of Grammaticalization in Creolization. In Glenn Gilbert (ed.), *Pidgin and Creole Linguistics in the 21st century*, 229-45. New York: Lang.

Polinsky, Maria. 2017. Antipassive. In Jessica Coon, Diane Massam & Lisa Demena Travis (eds.), *Oxford Handbook of Egrativity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pollock, Jean-Yves. 1989. Verb Movement, Universal Grammar, and the Structure of IP. *Linguistic Inquiry* 20.3, 365-424.

Ponsonnet, Maïa. 2010. "Brainwash from English"? Barunga Kriol Speakers' Views on Their Own Language. *Anthropological Linguistics* 52.2, 160-83.

Ponsonnet, Maïa. 2016. Reflexive, reciprocal and emphatic functions in Barunga Kriol. In Felicity Meakins & Carmel O'Shannessy (eds.), *Loss and Renewal: Australian Languages Since Colonisation*, 297-332. Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

Ponsonnet, Maïa. 2018. Expressive values of reduplication in Barunga Kriol (northern Australia). *Studies in Language* 42.1,

Ponsonnet, Maïa. 2020. *Difference and Repetition in Language Shift to a Creole: The Expression of Emotions*. London: Routledge.

Poplack, Shana. 1980. Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish Y TERMINO EN ESPAÑOL: toward a typology of code-switching. *Linguistics* 18.7-8, 581-618.

Poplack, Shana. 2012. What does the Nonce Borrowing Hypothesis hypothesize? *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 15.3, 644-8.

Poplack, Shana. 2017. *Borrowing: Loanwords in the Speech Community and in the Grammar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Poplack, Shana & David Sankoff. 1984. Borrowing: the synchrony of integration. *Linguistics* 22, 99-135.

Puckica, Jérôme. 2009. Passive Constructions in Present-Day English. *Groninger Arbeiten zur Germanistischen Linguistik* 49, 215-35.

Pullum, Geoffrey K. 1990. Constraints on intransitive quasi-serial verb constructions in modern colloquial English. In Brian D. Joseph & Arnold M. Zwicky (eds.), *When Verbs Collide: Papers from the Ohio State Mini-Conference on Serial Verbs*, 218-39. Columbus: Ohio State University.

Reed, Lisa A. 2011. Get-passives. *The Linguistic Review* 28, 41-78.

Reid, Nicholas. 2002. Sit right down the back: Serialized posture verbs in Ngan'gityemerri and other Northern Australian languages. In John Newman (ed.), *The Linguistics of Sitting, Standing, and Lying*, 239-68. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Reynolds, Henry. 2006. *Other Side of the Frontier: Aboriginal Resistance to the European invasion of Australia*. Sydney: UNSW Press.

Rhydwen, Mari. 1995. Kriol is the color of Thursday. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 113, 113–9.

Rice, Sally. 1988. Unlikely Lexical Entries. *Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, 202-12.

Roberts, Ian. 1987. *The Representation of Implicit and Dethematized Subjects*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Roberts, Ian. 1997. Creoles, Markedness and the Language Bioprogram Hypothesis. *Selected Papers on Theoretical and Applied Linguistics* 10, 11-29.

Roberts, Sarah Julianne. 2000. Nativization and the genesis of Hawaiian Creole. In John McWhorter (ed.), *Language Change and Language Contact in Pidgins and Creoles*, 257-300. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Rochemont, Michael. 2016. Givenness. In Caroline Féry & Shinichiro Ishihara (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Information Structure*, 41–63. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Roeper, Thomas. 1987. Implicit Arguments and the Head-Complement Relation. *Linguistic Inquiry* 18.2, 267-310.

Romaine, Suzanne & Braj Kachru. 1992. Code-mixing and code-switching. In Tom McArthur (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to the English Language*, 228-9. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rumsey, Alan. 1993. Language and territoriality in Aboriginal Australia. In Michael Walsh & Colin Yallop (eds.), *Language and Culture in Aboriginal Australia*, 191-206. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press.

Ryan, Lyndall, Jennifer Debenham, Bill Pascoe, Robyn Smith, Chris Owen, Jonathan Richards, . . . Hedy Fairbairn. 2017-2022. Colonial Frontier Massacres in Australia 1788-1930. http://hdl.handle.net/1959.13/1340762.

Sandefur, John. 1979. *An Australian Creole in the Northern Territory: A Description of Ngukurr-Bamyili Dialects*. Darwin: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Sandefur, John. 1982. Kriol and the question of decreolization. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 1982.36, 5-14.

Sandefur, John. 1984. *Papers on Kriol: The Writing System and a Resource Guide*. Darwin: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Sandefur, John. 1985. Aspects of the Socio-Political History of Ngukurr (Roper River) and its Effect on Language Change. *Aboriginal History* 9.2, 205-19.

