A Linguistic Description of Lockhart River Creole

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A thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

of the

University of New England

November 2016

Acknowledgements

Abstract

Lockhart River Creole (LRC) is an English-based contact variety spoken in the Lockhart River Aboriginal Community located on Cape York Peninsula approximately 780km north of Cairns. Considering that LRC has not been previously studied, analysed, and described, the focus of the present study is to provide its linguistic description, design an orthographical system allowing for the language to be used in the written form, ascertain if LRC is a creole or a variety of Aboriginal English, establish similarities and differences between LRC and other contact varieties spoken in the Pacific basin, and determine the scope of the influence of the two substrate languages, namely, Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila.

While Chapter 1 provides information on the Lockhart River area and its linguistic configuration, theoretical background, language data and methodology, as well as sources consulted for the purpose of the present project, Chapter 2 constitutes a detailed description of historical factors that contributed to the emergence and development of LRC. Chapter 3 examines segmental phonemes of LRC, namely, consonants, vowels, and diphthongs, as well as variation and phonotactics, i.e. syllable structure, in addition to such suprasegmental features as vowel length, stress, and intonation. Furthermore, Chapter 3 also discusses the proposed phonemically-based orthographical system. In addition to morphological processes, Chapter 4 explores the LRC word classes, namely, nouns, pronouns, determiners, quantifiers, adjectives, prepositions, verbs, adverbs, conjunctions, and interjections. Chapter 5 discusses the noun phrase, including both simple and complex NPs, as well as pronominal NPs, and prepositional phrases. This is followed by the presentation of the word and phrase coordination. In addition to the coordination of verbs and verb phrases, Chapter 6 investigates the verb phrase, including bare, intransitive, transitive, ditransitive, and complex head verbs. This is then followed by the examination of oblique complements, serial verb constructions, prepositional phrases and adverbs within the verb phrase. Chapter 7, which is devoted to simple sentences, provides an overview of the five types of predicates, the predicate constituents, sentences with and without the subject, as well as declarative sentences, including negative markers, and interrogative sentences, both 'yes-no' and

information questions. Chapter 8 presents complex sentences and discusses complement and adverbial clauses, relative clauses, left dislocation, as well as the coordination and subordination of complex sentences. Chapter 9 examines the LRC vocabulary, as well as emphatic and discourse markers. Concluding remarks are provided in Chapter 10.

Each chapter contains original and substantial information pertinent to the linguistic description of LRC. Furthermore, numerous comparisons of many LRC features with their equivalents in other contact varieties, namely, Australian Kriol, Torres Strait Creole, Solomon Islands Pijin, Vanuatu Bislama, and Papua New Guinea Tok Pisin, are provided throughout this thesis.

I certify that the substance of this thesis has not already been submitted for any
degree and is
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I certify that any help received in preparing this thesis and all sources used have
been acknowledged in this thesis.

Signature

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
~	reduplication
ADJ	adjective
AdjP	adjectival phrase
ADV	adverb
AdvP	adverbial phrase
AUX	auxiliary
CAUS	causative
CESS	cessative
COMP	complementiser
COMPL	completive
CONN	connective
CONT	continuative
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
DIR	direct
DISC	discourse marker
DISTR	distributive
DM	deontic markers
DU	dual
EMP	emphatic
EXCL	exclusive
FUT	future
HAB	habitual
IMD.PST	immediate past
IMP	imperative
INCL	inclusive
INCP	inceptive

INDF	indefinite
INDR	indirect
INT	intensifier
INTRG	interrogative
INTRS	intransitive
ITR	iterative
LR	Lockhart River
LRC	Lockhart River Creole
MOD	modifier
N	noun
NCYP	Northern Cape York Peninsula
NEG	negation, negative
NMLZ	nominaliser/nominalisation
NOM	nominal
NUM	numeral
NP	noun phrase
NSG	non-singular
O	object
PL	plural
PM	predicate marker
PN	postnominal modifier
PP	prepositional phrase
PRED	predicative
PREP	preposition
PRN	pronoun
PROG	progressive
PRONOM	pronominal
PROX	proximal
PST	past
Q	quantifier/quantificational
QTAG	question tag
RC	relative clause

RECP	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
RPT	repetitive
RP	resumptive pronoun
S	subject
SFX	suffix
SG	singular
SMLFC	semelfactive
SRP	subject referencing pronoun
SV	serial verb
TMA	tense, mood, and aspect
TRS	transitive
TSC	Torres Strait Creole
V	verb
VP	verb phrase

Chapter 1 Introduction

The present study was undertaken with a purpose to write a linguistic description of Lockhart River Creole (LRC), an English-based contact variety spoken in the Lockhart River (LR) area located on Cape York Peninsula approximately 780km north of Cairns (13°S 149°E) (Lloyd, 2003, pp. 32-33). LRC is also spoken by a considerable community of people from LR who moved to Cairns for a variety of social and economic reasons and currently live there (D. Thompson, 2013, p. 129). As LRC has not been previously studied, analysed, and described, very little was known about its linguistic structure, and its relationship to other Indigenous creoles and varieties of English. Although it is first mentioned in the unpublished paper by Rigsby (1973) and then subsequently in D. Thompson (1988b, 2011, 2013), Lloyd (2003), and Hill and McConvell (2010), its linguistic description was yet to be provided. The other English-lexified creole languages spoken in Australia, namely, Fitzroy Valley Kriol of Western Australia (Hudson, 1983) and Roper River Kriol spoken in the Northern Territory (Sandefur, 1979, 1986), which constitute regional varieties of Australian Kriol, and Torres Strait Creole (TSC) (Shnukal, 1988) have been extensively and thoroughly researched, analysed, and described. Yarrie Lingo, which is an autochthonous variety spoken in the Aboriginal community of Yarrabah near Cairns in Far North Queensland, and which was researched by Alexander (1965), has only been recognised as a local creole in the last decade and its detailed description is yet to be provided (Angelo, 2013; Sellwood & Angelo, 2013; Disbray and Loakes, 2013; Angelo and McIntosh, 2014; Mushin, Angelo & Munro, 2016). However, it remains debatable if Yarrie Lingo is indeed a creole, in spite of the fact that the recent trend is for Yarrie Lingo to be considered a creole. Sellwood and Angelo (2013, pp. 256-257) note that very little recognition has been given to Yarrie Lingo, in spite of the fact that a shift away from traditional languages at Yarrabah Mission took place more than a century ago and that Alexander (1965) described the speech of the Yarrabah children more than half a century ago. A lack of recognition of Yarrie Lingo as a creole could most likely be explained by the fact that for a very long time very little was known about this language. It was not until Angelo (2004) proposed that Yarrie Lingo should be recognised as a creole language on the basis of a number of criteria, including those of socio-historical nature, used for recognising other creoles that awareness was raised as to the emergence, development, and

linguistic structure of Yarrie Lingo. Although LRC has not yet been officially recognised as a creole, it is hoped that the research results provided in this thesis will not only raise awareness as to its existence, but also help recognise it as a creole language in its own right. Both the linguage data and numerous comparisons with creole languages spoken in Australia and the Pacific basin, which are outlined throughout this thesis, indicate that a claim could be made for LRC to be recognised as a creole. The socio-historical background provided in Chapter 2 also plays a vital part in recognising LRC as a creole, as its emergence and development parallels those of other already officially recognised creole languages.

1.1   Lockhart River

As shown in Figures 1 and 2, LR is the northernmost community situated on the east coast of Australia (Lloyd, 2003, pp. 32-33) some two kilometres from the Quintell Beach on Lloyd Bay, and near Mount Tozer and the Iron Range National Park (Lockhart River Aboriginal Shire Council, 2005; D. Thompson, 1982; L. Thompson, 2011). The Lockhart River area stretches almost 300km from north to south and inland to beyond the Great Dividing Ranges (Lloyd, 2003, p. 33). It consists of six traditional lands, namely, the Wuthathi (Southern), the Kuuku Ya'u (Northern), Kanthanumpun (Southern Kuuku Ya'u), the Uutaalnganu (Night Island), the Umpila, and the Kaanju (Northern and Southern) (Lloyd, 2003, p. 33; Lockhart River Aboriginal Shire Council, 2005; L. Thompson, 2011). The settlement, which dates back to the establishment of the Anglican Mission in 1924 (D. Thompson, 1995, p. 17), is located on the Kanthanumpun (Southern Kuuku Ya'u) land (Lloyd, 2003; Lockhart River Aboriginal Shire Council, 2005; L. Thompson, 2011).

The community is primarily inhabited by both Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people who together make up 90.6% of the population (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2006, 2011). The so-called support staff comprises between thirty and fifty non-Aboriginal and non-Torres Strait Islander persons who are employed as teachers, nurses, police officers, local shop workers, council administration workers, a carpenter, and a plumber (Lockhart River Aboriginal Shire Council, 2005; Queensland Police Service, 2015). The census data show that there were 542

residents in 2006; this number increased to 642 in 2011 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2006, 2011). It is estimated that approximately 25% of the LR people reside in Cairns (D. Thompson, 2013, pp. 160).

Figure 1. Map of Cape York Peninsula (taken from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cape_York_Peninsula).
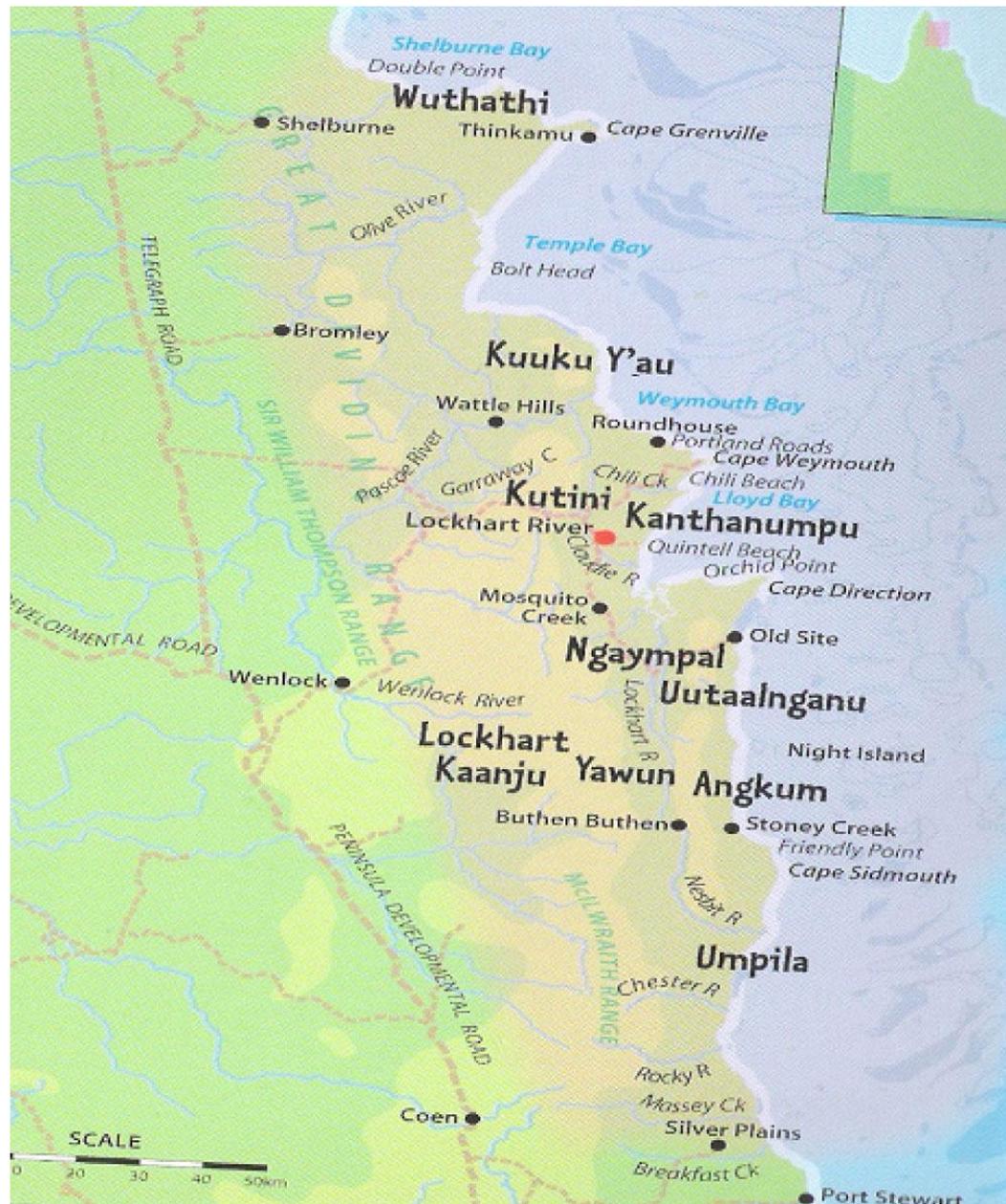
Figure 2. Northeastern Cape York Peninsula (taken from The Mojowire (2011),
https://rdontheroad.files.wordpress.com/2011/11/lhr-map.jpg)

1.2 Linguistic Configuration of Lockhart River

In addition to LRC, which is, as noted above, the first language of the LR children (D. Thompson, 1988b, p. 2), the LR area is linguistically diverse, as it comprises "at least six closely related [traditional Aboriginal] languages, which were originally spoken along the east coast and hinterland of Cape York Peninsula and inland to the west of the Great Dividing Range" (D. Thompson, 1988b, p. 2). Those languages are as follows:

1. Kaantju – an inland language specific to the area located west of the Great Dividing Range from Coen north to the Old Moreton Post Office
2. Kuuku Iyu – a language spoken along the Olive River to Uu'ungun and inland to Mitjingun
3. Kuuku Ya'u – a coastal language extended from Uu'ungun south to Claudie River and hinterland
4. Uutaalnganu – a language inherent to the area of Claudie River south to Cape Sidmouth and hinterland
5. Umpila – a coastal language spoken south of Cape Sidmouth to north of Massy Creek and hinterland
6. Kuuku Yani – a language of the Massy Creek area (D. Thompson, 1988b, p. 2).

Figure 3 shows the distribution of languages along the east coast and hinterland of Cape York Peninsula, as reported to D. Thompson (1988b, p. 3) by the old residents at the Lockhart River Aboriginal Community near Iron Range ('New Site') in April 1975.
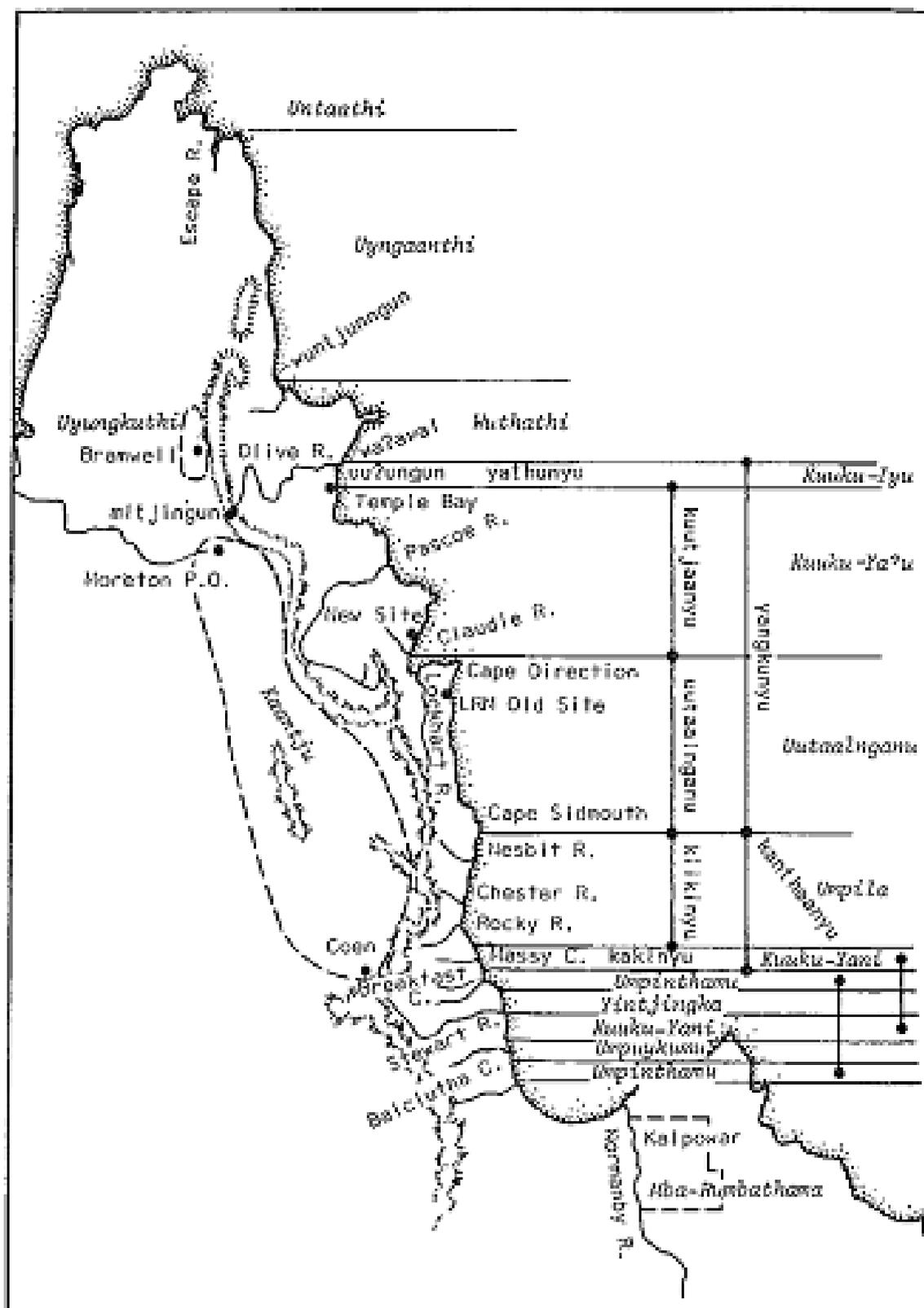
Figure 3. Distribution of languages along the east coast and hinterland of Cape York Peninsula (taken from D. Thompson, 1988b, p. 3)

O'Grady, Voegelin, and Voegelin (1966, pp. 36, 51, 53-54) classify Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila, together with the third language of the closely related Kaantju, as the members of the Middle Pama Subgroup of the Pama-Maric Group of the Pama-Nyungan Family. Sommer (1969) distinguishes the Middle Pama and North-Eastern Pama Subgroups, thus narrowing down the classification proposed by O'Grady, Voegelin, and Voegelin (1966) pertaining to the Middle Pama Subgroup. In accordance with the classification of Sommer (1969), Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila are regarded as belonging to the North-Eastern Pama Subgroup. Those two languages are wholly suffixing and mutually intelligible, as their grammars are almost entirely identical and "a list of 500 common words is 87% identical" (D. Thompson, 1976, 1982, 1988b; Rigsby, 2005). While only a handful of elderly residents of the LR community possess a full knowledge of the two coastal languages, namely, Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila (D. Thompson, 1972, 1988b), the remaining inhabitants do know a considerable number of both the lexical items and expressions, which they incorporate into LRC.

English has also been influencing the speech of the LR residents since the second half of the nineteenth century, first during the Palmer River gold rush and the expeditions to the northern regions of Cape York Peninsula, through the times of the 'Sandalwood King' and the Anglican Mission, which was operational from 1924 to 1967 (Pike, 1983; D. Thompson, 1995). Since English is a medium of education and administration in LR, its influence on the speech of the LR residents is growing swiftly and is additionally facilitated by an easy access to English music, films, TV and radio programmes.

Finally, in view of the close-knit historical, geographical, and social relations LR and the Torres Strait share, TSC has affected LRC in a considerable way. At present, there reside in LR Torres Strait Islanders, descendants of former Torres Strait Islanders, and those LR residents who used to work on luggers during the times of the booming pearling and bêche-de-mer industries (Chase, 1981a; Loos, 1982) as well as those who spent time in the Torres Strait after the LR Anglican Mission was dissolved in 1967, resulting in the relocation of many community members to Bamaga at the tip of Cape York Peninsula (D. Thompson, 1995, pp. 206, 212). The

2011 Census data show that approximately 89.6% of the LR population identified as being of Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander descent (Lockhart River Aboriginal Shire Council, 2015, p. 25). Of the languages spoken at home other than English, TSC was the most widely spoken with 5.6% of the population naming it as the primary language used at home.

1.3 Theoretical Background

As mentioned above, LRC belongs to the category of languages known as contact languages, which include pidgins, creoles, and contact varieties of English. In the contact environment, the emergence of pidgins and creoles is necessitated by the need to communicate by people who do not have a common language, e.g. plantation labourers with different linguistic backgrounds (Siegel, 2008, p. 1). Although there are several views, including some controversial ones, of pidgin and creole emergence, which are outlined in the following paragraphs, the developmental history of contact languages may be illustrated as follows:

JARGON/PRE-PIDGIN → PIDGIN → EXPANDED PIDGIN → CREOLE

Thus, a 'jargon' or 'pre-pidgin' comes into existence as a result of the first communication attempts, where people develop individual ways of using newly learned words and phrases from other languages (Siegel, 2008, p. 2). For that reason, Mühlhäusler (1997, pp. 128-131) defines jargons as "individual solutions to cross-linguistic communication". A 'pidgin', which is marked by "certain communicative conventions" (Siegel, 2008, p. 2), is born when a pre-pidgin begins to be used as a lingua franca by people who continue to remain in contact. Those conventions are represented by reduced and set grammatical rules that emerge in an environment, where none of the languages of the people in contact function as a target language (Mühlhäusler, 1997, pp. 138, 162). A pidgin may be either a 'restricted pidgin', which is used only as an additional language when a specific need arises in view of its limited vocabulary and grammar, or an 'expanded pidgin' when it acts as a lingua franca because of its broad array of lexis and grammatical rules (Siegel, 2008, p. 3). That broad spectrum is a direct result of elaboration by

adults who use an expanded pidgin as a second language in their communications on many different levels, thus increasing its referential and non-referential power (Mühlhäusler, 1997, p. 163). A 'creole', which possesses "a full lexicon and complex set of grammatical rules" (Siegel, 2008, p. 3), emerges when an expanded pidgin assumes the role of a primary language of a multilingual community and, as a result, becomes the first language of the children. This process is called 'creolisation' (Mühlhäusler, 1979, p. 43).