Sandefur, John. 1986. Kriol of North Australia: A Language Coming Of Age. In *Work Papers of SIL-AAB*. Darwin: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Sandefur, John. 2014. In *Kriol-English Interactive Dictionary*, ed. Maarten Lecompte: Australian Society for Indigenous Languages.

Sandefur, John & John Harris. 1986. Variation in Australian Kriol. In Joshua Fishmman (ed.), *The Fergusonian Impact*, 743-54. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Sankoff, David & Shana Poplack. 1981. A formal grammar for code-switching. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 14, 3-45.

Sankoff, David, Shana Poplack & Swathi Vanniarajan. 1990. The case of the nonce loan in Tamil. *Language Variation and Change* 2, 71-101.

Sarvasy, Hannah S. 2021. Acquisition of multi-verb predicates in Nungon. *First Language* 41.4, 478–503.

Sato, Charlene J. 1991. Language Change in a Creole Continuum: Decreolization? *University of Hawai'i Working Papers in ESL* 10.1, 127-47.

Schäfer, Florian. 2009. The Causative Alternation. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 3.2, 641-81.

Schieffelin, Bambi B. & Rachelle Charlier Doucet. 1994. The "Real" Haitian Creole: Ideology, Metalinguistics, and Orthographic Choice. *American Ethnologist* 21.1, 176-200.

Schneider, Edgar W. 2010. The cline of creoleness in negation patterns of Caribbean English Creoles. In Raymond Hickey & Stanislav Puppel (eds.), *Language History and Linguistic Modelling: A Festschrift for Jacek Fisiak on his 60th Birthday*, 1055-67. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Schnukal, Anna. 1988. *Broken: An Introduction to the Creole Language of Torres Strait*. Canberra: Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University.

Schultze-Berndt, Eva. 2007. Recent grammatical borrowing into an Australian Aboriginal language: The case of Jaminjung and Kriol. In Yaron Matras & Jeanette Sakel (eds.), *Grammatical Borrowing in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Schultze-Berndt, Eva, Felicity Meakins & Denise Angelo. 2013. Kriol. In Susanne Maria Michaelis, Philippe Maurer, Martin Haspelmath & Magnus Huber (eds.), *English-based and Dutch-based Languages*, 241-51. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sebba, Mark. 1987. *The Syntax of Serial Verbs: An investigation into serialisation in Sranan and other languages*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Sebba, Mark. 1997. *Contact Languages: Pidgins and Creoles* Houndmills: Macmillan Press Ltd.

Sebba, Mark. 1998. A Congruence Approach to the Syntax of Codeswitching. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 2.1, 1-19.

Seiss, Melanie. 2009. On the Difference between Auxiliaries, Serial Verbs and Light Verbs. In Miriam Butt & Tracy Holloway King (eds.), *Proceedings of the LFG09 Conference*, 501-19. Stanford: CSLI Publications.

Senft, Gunter. 2004. What do we really know about serial verb constructions in Austronesian and Papuan languages? In Elisabelle Bril & Françoise Ozanne-Rivierre (eds.), *Complex Predicates in Oceanic Languages: Studies in the Dynamics of Binding and Boundness*, 49-64. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Seuren, Pieter A. M. 1991. The definition of serial verbs. In Francis Byrne & Thom Huebner (eds.), *Development and Structures of Creole Languages: Essays in Honour of Derek Bickerton*, 193-205. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Seuren, Pieter A. M. 1995. Notes on the history and the syntax of Mauritian Creole. *Linguistics* 33, 531-77.

Shaw, Philip. 1992. Reasons for the Correlation of Voice, Tense, and Sentence Function in Reporting Verbs. *Applied Linguistics* 13.3, 302-19.

Shibatani, Masayoshi. 1985. Passives and Related Constructions: A Prototype Analysis. *Language* 61.4, 821-48.

Siegel, Jeff. 2000. Substrate Influence in Hawai'i Creole English. *Language in Society* 29.2, 197-236.

Siegel, Jeff. 2005. Literacy in Pidgin and Creole Languages. *Current Issues in Language Planning* 6.2, 143-63.

Siegel, Jeff. 2007. Recent evidence against the Language Bioprogram Hypothesis: The pivotal case of Hawai‘i Creole. *Studies in Language* 31.1, 51-88.

Siegel, Jeff. 2010. Bilingual literacy in creole contexts. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 31.4, 383-402.

Siegel, Jeff. 2012. Two Types of Functional Transfer in Language Contact. *Journal of Language Contact* 5, 187–215.

Siewierska, Anna. 2013. Passive Constructions. In Matthew S. Dryer & Martin Haspelmath (eds.), *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology.