The 'lexifier', which is also known as the 'superstrate' and is the language of the group in power, provides the majority of the lexicon for the newly developing language (Siegel, 2008, p. 1). The 'substrates' or 'substrate languages', which are the other languages spoken in the contact environment, influence not only the phonology and syntax, but also the meanings and functions of the vocabulary of the new language. When the lexifier, the substrate languages, the pre-existing pidgins, and/or creoles come into contact, the mixing of a variety of linguistic features commences (Siegel, 2011, p. 531). In some contexts, levelling takes place and some of the features remain, while others do not. Which features are retained is governed by a number of reinforcement principles, one of which is 'substrate reinforcement' (Siegel, 2011, p. 532). Siegel states that "[s]ubstrate reinforcement occurs when a particular variant has a corresponding feature in a numerically or socially dominant substrate language or languages", where that corresponding feature "occurs in the same surface syntactic position and (…) can be interpreted (or misinterpreted) as having the same or a closely related function" (Siegel, 2011, p. 532).

There exist two separate and conflicting ideas regarding the creole genesis. Firstly, Holm (1988, p. 6) notes that creoles are considered to have a jargon or a pidgin as an ancestor and constitute native languages of an entire speech community. In light of this, Mühlhäusler (1997, p. 10) posits that both the structural and functional dissimilarities between a primary pidgin and its related creole may be miniscule, noting further that

> Pidgins are examples of partially targeted second language learning and second language creation, developing from simpler to more complex systems as communicative requirements become more demanding. Pidgin languages

by definition have no native speakers – they are social rather than individual solutions – and hence are characterized by norms of acceptability (p. 6).

A similar opinion is expressed by McWhorter (1996, 1998, 2001, 2002, 2003) who asserts that the morphological simplicity characteristic for creoles stems from the fact that creoles, which, in his opinion, are simpler than other languages "emerged as radically reduced pidgins" (2000, p. 106). Thus, McWhorter's view on the genesis of creoles represents the traditional belief that morphologically simple pidgins expand and constitute the predecessors of creoles.

Secondly, a different outlook is proposed by Chaudenson (2001), Mufwene (1996, 2000, 2001, 2004), and DeGraff (2001a, 2001b, 2005a, 2005b) who are of a belief that creoles developed directly from their lexifiers without the involvement of any pre-existing pidgin stage. Thus, Chaudenson (2001, p. 305) posits that a birth of a creole was facilitated by a gradual change and restructuring undergone by a lexifier, which took place when the slaves arriving in the colonies only learned 'approximations' of the colonial language from other slaves. Both Alleyne (2000) and Mufwene (2001) share this opinion stating that gradual restructuring to become more unlike the lexifier occurred in French-based creoles, which were subject to restructure in the late stages of their historical development through cumulative divergent changes. Three factors seem to support this approach, namely, (1) the existence in some creoles of morphological features of their lexifier, (2) a lack of evidence for the pre-existing pidgin stage in the development process of some creoles, and (3) some creole features result from a normal language change.

Another controversy in relation to creole development, which is presented in the next paragraph, involves the notion of 'the post-creole continuum' (DeCamp, 1971, p. 29), which, according to Mühlhäusler (1997, pp. 11, 211-220), occurs when a creole remains in a close contact with the lexifier. As a result, a creole begins to undergo a process of decreolisation (Holm, 1988, p. 9), which involves a lexical, phonological, and/or morphosyntactic changes in the direction of the superstrate. A continuum is formed that encompasses varieties that are linguistically the most distant from the lexifier (the 'basilect'), intermediate varieties (the 'mesolect'), and

varieties the closest to the lexifier (the 'acrolect') (Siegel, 2008, p. 5). In view of this, Rickford and McWhorter (1997, p. 253) claim that decreolisation is a societal process that represents generational changes in a speech community, where gradually fewer and fewer people speak the basilect. According to DeCamp (1971, p. 29), for the post-creole continuum to occur, two conditions are necessary. Firstly, both the dominant official language and the lexifier must be the same to exert ongoing "corrective pressures (radio, television, internal migration, education, etc.)" (DeCamp, 1971, p. 29) on the creole. Secondly, the previously inflexible and rigorous social system must be partially broken down to facilitate sufficient social mobility and sufficient external corrective pressures for the lexifier to exert influence on creole speakers.

As noted above, Chaudenson (2001), Mufwene (1996, 2000, 2001, 2004), DeGraff (2001a, 2001b, 2005a, 2005b), and Alleyne (2000) are in favour of 'gradual basilectalisation', i.e. gradual restructuring to become more unlike the lexifier. For that reason, the majority of creolists now opt for the use of the term 'creole continuum' instead of the post-creole continuum (Siegel, 2008, p. 237). The concept of creole continuum has its proponents and opponents. Thus, on one front there are creolists like LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985) who do not believe that the variation in the continuum occurs along a single dimension. On the other hand, such creolists as, for example, Edwards (1983), Lawton (1980), and Siegel (1997), oppose the existence of the continuum in certain situations and choose the co-existence of two separate systems, i.e. the creole and the lexifier. While both of the above approaches indicate that code-switching between the systems is an integral part of the contact environment, the third approach represented by Winford (1997) favours the intermediate mesolectal model.

Before a stance is taken regarding the above approaches in relation to LR, it appears necessary to clarify if the language spoken in LR is actually a creole or perhaps a variety of Aboriginal English. In Australia there exists Aboriginal English, which comprises a variety of dialects of English spoken by Aboriginal people. Kaldor and Malcolm (1991, p. 69) state that the origins of Aboriginal English differ depending on the area of its development. Thus, Aboriginal English emerged as a post-creole

continuum in some parts in the north, where creolised pidgins used to previously function. However, in the south and in some desert locations, where pidgins did not undergo creolisation Aboriginal English developed simultaneously with one of the existing pidgins. There also existed Aboriginal communities, where Aboriginal English resulted from acquisition of English as a second language. The latter opinion resonates in Eades (1992, p. 2) who notes that those dialects did not develop "from pidgin English but from the Aboriginalisation of English as speakers learnt the language" (Eades, 1993, p. 2). As a result, Aboriginal people who lived in those parts of Australia, where pidgin was non-existent turned English into an Aboriginal English "by bringing into it accents, grammar and ways of speaking from their traditional languages" (Eades, 1993, p. 2). However, Allridge (1984) and Angelo (2013, p. 75) note that varieties grouped under the label "Aboriginal English" share many features with creoles. In fact, this term encompasses varieties that developed in reserves, missions, metropolitan and regional urban communities, and, therefore, involved different socio-historical conditions, regions of Australia, and many combinations of languages in contact that contributed to their grammatical and lexical features (Eades, 2014; Mushin & Watts, 2016). As a result, Munro and Mushin (2016, p. 82) posit that the term "Aboriginal English" does not allow for a precise categorisation of a given language, which can be achieved on the basis of a very detailed socio-historical analysis of the language emergence and development. They provide an example of a contact language spoken in Woorabinda, an ex-government reserve in Queensland, Australia, where the socio-historical context indicates that that language is most likely an intermediate creole rather than a variety of Aboriginal English. Munro and Mushin (2016, p. 85) note that the previous research undertaken by Alexander (1968) distinguished two varieties of Aboriginal English on the basis of the criterion of mutual intelligibility with Standard Australian English with one variety being close to Standard Australian English and the other one being only partially intelligible. Thus, the above finding and opinion of Munro and Mushin (2016) in relation to Woorabinda clearly show the importance the socio-historical context plays in the task of labelling and recognising a given language as a language of a specific type. The origins of varieties known as Aboriginal English, and pidgin and creole languages do not, however, constitute the only difference. Mutual intelligibility is yet another criterion, as the majority of Aboriginal English varieties can be understood by Standard Australian English

speakers, while the same cannot be said about creole languages (Kaldor & Malcolm, 1991, p. 70). Munro and Mushin (2016, p. 85) note, however, that mutual intelligibility criterion is not very helpful in the process of classifying a given a language, as many Aboriginal people are known to have learned Standard Australian English as a second language/dialect. Some linguistic features found in LRC and other creoles, but not in varieties labelled Aboriginal English include the following:

- the future tense marker *go* (see subsection 7.2.3.1.2) in both TSC (Shnukal, 1988, p. 135) and LRC
- the progressive aspect suffix *-a(bat)* (see subsection 4.7.3.1) in both Kriol (Schultze-Berndt & Angelo, 2013) and LRC
- the prepositions *long/lo* and *we* in both TSC (Shnukal, 1988, pp. 157,223) and LRC (see subsection 4.6.1.3)
- the presence of the first person inclusive dual pronoun *yumi* in TSC (Shnukal, 1988, p. 30) and the first person inclusive non-singular pronoun *yūmī* in LRC (see subsection 4.2.1.1.3)
- the first person inclusive and exclusive dual pronouns *yumi* and *mitu*, respectively, in TSC (Shnukal, 1988, p. 30) and *yūmītū* and *mītū* in LRC (see subsections 4.2.1.1.2 and 4.2.1.1.4, respectively)
- the transitive suffix *-e/-i* in TSC (Shnukal, 1988, p. 37) and *-im/-i* in LRC (see subsection 4.7.1.1)
- the use of the preposition *blong/blo* 'belonging to' in possessive constructions in both TSC (Shnukal, 1988, p. 117) and LRC (see subsection 4.6.1.1)

As the title of this thesis and the introductory remarks at the beginning of this chapter indicate, the position taken in this thesis is that the first language of the LR people is indeed a creole and not a variety of Aboriginal English. This opinion has been prompted by and reached on the basis of the closeness and numerous similarities with TSC, which become apparent and are emphasised throughout the present study. Those similarities coupled with the socio-historical factors contributing to the emergence and development of LRC (see Chapter 2) give reasons to make a tentative claim that both LRC and TSC come from an earlier shared

pidgin, i.e. Early Melanesian Pidgin. In fact, socio-historical context is of utmost importance. Munro and Mushin (2016, p. 84) rightfully observe that socio-historical analysis plays a vital part in establishing why different varieties of English spoken by Aborigines are characterised by different degrees of superstrate and substrate influence. They also note which of those varieties may be considered similar to contact languages. The final section at the end of each chapter discusses many similarities LRC shares not only with TSC, but also with Australian Kriol and the three dialects of Melanesian Pidgin (MP), namely, Solomon Islands Pijin, Vanuatu Bislama, and Papua New Guinea Tok Pisin. At the same time, some differences are also presented. Those comparisons demonstrate that the linguistic structure of LRC resembles those of Kriol and the MP dialects rather than Aboriginal English (Malcolm, 2008).

Having made a decision that the language spoken in LR is indeed a creole, the present study supports the model representing the co-existence of two separate systems, i.e. the creole and the lexifier, which is the approach of Edwards (1983), Lawton (1980), and Siegel (1997). It should be emphasised that contact varieties of English form a continuum ranging from those close to standard varieties of English, such as urban Aboriginal English, to those very different from English, e.g. heavy creoles such as Kriol and Melanesian Pidgin. It is hard to draw a precise line between Aboriginal Englishes and Aboriginal creoles. It appears that LRC is somewhere near the middle of the continuum but closer to the creole end. This conclusion is reached on the basis of the fact that in the LR environment, both the contact variety, spoken by the Aboriginal people as their first language, and the lexifier function side by side. This is due to English being the media of education, administration, mass media, and the language of all the support staff employed and residing in LR. As a result, on the creole continuum in LR, the basilectal variety is intertwined with both the mesolectal and acrolectal varieties. This fusion is apparent at all times, given that the basilect is only used by the Aboriginal residents when they communicate with other Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, while both the mesolect and acrolect are used when the Indigenous population has dealings with non-Aboriginal inhabitants. The choice of either the mesolectal or acrolectal varieties depends both on age and the level of exposure to English of each

individual. As a result, children and young Aboriginal residents are prone to use the acrolect in comparison with the middle-aged people who favour the mesolect, and the old inhabitants who opt for the basilect. The future will show if DeCamp's (1971, p. 29) two conditions necessary for the post-creole continuum to occur are going to be met in LR. Some diagnostic creole/non-English features that distinguish the basilect variety from the mesolect and acrolect varieties include, for example, the following:

- the preposition *long/lo* as opposed to *in/intū* (see subsection 4.6.1)
- the construction *blo* + verb (see subsection 7.2.3.2.5) as opposed to *āftū/heftū* + verb (see subsection 7.2.3.2.4)
- the plural definite article *dem* (see subsection 4.3.1.1) as opposed to the plural marker *-s* (see subsection 4.1.3.1.1)
- the third person singular pronouns *im, i, em* (see subsection 4.2.1.1.10) as opposed to the pronoun *his*
- the future tense marker *go* (see subsection 7.2.3.1.2) as opposed to *will*
- the past tense marker *bin/bi* (see subsection 7.2.3.1.1) as opposed to *was/were*

1.4 Language Data and Methodology

Following the completion of the Master's thesis on the influence of the traditional Torres Strait languages on dialect differentiation and retention of pan-Pacific pidgin features in Torres Strait Creole, I discussed with Professor Jeff Siegel, who also supervised my Master's thesis, the possibility of undertaking a PhD project in the area of pidgin and creole languages. Professor Siegel suggested a project involving a linguistic description of LRC. I established contact with a number of linguists and anthropologists who undertook research in the LR area, among them Claire Hill who has been undertaking linguistic research on the two traditional languages of the LR area for the past 16 years, and David Thompson, an anthropologist with training in linguistics, who because of his work as an Anglican Reverend has had ties with the LR area since 1969. Both of them invited me on their July 2013 trip to LR, during which they completed a 3-year Lockhart River Language Learning Project involving Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila i.e. the two traditional languages of LR. During that trip, I

was introduced to LR community members, participated in a number of workshops run by both Clair Hill and David Thompson, and established a rapport and gained the support of many Lockhart River residents for my PhD project. As a result, I received a letter of support from the LR Chief Executive Officer, on the basis of which the Ethics Committee at the University of New England, Armidale, NSW, Australia granted approval HE13-167 for this project. Funding for the project, including two fieldwork periods, was provided by the School of Behavioural, Cognitive, and Social Sciences at the University of New England, Armidale, NSW, Australia. Consent forms were obtained from all recorded LR people who agreed to be recorded, for the recorded data to be stored with Paradisec (see below), and for the language data to be made available publically, and for the use of community members and researchers. Upon the completion of this project, those recordings that represent traditional stories and conversations will be stored at the Pacific and Regional Archive for Digital Sources in Endangered Cultures (Paradisec) (http://www.paradisec.org.au) (Wikipedia, 2016e).

As noted above, the project involved obtaining recordings of language data from LR people. This was done in view of the fact that LRC functions solely as an oral language and, as a result, all language data for the present study comes from the collection of 219 recordings totalling 122 hours. All of the data were recorded by me. Recordings comprise those of traditional stories, conversations between LR residents, descriptions of hypothetical events and 'how to' narratives as well as elicited data, involving the lexicon, tense, mood, and aspect markers, word classes, noun and verb phrase constructions, and simple and complex sentences. The length of recordings varies, where traditional stories and other narratives range from 15 to 60 minutes, while recordings representing elicited data range from 20 to 120 minutes. The majority of speakers were asked to tell traditional stories, however, quite a few recordings represent elicited data, where I asked LR people to indicate how they would say something in LRC. I also provided those LR residents whom I recorded with a number of statements in TSC asking them to say those utterances in LRC.

Recordings were obtained during two field trips, where the first nine-week fieldwork was undertaken in the LR area, while the second five-week trip involved data collection not only in LR, but also in Cairns, among the community of LRC speakers. Out of twenty-one adult recorded LRC speakers (sixteen females and five males) aged between eighteen and seventy-five, one female who is of Torres Strait Islander descent resided in the Torres Strait for a number of years during childhood and adolescence. Additionally, one Torres Strait Islander female in her 50s provided insight into the differences between TSC and LRC. On occasion, participants took part in the analysis of the recorded stories and conversations, thus immediately clarifying questions. However, the primary task of translation and language data analysis was assigned to eight adult language consultants (members of the group of twenty-one recorded speakers), six females and two males. Of those participants, one female was a Torres Strait Islander and one male who was of Torres Strait Islander descent resided in Bamaga and the Torres Strait for approximately one year during childhood. It should be mentioned that language consultants not only helped with translation and language data analysis, but they were also recorded while telling traditional stories. All of the language consultants had previous experience with translation and language data analysis, as they participated in a number of language projects involving Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila and provided assistance to other linguists who researched those two traditional languages spoken in the LR area. As a result, those consultants were recommended to me by other linguists and anthropologists undertaking their research in LR. Table 1.1 lists all of the recorded participants/language consultants.

Table 1.1 Recorded Participants/Language Consultants

Name	Gender	Age	Location Recorded
Marjorie Accoom	Female	18	Lockhart River
*Beverley Butcher	Female	30s	Lockhart River
John Butcher	Male	50s	Lockhart River
*Patrick Butcher	Male	50s	Lockhart River
*Nullam Clark	Female	20s	Cairns
Leila Clarmont	Female	50s	Lockhart River
Brian Claudie	Male	50s	Lockhart River
Elizabeth Giblet	Female	75	Lockhart River

Beatrice Mary Hobson	Female	70s	Cairns
*Christina Hobson	Female	50s	Cairns
*Lucy Hobson	Female	50s	Cairns / Lockhart River
Margaret Hobson	Female	30s	Lockhart River
Priscilla Mattisey	Female	50s	Lockhart River
*Irene Namok (TSC descent)	Female	50s	Lockhart River
Greg Omeenyo	Male	40s	Lockhart River
*Josiah Omeenyo (TSC descent)	Male	54	Lockhart River
*Beverley Pascoe	Female	50s	Lockhart River
Emily Pascoe	Female	30s	Lockhart River
Susan Pascoe	Female	70s	Lockhart River
Kate Pilot (Torres Strait Islander)	Female	60s	Cairns
Dorothy Short	Female	70s	Lockhart River

* - language consultants

The primary resources utilised during the two field trips included both audio and video recording equipment, a still camera, and a laptop. The FieldWorks Language Explorer (FLEx) programme, developed by SIL International, assisted with the morphosyntactic analysis and the creation of a wordlist/dictionary. The obtained recordings were phonetically and phonologically analysed using both the EUDICO Linguistic Annotator (ELAN), http://tla.mpi.nl/tools/tla-tools/elan/, developed at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, The Language Archive, Nijmegen, The Netherlands (Brugman & Russel, 2004), and the Praat software, http://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat/, developed by Paul Boersma and David Weenink (2017; Boersma, 2001) of the University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands. At the time of each trip, the recordings were transcribed with the use of the ELAN programme and translated with help of my language consultants, not only to ensure correctness and acceptability, but also to take into consideration the social context and specific situations necessary to properly understand the conveyed information (Llisteri, 1996a). The Praat software was only used on a few occasions when acoustic measurements were needed to establish the nature of some specific sounds. Following discussions with language consultants, a phonemic orthography was

designed to allow for the language to be used in a written form (Llisteri, 1996b). Punctuation is modelled on semantic readings based on English, and not on any phonological or morphosyntactic analysis.

1.5 Sources

As LRC has not been previously researched, analysed, and described, there are no sources available to consult on the linguistic structure of this contact variety. However, taking into account the close-knit historical, social, and geographical relations the LR and the Torres Strait regions share, the works on TSC by Shnukal, primarily the 1988 publication *Broken: An introduction to the creole language of Torres Strait*, were consulted.

This thesis includes a number of brief comparisons of specific linguistic features with other Pacific expanded pidgins or creoles, namely, Solomon Islands Pijin, Vanuatu Bislama, and Papua New Guinea Tok Pisin as well as Australian Kriol. Thus, the sources that provided the most insight on Pijin were those by Beimers (2008), Keesing (1988), Jourdan (1985, 2002), and Simons and Young (1978). The materials on Bislama primarily involve Crowley (2004) as well as (1990, 1995, 1998, 2002, 2003). The works by Mihalic (1971), Dutton and Thomas (1985), and Verhaar (1995) provided information on Tok Pisin. As far as sources on Kriol are concerned, the publications by Sandefur (1979, 1986), Hudson (1983), Schultze-Berndt and Angelo (2013), and Schultze-Berndt, Meakins, and Angelo (2013) were consulted.

The 1988b publication by D. Thompson as well as the ten books published by Hill and D. Thompson (2011-2013) as part of the Lockhart River Language Learning Project provided a wealth of information on Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila.

1.6 Organisation of the Thesis

Chapter 2 discusses historical background relevant to the development of LRC. Thus, pre-European contact, followed by an increased contact with outsiders, the

establishment of the Lockhart River Anglican Mission, the Second World War years, post-Mission period, and contemporary times at LR are examined.

Chapter 3 concentrates on phonology. Firstly, the consonantal phonemes, their distribution, orthographic representation, and variation are presented. This is followed by the discussion of the vocalic phonemes, diphthongs, phonotactics, and such suprasegmental features as stress and intonation.

Chapter 4 examines word classes as well as morphological processes. The discussion on nouns is then followed by the presentation of pronouns, determiners, quantifiers, prepositions, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, coordinators and subordinators, relative clause markers, connective adverbs, and interjections.

Chapter 5 explores the noun phrase (NP) and its constituents. Namely, bare noun NPs, NP determiners, NP quantifiers, the position of adjectives within NPs, pre-modifiers, post-modifiers, complex NPs, relative clauses, pronominal NPs, prepositional phrases, and adjectival phrases are discussed.

Chapter 6 is devoted to the verb phrase (VP). Bare VPs, intransitive VPs, transitive VPs, complex VPs, serial directional verbs and adverb phrases are presented in that chapter.

Chapter 7 concentrates on the predicate and simple sentences. The subject referencing pronouns, resumptive pronouns, the predicate marker, negative markers, TMA markers, and core predicate constituents are discussed. This is then followed by the presentation of such simple sentences as equational sentences, impersonal sentences, imperative sentences, negative sentences, interrogative sentences, including both yes-no questions and *wh-* information questions.

Chapter 8 explores complex sentences and their complements. Adverbial clauses, relative clauses, and both coordination and subordination of complex sentences are also presented in that chapter.

Chapter 9 discusses the lexicon, namely, borrowings from TSC, Japanese, Malay-Indonesian, Pacific languages, Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila as well as English. This is followed by the presentation of such discourse strategies as left dislocation, the use of emphatic markers *nau/na* and *ya*, and discourse markers, the function of which is assumed by a variety of connective adverbs and the word *laka*.

The final chapter, Chapter 10, provides a summary of all the findings presented in this study.

1.7 Conclusion

This chapter has provided information on both LR and its linguistic configuration, theoretical background, language data and methodology, as well as sources consulted for the purpose of this study. It has been proposed that LRC is indeed a creole and not a variety of Aboriginal English basing that conclusion on the closeness and numerous similarities with TSC, which are described in every chapter of this thesis. Brief comparisons of numerous LRC features with their counterparts found in Australian Kriol, Solomon Islands Pijin, Vanuatu Bislama, and Papua New Guinea Tok Pisin indicate that the linguistic structure of LRC is much more similar to Kriol and the three Melanesian Pidgin dialects than to Aboriginal English and/or English. There also exist similarities between LRC and Yarrie Lingo, a creole language spoken in the Yarrabah area near Cairns, North Queensland. The processes that contributed to the development of Yarrie Lingo have provided an insight and have served as a useful comparison of the processes involved in the emergence of LRC. As both of those languages evolved in the Mission environment, their socio-historical backgrounds resemble each other in many ways. Certain similarities can also be seen between LRC and Woorie Talk spoken in Woorabinda (Munro & Mushin, 2016; Mushin & Watts, 2016), a former Queensland Government Reserve,

as many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people from all over Queensland and from a variety of linguistic backgrounds were gathered both in Lockhart and Woorabinda. As a result, similarly to Woorie Talk, LRC was most likely affected by many varieties of non-standard English.

Chapter 2 Historical Background

A number of specific historical events led to, influenced, and contributed to the emergence of LRC. Those events, which are the focal points and milestones that form the basis of the subsections of this chapter, mark very tumultuous times of social, cultural, and linguistic changes that the LR People had to face, endure, and be subjected to on numerous occasions throughout history. Those events date back to the pre-European contact era that was followed by an increased contact with outsiders, primarily those of both European and Asian origin, and culminated in the establishment of the LR Anglican Mission in 1924. Those trying events continued through the World War II years and the post-Mission period following until finally reaching contemporary times. All those events were also of paramount importance in the process of the birth and development of LRC.

2.1 Pre-European Contact

The LR people refer to the time prior to the arrival of Europeans and Asians as *bifotaim* 'before time' (Anderson, 2009, p. 25). It is then that the Aborigines residing along the east coast of Cape York Peninsula had contact with seafaring people of the Torres Strait and New Guinea. Thomson (1933, p. 514) posits that the Melanesian influence manifests itself in the social organisation of the east coast Aborigines in view of its larger group tribal settlement character, enhanced by tribal ceremonies and tribal totemism, that was not customary for Aboriginal Australia. The shared features of the initiation ceremonies and the use of such common cultural items as ceremonial drums, outrigger canoes, and harpoons by Aborigines who were seafarers, and dugong and turtle hunters themselves, serve as a testimonial for those contacts (Thomson, 1933, 1934a, 1934b, 1966a, 1972; Chase, 2005; Chase & Sutton, 1981, 1998). That opinion resonates not only in Davidson (1935) who assigns the origin of drums, harpoons, and canoes to Melanesia, but also in Haddon (1935, pp. 69,273,403) who notes that the western Torres Strait Islanders and Papuans were acquiring Cape York spears and woomeras[1], and Aborigines were

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[1] A woomera is a notched stick used by Aborigines to propel spears or darts.

using Papuan and Islander drums, stone club heads, and double-rigger dugout canoes. Laade (1970) confirms the above stating that

> the common, slender, hourglass-shaped drums which the Torres Strait Islanders, in the absence of suitable native wood, obtain from coastal New Guinea. At Lockhart they are manufactured from local wood but modelled exactly in the shape of these so-called "Island-drums". As in Torres Strait, they are called *warup* at Lockhart. (p. 291)

Haddon (1935, pp. 269, 344) also stresses the existence of such technologies and practices as fire-making weapons and mummification that infiltrated Aborigines of the east coast of Cape York Peninsula from the north.

2.2 Increased Contact with Outsiders

The first mention of the contact of the LR people with Europeans pertains to the encounter with William Bligh in 1789 at Restoration Island (Bowman, 1981; Chase, 1978; Wood & Chase, 1986). The Island is located within the boundaries of the Ma'alpiku Island National Park off the east coast of Cape York Peninsula (12.6167°S 143.4667°E), a few hundred metres from Cape Weymouth and the Iron Range National Park (see section 1.1). On 29 May, 1789, following the mutiny on the *Bounty*, Captain Bligh and a few of his loyal crewmen landed ashore on an island in the ship's boat, naming it Restoration to commemorate not only the abundance of oysters, local fruit, and fresh water that restored their spirits, but also to celebrate the anniversary of the restoration of King Charles II in 1660 (Bligh, 1792).

The next known and documented contact took place in 1791 when the

> "Pandora" was wrecked at Orford Bay, to the north of Shelburne Bay, and the survivors encountered "Indians" on the shore. Various surveying voyages were made by the "Beagle" (1839-1841) and the "Rattlesnake" (1848) and the reports were made of Aboriginal people living along the north-east Peninsula shoreline. (The State of Queensland, Land Tribunal, 1998, p. 51)

Further encounter occurred with the explorer Edmund B. Kennedy and his companions at the Pascoe River in 1848 (S. Anderson, 2009; Carron, 1849; Chase,

1989; Meston, 1896, 1923). Carron (1849, pp. 66-79), together with eight other members of the exploratory expedition, remained there for seven weeks awaiting a delivery of fresh supplies, while refusing to accept the help of the local Aborigines out of fear of attack and deception. As a result, seven men died of starvation before the rescue team arrived. Another land-based contact took place during the expeditions led by the Jardine brothers, Francis and Alexander, in 1864-1865, and William Hann in 1872 who, while exploring the eastern coastal lands of Cape York Peninsula, recorded information of both their encounters with the Aborigines and the presence of the other Aborigines in that area (The State of Queensland (Department of Natural Resources and Mines), 2001, pp. 83-84).

Further contact with outsiders, which commenced in the 1850s, involved the so-called "lugger-time" (Chase, 1981a, p. 10) that marks the establishment of both the pearling and bêche-de-mer industries in the Torres Strait area in the 1840s (Sharp, 1990, 1992; Sutton & Rigsby, 1986; D. Thompson, 1995). It is then that luggers used to sail down the east coast of Cape York Peninsula (Chase, 1981a; Loos, 1982; Meston, 1896; D. Thompson, 2013), seeking among others the LR Aborigines as crewmen, taking into account not only their skills involving the operation of the sea-going dugout canoes, but also their reputation as outstanding seamen (Chase, 1981a, 1981c, 1989; Laade, 1970; Meston, 1896). This is not surprising, as the Aboriginal people residing in the area north of Port Stewart called themselves *pama malngkana* 'people of the sandbeach' or *pama kaawaychi* 'eastside people' (Chase, 1994; Thomson, 1956, 1966b, 1972, 1983), as "their camps on the immediate beachfront right through the seasonal cycle allowed them to exploit both terrestrial and marine environments in the most efficient manner" (Chase, 1978, p. 163). As a result,

> [o]n the eastern coast, the contact area extended down as far as Princess Charlotte Bay, and particular attention was paid to known Aboriginal camping sites at Cape Grenville, Weymouth Bay, Lloyd Bay and the Night Island area. (Chase, 1980b, p. 98)

Chase (1980b, p. 96) states that by the 1880s, lightships served as guides when the inner reef shipping channel was being developed. The Fisheries Commissioner, Saville-Kent, reported that in 1890 luggers were commanded by the Japanese lugger

masters and manned by representatives of a number of nationalities, including Javanese and Timorese (Loos, 1982, p. 123-124), thus outlining their multinational character:

> With few exceptions, the entire crews consist of coloured men of various nationalities. Mainland Aboriginals, Southsea Islanders and natives of the Torres Strait furnish the greatest number, while some of the best divers are represented by Manillamen, Chinese, Japanese and Malays. (Saville-Kent, 1893, p. 206)

A similar observation is made by Meston (1896) who reports that

> [a]t present the pearl-shell boats are nearly all controlled and manned by coloured men; a heterogeneous mixture of Javanese, Malays, and Polynesians. I saw at least 100 luggers with not a white man on one of them. (p. 3)

An interesting story involves Narcisse Pelletier, a fourteen-year old French cabin boy aboard the *Saint-Paul*, which was shipwrecked in 1858 on Rossel Island, a part of the Louisiade Archipelago in New Guinea. Pelletier who survived together with the captain and other crewmen a twelve-day crossing of Coral Sea in an open boat to finally arrive just south of Cape Direction (Anderson, S., 2009, p. 16). There he was left behind by the members of the crew and rescued by the Aboriginal Sandbeach Uutaalnganu 'Night Island' people of the northern Princess Charlotte Bay area with whom he lived for seventeen years till 1875 when he boarded the Torres Strait-based pearling lugger *John Bell* (Anderson, S., 2009, pp. 16,21).

The contact between the Aborigines and the Asians, particularly those of Japanese origin, was strengthened as of the 1890s when they continued to work side by side in the pearling, bêche-de-mer, and later sandalwood, industries (Chase, 1981a, p. 8-11). This is how Chase (1981) describes the situation of the Asians and their cooperation with the Aborigines:

> Asians, like Aborigines, were classed as 'coloured people' whom Europeans despised. Moreover, they suffered political and economic handicaps as foreign nationals. Although their association was not without friction, Aborigines and Asians cooperated in economic enterprises on this seaboard for more than half a century, in a climate of mutual dependence. (p. 8)

In addition to the maritime contact, further inland contact with the outsiders follows the Palmer River gold rush of 1873 that resulted in ventures to the north (Chase & Sutton, 1981, 1998; D. Thompson, 1995), and the expedition of 1877 led by Robert Sefton, during which small deposits of gold were found in the Lockhart River basin and Claudie River (Pike, 1983, p. 81). His party included Billy Lakeland and Hughie Lockhart (D. Thompson, 1995, p. 73). Both Loos (1982, p. 64) and D. Thompson (1995, pp. 75, 107) mention that apart from miners, Chinese merchants and miners were a common sight in the goldfields at the time. The geologist-explorer Robert Logan Jack (1915, 1921) who ventured into the area in 1880 reported that on 12 January of that year he and his companions arrived on hill above Lloyd Bay and named the river flowing into it the Lockhart. William Lakeland discovered gold at the Rocky River, south of Lockhart River in 1893, and proclaimed it a gold field in 1897 (Jack, 1915, p. 223). Tin and wolfram mining in the Upper Annan River region near Cooktown in southeast Cape York Peninsula between 1885 and 1940 attracted not only Europeans, but also Asians, primarily, Chinese who made trips to the north as well (Anderson, C., 1983; Anderson, S., 2009; Chase, 1984; D. Thompson, 1995). Inland contact also involved pastoral holdings, which took over the lands by the 1890s (Chase, 1980a, p. 84). Smith (2000, p. 231) provides an explanation stating that the gold rushes facilitated the expansion of pastoralism, as

> [f]ollowing the discovery of gold at several locations in the wider region, miners flooded into the central Peninsula, followed by pastoralists who took up large cattle runs to supply the miners and the townships that they established. (Smith, 2008, p. 159)

Further European contact was facilitated by the arrival in the LR area of a prominent settler, Hugh Giblet, known as the "Sandalwood King" who in 1909 founded a base camp at Lloyd Bay for collecting sandalwood in the same location, where the Anglican Mission was established fifteen years later and remained operational till 1967 (D. Thompson, 1995, 1996). This time exists in the minds of the LR people as the so-called "Giblet-time" (Anderson, 2009, p. 25). Giblet was awarded his title of the "Sandalwood King" by the LR Aborigines not only because he managed to establish and maintain a successful working relationship with them based on mutual respect, but also because he ensured profitability of his sandalwood business (Idriess, 1959, p. 24). In addition to employing as many as one hundred Aborigines

in 1910 (Howard, 1911, pp. 5-6), Giblet also provided them with food, clothing, and liquor as well as acted as their protector when they were subjected to abusive and unjust treatment by lugger captains (Howard, 1911, pp. 27-29). Chase (1980b, pp. 108-112) reports that the Aborigines held Giblet in high regard, because he accepted their ways, knew their language, was a man of great personal integrity and loyalty, and entrusted them with such responsibilities as, for example, the operation of his boats in his absence. A certain degree of mystery surrounds the death of Giblet in 1923. While Idriess (1959, p. 32) states that Giblet died because of a nulla-nulla[2] blow to his head, the Aboriginal stories gathered by Chase (1980b, p. 109) indicate that the woomera blow broke Giblet's jaw during a fight after a drinking party. The refusal to seek medical treatment resulted in infection and ultimately in Giblet's death in Port Stewart.

2.3 LR Anglican Mission During Pre-WWII Times

The death of Giblet marks the commencement of establishing the Anglican Mission in the LR area by the Anglican Church (Diocese of Carpentaria), first at the Giblet's old campsite at Orchid Point in Lloyd Bay, and then a year later on 13 July 1924 at Bare Hill to the south of Cape Direction (D. Thompson, 1995, 2013; Chase, 2005). The Aborigines from five tribes, namely, Kuuku Ya'u (Pascoe), Umpila (Cape Melville), Wuthathi (Cape Grenville), Northern and Southern Kaanju (Coen, Wenlock), and Uutaalnganu (Night Island), were gathered in the Mission after previously living around mining and cattle camps as well as fishing depots (Tennant, 1956b, p. 4). They came from the coastal area stretching for about 200km from Port Stewart in the south to Margaret Bay in the north (D. Thompson, 1982, p. 3). Some of those Aborigines who were native to a parallel inland region across the Great Dividing Range also became the residents of the LR Mission. Many Aborigines were in favour of the Mission during its incipient stages of operation and voluntarily arrived at the Mission, not only looking for a place that would constitute a good food source, but also because of the need to reorganise themselves into new viable social groups (Bleakley 1925; Harper, 2001). Haviland and Haviland (1980, p. 147) who

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[2] A nulla-nulla is an Aboriginal club or cudgel used for hunting and war.

discuss the history of the Hope Vale Mission in the southern Cape York Peninsula posit that while food drove the Aborigines to the missions, it was the possibility and opportunity to enter into marital relationships that made them stay there.

In his later reports, Bleakley (1937, p. 12) indicates that Government patrols transported quite a few Aborigines from other parts of Cape York to the LR Mission. This is in agreement with both Chase (1990, p. 16) and Sharp (1992, p. 148) who note that in the 1920s, many Wuthathi (Cape Grenville) people were forced to relocate to the LR Mission. Harper (2001, p. 93) states that, in addition to the Wuthathi (Cape Grenville) people, Kaanju (Coen, Wenlock), and Kuuku Ya'u (Pascoe) people also arrived at the LR Mission. Rigsby (1981, 1992) as well Bassani, Lakefield and Popp (2006, p. viii) indicate that in the 1930s, the State Government relocated quite a few Aborigines from the Princess Charlotte Bay and northward along the east coast of Cape York Peninsula to the LR Mission. Some of the Aborigines of the Port Stewart community faced the same fate, however, they left and returned home (Bassani, Lakefield & Popp, 2006; Rigsby, 1981, 1992). Smith (2000, 2008) draws attention to the fact that many Ayapathu people from Coen in central Cape York Peninsula as well as many Kaanju (Coen, Wenlock) people

> were forced to live in fringe camps close to the major centres of white settlement, or to move to the mission stations on the land of their coastal neighbours at Lockhart River, Weipa and Mapoon. (Smith, 2008, p. 159)

The intention of the Anglican Church was to transform the LR Aborigines from hunter-gatherers who did not cultivate land in accordance with the western standards into villagers who would lead a sedentary lifestyle and support themselves by adhering to the western norms expressed by the agricultural and industrial occupations (Davies, 1935, p. 31). Thus, as the presence of Europeans was limited and scarce, the Torres Strait carpenters and clergymen who were trained by South Sea Islanders were brought to the LR Mission in view of the success the Anglican Church had in the Torres Strait, where Islanders followed the example of living in Melanesian type villages and cultivating gardens the Melanesian way (Bleakley, 1922; Bayton, 1965; Howard, 1911; D. Thompson, 1988a, 1995). In addition to

Torres Strait Islanders, people from the Yarrabah Anglican Mission also held posts in the LR Mission in its early days (D. Thompson, 1996, p. 145). The Anglican Church assigned yet another task to Torres Strait Islanders who were to minister to Aboriginal people to help implement the Christian beliefs, values, and faith in LR, as they accepted and practised them on a daily basis (D. Thompson, 2013, p. 29). The presence of Torres Strait people in LR not only strengthened the use of ceremonial drums, which both Aborigines and Islanders shared (see subsection 2.1), but also the practice of such missionary-approved activities as singing in a traditional language and dancing the Torres Strait style secular dances during various festivities and celebrations (D. Thompson, 1988a, 2013). D. Thompson (1995) notes that

> With the Islander influence, Lockhart River Church grew to have many of the characteristics of the Torres Strait Church – Anglo-Catholic monastic tradition with daily services, use of drums in worship, language hymns, associated secular dances in Islander style (lavalavas) and craft activities. (p. 124)

Apart from Torres Strait Islanders, some Pacific Islanders also made their way to LR, for example, the Pacific Islander, Tom Savage who was born on the island of Niue was appointed by Bishop Davies on 23 March 1925 to assume a post at the LR Mission (Shnukal, 2008; D. Thompson, 1995, 1996). Kitty Savage whose mother was educated in Brisbane and whose father was a Polynesian medicine man was appointed teacher at LR on 14 December 1929 (D. Thompson, 1995, 1996). Undai (or Andai) Ware who is said to have Loyalty Island connections was yet another Pacific Islander who was an assistant teacher when he first arrived in LR in July 1938 from Mua Island in the Torres Strait (Shnukal, 2008; D. Thompson, 1995). There was also a man of a mixed Aboriginal or Pacific Islander descent from Yarrabah, Mick Conrad (Conrad Madigan) who was the first teacher and also helped in cooking for the children (D. Thompson, 1988a, 1996).

Aborigines continued to be employed on luggers during the Mission times (Rigsby, 1980; Rigsby & Chase, 1998), as the Mission was not self-sufficient and was under pressure to depend on outside employment of Aborigines as well as their participation in some subsistence living (D. Thompson, 2013, p. 30). Unfortunately, the employment of young LR men in the marine industries who, as a result, spent

prolonged periods away from the Mission had adversely affected both the bush living and the use of traditional languages and ceremonial rituals (Chase, 1980b, p. 117). The LR Mission became a lugger owner when

> Bishop Davies purchased a lugger for the new mission and renamed it Kapuia, which means 'good word' (i.e. gospel) in western Torres Strait language. A Yam Islander, Kebisu, was placed in charge, with crew of two Torres Strait Islanders and a couple of others from the east coast. (D. Thompson, 1995, p. 116)

The building of an airstrip, which is located close to Iron Range and approximately 5km away from the current site of the LR community, was an important event that took place in 1936 (D. Thompson, 1995, p. 140). During World War II, the area surrounding the airstrip became an air base (D. Thompson, 1995, pp. 152-153). The location of the airstrip had repercussions for moving the community from Bare Hill on Cape Direction to its present-day site after the Mission was dissolved in 1967, as the original location was not only at a distance of about 60km from the airstrip, but also was extremely difficult to access either by road or sea (D. Thompson, 1995, p. 182).

Although Meston (1896, p. 4) who during his trip visited the Otattie (the Wuthathi) in Cape Grenville and the Gowanattie (most likely Kuuku Ya'u) in the Pascoe River reports the existence of four cattle stations in the Cape from the Archer River northwards in 1896, the cattle work in the Mission did not begin until September 1937 when 250 cattle were brought from Mitchell River Mission (D. Thompson, 1995, p. 140). An Aboriginal man of mixed origin, William Hudson, arrived at LR from Mitchell River in 1938 to assume a post of a cattleman (D. Thompson, 1995, p. 141). Thus, cattle became another source of employment and food for the LR Mission, which is not surprising, as a vast part of Queensland subsequently became an extensive beef production region (May, 1994, p. 169). Smith (2003, 2007, 2008) states that the Aborigines from the central Cape York Peninsula, and especially from Coen, have lived next to the non-Aboriginal pastoralists since the end of the nineteenth century onwards and that many cattle stations were built on Kaanju homelands, resulting in the majority of Kaanju country being used by the pastoral industry. Claudie (2007) who comes from the Kaanju country indicates that many

Aborigines belonging to the Kaanju people used to work as cattlemen, although Aboriginal people do not "belong to cattle" (p. 101), as the cattle industry was forced upon them. Harper (2001, p. 138) asserts that both the marine and cattle industries provided Aborigines with the possibilities to travel not only on their own land, but also far beyond the boundaries of their traditional country. While providing an example of an Atambaya man whose cattle work enabled him to travel to Mareeba, Kowanyama, and Julia Creek in western Queensland following WWII, Harper rightfully observes that similar possibilities could have existed in earlier times.

2.4 War World II and the Post-War Times

In 1942, the Mission was closed for six months, because of several factors. Firstly, there was an increased aerial activity at low altitudes, as the air base was located at nearby Iron Range. Secondly, the community was not sheltered and, as a result, exposed to attacks. Thirdly, there were bombings in the north. Fourthly, the presence of many naval ships along the coast adversely affected the Mission's daily life, food supplies, and security. (D. Thompson, 1995, p. 152). It was feared that Aborigines would collaborate with the Japanese in view of their mutual long-standing and respectful working relationships on luggers. Therefore, they were ordered to surrender all weapons that were in their possession and dispose of them by throwing them into the sea (D. Thompson, 1995, p. 152). As a result, Aborigines left the Mission and found refuge at a number of costal locations (Davies, 1942, p. 103). Some went north of the Mission, some to the Pascoe River, and some stayed close to the Iron Range air base, where both the Australian and American troops were stationed (Chase, 1988; D. Thompson, 1995; Wood & Chase, 1986). The US Army Engineering Battalions, which built the Iron Range airfield, consisted primarily of African American soldiers (Wilson, 1988, p. 32). This resonates in Chase (1980b, p. 117) who reports that African American soldiers provided Aborigines with food, clothing, and alcohol. At the outbreak of a dengue fever and benign tertian malaria epidemic in north Queensland in 1941 (Pearce, 2009, p. 82), the Americans also opened a soup kitchen and arranged for medical personnel, namely, two doctors, to

provide assistance to Aborigines who were not only malnourished but were also dying of numerous diseases (Tennant, 1956b, p. 4).