Simpson, Jane. 2000. Camels as Pidgin-Carriers. In Jeff Siegel (ed.), *Processes of Language Contact: Studies from Australia and the South Pacific*. Quebec: Les Editions Fides.

Simpson, Jane. 2013. What's done and what's said: language attitudes, public language activities and everyday talk in the Northern Territory of Australia. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 34.4, 383-98.

Singler, John Victor. 1988. The Homogeneity of the Substrate as a Factor in Pidgin/Creole Genesis. *Language* 64.1, 27-51.

Singler, John Victor. 1996. Theories of creole genesis, sociohistorical considerations, and the evaluation of evidence: The case of Haitian Creole and the Relexification Hypothesis. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 11.2, 185-230.

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. 1999. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. Dunedin: University of Otago Press.

Sperlich, Wolfgang B. 1993. Serial Verb Constructions in Namakir of Central Vanuatu. *Oceanic Linguistics* 32.1, 95-110.

Spronck, Stef. 2023. Languages of the Kimberley region. In Claire Bowern (ed.), *The Oxford Guide to Australian Languages*, 812-24. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Stammers, Jonathan R. & Margaret Deuchar. 2012. Testing the nonce borrowing hypothesis: Counter-evidence from English-origin verbs in Welsh. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 15.3, 630-43.

Syea, Anand. 2013. Serial verb constructions in Indian Ocean French Creoles (IOCs): Substrate, universal, or an independent diachronic development? *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 28.1, 13-64.

Syea, Anand. 2017. *French Creoles: A Comprehensive and Comparative Grammar*. London: Routledge.

Szeto, Pui Yiu, Jackie Yan-ki Lai & Umberto Ansaldo. 2019. Creole typology is analytic typology. *Language Ecology* 3.1, 89-119.

Tadmor, Uri. 2009. Loanwords in the world's languages: Findings and results. In Martin Haspelmath & Uri Tadmor (eds.), *Loanwords in the World's Languages: A Comparative Handbook*, 55-75. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Taylor, Douglas. 1961. New Languages for Old in the West Indies. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 3.3, 277-88.

Taylor, Douglas. 1971. Grammatical and lexical affinities of creoles. In Dell Hymes (ed.), *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages*, 293-8. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Testelec, Yakov G. 1998. On Two Parameters of Transitivity. In Leonid Kulikov & Heinz Vater (eds.), *Typology of Verbal Categories: Papers Presented to Vladimir Nedjalkov on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday*, 29-46. Berlin: Max Niemeyer Verlag.

Thepkanjana, Kingkarn & Satoshi Uehara. 2009. Resultative constructions with "implied-result" and "entailed-result" verbs in Thai and English: a contrastive study. *Linguistics* 47.3, 589-618.

Thomason, Sarah Grey. 1997. A typology of contact languages. In Arthur K. Spears & Donald Winford (eds.), *The Structure and Status of Pidgins and Creoles: Including selected papers from meetings of the Society for Pidgin and Creole linguistics*, 71-90. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Thomason, Sarah Grey & Terrence Kaufman. 1988. *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Troy, Jakelin. 1992. The Sydney Language Notebooks and responses to language contact in early colonial NSW. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 12, 145-70.

Troy, Jakelin. 1993. Language Contact in Early Colonial New South Wales 1788 to 1791. In Michael Walsh & Colin Yallop (eds.), *Language and Culture in Aboriginal Australia*. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press.

Troy, Jakelin. 1994a. *Melaleuka: A History and Description of New South Wales Pidgin*. PhD dissertation, Australian National University.

Troy, Jakelin. 1994b. *The Sydney Language*. Canberra: Panther Publishing and Printing.

Tryon, Darrell T & Jean-Michel Charpentier. 2011. *Pacific Pidgins and Creoles: Origins, Growth and Development*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Tsunoda, Tasaku. 1985. Remarks on Transitivity. *Journal of Linguistics* 21.2, 385-96.

Tuck, Eve & K. Wayne Yang. 2012. Decolonization is not a metaphor. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1.1, 1-40.

Tulloch, Shelley. 2006. Preserving Dialects of an Endangered Language. *Current Issues in Language Planning* 7.2/3, 269-86.

Turpin, Myfany & Felicity Meakins. 2019. *Songs from the Stations*. Sydney: Sydney University Press.

Uffmann, Christian. 2003. Markedness, faithfulness and creolization: The retention of the unmarked. In Ingo Plag (ed.), *Phonology and Morphology of Creole Languages*, 3-24. Berlin: Max Niemeyer Verlag.