When the Mission was reopened in August 1942, the number of its residents was considerably diminished by the epidemic and outside employment that was yet again encouraged and expected (Pascoe, Moses, Hobson, & Hobson, 1978; D. Thompson, 1995). During World War II, 28 LR men served in the Small Ships Section around New Guinea, while others found work in the agricultural and dairy industries in the vicinity of Cairns and Atherton (D. Thompson, 1995, p. 155).

Although there have been numerous superintendents at the LR Mission since its establishment in 1924, it was not until the 1950s under the leadership of John Warby, a former pearling business owner in the Torres Strait, that Aborigines witnessed the Mission grow, prosper, and flourish (D. Thompson, 1995, p. 167). Firstly, the post-war times saw the Mission further its involvement in the cattle work, as a result of which paddocks were created and three Cattle Councillors chosen in 1954 were responsible not only for cattle breeding, but also for the maintenance and increase of both the livestock and the pasturelands (D. Thompson, 1995, pp. 165,176). Secondly, while the LR men continued to work on luggers, the Mission acquired its second ship in 1953 and additional ships later on (D. Thompson, 1995, pp. 176,206). Thirdly, the most important undertaking was achieved, i.e. the LR Aboriginal Christian Co-operative was founded on 25 August 1954 and remained operational till 1963 (D. Thompson, 1995, pp. 176,194). The Co-operative, which was the very first Aboriginal Co-operative in Australia, owned three boats used for pearling and for fishing for trochus and bêche-de-mer, and it also managed the cattle work (Chase, 1972; Lockhart River Aboriginal Shire Council, 2005; Tennant, 1956a, 1956b). It began to experience financial difficulties in 1956 when the need for trochus shell greatly diminished in view of the booming plastic industry and when the engine of one of the two ships that sank needed major repairs (D. Thompson, 1995, pp. 181-182).

Similarly to the Co-operative, the Anglican Church also experienced dire financial difficulties, as a result of which it pondered a number of proposals regarding the relocation of the LR Aborigines, as the Bare Hill site on Cape Direction, where the Mission was located was poorly developed in view of its remoteness and absence of viable local industries as well as funds that would facilitate their development (D. Thompson, 1995, p. 196). Those proposals were discussed with Aboriginal representatives, and the Queensland Cabinet that ultimately approved the relocation of the Mission and its residents on 25 June 1963 (D. Thompson, 1995, p. 203) to take place to a location

> somewhere in the Northern Peninsula area whereby the general administration could be controlled from the existing organisation at Bamaga and the Bamaga area meets adequately desirable requirements (O'Leary, 1963).

While some of the LR people opposed the move, some were in favour of it and managed to convince approximately fourteen young people of the idea (D. Thompson, 1995, p. 204; Chase, 1988; Pascoe et al., 1978). The first group to relocate in 1964 to the new site near Bamaga at the tip of Cape York named it Umagico, a place name from the LR valley originating from the Kuuku Ya'u/Umpila *yumachiku* 'black-headed python place' (Greer & Fuary, 2008; Laade, 1970; Rigsby & Chase, 1998; D. Thompson, 1995). Four people returned to LR in November 1964 and objected to ever going back to Umagico (D. Thompson, 1995, p. 205). As a result, more and more LR people were opposed to the idea of relocation from the Church Mission, where they were born (Thornton, 1965). They were also not in favour of transferring the Mission to the Government (D. Thompson, 1995, p. 204).

As the financial problems the Anglican Church was experiencing at the time were growing rapidly, it was finally decided that the three Cape York Aboriginal Missions, namely, LR, Mitchell River, and Edward River, were to be transferred to the Government, which finally took effect on 22 May 1967 (D. Thompson, 1995, pp. 196,208). After the handover and upon the completion in 1969 of the new settlement near the Iron Range site some 5km away from the airstrip, the Government finalised the relocation of the LR people from the Old Site in April 1969 (D. Thompson,

1982, 1995, 1996). The move to the new Iron Range location near the airstrip was justified by the Government in terms of a need for a potential emergency medical transport (Pascoe et al., 1978, p. 4). The majority of those Aborigines who had left the Old Mission site at the end of the 1960s returned to the new and current LR settlement in the 1970s (Pascoe et al., 1978; Harper, 2001; D. Thompson, 1995).

2.5 Post-Mission Times at LR

Following the transfer of the Mission to the Queensland Government, the Church had to stop assuming a role of a "boss" but had to actively pursue a pastoral and service role (D. Thompson, 1988a, 1996, 2013). In spite of the fact that the LR community is governed by its own LR Aboriginal Shire Council, it is the non-Aboriginal support staff totalling between thirty and fifty people out of a total population of 642 (see subsection 1.1) who are considered a "boss" by the Aboriginal people. However, as D. Thompson (2013, p. 85) points out, the presence of non-Aboriginal support staff constitutes a norm in Aboriginal communities similar to LR, where non-Aboriginal people occupy posts in Council, school, clinic, police station, store, and trade. As a result, Aborigines are incorporated into and enveloped firmly by the mainstream society's market economy, as far as local and state government policies, services, employment, and welfare are concerned (D. Thompson, 2016, p. 378). However, the retention of customary values and practices helps Aboriginal communities function in the surrounding non-Aboriginal world.

LR has a Deed of Grant in Trust legislative status (DOGIT), which is a system of community-level land trust established in 1984 to administer former reserves and missions (S. Anderson, 2009; D. Thompson, 2013). The land on the upper Wenlock River within the DOGIT lands of the LR community used to be a pastoral lease that was the subject of the compulsory purchase by the Queensland Government (Smith, 2008, p. 161). The quotation below from D. Thompson (2013) summarises Government policies undertaken during the post-Mission times:

> There have been significant shifts in Government policy in the post-Mission period, from the assimilationist policies of the 1970s to the land rights

legislation and self-management approach in the 1990s to the partnership approach of the Queensland Labour Governments in the 2000s. (p. 53)

Although LR remains a very remote community, its residents have gained considerable mobility during the post-Mission times, as many LR people own dinghies, outboard motors, and 4WD vehicles (D. Thompson, 2013, p. 53). Road conditions and air services have undergone vast improvement throughout Cape York, thus facilitating the movement of people (D. Thompson, 2013, pp. 53-54). In spite of its remoteness, LR has electricity and running water, and access to new technologies, such as radios, TVs, DVD players, internet, and mobile phones (Chase, 1981b; D. Thompson, 2013).

The culture of the LR Aborigines is maintained through the artwork of the local artists who are able to attend the LR Art Centre to paint, sculpt, and weave baskets. With the help of the management of the Art Centre, the LR artists exhibit their work not only nationally, but also internationally. Schoolchildren visit the Art Centre, where they can participate in a variety of art activities to develop and master their creative sides. The LR Youth Centre organises numerous cultural activities for the young LR residents. Every two years the LR community actively participates in the Laura Aboriginal Dance Festival, where the Aboriginal people from all over Australia come to highlight their languages, songs, dances, and stories. The LR Bora initiation ceremonies, in which a number of non-Aboriginal Australians have been invited to participate help maintain Aboriginal cultural values (D. Thompson, 2013, 2016). A number of scientists visit LR, anthropologists and linguists among them, where the latter undertake efforts to revitalise the knowledge of the local traditional Aboriginal languages, Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila. Scientists also assist the LR people in land claim matters.

2.6 The Emergence and Development of LRC

The first mention of LRC is the unpublished paper by Rigsby (1973, p. 17), where he states that both New Guinea Pidgin and the variety, to which he refers by the term Cape York Pidgin, spoken in both Bamaga and LR take their origin from the early

South Pacific contact language. Dutton (1970, p. 140-141) posits that this South Pacific contact variety was brought to the Torres Strait in the mid nineteenth century by South Pacific missionaries as well as shell and bêche-de-mer marine industry workers. This thought certainly resonates in Shnukal (2000a, p. 85) who notes that the discovery of vast quantities of bêche-de-mer, trochus, and pearlshell, and the resulting arrival of Europeans and the Pacific Islanders in the Strait from the 1840s significantly changed the linguistic map of the region transforming it into a diverse quadrilingual system. The arriving ships under the command of European captains carried primarily South Sea Island crewmen who came from all corners of the Pacific, including Polynesia and Melanesia (Shnukal, 1992b, 1992c). Due to their associations with Europeans, the Pacific Islanders were held in high regard by Torres Strait Islanders (Shnukal, 1983a, 1988). In fact, the Pacific Islanders who were considered to be "numerically, economically and politically powerful, (…) were ranked just below Europeans on the social status hierarchy in the Strait" (Shnukal, 1992a, p. 25). It was the Pacific Islanders who were mainly in contact with the local population of the Strait serving as "cultural mediators" (Shnukal, 1991a, p. 183) between them and the Europeans. The position of the Pacific Islanders was strengthened by the arrival on the eastern island of Erub in 1871 of the London Missionary Society, which primarily and purposely employed the services of Pacific Islander teachers to conduct basic education and to spread Christianity (Lominga, 1986; Salam, 1987; Shnukal, 1995a). By 1900, the majority of the inhabitants on Erub and Ugar were Pacific Islanders whose choice to marry into the Torres Strait Islander families facilitated not only land acquisition, but also integration into the island communities (Shnukal, 1992c). By the 1920s, the Pacific Islanders were in charge of the majority of the Erub and Ugar households and all on St Paul's Mission on Moa; by the 1930s, they headed also almost all families in the central islands (Shnukal, 1992b, p. 25).

The Pacific Islanders spoke a variety of languages, and communicated using Earlier Melanesian Pidgin (EMP), a language that became the lingua franca of the marine industry in the Torres Strait (Shnukal, 1983b, p. 176). By 1860, EMP underwent stabilisation in the Queensland canefields and South Pacific islands (Crowley & Rigsby, 1979; Sandefur, 1986; Shnukal, 1991b). It was believed to be English by

both Torres Strait Islanders and Europeans, and its privileged status increased when the Pacific Islanders assumed teaching posts and entered into marital relationships with Torres Strait Islanders (Shnukal, 1985c, pp. 222). The children of Erub and Ugar islands who had Pacific Islander fathers and Eastern Islander mothers "adopted their fathers' lingua franca, Pacific Pidgin English, as their own primary language, largely because it served to mark them as different from, and superior to, their 'full native' kin" (Shnukal, 1992b, pp. 24-25). The choice of the children of the Pacific Islander fathers to use EMP as the preferred language has not only adversely affected the conveyance of the traditional languages of their mothers, but it has also resulted in the subsequent creolisation of the pidgin at the turn of the twentieth century (Shnukal, 1988, 1995b, 1996). EMP underwent a second separate creolisation process approximately ten to twenty years later on the western island of Moa at St Paul's Mission for South Sea Islanders (Shnukal, 1988, 1996). Consequently, an English-based creole, Torres Strait Creole (TSC), emerged (Shnukal, 1988, 1996; Crowley & Rigsby, 1979). Because of its origin in early forms of MP, TSC is related to the three modern Melanesian Pidgin dialects i.e. Papua New Guinea Tok Pisin, Vanuatu Bislama, and Solomon Islands Pijin (Shnukal, 1990, 1991a). TSC, which consists of two dialects, eastern, and western and central, was quickly propelled to the status of the main Torres Strait language due to two factors; firstly, it served as a lingua franca for Eastern, Central, and Western Islanders who did not share a common language, and secondly, there existed a belief, as mentioned above, that TSC was in fact English (Shnukal, 1988, pp. 3-10).

While it is very clear how the pidgin found its way to the Torres Strait, how it got to the east coast of Cape York Peninsula is not so clear. Rigsby (1973, p. 18) concluded that it was transported from the Torres Strait by pearling and trochus luggers to the Aboriginal communities situated on the east coast of Cape York Peninsula northward of Princess Charlotte Bay. That reasoning resonates in Loos (1982, pp. 118-125) who states that the luggers sailed from the Torres Strait down the east coast of the Cape, seeking Aboriginal workforce. As the following chapters of this study demonstrate, the close linguistic relationship between TSC and LRC indicates that the pidgin from the Torres Strait had a significant influence on the development

of LRC. However, although Sandefur (1990, p. 10) and some other scholars consider LRC to be a dialect of TSC, this does not appear to be the case. This thesis provides evidence that, in fact, LRC constitutes a separate language in its own right that was influenced by TSC through the ongoing social relations, for example, intermarriage, with Islanders both from the Torres Strait and the Pacific. D. Thompson (2013, p. xiv) is of a similar opinion when he states that LRC is distinct from TSC, in spite of many similarities that the two languages share. LRC was influenced not only by TSC, but it was also shaped by a number of languages spoken by Europeans, Asians, and other Aborigines with whom the LR people had increasing contact prior to and during the Mission times (see subsections 2.2, 2.3, and 2.4). Adopting Siegel's (1997) "pool of features", and its expansion by Mufwene (2001), it becomes apparent that in the LR environment, there were speakers using features of the pidgins that formed the basis of TSC and Melanesian Pidgin as well as varieties of Queensland Aboriginal pidgins (e.g. Coen Pidgin – see below), Chinese Pidgin English, the predecessor of Yarrie Lingo (Alexander, 1965; Angelo, 2013; Sellwood & Angelo, 2013; Disbray and Loakes, 2013; Angelo and McIntosh, 2014; Mushin, Angelo & Munro, 2016) spoken in the Yarrabah Aboriginal Settlement, and most likely Northern Territory pidgins, along with varieties of English and local traditional languages. The processes involved in the development of Yarrie Lingo provide an insight and serve as a useful comparison of the processes that contributed to the emergence of LRC, taking into account the fact that the socio-historical background in case of those two languages shows similarities as both of them evolved in the Mission environment. Certain similarities can also be seen between LRC and Woorie Talk spoken in Woorabinda (Munro & Mushin, 2016; Mushin & Watts, 2016), a former Queensland Government Reserve, as many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people from all over Queensland and from a variety of linguistic backgrounds were gathered both in Lockhart and Woorabinda. As a result, similarly to Woorie Talk, LRC was most likely affected by many varieties of non-standard English. This linguistic conglomerate in LRC resulted in a unique mixing and levelling of features that represent LRC. Hence, the similarities between TSC and LRC could most likely be explained by the early input from the Torres Strait pidgin, while the differences by inputs from all those other varieties listed above that did not find their way to the Torres Strait. As a result, when both TSC and LRC were gaining native speakers, there were differences in their pools of

features that were available to children as input. It should, however, be borne in mind that in the incipient stages of the development of LRC, English "could not act as a corrective mechanism" (Siegel, 1999, p. 9), as the LR Aborigines primarily communicated with non-native speakers of English and had very limited contact with the English native speakers.

The first documented mention of examples of the pidgin used in the LR area comes from the work of Jack (1921, p. 589), where he reports that on 9 March 1880 their party encountered a group of Aboriginal men south of Cape Grenville, which is located between Shelburne Bay to the north and Temple Bay to the south. Jack (1921) states that two of those Aboriginal men, "one especially – spoke very fair English" (p. 589) and used the following expressions: "plenty fish", "plenty bechel'm", "big fellow money", and "no gammon – gammon no good" (pp. 589-590). In their list of the first historical attestations in Australian pidgins of 106 selected Melanesian Pidgin English features, Baker and Mühlhäusler (1996, pp. 585-588,590) include the following features quoted above:

- *plenty* (prenominal quantifier) – first occurrences in New South Wales Pidgin English and Queensland Pidgin English attested in 1826 and 1865, respectively

- *bechel'm* (noun bêche-de-mer) – first occurrence in Queensland Pidgin English attested in 1885

- *fellow* (adjectival marker) – first occurrences in Queensland Pidgin English and New South Wales Pidgin English attested in 1842 and 1863, respectively

- *no* (a preposed negator) – first occurrences in New South Wales Pidgin English and Queensland Pidgin English attested in 1795 and 1845, respectively

- *gammon* (noun and verb 'lie') – first occurrences New South Wales Pidgin English, and Queensland Pidgin English attested in 1825 and 1847, respectively

- *no good* (adjective 'bad') – first occurrences in New South Wales Pidgin English and Queensland Pidgin English attested in 1795 and 1855, respectively

- zero copula – first occurrences in New South Wales Pidgin English and Queensland Pidgin English attested in 1795 and 1843, respectively

Of those features, *plenti* 'a lot of, lots', *no* used as a preposed negator, *gyeman* 'lie', *nogud* 'bad', and zero copula can still be encountered in LR, while *bechel'm* 'bêche-de-mer' and *fellow* functioning as an adjectival marker are no longer in use.

Another example of the pidgin used by the LR Aborigines comes from Done (1987) who, while reminiscing on the events of 13 July 1924 when he arrived at the Orchid Point together with Harry Rowan to establish the Mission, recalls the following words of two Aboriginal men who introduced themselves as King Fred of Lloyd Bay and King Charlie of Ash River and Night Island: "I king belong this place, I got business[3], I learn them young fellow dance" ('I'm king of this place. I got business. I teach those youngsters to dance.') (pp. 73-74). The current LRC utterance of this example would be as follows:

(2-1) Ai   king   blo   dis   pleis,   ai   gad   biznes,
1SG   king   POSS   DEM   place   1SG   have   business
ai   tīch-i   dem   smōl   boi   dāns.
1SG   teach-TRS   DET   small   boy   dance
'I am the king of this place, I got business, I teach traditional dance to the young men.'

The historical attestations of the following Melanesian Pidgin English features in Australian pidgins are provided by Baker and Mühlhäusler (1996, pp. 585,587-589).

- *belong* (possessive marker) – first occurrences in New South Wales Pidgin English and Queensland Pidgin English attested in 1826 and 1842, respectively
- *got* ('to have') – first occurrences in New South Wales Pidgin English and Queensland Pidgin English attested in 1826 and 1848, respectively
- *dem* (article, demonstrative) – first occurrence in Melanesian Pidgin English attested in 1836 (Baker & Huber, 2001, p. 198).

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[3] The expression 'I got business' indicates that the speaker is a knowledgeable elder regarding ceremonial traditions.

All of those features, i.e. *blong/blo* 'belonging to', *gad* 'to have', and *dem* functioning as the plural article 'the' remain in use in LR. As far as the other features are concerned,

- while *lēni* continues to be used for both learning and teaching in LRC, the distinction between the two actions can now be achieved with the use of *tīchi* 'to teach' and *lēni* 'to learn'
- *yang felou* 'youngster' does not appear to be used and *smōl boi* 'young man' can be encountered instead.

Thomson (1932, 1933) notes the use of such expressions as *big kai-kai* 'a ceremonial presentation of food', *all the same bird* 'the very same bird', *no got* 'she has not got any', *he shut mesel* 'she has shut herself', *keni belong woman* 'woman's medicine', and *piccaninny no more come out* 'child does not come out/is not born'. Baker and Mühlhäusler (1996, pp. 585,586,588) provide information on the historical attestations of the following Melanesian Pidgin English features in Australian pidgins:

- *kaikai* ('to eat, food') – first occurrence in Queensland Pidgin English attested in 1882
- *all same* ('as, like') – first occurrences in New South Wales Pidgin English and Queensland Pidgin English attested in 1824 and 1842, respectively

Both *olsem* 'like, as, similar to' and *kaikai* 'to eat, food' continue to be used by LRC speakers, however, *kaikai* is not just reserved for a ceremonial presentation of food, but it denotes any food/meal. In addition to *kaikai*, the two traditional words *mayi* 'food, vegetable food' and *minya* 'animal meat', can be encountered in the speech of the LR residents. *Nomo* 'no longer, not any more' continues to be used in LRC. The word *keni* is not used for medicine, but *medisin* can be encountered instead. 'She has shut herself' would be nowadays represented as *im bi shati imself*.

Laade (1970, p. 273) who visited the LR Mission in 1963 to record the Bora songs also provides countless examples of the LR speech:

> He feel hot. I think he walkin' in the sun. Then he take him stone and put him on fire and make him hot. He get that stone into the water. (…) "You come. Then you come and dig up a small yam (*wanta*)." Then he boy humbug that

woman very bad. (…) Bushfire burnin'. Plenty tea-tree country. Tea-tree swampy country, oh, very thick. When they burn that tea-tree big smoke catch him (Alligator). Then other fellow he see people comin'. (…) "Look, people come from other place. He (= these people) talk different language." (…) Somebody go over mountain and see that track there. (…) Palm tree (*olko*) where he stop in (Pascoe) River. He got that bark come down and women make bucket out of it, bucket for water. He dance with that bucket and sing. He carry them (bucket) along head. (…) But kaikai (= the food that Alligator had in his basket) no good but sticky, slimy. (p. 284)

Piwo (wallaby), him swim 'long 'cross river. He been drink water. Alligator catch him tail. He (the wallaby) feel that tail and he been look back. He said, "You no catch me. You (only) catch that mangrove root." And then Alligator been shame and let him, and wallaby run away. (p. 285).

The following Australian pidgin features can be found in the list of the historically attested Melanesian Pidgin English features provided by Baker and Mühlhäusler (1996, pp. 586-589,591):

- *catch* ('to get') – first occurrences in New South Wales Pidgin English and Queensland Pidgin English attested in 1826 and 1842, respectively

- *((a)n)other fellow* (noun) – first occurrences in New South Wales Pidgin English and Queensland Pidgin English attested in 1862 and 1871, respectively

- resumptive *he* – first occurrence in Queensland Pidgin English attested in 1876

- *(a)long(a)* (multipurpose preposition) – first occurrences in New South Wales Pidgin English and Queensland Pidgin English attested in 1826 and 1843, respectively

- *been* (TMA) marker – first occurrences in New South Wales Pidgin English and Queensland Pidgin English attested in 1826 and 1842, respectively

- *we* (relativiser) – first occurrence in Melanesian Pidgin English attested in 1913 (Baker & Huber, 2001, p. 202).

All of the above features are still used in LRC, i.e. *kechim/kechi* 'to get', the noun (*(a)n)ada fela*, resumptive *he*, the TMA marker *bin/bi* denoting past tense, *we* functioning as a relativiser (see section 8.4), and the multipurpose preposition *long/lo* expressing a variety of locative and instrumental meanings, in spite of the

fact that nowadays the use of *we/waya/weya* prevails in the speech of LRC speakers. In addition, the following features remain present in the speech of the LR residents:

- verbs in the third person singular in the present tense are devoid of the English marking -*s*
- LRC utterances are frequently marked by the presence of the subject referencing pronouns (see subsection 4.2.2.4 and Chapter 7).

The following features are no longer used in LRC:

- *him* as a transitive marker
- -*in'* as a progressive tense marker
- of the three traditional words provided in the above examples, *wanta* 'small yam' is no longer used, while *piiwu* 'wallaby' and *ulku* 'palm tree' remain in use (Hill & Thompson, 2013, Book 10, pp. 14,20).

D. Thompson (2013) emphasises the contacts between the LR and Torres Strait people when he indicates that the use of "Pidgin and Creole forms used in the lugger industry and in interaction with Torres Strait Islanders" (p. 42) had adversely affected the conveyance of the traditional languages. In spite of the decline in the use of Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila, the pidgin used by the LR people was enriched by numerous loan words and expressions as well as certain sounds pertinent to those two traditional languages. As a result, it acquired a form and sound that make it distinct from its Torres Strait cousin. The following examples, which contain various Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila words, Chase (1980b) recorded during his two fieldtrips undertaken in LR in the 1970s:

> What's a matter no one bin look after you? Where old people now? Look that *maangkal* ("river mouth"), proper wild! No matter, *puula* ("father's father"). I come back now, I don't forget. You hear my voice? (p. 136)

> That's my country, boy, there, Sister River. You can't beat my place! Too much *minya* ("edible meat"), too much *mayi* ("edible vegetable food"). Can't short there! *Pungana* ("fish"), *paalki* ("stingray"), *thampu* ("yam"), too much, proper shut ("over-flowing"). *Ngaatyi miinthama* ("good place"), nobody touch him. You look, we go belly up ("replete with food") by and by. (p. 136)

> No more *umpila*. He just talk that way, proper *kuuku* ("talk") for that one *kaanytyu* ("dialect name"); father country there. (p. 142)

Lockhart River south we one mob. We all got that one sandbeach right through. *Ya'u* go nother way, Restoration [Island], Pascoe, Temple Bay, right up Olive River. Too much country them people. (p. 144)

Them *muta* himself, just like that. Very big place. Mightbe that *minya* ("animal") do something before, well, that place belong him there. Where he come from, we don't know. Business for himself, no more wefeller. Sometimes we know all them things, sometimes just that place. Like my story [at] my home inside [is] *apan* ("stinging tree"). He got big tree inside scrub. Another man go there, them leaves kill that man. Me alright, go anywhere, that tree can't hurt me. Main story for me and my father, he just like that. I don't know where he come from. He always there from beginning, he just place himself. (p. 151)

Sandbeach people big mob before, mightbe thousand, two thousand people. Just like *parra* [Europeans], they got their towns, they box-up, make big mob for camp. Mightbe *kayaman* [dry season] just family go walkabout, look for that yam, look at them story places, but he can't stay away. He come back and join up mob at main camp. (p. 157)

Keep-im lo truck. No matter he littlebit *katha* ["rotten"], let them people chuck-im. Mightbe he alright. Them families can see we thinking for them. (p. 265)

My word, proper strong talk that one! Number one man for *kuuku* ["speech"]. You listen which way he bin yarn? Really big talk, can't beat that feller. Mightbe that *thaathimulu* ["Islander"], that *piipi* ["father, priest"] more better. Them fellers best for that one, must be learn him from *parra* ["European"], I think. (p. 299)

All of the traditional words in the above examples are still in use in LR (Hill & Thompson, 2013, Book 10). In addition to the features listed in the previous paragraphs, Baker and Mühlhäusler (1996, pp. 586,587,588,589,590,592) provide the historical attestations of the following Melanesian Pidgin English features in Australian pidgins:

- *little bit* ('slightly, a bit') – first occurrences in New South Wales Pidgin English and Queensland Pidgin English attested in 1826 and in 1870, respectively

- *number one* (adjective 'best/chief') – first occurrence in Chinese Pidgin English attested in 1828

- *me* ('I') – first occurrences in New South Wales Pidgin English and Queensland Pidgin English attested in 1795 and 1842, respectively

- *too much* (adverb) – first occurrence in Queensland Pidgin English attested in 1863

- *by and by* (clause initial/final) – first occurrence in New South Wales Pidgin English and Queensland Pidgin English attested in 1826 and 1855, respectively

- *walkabout* ('to wander') – first occurrences in New South Wales Pidgin English and Queensland Pidgin English attested in 1828 and 1863, respectively

- *might* ('perhaps') – first occurrence in Queensland Pidgin English attested in 1906

- *all* (plural marker) – first occurrences in New South Wales Pidgin English and Queensland Pidgin English attested in 1826 and 1885, respectively

- *more better* ('better') – first occurrences in New South Wales Pidgin English and Queensland Pidgin English attested in 1826 and 1866, respectively

- *whitefellow* (noun 'European') – first occurrences in New South Wales Pidgin English and Queensland Pidgin English attested in 1823 and 1843, respectively

- *kill* ('hit, strike') – first occurrence in Queensland Pidgin English attested in 1907

- *-m* transitive suffix – first occurrences in New South Wales Pidgin English and Queensland Pidgin English attested in 1826 and 1842, respectively

All of the above features continue to be used by the LR people. In addition, the following features are characteristic for LRC:

- *prapa* is used as an intensifying adverb (see subsection 4.8.1)

- *nomata* continues to denote the meaning 'it doesn't matter, it isn't important, I don't care'.

- *i gad* 'there is, there are' appears in existential sentences (see subsection 7.2.4)

- *wasmada* 'what's the matter/why/what caused' is an interrogative pronoun (see subsection 4.2.2.3) appearing in questions asking about a cause

- plural marking *-s* (see subsection 4.1.3.1.1)

- *wichwei/wichei* 'how/what/which/which way' is an interrogative pronoun (see subsection 4.2.2.3) appearing in question asking about a route

Apart from the marine industry, the pastoral industry also played an important role in shaping LRC. Harper (2001) points out the differences between the speech of people from the northern parts of Cape York Peninsula (NCYP) who were not subjected to such extensive pastoral activities in comparison with the remainder of the Cape:

> some of the features of the speech of some elderly NCYP people today have more in common with the speech of Aborigines to the south who have worked in the pastoral industry than with the speech of Torres Strait Islanders. This is particularly the case with those people who have had strong links with the cattle industry; some have journeyed extensively throughout the Peninsula, droving, before returning to their homelands. (p. 123)

To substantiate the above claim, Harper (2001, p. 141) asserts that the creole spoken in the Coen area in the central Cape York Peninsula may be a hybrid of features characteristic for the speech of the workers of both the marine and pastoral industries. Apparently, some elderly Coen residents recall an older pidgin variety, which resembles Roper River Kriol of the Northern Territory that was spoken by those "who travelled the stock routes through Western Queensland and the Gulf Country to the Northern Territory" (Harper, 2001, p. 142). This is not surprising, as Sharpe (1975, 1985) recalls encounters with speakers of a pidgin that greatly resembled Roper Kriol, in central Australia, central and north Queensland. Similar observations are made by Sandefur (1990) who in 1980 embarked on a trip to various locations in Queensland in search of the presence of Kriol. He states that

> at Coen it appears that the deceased generation spoke Kriol, the older generation can speak it, middle-aged people can understand it, and children can understand some of it. (…) When several of the adults first heard us read some of the Kriol, they immediately became animated, saying that that was exactly like their parents had spoken, and then proceeded to speak it to us. (…) Most surprising of all, however, they claimed that Kriol originated in the Coen district and was taken to the Territory by an Aboriginal drover named Jim Drumdap – and when they said his name, Ishmael and Dan [Sandefur's companions from the Northern Territory] simultaneously said the old people at Roper used to tell them about him! (pp. 8-9)

Sandefur (1990, pp. 8,10) indicates that he encountered some people in the Cape York communities at Laura and Pormpuraaw who were able to understand Kriol. As far as LR is concerned, Sandefur (1990) states that

> [t]here also appears to be a fairly high level of intelligibility of Kriol at Lockhart River. This may stem in part from the Lockhart dialect of TSC being more closely related to Kriol than other dialects of TSC, but more significant may be the mobility of people and the resultant high amount of interaction of Lockhart people with people from the Kriol area. (p. 10) [4]

The ability of some of the Cape York Aborigines to either speak or comprehend Kriol is understandable, as many of them who came across settlers and/or pastoralists from other regions and most likely learnt some New South Wales Pidgin English and/or Queensland (Moreton Bay) Pidgin English (Harper, 2001, p. 142). This occurred as a result of New South Wales Pidgin English, which originated from the Sydney Jargon in the late 1700s and early 1800s being transported in the 1820s to the Northern Territory via Queensland by pastoralists (Harris, 1986, 2007; Sandefur, 1986; Siegel, 2008). Queensland Pidgin English emerged when sea captains, also known as "blackbirders", brought many indentured labourers (known as "Kanakas") from Melanesia, including New Hebrides, the Solomon Islands, New Ireland, and New Britain, to work on the sugar plantations of coastal Queensland (Crowley & Rigsby, 1979: Sandefur, 1986). Clark (1979, p. 49) postulates that pidgin from the Queensland sugar plantations was brought by stockmen to the Northern Territory, where it combined with the Aboriginal pidgin to form Roper River Kriol. Conversely, Dutton and Mühlhäusler (1983) posit that it was the labourers on the inland cattle stations who acquired the Aboriginal pidgin. Dutton (1983, p. 109) states that Queensland Pidgin English, which directly originated from New South Wales Pidgin English, developed into two separate strands, the coastal and the inland, where the latter one was most likely the predecessor of Cape York Creole, Palm Island Aboriginal English, Northern Territory Kriol, and Fitzroy Valley Kriol. While the coastal strand differed from New South Wales Pidgin English in its lexis, the inland one appeared to be similar to New South Wales Pidgin English, although the migration of Aboriginal vocabulary did take place (Dutton,

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[4] As noted in the second paragraph of the present section, it is proposed that LRC is not a dialect of TSC, as Sandefur (1990, p. 10) and some other scholars claim but a separate language in its own right that was influenced by TSC but developed in a different manner.

1983, p. 109). The convergence of both New South Wales Pidgin English and Queensland Pidgin English in the Northern Territory in the 1880s and early 1900s resulted in the emergence of the Northern Territory Pidgin English (Harris, 1986, p. 114).

To return now to the above-mentioned example of Coen, it is necessary to reiterate that Coen was the backbone of the pastoral industry in the central Cape York Peninsula (Smith, 2003, p. 27). As a result, the Aboriginal population of Coen most likely had contact not only with the pastoralists from other parts of Queensland, but also with those Aborigines who could have worked on cattle stations in southern and western Queensland as well as in the Northern Territory. The Aboriginal residents of Coen could have sought employment in other parts of Queensland and the Northern Territory as well. As Smith (2002) notes:

> The mobility of the Aboriginal people of the Coen region of Cape York Peninsula has been inseparable from their history from pre-colonial semi-nomadism, through the impacts of white settlement and incorporation into the pastoral industry to the present emergence of a post-colonial era. (p. 1)

Harris (2007, p. 142) confirms the above, noting that the mobility of the people facilitated the movement of the pidgin, as both Aboriginal and European stockmen moved from one cattle station to another and it was quite frequent to see Aboriginal people follow Europeans to distant and remote places. It should be noted that Coen is located on the border of two linguistic regions, namely, Kaanju and Ayapathu (Smith, 2000, p. 238), and that the Coen people, together with four other tribes, were gathered in the LR Mission when it was established in 1924 (Tennant, 1956b, p. 4). This provides evidence that the pidgin spoken in the LR Mission could have been influenced at a later time by the people who were brought to LR from Coen rather than by the earlier contact with the New South Wales Pidgin English or Queensland Pidgin English. The eastern coastal Aboriginal people maintained both ceremonial and intermarital relationships with other Aboriginal people, for instance, the Kaanju people (Chase, 1980; Smith, 2000). In fact, there continue to exist very strong family ties between the Coen and LR people, as many LR Aborigines and/or their relatives live in Coen. Thus, it is entirely possible that, for example, Kriol progressive aspect suffix -*(a)bat* (Schultze-Berndt & Angelo, 2013), which takes its origin from the

New South Wales Pidgin *baut* 'to be doing' (Troy, 1994, p. 713) and could have possessed the phonological variant *bat* or changed to this form in the pidgin on its northward migration (Eva Schultze-Berndt, personal communication, 2017), was transported via Coen to LRC, where it has exactly the same form *-(a)bat* (see subsection 4.7.3.1). Similarly, Kriol transitive verb *abum* 'to have' (see subsection 7.3.1.2) could have been transported to LRC, where it has the form *abim/abi* using the very same route. However, there also exists a possibility that both the suffix *-(a)bat* and the verb *abum* could have been brought to the LR Mission by people from the Yarrabah Anglican Mission, taking into account the presence of Kriol speakers there, some of whom could have been relocated to LR (Sandefur, 1982; D. Thompson, 1988a, 1996). As stated in subsection 2.3, some of the Yarrabah Mission residents were moved to the LR Mission (D. Thompson, 1996, p. 145).[5] However, it could very well be that the suffix *-a(bat)* could have been part of the pidgin that was the predecessor of both Queensland and Northern Territory pidgins (Eva Schultze-Berndt, personal communication, 2017).

It is worthwhile to refer to Rigsby (1973) who points out that the

> Cape York Pidgin variety, spoken by both Islanders and Aboriginals, represents a convergence of separate historical developments that are now converging with the Standard Australian English variety. (p. 18)

This claim, however, appears to be questionable and is not supported by the current linguistic situation in LR, as LRC remains the first language of the children and is the primary medium of communication of all the Aboriginal LR residents, in spite of the fact that English constitutes the medium of education and administration in LR (D. Thompson, 1972, 2013). Thus, it appears that the two separate systems, i.e. the creole and the lexifier, exist and function side by side in LR (see section 1.3). The influence of English is real and undeniable, and the present study provides a wide array of examples of such influence, thus justifying the claim that it is indeed taking place. The LR residents are nowadays surrounded by English television programmes, English movies, and English music. The influence of English is also

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[5] Although the available and rather limited research on Yarrie Lingo and its forerunner does not provide any information on the existence of the suffix *-(a)bat* in that contact variety, the possibility of its presence should not be excluded pending further studies.

apparent when the Aboriginal LR inhabitants deal with the non-Aboriginal support staff and visitors to LR, as they then switch to the mesolect and acrolect varieties that are more like English than the basilect variety they use when they converse with the other Aboriginal LR people (see section 1.3). This was observed at the beginning of the first fieldwork when the LR residents were not familiar with me and were under the impression that I could not understand them. For that reason, the very first recordings involve data in the mesolect and acrolect varieties. However, as the LR inhabitants became familiar with me and certain that I could understand them, they began to only use the basilect variety when they talked to me and were recorded.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined a detailed historical background of the LR area, including pre-European contact, increased contact with outsiders prior to the establishment of the Anglican Mission in 1924, and the Mission times before, during, and after the WWII. The emergence and development of LRC have also been thoroughly examined utilising many examples from historical texts of first the pidgin and then the creole spoken in the LR area. The analysis of those examples helped establish which historically attested features are no longer in use and which continue to be used by the LRC speakers. It has also been concluded that, in spite of the close linguistic relationship LRC shares with TSC and the fact that the pidgin from Torres Strait had an undeniably significant influence on the development of LRC, LRC is not a dialect of TSC, but a separate language in its own right, and that those two languages developed in a very different manner. The outline of the historical development of TSC, New South Wales Pidgin, Queenland Aboriginal pidgins, and Northern Territory Pidgins has shown that in the LR environment, there were speakers using features of the pidgins that formed the basis of TSC and Melanesian Pidgin as well as varieties of Queensland Aboriginal pidgins, Chinese Pidgin English, the predecessor of Yarrie Lingo spoken in the Yarrabah Aboriginal Settlement, and most likely Northern Territory pidgins, along with varieties of English and local traditional languages. The two traditional languages of the LR area, namely, Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila, have enriched LRC with a number of lexical items and grammatical structures, thus contributing to its current unique shape.

Chapter 3 Phonology

This chapter outlines current segmental phonemes of LRC, i.e. consonants, vowels, and diphthongs, based on the speech of twenty speakers whose age ranges from eighteen to seventy-five years and who have spent most of their lives in the LR community (see section 1.4). The speech of one Torres Strait Islander female in her 50s, who was recorded in Cairns and provided insight into the differences between TSC and LRC, was not included in the phonological analysis. There were no intermediate realisations that were difficult to categorise. This is followed by the description of phonotactics, i.e. syllable structure, in addition to such suprasegmental features as stress and intonation. Considerable phonological variation in the way the LR residents speak their language and articulate its sounds is then presented. That variation stems from the influence of such languages as TSC, Kuuku Ya'u/Umpila, and English, which have contributed not only to the formation of LRC, but have also helped it reach its current shape. Age is also an important factor that impacts the way different age groups articulate LRC sounds.

3.1 Segmental Phonemes

LRC exhibits thirty-seven segmental phonemes, twenty-five of which are consonantal and eleven are vocalic. Within the consonant group, it is possible to also distinguish two semivowels /j/ and /w/.

3.1.1 Consonants

Table 3.1 lists all of LRC consonantal sounds.

Table 3.1 Consonants

PLACE→ ___ MANNER ↓	bilabial	labio-dental	dental	apico-alveolar	palato-alveolar	lamino-palatal	dorso-velar	labiovelar	glottal
voiceless stop	/p/			/t/			/k/		
voiced stop	/b/			/d/			/g/		
nasal	/m/			/n/			/ŋ/		
voiceless fricative		/f/	/θ/	/s/	/ʃ/				/h/
voiced fricative		/v/	/ð/	/z/	/ʒ/				
voiceless affricate					/tʃ/				
voiced affricate					/dʒ/				
lateral				/l/					
rhotic				/r/					
semivowel (glide)						/j/		/w/	

3.1.1.1 Description and Distribution of Consonants

Of the twenty-four consonantal phonemes, eighteen consonants appear in all environments, i.e. word-initially, word-medially, and word-finally. The occurrence of the remaining four phonemes, namely, /ŋ/, /h/, /ʒ/, /r/, and the two semivowels /j/ and /w/ is governed by restrictions. The description of all LRC consonants, together with their distribution, is outlined below.

3.1.1.1.1 Voiceless Stops

All voiceless stops, which occur in all environments, are aspirated when they occur word-and syllable-initially before vowels. /p/, /t/, and /k/ may be unreleased word-finally and when they precede other stops, however, they are released preceding other consonants.

- **Voiceless Bilabial Stop /p/**

/p/ possesses two allophones, namely, [pʰ] and [p]. Their distribution is provided below.

/p/ → [pʰ] word-initial and word-medial before vowels, with the exception after [s]

word-initial and word-medial
/piːpul/ [pʰiːpʰul] 'people'

/p/ → [p] word-medial after [s]

word-medial
/spaɪde/ [spaɪdɛ] 'spider'

minimal pairs showing consonantal contrast	phonemic realisation	gloss	phonemic realisation	gloss
/p/ - /f/	/pas/	'past'	/fas/	'fast'
/p/ - /b/	/mɔp/	'mop'	/mɔb/	'mob, group
/p/ - /d/	/paːk/	'park'	/daːk/	'dark'
/p/ - /m/	/pan/	'pan'	/man/	'man'

- **Voiceless Apico-Alveolar /t/**

/t/ has two allophones, i.e. [tʰ] and [t], which are presented below.

/t/ → [tʰ] word-initial and word-medial before vowels, with the exception after [s]

word-initial	word-medial
/taɪm/ [tʰaɪm] 'time'	/putita/ [pʰutʰitʰa] 'potato'

/t/ → [t] word-medial after [s]

word-medial
/stɔ:ɾi/ [stɔ:ɾi] 'story'

minimal pairs showing consonantal contrast	phonemic realisation	gloss	phonemic realisation	gloss
/t/ - /θ/	/tɛŋks/	'tanks'	/θɛŋks/	'thanks'
/t/ - /d/	/tu:/	'two'	/du:/	'to do'
/t/ - /k/	/ti:/	'tea'	/ki:/	'key'
/t/ - /ð/	/tɛn/	'ten'	/ðɛn/	'then'

- **Voiceless Dorso-Velar /k/**

/k/ possesses two allophones, namely, [kʰ] and [k], which are described below.

/k/ → [kʰ] word-initial and word-medial before vowels, with the exception after [s]

word-initial	word-medial
/kam/ [kʰam] 'to come'	/nadakan/ [nadakʰan] 'unusual'

/k/ → [k] word-medial after [s]

word-medial
/skaɪ/ [skaɪ] 'sky'

minimal pairs showing consonantal contrast	phonemic realisation	gloss	phonemic realisation	gloss
/k/ - /g/	/kats/	'cuts'	/gats/	'guts'
/k/ - /ŋ/	/sik/	'sick'	/siŋ/	'sing'
/k/ - /t/	/ki:/	'key'	/ti:/	'tea'

3.1.1.1.2 Voiced Stops

The three voiced stops, namely, /b/, /d/, and /g/ occur in all environments and do not

exhibit allophonic variation.