Urry, James & Michael Walsh. 1981. The Lost 'Macassar Language' of Northern Australia. *Aboriginal History* 5.2, 91-108.

van den Berg, René. 1995. Verb Classes, Transitivity, and the Definiteness Shift in Muna: A Counterexample to the Transitivity Hypothesis? *Oceanic Linguistics* 34.1, 161-89.

van Staden, Miriam & Ger Reesink. 2008. Serial verb constructions in a linguistic area. In Gunter Senft (ed.), *Serial verb constructions in Austronesian and Papuan languages*, 17-54. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

Vaughan, Jill. 2021. Enduring and Contemporary Code-Switching Practices in Northern Australia. *Languages* 6.2, 90.

Vaughan, Jill, Ruth Singer & Murray Garde. 2022. Language naming in Indigenous Australia: a view from western Arnhem Land. *Multilingua*,

Vaughan, Jill & Ruth Singler. 2018. Indigenous multilingualisms past and present. *Language & Communication* 62.B, 83-90.

Veenstra, Tonjes. 2008. Creole Genesis: The Impact of the Language Bioprogram Hypothesis. In Silvia Kouwenberg & John Victor Singler (eds.), *The Handbook of Pidgin and Creole Studies*, 219-41. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Veenstra, Tonjes & Pieter Muysken. 2017. Serial Verb Constructions. In Martin Everaert & Henk van Riemsdijk (eds.), *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Syntax, Second Edition*. Online: Wiley Blackwell.

Velupillai, Viveka. 2015. *Pidgins, Creoles and Mixed Languages: An Introduction*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Versteegh, Kees. 2008. Non-Indo-European Pidgins and Creoles. In Silvia Kouwenberg & John Victor Singler (eds.), *The Handbook of Pidgin and Creole Studies*, 158-86. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Vilsaint, Féquière. 1996. Issues in Haitian-Creole Orthography. *Journal of Haitian Studies* 2.2, 181-91.

Voorhoeve, Jan. 1973. Historical and Linguistic Evidence in Favour of the Relexification Theory in the Formation of Creoles. *Language in Society* 2.1, 133-45.

Walsh, Michael. 1991. Overview of indigenous languages of Australia. In Suzanne Romaine (ed.), *Language in Australia*, 27-48. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Walsh, Michael. 1996. Vouns and nerbs: a category squish in Murrinh-Patha (Northern Australia). In William B. McGregor (ed.), *Studies in Kimberley languages in honour of Howard Coate*, 227-52. Munich: Lincom Europa.

Wanner, Anja. 2009. *Deconstructing the English Passive*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Wasow, Thomas. 1977. Transformations and the lexicon. In Peter W. Culicover, Thomas Wasow & Adrian Akmajian (eds.), *Formal Syntax*, vol. 327-360. New York: Academic Press.

West, Barbara A. & Frances T. Murphy. 2010. *A Brief History of Australia*. New York: Facts On File.

Wichmann, Søren & Jan Wohlgemuth. 2008. Loan verbs in a typological perspective. In Thomas Stolz, Dik Bakker & Rosa Salas Palomo (eds.), *Aspects of Language Contact*, 89–122. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Wigglesworth, Gillian & Rosey Billington. 2013. Teaching Creole-Speaking Children: Issues, Concerns, and Resolutions for the Classroom. *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics* 36.3, 234-49.

Wigglesworth, Gillian, Rosey Billington & Deborah Loakes. 2013. Creole Speakers and Standard Language Education. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 7.7, 388–97.

Williams, Alan N. . 2013. A new population curve for prehistoric Australia. *Proceedings of the Royal Society B.*280,

Wilson, Aidan, Peter Hurst & Gillian Wigglesworth. 2017. Code-Switching or Code-Mixing? Tiwi Children's Use of Language Resources in a Multilingual Environment. In Gillian Wigglesworth, Jane Simpson & Jill Vaughan (eds.), *Language Practices of Indigenous Children and Youth: The Transition from Home to School*, 119-45. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Wilson, Bill & Justin O'Brien. 2003. 'To infuse an universal terror': a reappraisal of the Coniston killings. *Aboriginal History* 17, 59-78.

Winford, Donald. 1988. Stativity and other aspects of the creole passive. *Lingua* 76.4, 271-97.

Wohlgemuth, Jan. 2009. *A Typology of Verbal Borrowings*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Zhu, Jialei & Yimin Sheng. 2021. Resultative serial verb constructions in Shaoxing Wu and Mandarin resultative verb compounds:. *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 49.2, 330-78.

Zribi-Hertz, Anne & Loïc Jean-Louis. 2022. The syntax of directional Serial Verb Constructions in French-based creoles. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 37.1, 114-59.

Zúñiga, Fernando & Seppo Kittilä. 2019. *Grammatical Voice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.