- **Voiced Bilabial Stop /b/**

/b/ → [b]

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
/big/ [big] 'big'	/ɛbɹi/ [ɛbɹi] 'every, each'	/kɹab/ [kɹab] 'crab'

minimal pairs showing consonantal contrast	phonemic realisation	gloss	phonemic realisation	gloss
/b/ - /p/	/mɔb/	'mob, group'	/mɔp/	'mop'
/b/ - /v/	/bɛɾi/	'berry'	/vɛɾi/	'very'
/b/ - /d/	/bak/	'back'	/dak/	'duck'

- **Voiced Apico-Alveolar Stop /d/**

/d/ → [d]

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
/dampa/ [dampʰa] 'damper'	/ada/ [ada] 'other'	/gad/ [gad] 'to have'

minimal pairs showing consonantal contrast	phonemic realisation	gloss	phonemic realisation	gloss
/d/ - /ð/	/dɛɪ/	'day'	/ðɛɪ/	'they'
/d/ - /t/	/du:/	'to do'	/tu:/	'two'
/d/ - /b/	/dak/	'duck'	/bak/	'back'
/d/ - /p/	/da:k/	'dark'	/pa:k/	'park'

- **Voiced Dorso-Velar /g/**

/g/ → [g]

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
/giːs/ [giːs] 'goose'	/tuːgɛdɛː/ [tʰuːgɛdɛː] 'together'	/ɛg/ [ɛg] 'egg'

minimal pairs showing consonantal contrast	phonemic realisation	gloss	phonemic realisation	gloss
/g/ - /k/	/gats/	'guts'	/kats/	'cats'
/g/ - /ŋ/	/lɔg/	'log'	/lɔŋ/	'long'
/g/ - /b/	/gas/	'gas'	/bas/	'bus'

3.1.1.1.3 Nasals

There are three nasal phonemes in LRC, i.e. /m/, /n/, and /ŋ/, which occur in all environments and do not exhibit allophonic variation.

- **Bilabial Nasal /m/**

/m/ → [m]

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
/man/ [man] 'man'	/smel/ [smɛl] 'smell'	/jam/ [jam] 'yam'

minimal pairs showing consonantal contrast	phonemic realisation	gloss	phonemic realisation	gloss
/m/ - /p/	/man/	'man'	/pan/	'pan'
/m/ - /n/	/kam/	'to come'	/kan/	'cannot'

- **Apico-Alveolar Nasal /n/**

/n/ → [n]

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
/nɛk/ [nɛk] 'neck'	/snɛɪk/ [snɛɪk] 'snake'	/ɹan/ [ɹan] 'to run'

minimal pairs showing consonantal contrast	phonemic realisation	gloss	phonemic realisation	gloss
/n/ - /ŋ/	/kin/	'can'	/kiŋ/	'king'
/n/ - /m/	/kan/	'cannot'	/kam/	'to come'

- **Dorso-Velar Nasal /ŋ/**

A dorso-velar nasal /ŋ/occurs in all environments, where the word-initial position is reserved for the Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila lexical items only when they are used within a LRC utterance.

/ŋ/ → [ŋ]

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
/ŋa:tʃi/ [ŋa:tʃi] 'country, camp'	/siŋat/ [siŋat] 'to sing out, to call out'	/blɔŋ/ [blɔŋ] 'belong'

minimal pairs showing consonantal contrast	phonemic realisation	gloss	phonemic realisation	gloss
/ŋ/ - /n/	/kiŋ/	'king'	/kin/	'can'
/ŋ/ - /g/	/lɔŋ/	'long'	/lɔg/	'log'
/ŋ/ - /k/	/siŋ/	'sing'	/sik/	'sick'

3.1.1.1.4 Voiceless Fricatives

Apart from /h/, the remaining four voiceless fricatives occur in all environments and do not exhibit allophonic variation. It should be noted that /θ/ and /h/ are now a part of LRC consonantal inventory, however, speakers over sixty do not have these phonemes in their repertoire. Thus, in their speech, /θ/ is realised as /t/ and /h/ is simply omitted.

- **Voiceless Labiodental Fricative /f/**

/f/ →   [f]

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
/fɹɛʃ/ [fɹɛʃ] 'fresh'	/a:ftɛ:/ [a:ftʰɛ:] 'after'	/a:f/ [a:f] 'half'

minimal pairs showing consonantal contrast	phonemic realisation	gloss	phonemic realisation	gloss
/f/ - /p/	/fan/	'fan'	/pan/	'pan
/f/ - /t/	/fɹi:/	'free'	/tɹi:/	'tree'
/f/ - /v/	/faɪn/	'fine'	/vaɪn/	'vine'

- **Voiceless Dental Fricative /θ/**

/θ/ →   [θ]

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
/θiŋk/ [θiŋk] 'to think'	/paɪθən/[paɪθən] 'python'	/saʊθ/[saʊθ] 'south'

minimal pair showing consonantal contrast	phonemic realisation	gloss	phonemic realisation	gloss
/θ/ - /t/	/θɛŋks/	'thanks'	/tɛŋks/	'tanks'

- **Voiceless Apico-Alveolar Fricative /s/**

/s/ → [s]

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
/san/ [san] 'sun'	/aʊtsaɪd/ [aʊtsaɪd]'outside'	/bikɔs/ [bikʰɔs] 'because'

minimal pairs showing consonantal contrast	phonemic realisation	gloss	phonemic realisation	gloss
/s/ - /t/	/tɛli/	'to tell'	/sɛli/	'to sell'
/s/ - /ʃ/	/sɔwi/	'to sew'	/ʃɔwi/	'to show'
/s/ - /tʃ/	/saki/	'to suck'	/tʃaki/	'to throw'
/s/ - /ʒ/	/bɛɪs/	'bays'	/bɛɪʒ/	'beige'

- **Voiceless Palato-Alveolar Fricative /ʃ/**

/ʃ/ → [ʃ]

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
/ʃa:k/ [ʃa:k] 'shark'	/fiʃɪŋ/[fiʃɪŋ] 'fishing'	/kɹɛɪfiʃ/ [kɹɛɪfiʃ] 'crayfish'

minimal pairs showing consonantal contrast	phonemic realisation	gloss	phonemic realisation	gloss
/ʃ/ - /s/	/ʃɔwi/	'to show'	/sɔwi/	'to sew'
/ʃ/ - /tʃ/	/ʃi:p/	'sheep'	/tʃi:p/	'cheap'

- **Voiceless Glottal Fricative /h/**

A voiceless glottal fricative /h/ occurs word-initially and word-medially but not word-finally.

/h/ → [h]

word-initial	word-medial
/hɔʊm/ [hɔʊm] 'home'	/fiʃhuk/ [fiʃhuk] 'fishhook'

minimal pairs showing consonantal contrast	phonemic realisation	gloss	phonemic realisation	gloss
/h/ - /ʃ/	/haɪ/	'high'	/ʃaɪ/	'shy'

3.1.1.1.5 Voiced Fricatives

Apart from /ʒ/, the remaining three voiced fricatives, namely, /v/, /ð/, and /z/, occur in all environments. /ð/ is now a part of LRC consonantal inventory, however, speakers over sixty do not have these phonemes in their repertoire and, as a result, /ð/ in their speech is realised as /d/. Voiced fricatives do not exhibit allophonic variation.

- **Voiced Labiodental Fricative /v/**

/v/ → [v]

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
/vɛɾi/ [vɛɾi] 'very'	/klɛvɛ:/ [klɛvɛ:] 'clever'	/bili:v/ [bili:v] 'to believe'

minimal pairs showing consonantal contrast	phonemic realisation	gloss	phonemic realisation	gloss
/v/ - /b/	/vɛɾi/	'very'	/bɛɾi/	'berry'
/v/ - /f/	/vaɪn/	'vine'	/faɪn/	'fine'

- **Voiced Dental Fricative /ð/**

/ð/ → [ð]

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
/ðis/ [ðis] 'this'	/maðə/ [maðə] 'mother'	/bɹiːð/ [bɹiːð] – to breathe

minimal pairs showing consonantal contrast	phonemic realisation	gloss	phonemic realisation	gloss
/ð/ - /t/	/ðɛn/	'then'	/tɛn/	'ten'
/ð/ - /d/	/ðɛɪ/	'they'	/dɛɪ/	'day'

- **Voiced Apico-Alveolar Fricative /z/**

/z/ → [z]

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
/zuː/ [zuː] 'zoo'	/pɛzɛnt/ [pʰɛzɛnt] 'pheasant'	/sniːz/ [sniːz] 'to sneeze'

minimal pair showing consonantal contrast	phonemic realisation	gloss	phonemic realisation	gloss
/z/ - /dʒ/	/zak/	'Zach'	/dʒak/	'Jack'

- **Voiced Palato-Alveolar Fricative /ʒ/**

A voiced palato-alveolar fricative /ʒ/ occurs word-medially and word-finally but not word-initially.

/ʒ/ → [ʒ]

word-medial	word-final
/tɛlɛviʒin/ [tʰɛlɛviʒin] 'television'	/bɛɪʒ/ [bɛɪʒ] 'beige'

minimal pair showing consonantal contrast	phonemic realisation	gloss	phonemic realisation	gloss
/ʒ/ - /s/	/bɛɪʒ/	'beige'	/bɛɪs/	'bays'

3.1.1.1.6 Voiceless Palato-Alveolar Affricate /tʃ/

A voiceless palato-alveolar affricate /tʃ/ occurs in all environments and does not exhibit allophonic variation.

/tʃ/ → [tʃ]

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
/tʃaki/ [tʃakʰi] 'to throw'	/kɛtʃi/ [kʰɛtʃi] 'to catch'	/tu:matʃ/ [tʰu:matʃ] 'plenty'

minimal pairs showing consonantal contrast	phonemic realisation	gloss	phonemic realisation	gloss
/tʃ/ - /dʒ/	/tʃɛɪn/	'chain'	/dʒɛɪn/	'Jane'
/tʃ/ - /s/	/tʃaki/	'to throw'	/saki/	'to suck'
/tʃ/ - /ʃ/	/tʃi:p/	'cheap'	/ʃi:p/	'sheep'

3.1.1.1.7 Voiced Palato-Alveolar Affricate /dʒ/

A voiced palato-alveolar affricate /dʒ/ occurs in all environments and does not exhibit allophonic variation.

/dʒ/ → [dʒ]

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
/dʒam/ [dʒam] 'jam'	/madʒik/ [madʒik] 'magic'	/ɔrindʒ/ [ɔrindʒ] 'orange'

minimal pairs showing consonantal contrast	phonemic realisation	gloss	phonemic realisation	gloss
/dʒ/ - /z/	/dʒak/	'Jack'	/zak/	'Zack'
/dʒ/ - /j/	/dʒam/	'jam'	/jam/	'yam'
/dʒ/ - /tʃ/	/dʒɛɪn/	'Jane'	/tʃɛɪn/	'chain'

3.1.1.1.8 Apico-Alveolar Lateral /l/

An apico-alveolar lateral /l/ occurs in all environments and does not exhibit allophonic variation.

/l/ → [l]

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
/lɔŋ/ [lɔŋ] 'long'	/mi:pla/ [mi:pla] '1PL.EXCL'	/aŋkɛl/ [aŋkʰɛl] 'uncle'

minimal pairs showing consonantal contrast	phonemic realisation	gloss	phonemic realisation	gloss
/l/ - /r/	/lɔʊ/	'low'	/ɹɔʊ/	'raw'
/l/ - /w/	/laɪt/	'light'	/waɪt/	'white'
/l/ - /j/	/lɛt/	'let'	/jɛt/	'yet'

3.1.1.1.9 Voiced Apico-Alveolar Rhotic /r/

A voiced apico-alveolar rhotic /r/ occurs word-initially and word-medially, however, not word-finally. It possesses two allophones, namely, the approximant [ɹ] and the flap [ɾ]. The approximant [ɹ] does not occur syllable- and word-finally, and immediately before a consonant. The flap [ɾ] occurs between vowels.

/ɹ/ → [ɹ] word-initial, and word-medial after consonants and before vowels

word-initial	word-medial
/ɹɔʊsti/ [ɹɔʊsti] 'to roast'	/pɹɛɪ/ [pɹɛɪ] 'prey'

/ɹ/ → [ɾ] between vowels

word-medial
/vɛɹi/ [vɛɾi] 'very'

minimal pair showing consonantal contrast	phonemic realisation	gloss	phonemic realisation	gloss
/ɹ/ - l/	/ɹɔʊ/	'raw'	/lɔʊ/	'low'

3.1.1.1.10 Voiced Lamino-Palatal Semivowel (Glide) /j/

A voiced lamino-palatal semivowel (glide) /j/ occurs word-initially and word-medially but not word-finally. It does not exhibit allophonic variation.

/j/ → [j]

word-initial	word-medial
/jɛt/ [jɛt] 'yet'	/waja/ [waja] 'where'

minimal pairs showing consonantal contrast	phonemic realisation	gloss	phonemic realisation	gloss
/j/ - /w/	/jɛt/	'yet'	/wɛt/	'wet'
/j/ - /l/	/jɛt/	'yet'	/lɛt/	'let'
/j/ - /dʒ/	/jam/	'yam'	/dʒam/	'jam'

3.1.1.1.11 Voiced Labiovelar Semivowel (Glide) /w/

A voiced labiovelar semivowel (glide) /w/ occurs word-initially and word-medially, however, not word-finally. It does not exhibit allophonic variation.

/w/ → [w]

word-initial	word-medial
/wɛɪt/ [wɛɪt] 'to wait'	/flawa/ [flawa] 'flower'

minimal pairs showing consonantal contrast	phonemic realisation	gloss	phonemic realisation	gloss
/w/ - /l/	/waɪt/	'white'	/laɪt/	'light'
/w/ - /j/	/wɛt/	'wet'	/jɛt/	'yet'

3.1.1.1.12 Glottal Stop /ʔ/ (Marginal Phoneme)

The glottal stop /ʔ/, which is not a part of LRC consonantal inventory, is characteristic for Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila. LRC speakers do articulate it in such English-based words as, for example, [waʔtʰa] 'water'. There also exists an alternate articulation devoid of the glottal stop, namely, [watʰa], however, the articulation with the glottal stop present is more frequent.

3.1.2 Vowels

There are eleven vocalic phonemes in LRC, where six are short and five are long vowels. Their summary is provided in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2 Vowels

	front		central		back	
	short	long	short	long	short	long
close	/i/	/i:/			/u/	/u:/
mid			/ə/			
open-mid	/ɛ/	/ɛ:/			/ɔ/	/ɔ:/
open			/a/	/a:/		

3.1.2.1 Description and Distribution of Vowels

The description of all LRC vowels, together with their distribution, is outlined below.

3.1.2.1.1 Short Front Vowels

The two short front vowels occur in all environments.

- **Short Close Front Unrounded /i/**

/i/ → [i]

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
/im/ [im] '3SG'	/bin/ [bin] 'past tense marker'	/gɛdi/ [gɛdi] 'to get'

minimal pairs showing vocalic contrast	phonemic realisation	gloss	phonemic realisation	gloss
/i/ - /i:/	/slipi/	'slippery''	/sli:pi/	'sleepy'
/i/ - /ɛ/	/tin/	'tin'	/tɛn/	'ten'
/i/ - /ə/	/ti:tʃi/	'to teach'	/ti:tʃə/	'teacher'

- **Short Open-Mid Front Unrounded /ɛ/**

/ɛ/ → [ɛ]

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
/ɛl/ [ɛl] 'hell'	/ʃɛl/ [ʃɛl] 'shell'	/dɛ/ [dɛ] 'the'

minimal pairs showing vocalic contrast	phonemic realisation	gloss	phonemic realisation	gloss
/ɛ/ - /ə/	/wɛ:kmɛn/	'workmen'	/wɛ:kmən/	'workman'
/ɛ/ - /a/	/kɛn/	'can'	/kan/	'cannot'
/ɛ/ - /u/	/ʃɛd/	'shed'	/ʃud/	'should'
/ɛ/ - /ɔ:/	/smɛl/	'smell'	/smɔ:l/	'small'
/ɛ/ - /i/	/tɛn/	'ten'	/tin/	'tin'

3.1.2.1.2 Central Vowels

The two central vowels occur in all environments. Schwa /ə/ is primarily produced

by children and young LR people.

- **Mid Central Unrounded /ə/**

/ə/ → [ə]

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
/əlɔŋ/ [əlɔŋ] 'along'	/pɛnsəl/ [pɛnsəl] 'pencil'	/siŋə/ [siŋə] 'singer'

minimal pairs showing vocalic contrast	phonemic realisation	gloss	phonemic realisation	gloss
/ə/ - /i/	/tiːtʃə/	'teacher'	/tiːtʃi/	'to teach'
/ə/ - /ɛ/	/wɛːkmən/	'workman'	/wɛːkmɛn/	'workmen'

- **Short Open Central Unrounded /a/**

/a/ → [a]

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
/ankɛl/ [ankʰɛl] 'uncle'	/wagabat/ [wagabat] 'to walk'	/dʒuɾa/ [dʒuɾa] 'fish soup'

minimal pairs showing vocalic contrast	phonemic realisation	gloss	phonemic realisation	gloss
/a/ - /aː/	/dak/	'duck'	/daːk/	'dark'
/a/ - /iː/	/pas/	'past'	/piːs/	'piece'
/a/ - /ɛ/	/kan/	'cannot'	/kɛn/	'can'
/a/ - /u/	/fat/	'fat'	/fut/	'foot'
/a/ - /ɔ/	/bas/	'bus'	/bɔs/	'boss, leader'

3.1.2.1.3 Back Vowels

The two back vowels occur in all environments.

- **Short Open-Mid Back Rounded /ɔ/**

/ɔ/ → [ɔ]

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
/ɔlɔ/ [ɔlɔ] 'hollow'	/bɔmfaɪa/ [bɔmfaɪa] 'bonfire'	/gɔ/ [gɔ] 'to go'

minimal pairs showing vocalic contrast	phonemic realisation	gloss	phonemic realisation	gloss
/ɔ/ - /ɔ:/	/fɔks/	'fox'	/fɔ:ks/	'forks'
/ɔ/ - /u/	/bɔs/	'boss, leader'	/bus/	'bush'
/ɔ/ - /a/	/bɔs/	'boss, leader'	/bas/	'bus'

- **Short Close Back Rounded /u/**

/u/ → [u]

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
/uda/ [uda] 'who'	/puti/ [pʰutʰi] 'to put'	/awu/ [awu] 'evil spirit'

minimal pairs showing vocalic contrast	phonemic realisation	gloss	phonemic realisation	gloss
/u/ - /ɔ/	/bus/	'bush'	/bɔs/	'boss, leader'
/u/ - /u:/	/pula/	'3PL'	/pu:la/	'father's father'
/u/ - /ɛ/	/ʃud/	'should'	/ʃɛd/	'shed'
/u/ - a/	/fut/	'foot'	/fat/	'fat'

3.1.2.1.4 Long Vowels

There exist five long vowels in LRC, namely, /iː/, /ɛː/, /aː/, /ɔː/, and /uː/. All of them occur in English-derived lexical items. Apart from the length, all of the long vowels, which occur in English-derived vocabulary, not only exhibit the very same properties as their short equivalents, but also appear in all environments.

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
/iːzi/ [iːzi] 'easy'	/ɹiːf/ [ɹiːf] 'reef'	/biː/ [biː] 'bee'
/ɛːɹɔ/ [ɛːɹɔ] 'error'	/sɛːkɛl/ [sɛːkʰɛl] 'circle'	/flawɛː/ [flawɛː] 'flower'
/aːk/ [aːk] 'arc'	/daːk/ [daːk] 'dark'	/faː/ [faː] 'far'
/ɔː/ [ɔː] 'or'	/bɔːl/ [bɔːl] 'ball'	/mɔː/ [mɔː] 'more'
/uːki/ [uːkʰi] 'to put on a hook'	/ɹuːd/ [ɹuːd] 'rude'	/bluː/ [bluː] 'blue'

The long vowels in the Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila words possess the ability to only occur word-initially and word-medially. Some examples include:

word-initial	word-medial
/iːkula/ [iːkʰula] 'snail'	/kiːni/ [kʰiːni] 'tobacco'
/aːmpa/ [aːmpʰa] *āmpa* 'lap'	/kaːlu/ [kʰaːlu] 'mother's younger brother'
/uːpiːri/ [uːpʰiːri] 'poison'	/wuːla/ [wuːla] 'kidney'

3.1.3 Diphthongs

There exist five diphthongs in LRC, the summary of which is provided in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3 Diphthongs

	front → front	central → front	central → back	back → back
open-mid → close	/ɛɪ/			/ɔɪ/, /ɔʊ/
open → close		/aɪ/	/aʊ/	

3.1.3.1 Description and Distribution of Diphthongs

All of the diphthongs occur in all environments. Four of them, namely, [ɔʊ], [aʊ], [ɛɪ], and [aɪ] are subject to variation, where the vowels [ɔ], [a], [ɛ], and [a], respectively, may be realised instead of those diphthongs. The collected data do not provide any examples that would suggest [ɔɪ] undergoes the same process. The description and distribution of all five diphthongs is provided below.

- **Open-Mid → Close Front → Front /ɛɪ/**

/ɛɪ/ → [ɛɪ]

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
/ɛɪ/ [ɛɪ] 'hey'	/mɛɪki/ [mɛɪkʰi] 'to make'	/wɛɪ/ [wɛɪ] 'way'

- **Open → Close Central → Front /aɪ/**

/aɪ/ → [aɪ]

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
/aɪ/ [aɪ] 'eye'	/vaɪn/ [vaɪn] 'vine'	/kɹaɪ/ [kɹaɪ] 'to cry'

- **Open → Close Central → Back /aʊ/**

/aʊ/ → [aʊ]

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
/aʊtsaɪd/ [aʊtsaɪd] 'outside'	/daʊn/ [daʊn] 'down'	/naʊ/ [naʊ] 'now'

- **Open-Mid → Close Back → Back /ɔʊ/**

/ɔʊ/ → [ɔʊ]

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
/ɔʊvɛ/ [ɔʊvɛ] 'over'	/nɔʊgud/ [nɔʊgud] 'bad'	/fɔlɔʊ/ [fɔlɔʊ] 'to follow'

- **Open-Mid → Close Back → Back /ɔɪ/**

/ɔɪ/ → [ɔɪ]

word-initial	word-medial	word-final
/ɔɪstɛ/ [ɔɪstʰɛ] 'oyster'	/bɔɪli/ [bɔɪli] 'to boil	/bɔɪ/ [bɔɪ] 'boy'

3.2 Orthography

Table 3.4 lists all of LRC consonantal and vocalic phonemes written in the IPA script, together with the corresponding graphemes. The orthographic representation of schwa /ə/ is either *e*, for example, /wɛðə/ is written as *wedhe* 'weather' or as *i*, for example, /faʃən/ is written as *fashin* 'fashion'.

Table 3.4 IPA characters and their LRC graphemes

IPA character	grapheme	IPA character	grapheme
/a/	a	/ŋ/	ng
/a:/	ā	/ɔ/	o
/b/	b	/ɔ:/	ō
/tʃ/	ch	/p/	p
/d/	d	/r/	r
/ɛ/	e	/s/	s
/ɛ:/	ē	/ʃ/	sh
/ə/	e, i	/t/	t
/f/	f	/θ/	th
/g/	g	/ð/	dh
/h/	h	/u/	u
/i/	i	/u:/	ū
/i:/	ī	/v/	v

/dʒ/	j	/w/	w
/k/	k	/j/	y
/l/	l	/z/	z
/m/	m	/ʒ/	zh
/n/	n		

Following discussions with eight language consultants who assisted with data analysis and clarified arising questions, a phonemically-based orthographical system, inclusive of macrons for the long vowels, was designed to allow for the language to be used in a written form (Llisteri, 1996b) (see section 1.4).

3.3 Variation

In addition to a handful of the Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila speakers, everybody in the community possesses knowledge of many words and expressions from those two traditional languages and is also taught from a very young age how to pronounce them. Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila possess consonants that are specific only to those two languages, namely, /t̪/, /n̪/, /ɲ/, and /ʔ/. It should, however, be clarified that they are not phonemes in LRC and are only contrastive with the Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila loan words. The voiceless dental stop /t̪/ and the dental nasal /n̪/ are realised as the voiceless apico-alveolar stop /t/ and the apico-alveolar nasal /n/, respectively when loan words are incorporated into LRC speech and do not occur in isolation. If, however, they appear in isolation, then the pronunciation specific to the Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila pattern is typically maintained. In the speech of Torres Strait Islanders, /t̪/ and /n̪/ are also realised as /t/ and /n/. The lamino-palatal nasal /ɲ/ is primarily realised in the Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila vocabulary, however, it is present in some English-derived words as, for example, [ɔɲɔn] 'onion'. As noted in subsection 3.1.1.1.12, the glottal stop /ʔ/ is the phoneme characteristic for Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila. LRC speakers do articulate it in such English-based words as, for example, [waʔtʰa] 'water'. There also exists an alternate articulation devoid of the glottal stop, namely, [watʰa], however, the articulation with the glottal stop present is more frequent. The details of the phonological variation involving /t̪/ and /n̪/ are provided below.

- **Voiceless Dental Stop /t̪/**

/t̪/ → [t] ~ [t̪]

Torres Strait Islanders	Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila speakers
/tampu/ [tʰampʰu] 'long yam'	/t̪ampu/ [t̪ʰampʰu] 'long yam'

- **Dental Nasal /n̪/**

/n̪/ → [n] ~ [n̪]

Torres Strait Islanders	Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila speakers
/nampi/ [nampʰi] 'emu'	/n̪ampi/ [n̪ampʰi] 'emu'

The English fricatives /f/, /v/, /s/, /z/, /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ as well as the affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ are produced by all of the LR residents, which suggests that they have been a part of LRC consonantal inventory for a long time and could date back to the establishment of the LR Anglican Mission in 1924 (see subsection 2.3) or possibly to even earlier times. In the speech of the middle-aged and elderly LR inhabitants, the English fricative /θ/ is realised as either /t/ or /f/ and its voiced counterpart /ð/ as /d/. Both /θ/ and /ð/ are found only in the speech of children and young LR inhabitants, which most likely stems from the fact that English constitutes a medium of education in LR. For the same reason, the voiceless glottal fricative /h/ is primarily found in the speech of children and young LR residents, although some middle-aged and older LRC speakers do also occasionally produce it. The details of the phonological variation involving the middle-aged and elderly LR inhabitants are provided below.

- **Voiceless Dental Fricative /θ/**

/θ/ → [f] ~ [θ]

Middle-aged and elderly LRC speakers	Children and young LRC speakers
/hɛlfi/ [hɛlfi] 'healthy'	/hɛlθi/ [hɛlθi] 'healthy'
/ɛnifiŋ/ [ɛnifiŋ] 'anything'	/ɛniθiŋ/ [ɛniθiŋ] 'anything'

/θ/ →   [tʰ] ~ [θ] before vowels

Middle-aged and elderly LRC speakers	Children and young LRC speakers
/tiŋ/ [tʰiŋ] 'thing'	/θiŋ/ [θiŋ] 'thing'
/ɛbɹitiŋ/ [ɛbɹitʰiŋ] 'everything'	/ɛvɹiθiŋ/ [ɛvɹiθiŋ] 'everything'

/θ/ →   [t] ~ [θ] before consonants and word-finally

Middle-aged and elderly LRC speakers	Children and young LRC speakers
/tɹi:/ [tɹi:] 'three'	/θɹi:/ [θɹi:] 'tree'
/pa:twɛɪ/ [pʰa:twɛɪ] 'pathway'	/pa:θwɛɪ/ [pʰa:θwɛɪ] 'pathway'
/mant/ [mant] 'month'	/manθ/ [manθ] 'month'

- **Voiced Dental Fricative /ð/**

/ð/ →   [d] ~ /ð/

Middle-aged and elderly LRC speakers	Children and young LRC speakers
/dat/ [dat] 'that'	/ðat/ [ðat] 'that'
/bɹadɛ/ [bɹadɛ] 'brother'	/bɹaðɛ:/ [bɹaðɛ:] 'brother'

Torres Strait Islanders residing in LR do not articulate the English fricatives /f/, /θ/, /ʃ/, /h/, /v/, /ʒ/, /ð/ as well as the affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/. As far as those LR residents who spent time in the Strait are concerned, they do generally articulate those consonants, but sometimes they revert to the Torres Strait mode. The details of the phonological variation involving Torres Strait Islander and those LR residents who spent some time in the Strait are provided below.

- **Voiceless Labiodental Fricative /f/**

/f/ →   [pʰ] ~ [f] word-initial and word-medial before vowels, with the exception

after [s]

Torres Strait Islanders	LRC speakers
/pan/ [pʰan] 'fan'	/fan/ [fan] 'fan'

/f/ →   [p] ~ [f] word-medial after /s/

Torres Strait Islanders	LRC speakers
/piːspul/ [pʰiːspul] 'peaceful'	/pisːful/ [pʰisːful] 'peaceful'

/f/ →   [p] ~ [f] elsewhere

Torres Strait Islanders	LRC speakers
/pɹom/ [pɹɔm] 'from'	/fɹom/ [fɹɔm] 'from'
/selp/ [sɛlp] 'self'	/self/ [sɛlf] 'self'

- **Voiceless Dental Fricative /θ/**

/θ/ →   [tʰ] ~ [θ] before vowels

Torres Strait Islanders	Children and young LRC speakers
/tiŋ/ [tʰiŋ] 'thing'	/θiŋ/ [θiŋ] 'thing'
/ɛbɹitiŋ/ [ɛbɹitʰiŋ] 'everything'	/ɛvɹiθiŋ/ [ɛvɹiθiŋ] 'everything'

/θ/ →   [t] ~ [θ] before consonants and word-finally

Torres Strait Islanders	Children and young LRC speakers
/tɹiː/ [tɹiː] 'three'	/θɹiː/ [θɹiː] 'three'
[pʰaːtwɛɪ] *pātwei* 'pathway'	/paːθwɛɪ/ [pʰaːθwɛɪ] 'pathway'

[mant] *mant* 'month'	/manθ/ [manθ] 'month'

- **Voiceless Palato-Alveolar Fricative /ʃ/**

/ʃ/ →   [s] ~ [ʃ]

Torres Strait Islanders	LRC speakers
/sɔldɛ/ [sɔldɛ] 'shoulder'	/ʃɔʊldɛ:/ [ʃɔʊldɛ:] 'shoulder'
/fisnɛt/ [fisnɛt] 'fishing net'	/fiʃnɛt/ [fiʃnɛt] 'fishing net
/bus/ [bus] 'bush'	/buʃ/ [buʃ] 'bush'

- **Voiceless Glottal Fricative /h/**

/h/ →   no [h] ~ [h]

Torres Strait Islanders	Children and young LRC speakers
/aʊs/ [aʊs] 'house'	/haʊs/ [haʊs] 'house'
/asbɛnd/ [asbɛnd] 'husband'	/hasbɛnd/ [hasbɛnd] 'husband'
/fɔ:ɾɛd/ [fɔ:ɾɛd] 'forehead'	/fɔ:hɛd/ [fɔ:hɛd] 'forehead'

- **Voiced Labiodental Fricative /v/**

/v/ →   [b] ~ [v]

Torres Strait Islanders	LRC speakers
/baɪn/ [baɪn] 'vine'	/vaɪn/ [vaɪn] 'vine'
/lɛbɛn/ [lɛbɛn] 'eleven'	/lɛvɛn/ [lɛvɛn] 'eleven'
/twɛlb/ [twɛlb] 'twelve'	/twɛlv/ [twɛlv] 'twelve'

- **Voiced Dental Fricative /ð/**

/ð/ →   [d] ~ /ð/

Torres Strait Islanders	LRC speakers
/dat/ [dat] 'that'	/ðat/ [ðat] 'that'
/bɹadɛ/ [bɹadɛ] 'brother'	/bɹaðɛ:/ [bɹaðɛ:] 'brother'

- **Voiced Palato-Alveolar Fricative /ʒ/**

/ʒ/ → [z] ~ [ʒ]

Torres Strait Islanders	LRC speakers
/disizin/ [disizin] 'decision'	/disiʒin/ [disiʒin] 'decision'

- **Voiceless Palato-Alveolar Affricate /tʃ/**

/tʃ/ → [s] ~ [tʃ]

Torres Strait Islanders	LRC speakers
/sili/ [sili] 'chili'	/tʃili/ [tʃili] 'chili'
/tisa/ [tʰisa] 'teacher'	/ti:tʃɛ:/ [ti:tʃɛ:] 'teacher'
/wis/ [wis] 'which'	/witʃ/ [witʃ] 'which'

- **Voiced Palato-Alveolar Affricate /dʒ/**

/dʒ/ → [z] ~ [dʒ]

Torres Strait Islanders	LRC speakers
/zuɾa/ [zuɾa] 'fish soup'	/dʒuɾa/ [dʒuɾa] 'fish soup'
/inzin/ [inzin] 'engine'	/indʒin/ [indʒin] 'engine'
/sɛinz/ [sɛinz] 'change'	/tʃɛɪndʒ/ [tʃɛɪndʒ] 'change'

Phonological variation also involves vowels. For example, middle-aged and elderly LR residents as well as Torres Strait Islanders do not produce schwa /ə/ and replace

it with /ɛ/, in spite of the fact that it is a part of the vocalic inventory of LRC, as children and young LRC speakers do articulate it. Thus,

- **Mid Central Unrounded /ə/**

/ə/ → [ɛ] ~ [ə]

Torres Strait Islanders and middle-aged and elderly LRC speakers	Children and young LRC speakers
/ɛbaʊt/ [ɛbaʊt] 'about'	/əbaʊt/ [əbaʊt] 'about'
/satɛdɛɪ/ [satʰɛdɛɪ] 'Saturday'	/satədɛɪ/ [satʰədɛɪ] 'Saturday'
/plamɛ/ [plamɛ] 'plumber'	/plamə/ [plamə] 'plumber'

3.4 Phonotactics

This section presents fifteen single-syllable types that can be distinguished in LRC, together with all the combinatorial possibilities pertaining to them. These are outlined in Table 3.5. While four of them are open ending in a vowel, eleven are closed ending in a consonant. As the examples below demonstrate, consonant clusters occur both in the onset and the coda.

Table 3.5 Syllable Types

syllable type	example	gloss
V	ō ei ai	'or' 'hey' 'I'
VC	eg en an il ōl	'egg' 'and' 'hand' 'hill' 'old'
VCC	ink aks	'ink' 'to ask'
VCCC	ants	'ant'
CV	mō de mai dei	'more' 'the' 'my' 'day'
CCV	blo	'belonging to'

	trī	'tree'
	drai	'dry'
	plei	'play'
CCCV	sprei	'spray
CVC	bas	'bus'
	bos	'boss/leader/owner''
	rait	'right
	said	'side'
CVCC	neks	'next'
	nest	'nest'
CVCCC	sents	'cents'
CCVC	smōl	'small'
	trak	'truck'
	traib	'tribe'
	smouk	'smoke'
CCVCC	swamp	'swamp'
	frend	'friend'
CCVCCC	graunds	'grounds'
CCCVC	skrap	'scrap'
	strīt	'street'
	straip	'stripe'
	streit	'straight'
CCCVCC	strong	'strong'
	skrach	'scratch'
	streinj	'strange'

3.4.1 Variation within Syllables

It should be noted that since LRC exhibits considerable phonetic variation in that many words may be articulated in more than one way, there also occurs variation in terms of syllable types. In the majority of cases, it may stem from either the presence or the absence of the voiceless glottal fricative [h] or some other consonant, as examples (3-1a) and (3-1b), respectively, show.

    (3-1) (a) VC   /aʊs/   *aus* 'house'

             CVC   /haʊs/ *haus* 'house'

    (3-1) (b) CCVCC   /fɹɛnd/ *frend* 'friend'

             CCVC   /fɹɛn/ *fren* 'friend'

The addition of an epenthetic vowel in order to break up the consonant clusters within and between syllables is not characteristic for LRC. It is also not customary to delete the syllable-final consonant of the coda to break up or reduce the consonant cluster, as example (3-1b) above might suggest. There exist two lexical variants, namely, *frend* and *fren* 'friend', that are used interchangeably. While the articulation of *fren* resembles that of TSC *pren* (Shnukal, 1988, p. 186), the pronunciation of *frend* has most likely been influenced by the English 'friend'.

3.4.2 Consonant Clusters within a Single Syllable

Table 3.6 outlines possible syllable positions in consonant clusters that occur within a single syllable.

Table 3.6 Consonant Clusters within a Single Syllable

	p	t	k	b	d	g	m	n	ŋ	f	θ	s	ʃ	h	v	ð	z	ʒ	tʃ	dʒ	r	l	j	w
p																					+	+		
t												+									+	+		+
k		+										+									+	+		+
b																					+	+		
d												+									+			
g												+									+	+		+
m	+																							
n		+			+							+							+	+				
ŋ			+									+												
f		+										+									+	+		
θ																					+			
s	+	+	+				+	+														+		+
ʃ																								
h																								
v																								
ð																								
z																								
ʒ																								
tʃ																								
dʒ																								

r																		
l	+			+	+				+		+							
j																		
w																		

Taking into consideration the sonority hierarchy, in accordance with which "speech sounds can be arranged on a scale of relative sonority" (Davenport & Hannahs, 2013, p. 75), the analysis of the results outlined in Table 3.6 is provided in subsections 3.4.2.1, 3.4.2.2, and 3.4.2.3 below.

3.4.2.1 Onsets

With the exception of /ʒ/, all the remaining consonants possess the ability to occur in the syllable onsets.

3.4.2.2 Codas

/z/, /h/, /j/, and /w/ do not appear in the syllable codas.

3.4.2.3 Consonant Clusters

Stops rarely form clusters with other stops, with the exception of the /kt/ cluster, e.g. /insɛkt/ 'insect'. The clusters /ts/, /ks/, /ds/, and /gs/, where stops /t/, /k/, /d/, and /g/ precede the fricative /s/ are possible to occur in the codas and in this case raising sonority is exhibited, e.g. /fɔks/ 'foks', /insɛkts/ 'insects', /ɛds/ 'heads', /twigs/ 'twigs'. In the onsets, raising sonority is exhibited when stops /p/, /t/, /k/, /b/, /d/, and /g/ form clusters /pl/, /pɹ/, /tɹ/, /kl/, /kɹ/, /bl/, /bɹ/, /dɹ/, /gl/, and /gɹ/ with the lateral /l/ and the rhotic /r/, e.g. /plɛɪ/ 'play', /pɹɛɪ/ 'prey', /tɹi/ 'tree', /klaɪm/ 'climb', /kɹab/ 'crab', /bɹantʃ/ 'branch', /blɔʊ/ 'blow', /dɹiŋk/ 'drink', /glɔʊ/ 'glow', and /gɹi:n/ 'green'. Those clusters never occur in the codas. The cluster /tl/ possessing raising sonority can only occur in the codas, e.g. /litl/ 'little'. The cluster /dl/ has not been observed to occur either in the onset or in the coda. Raising sonority is exhibited by the following /tw/, /kw/, and /gw/, where the stops /t/, /k/, and /g/ are followed by the glide /w/ appear only in the codas, e.g. /twig/ 'twig', /kwik/ 'quick', and /gwana/ 'goanna'.

In general, nasals do not combine with other nasals. The cluster /mp/ is formed when the nasal /m/ precedes the stop /p/ in the codas, e.g. /kɛmp/ 'camp', and this case falling sonority is exhibited. It is also possible to encounter the cluster /ŋk/ when the nasal /ŋ/ occurs in front of the stop /k/ in the codas, e.g. /dɹɪŋk/ 'drink' and /siŋk/ 'sink', and those clusters are also marked by falling sonority.

In the codas falling sonority can be observed when the clusters /nt/ and /nd/ are formed when the nasal /n/ occurs in front of the stops /t/ and /d/, e.g. /tɛnt/ 'tent' and /lɛnd/ 'land'. Another example of falling sonority occurs when the clusters /ns/ and /ŋs/ are formed when the nasals /n/ and /ŋ/ precede the fricative /s/ in the codas, e.g. /daːns/ 'dance' and /θiŋs/ 'things'. The clusters /ntʃ/ and /ndʒ/ formed when the nasal /n/ precedes the affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ in the codas, e.g. /bɹantʃ/ 'branch' and /strɛɪndʒ/ 'strange', and this is also an example of falling sonority.

As far as fricatives are concerned, the cluster /ft/ occurs when the fricative /f/ precedes the stop /t/ in the codas, e.g. /sɔft/ 'soft', and this is an example of falling sonority. In the onsets, falling sonority is exhibited when the clusters /sp/, /st/, and /sk/ are formed when the fricative /s/ occurs in front of the stops /p/, /t/, and /k/, e.g. /spiːk/ 'speak', /stap/ 'live', and /skin/ 'skin'. In the coda, the cluster /fs/ is able to be encountered when the fricative f/ precedes the fricative /s/, e.g. /liːfs/ 'leaves'. In the onsets, the clusters /fl/ and /fɹ/ are formed when /f/ precedes the rhotic /ɹ/, e.g. /fɹɔg/ 'frog' and the lateral /l/, e.g. /flaɪ/ 'fly' and these are also examples of falling sonority. In the onsets raising sonority is exhibited when the clusters /sm/ and /sn/ are formed when the fricative /s/ precedes the nasals /m/ and /n/, e.g. /smɔːl/ 'small' and /snɛɪk/ 'snake', respectively. In the onsets, raising sonority can also be observed when the clusters /sl/ and /sw/ are formed when the fricative /s/ precedes the lateral /l/, e.g. /sliːp/ 'sleep', and the glide /w/, e.g. /swiːt/ 'sweet'. Both the remaining fricatives and affricates do not participate in the formation of syllable clusters.

The rhotic /ɹ/ has not been encountered to precede any consonants. Falling sonority is exhibited when the clusters /lp/, /lb/, and /ld/ are formed when the lateral /l/ appears in front of the stops /p/, /b/, and /d/ in the codas, e.g. /ɛlp/ 'help', /twɛlb/

'twelve', and /bild/ 'build', as well as when the clusters /lf/ and /ls/ are formed when the lateral /l/ precedes the fricatives /f/ and /s/, e.g. /sɛlf/ 'self' and /gɛːls/ 'girls'.

Similarly to affricates, glides do not precede other consonants in syllable clusters.

3.5 Suprasegmental Features

Stress and intonation are suprasegmental features discussed in the following two subsections.

3.5.1 Stress

Stress is lexically determined in LRC and depends on the stress of the original language, from which a given lexical item has migrated into LRC. Thus, the stress pattern of the English-derived vocabulary follows the rules pertinent to the stress placement in the English language. As a result, both primary and secondary stress are maintained if both are present, e.g.:

[ˈlɛta] *leta* 'letter'   [ˈfɪʃɪŋ] *fishing* 'fishing'

[adˌmɪniˈstɹɛɪʃɪn] *administreishin* 'administration   [ˈɛvɹiˌwɛɪ] *evriwei* 'everywhere'

[ˌɛdjuˈkɛɪʃɪn] *edyukeishin* 'education'   [ˌjuːniˈvɛːsiti] *yunivesiti* 'university'

In the same way, the stress pattern of the Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila lexical items is retained when approximately 1,300 words from those two traditional languages are used in LRC (Hill & Thompson, 2013, Book 10). They are borrowings that retain the source language stress patterns. As Thompson (1988b, p. 6) indicates, stress is predictable and depends not only on emphasis, mood, and fast speech, but also on the presence/absence of long vowels. As a result, primary stress falls on the first vowel, while secondary stress occurs on the second vowel in the case of words devoid of long vowels. Conversely, the last long vowel is subject to primary stress, while secondary stress falls on the preceding long vowel, if any, otherwise on the first vowel of the word in words with long vowels. In the following examples taken from Thompson (1988b, p. 6), vowels under primary stress are marked ′ and vowels

under secondary stress - `. In accordance with the orthography designed for Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila (Hill & Thompson, 2011, Book 1, p. 2), long vowels are written as digraphs and not as macrons.

pámà	Aboriginal person	páala	behind
káyìna	'to hang up'	wàacháaya	'permit'
káchìnpinta	'female'	mùumáanya	'to rub'

The influence of TSC, the presence of Torres Strait Islanders in the LR area, their place of origin, and dialect spoken also contribute to the stress variation in LRC. Although Shnukal (1988, p. 13) claims that stress is for the most part predictable, it should be noted that there is a considerable stress variation in TSC, which is lexically-, regionally-, and age-based. Firstly, the English-derived TSC lexical items follow the stress pattern typical for English words. Secondly, TSC comprises two dialects, namely, the eastern dialect is influenced by a Papuan language, Meriam Mir, while the western and central dialect by a Pama-Nyungan Aboriginal language, Kala Lagaw Ya (Shnukal, 2000b; 2004). As a result, the stress patterns differ in both those dialects, as the words borrowed from the two traditional Torres Strait languages tend to keep their original stress (Shnukal, 1988, p. 13).

Although stress in Bislama is highly unpredictable, i.e. phonemically contrastive, it is difficult to find a pair of words that possess a different meaning because of the stress placement (Crowley, 2004, p. 21). Similarly to LRC and TSC, those Bislama words, which come from local vernaculars, have generally their penultimate syllables stressed, although exceptions to that rule do exist (Crowley, 2004, p. 22). The word-final syllables are usually stressed in the French-derived vocabulary; however, it is not unusual to find other syllables stressed as well. Stress in the English-based lexical items is in line with that observed in the English vocabulary.

As far as Pijin is concerned, stress is unpredictable and lexically determined, however, it does not create contrast between words (Beimers, 2008, p. 55). The

stressed syllable is subject to stress irrespective of the addition of an epenthetic vowel or the occurrence of the word-final paragoge.

3.5.2 Intonation

LRC intonation pattern of the 'yes-no' and information questions as well as affirmative sentences, including those expressing the meaning 'or', coincides with that of Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila (Hill & Thompson, 2011, Book 1+3; 2013, Book 8+9). Thus, affirmative sentences are characterised by a falling intonation on the last syllable of the utterance, e.g.:

‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾

↘

(3-2) Ōl   ˈmeik-i   big   ˈfaya.

     3PL   make-TRS   big   fire

     'They made a big fire.'

A rising intonation on the final syllable of the utterance is typical for both 'yes-no' and information questions, as examples (3-3) and (3-4), respectively, demonstrate. Information questions do not have to be marked by a rising intonation, as they contain question words.

‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾ ↗

(3-3) Im   gud   ˈstōri?

     3SG   good   story

     'Is it a good story?

‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾

↘

(3-4) ˈWanim   rong   we   ˈmīpla?

     what   wrong   PREP   3PL.EXCL

     'What is wrong with us?'

When the 'or' meaning needs to be expressed, there is a rising intonation on the last syllable of the first coordinated phrase/sentence and a subsequent falling intonation of the last syllable of the first element of the second coordinated phrase/sentence (Hill & Thompson, 2013, Book 8, p. 31). Thus, in example (3-5), a rising intonation is on the last syllable of *krofis* 'crayfish', i.e. the first of the coordinated elements, and a falling intonation on the last syllable of *lobste* 'lobster', i.e. the second of the coordinated elements.
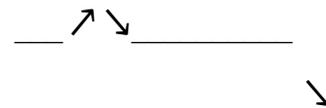
(3-5) ˈMīpla	ˈprapa	ˈloud-im	ˈkrōfish	ō	ˈlobste.
1PL.EXCL	properly	load-TRS	crayfish	CONN	lobster

'We properly loaded crayfish and lobsters.'

An analogous situation occurs in example (3-6), where a rising intonation is on *naif* 'knife', i.e. the first of the coordinated elements, and a falling intonation on the final syllable of *spīye* 'spear', i.e. the second of the coordinated elements.
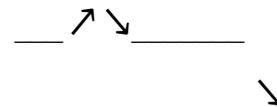
(3-6) Det	ōl	man	bin	ˈged-i	naif	ō	ˈspīye	blong	im.
DEM	old	man	PST	get-TRS	knife	CONN	spear	POSS	3SG

'That old man got his knife or spear.'

If the emphatic markers *nau/na* or *ya* are present in a sentence, then they are a subject to a rising intonation. For example, in example (3-7) a rising intonation is on the emphatic marker *na*, which follows the first of the coordinated elements *laite* 'lighter', while a falling intonation is on the final syllable of *machis* 'match', i.e. the second of the coordinated elements.

(3-7) Im   ˈchak-i   de   ˈlaite   na   ō   ˈmachis

3SG   throw-TRS   DET   lighter   EMP   CONN   match

go   fō   ˈgib-im   det   smōl   boi.

SV.GO   COMP   give-TRS   DEM   small   boy

'He threw the lighter or matches to give them to a little boy.'

Similarly to the stress patterns (see subsection 3.5.1), LRC intonation pattern is also influenced by the presence of Torres Strait Islanders in LR and their place of origin, as intonation provides indication as to where a given Islander is from (Shnukal, 1985a, p. 156). As a result, while speech of Eastern Islanders has a tune almost as if the speakers "put music into it" (Shnukal, 1985b, p. 161), the intonation of Western and Central Islanders is "flatter" (Shnukal, 1988, p. 3). When making statements, asking questions, and issuing commands, in comparison with Western and Central Islanders, Easterners use a higher pitch at the beginning and a lower pitch at the end (Shnukal, 1985b, p. 161). Their speech has a rising and falling intonation, while pitch variation within a sentence is greater than that observed in the speech of Western and Central Islanders. Further research would be able to shed more light on variation in the intonation between Torres Strait Islanders and non-Islanders as well as within the Torres Strait Islander group residing in LR, which is also observable in LRC. Further research would also help establish the scope of variation in the intonation of those LRC speakers who are not from the Torres Strait.

The observation involving a rising intonation on LRC emphatic markers *nau/na* or *ya* resonates in Pijin, where the focus markers *nao* and *ya* are pronounced with a higher pitch (Beimers, 2008, p. 56). Similarly to LRC, Pijin interrogative sentences are characterised by a rising intonation on the final word in comparison with the declarative sentences, where a falling intonation marks the last word. Conversely, in Bislama, there appears

> to be a substantially greater rise toward the end of a statement, followed by a much more noticeable drop immediately afterwards at the end of the statement than we find in any of the other varieties of Melanesian Pidgin, as

well as English. This gives the impression that Bislama has something of a "sing-song" intonation (Crowley, 2004, p. 23).

3.6 Brief Comparison with Other Creoles

In comparison with LRC, which possesses 25 consonantal phonemes, there are eighteen such phonemes in both Pijin and Bislama, and fifteen in TSC (Beimers, 2008; Crowley, 2004; Shnukal, 1988). TSC possesses only two fricatives, namely, [s] and [z]. There are four fricatives in Pijin, i.e. [f], [s], [v], and [h], however, there is no [z], which is not a part of Bislama consonantal inventory either. In Pijin, there is only one affricate, namely, a voiced palatal [dʒ]. In Bislama, [j] is usually articulated as a voiceless post-alveolar grooved affricate, i.e. [tʃ] and there is often a slightly fronted pronunciation, i.e. [ts]. The English fricatives [θ] and [ð] are articulated as [t] and [d], respectively, in Bislama, Pijin, and TSC. While a fricative [ʒ] is realised as [z] in TSC, it takes the form of [s] in Bislama. Nicholls (2009, pp. 21-22) lists twenty-one consonants in Kriol, noting that stops are not subject to voicing distinction. While it has no affricates, Kriol possesses five fricatives, namely, [f], [θ], [s], [ʃ], and [h]. There is a palatal nasal [ɲ], which exists as a lamino-palatal nasal in the Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila traditional languages of the LR area.

As far as vowels are concerned, there are five vowels in Pijin, Bislama, and TSC, namely, all those languages possess close front [i], close front back [u], and open central [a], however, while Crowley (2004, p. 16) and Shnukal (1988, p. 11) categorise Bislama and TSC [e] and [o] as mid front and mid back vowels, respectively, Beimers (2008, p. 50) classifies them as a close-mid front and close-mid back vowels, respectively. Although there are no long vowels in either of those three creoles, there is a tendency for some speakers to phonetically distinguish long from short vowels (Crowley, 2004; Jourdan & Selbach, 2004; Shnukal, 1991a). Bundgaard-Nielsen and Baker (2015, p. 2) note that Kriol has five long vowels, namely, /iː/, /aː/, /oː/, /uː/, and /eː/.

TSC possesses four diphthongs, i.e. /ei/, /oi/, /ai/, and /au/ (Shnukal, 1988, p. 11). The very same five LRC diphthongs can also be found in Pijin (Beimers, 2008, p. 52). Crowley (2004, p. 16) states that in Bislama, the word-medial diphthongs, which begin with mid vowels and end with close vowels, tend to be simply reduced to mid vowels with no off-glide. The word-final Bislama /oʊ/ diphthong is sometimes realised as [o] or [oʊ] and the word-final /eɪ/ sometimes appears as [e] or [ei]. Nicholls (2009, p. 22) notes the presence of five diphthongs in Kriol, namely, /ei/, /ai/, /ou/, /oi/, and /au/.

Beimers (2008, p. 54) lists ten syllable types in Pijin, where such LRC types as VCCC, CVCCC, CCCV, CCVCCC, and CCCVCC are apparently not present. It does occur that some Pijin speakers insert an epenthetic vowel into the consonant clusters and between syllables (Jourdan & Selbach, 2004, p. 699). Consonant clusters in the coda may also be subject to the deletion of the final consonant (Beimers, 2008, p. 54). It is not unusual for some speakers to add a final vowel to the word-final consonant to avoid closed syllables.

The accretion of an epenthetic vowel to break up consonant clusters constitutes a characteristic feature of both Bislama (Crowley, 2004, p. 23) and TSC, however, in TSC, it is customary for the older speakers only (Shnukal, 1988, p. 15). This process primarily pertains to TSC word-initial clusters, but it may be encountered in the word-final clusters as well. The choice of an epenthetic vowel is not random, but it is subject to the progressive vowel harmony rule, according to which the value of the stressed vowel spreads rightward (Rose & Walker, 2011; Heinz & Lai, 2013), e.g., if the preceding vowel is an *a*, then the excrescent vowel must also be an *a*.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the basic phonology of LRC, inclusive of consonantal, vocalic, and diphthongal phonemes. The description of the phonemically-based orthographical system, which was designed with the participation of language consultants, is followed by the outline of LRC syllable structure and suprasegmental features, namely, stress and intonation. It has been established that stress is lexically

determined in LRC ad depends on the stress of the original language from which a given lexical item has migrated into LRC. Thus, while the stress pattern of the English-derived vocabulary mirrors the stress placement in the English language, the stress pattern of the Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila lexical items is retained, when words from those two traditional languages are used in LRC. As far as intonation pattern of the 'yes-no' and information questions, as well as affirmative sentences, including those expressing the meaning 'or', is concerned, it coincides with that of Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila. Additionally, LRC stress pattern is also influenced by the presence of Torres Strait Islanders in LR and their place of origin, taking into account the fact that intonation provides information as to where a given Islander is from.

Chapter 4 Word Classes and Morphological Processes

Chapter 4 provides an overview of LRC word classes, namely, nouns, pronouns, determiners, quantifiers, prepositions, adjectives, verbs, verbal modifiers, conjunctions, and interjections, including the description of the morphological processes involved in the formation of LRC words.

4.1 Nouns

This section describes LRC nouns, including proper and common nouns, and is followed by the noun word formation processes, including compounds and reduplication. Noun morphology, both inflectional and derivational, centres around English-derived suffixes such as the plural marker -*s*, the nominalising suffix -*wan* as well as the derivational suffixes -*ing* and -*a.*.

LRC nouns function as heads of noun phrases (NPs) (see Chapter 5), which assume the roles of subject and object within verb phrases (VPs) (see Chapter 6). Nouns may follow members of other word classes when they occur in the NPs, i.e. determiners (see section 4.3), quantifiers (see section 4.4), and adjectives (see section 4.6). Examples (4-1) – (4-3) illustrate the use of LRC nouns as NP heads, which are written in bold and accompanied by a variety of pre-modifiers (underlined).

(4-1) <u>Ebri</u>   **mōning**   ōl   fīd-i   <u>det</u>   **frog**.

      every   morning   3PL   feed-TRS   DEM   frog

      'Every morning they fed that frog.'

(4-2) Im   tōk   we   <u>dem</u>   **trī**.

      3SG   talk   to   DET   tree

      'He talked to the trees.'

(4-3) <u>Dem   tū   priti   **gēl**   ōl   prapa   smāt.</u>

DET   two   pretty   girl   3PL   very   smart

'The two pretty daughters are very smart.'

4.1.1 Noun Subclasses

LRC nouns can be divided into two subclasses:

1. proper nouns
2. common nouns.

4.1.1.1 Proper Nouns

Proper nouns typically refer to the names of people, places, and organisations. As in English and other languages, their proposed LRC spelling has them beginning with a capital letter, e.g.:

(4-4)

    (a) Kyēns   'Cairns'

    (b) Klōdī Riva   'Claudie River'

    (c) Deivid   'David'

Proper nouns may be followed by the emphatic marker *nau/na* (see subsection 9.4.1.1), as example (4-5) demonstrates. When following the NP, *nau/na* fronts it (see subsection 9.4.1.1).

(4-5) **<u>Deivid</u>**   <u>nau</u> im   stap   we   Kyēns.

David   EMP 3SG   live   in   Cairns

'It's David who lives in Cairns.'

Normally, proper nouns cannot be preceded by a determiner, quantifier or adjective. This can only occur when they behave as common nouns and, for example, denote a set. Thus, in example (4-6), the proper noun *Deivid* 'David' is pre-modified by the plural determiner *dem* 'the' and the numeral *tū* 'two'.

(4-6) dem tū   **Deivid**

DET   two   David

'the two Davids'

4.1.1.2 Common Nouns

LRC common nouns, which involve the most typical nouns, can all be counted. This includes nouns derived from English that are classified as non-count nouns. Thus, they are able to be paired up with a determiner. Therefore, such nouns as, for example, *wud* 'wood' and *flawa* 'flour', are count nouns and, as a result, can combine with the plural determiner *dem* 'the' (see subsection 4.3.1.1). The third-person plural personal pronoun *ōl* 'they' functions in example (4-7) as an anaphora, as it refers to *wud* 'wood', therefore, providing further evidence to the fact that *wud* is indeed a count noun in LRC.

(4-7) Yūpla woch-i   dem   **wud**   de,

2PL   watch-TRS DET   wood   there

ōl   go   stik-i   yūpla   fut.

3PL   FUT   puncture-TRS   POSS.PRN   foot

'Watch out for those pieces of wood there, they will puncture your feet.'

(4-8) Amach   dem   **flawa** de   yūpla gad-im?

how.much   DET   flour   there   2PL   have-TRS

'How many bags of flour do you have there?'

Asis 'ash, ashes' is also a count noun, as it may be preceded by determiners and demonstratives, e.g. *de asis* and *dem asis*, where *asis* follows the singular determiner *de* 'the', which is also used as the plural determiner', and the plural determiner *dem* 'the' (see subsection 4.3.1.1), as well as *det asis*, where *asis* appears after the singular distal demonstrative *det* 'that' (see subsection 4.3.2), as example (4-35) demonstrates. Similarly, liquids, e.g. *wata* 'water' and *blad* 'blood' may also be accompanied by determiners and demonstratives.

4.1.2 Noun Word Formation

There exist two noun word formation processes in LRC, namely, compounding and reduplication.

4.1.2.1 Compounds

LRC compounds, which are combinations of free morphemes, are derivational in nature. They constitute single lexical items, as only one syllable, the initial one, is stressed and the meaning of the compound frequently differs from the meaning of the individual words that participate in its formation. In the majority of cases, the first element of the compound, which functions as the modifier, precedes the more general element, i.e. the head. The modifier not only provides a very precise information about the nature of the compound, but it also narrows down the meaning of the head.

As there do not appear to be any LRC compounds that involve words from Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila, all of the existing compounds derive from English. Some of them possess exact English equivalents, thus, they most likely represent wholesale loans from English, where they also function as compounds marked by stress placed on the initial syllable.

(4-9)   faya-wud
        fire-wood
        'firewood'

(4-10) boi-fren
        boy-friend
        'boyfriend'

(4-11) klas-rūm
        class-room
        'classroom'

Some of the compounds have migrated into LRC as single morphemes, although their direct sources in English consist of separate morphemes. Compounds in examples (4-12) and (4-13) are single lexical items, as only one syllable, the initial

one, is stressed. Further evidence is provided by the fact that *chuk* 'chicken' does not function in LRC as a noun and *chiken* 'chicken' is used instead. *Pen* 'pen' refers only to an instrument used for writing and not to a small enclosure for domestic animals. While *bush* 'bush' is used as a noun, *taka* 'tucker, food' is not used as a noun, as this meaning is expressed by *kaikai* 'food', *mayi* 'food, vegetable food', and *minya* 'food made with meat of animals'.

(4-12) chuk-pen

      chook-pen

      'chicken pen'

(4-13) bush-taka

      bush-tucker

      'bush tucker'

The compound *bunarou* 'bow and arrows' in (4-14), which is also attested in Kriol (Eva Schultze-Berndt, personal communication, 2017), is historically an example of a coordinative compound characterised by the presence of the reduced form *n* of the coordinator *en* 'and' that separates the two compound elements of an equal value. As a result, none of the elements function as modifiers. In addition to historically being a coordinative compound, *bunarou* can be considered a monomorphemic multisyllable word.

(4-14) bu-n-arou

      bow-'n.CONN-arrow

      'bow and arrows'

4.1.2.1.1 Formation of Compounds

Some noun compounds may be formed by combining an adjective (section 4.6) with a noun. The initial syllable in such compounds is always stressed, which distinguishes compounds from syntactic adjective – noun combinations. While in examples (4-15) and (4-16) the adjectives appear pre-nominally, in (4-17) the position of the adjective is post-nominal, which represents an isolated occurrence. Unlike in Kriol, where *bakitful* 'bucketful' is attested (Eva Schultze-Berndt, personal communication, 2017), this compound does not exist in LRC. *Ful* 'full' functions as an adjective and an adverb (see section 4.8) in LRC but never as a derivational affix.

In examples (4-15) – (4-17), the adjectives modify the nouns, with which they form the compounds. Thus, the nouns are the head elements of those compounds.

> (4-15) shōtwin
>
> shōt-win
>
> short-wind
>
> 'shortness of breath'

> (4-16) bigmaut
>
> big-maut
>
> big-mouth
>
> 'blabbermouth'

> (4-17) beliful
>
> beli-ful
>
> belly-full
>
> 'full stomach/to be satiated'

As examples (4-9) – (4-13) above demonstrate, compounding may involve a combination of two nouns, where stress is placed on the initial syllable of a compound. However, in comparison with those examples, the following examples (4-18) – (4-20) do not represent direct replicas of their English counterparts. It should be noted that the initial elements of those compounds, i.e. *baik* 'back', *ed* 'head', and *suga* 'sugar', function in LRC as nouns and not as adjectives. Similarly, *sō* 'sore' and *baig* 'bag', i.e. the final compound elements, are also nouns. The compound *sugabaig* 'honeycomb, bee's nest' is also widely found in varieties of Aboriginal English.

> (4-18) baiksō
>
> baik-sō
>
> back-sore
>
> 'backache'

(4-19) edsō

 ed-sō

 head-sore

 'headache'

(4-20) sugabaig

 suga-baig

 sugar-bag

 'honeycomb/bee's nest'

Some of the compounds consist of a noun and a verb (see section 4.7), which appears post-nominally, as in examples (4-21) and (4-22). Stress in this type of compounds is placed on their initial syllable.

(4-21) beliran

 beli-ran

 belly-run

 'diarrhoea'

(4-22) nousran

 nous-ran

 nose-run

 'runny nose'

There also exist compounds that represent combinations of nouns and numerals, where the latter may either follow (example 4-23) or precede (example 4-24) nouns. Stress is placed on the initial syllable of a compound.

(4-23) nambawan

 namba-wan

 number-one

 'excellent'

(4-24) wandei

 wan-dei

 one-day

 'one day'

4.1.2.2 Reduplication

Although there do not appear to be any fully reduplicated nouns, there is a handful of examples involving apparent noun reduplication at an earlier stage of LRC development. Apparent reduplication differs from full reduplication in that there are no matching non-reduplicated forms. The majority of them involve the noun *pigipigi* 'piggy', as *pigi* is not used in LRC. Other examples are provided in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Nouns with Apparent Reduplication

Noun	Gloss	Probable Source
kaikai	'food/to eat'	Polynesian (Shnukal, 1988, p. 140) → Melanesian Pidgin
labalaba/lavalava	'Torres Strait dance skirt'	Polynesian (Shnukal, 1988, p. 153) (more precisely Samoan)
puripuri	'sorcery/black magic/evil spell'	possibly Tok Pisin → Kala Lagaw Ya (Shnukal, 1988, p. 187)
susu	'breast'	Samoan (Shnukal, 1988, p. 210) → Melanesian Pidgin

4.1.3 Noun Morphology

The only inflectional noun affix in LRC is the English-derived plural suffix *-s*, which is discussed in subsection 4.1.3.1.1. Derivational morphology is common in LRC. The nominalising suffix *-wan*, which is used to derive nouns from adjectives, is described in subsection 4.1.3.2.1. The suffix *-ing* and the agentive suffix are involved in the formation of nouns from verbs and are presented in subsections 4.1.3.2.2 and 4.1.3.2.3, respectively.

4.1.3.1 Inflection

4.1.3.1.1 English-Derived Plural Marker *-s*

The use of the suffix *-s* is fully optional. Its presence may most likely be explained by the increasing exposure to English. In examples (4-25) and (4-26), the nouns affixed with the plural suffix *-s*, *bīs* 'bees' and *twigs* 'twigs', function in their singular forms, *bī* and *twig*, respectively. The plural in those examples could be

formed by means of the determiner *dem*, which denotes plurality (see subsection 4.3.1.1), i.e. *dem bī* 'bees' and *dem twig* 'twigs'.

(4-25) Ōl luk ebriwe fō **bī-s**.
3PL look everywhere PREP bee-PL
'They looked everywhere for the bees.'

(4-26) Dem pikinini bras-im-aut soft **twig-s**.
DET child brush-TRS-out soft twig-PL
'The children brushed the soft twigs out.'

In examples (4-27) – (4-29), the nouns with the English-derived plural suffix *-s* are preceded by the determiners *de/dem* 'the (plural)' and *ōl* 'the (plural, general)' (see subsection 4.3.1.1) as well as numerals (see subsection 4.4.1). Thus, the use of the plural suffix *-s* appears to be redundant. Example (4-28) illustrates that one utterance may contain nouns with the plural marking expressed by both the suffix *-s* (*bois* 'boys') and the determiner *dem* (*dem dog* 'dogs').

(4-27) Em bin kat-im <u>ōl de</u> **branch-is** from de trī.
3SG PST cut-TRS all DET branch-PL PREP DET tree
'He cut all the branches from the tree.'

(4-28) <u>Dem</u> **dog** kīp go andenīt fut blo <u>dem</u> **boi-s**.
DET dog ITR go underneath foot POSS DET boy-PL
'The dogs kept on going under the boys' feet.'

(4-29) Ōl bi kech-i <u>trī pikinini</u> **piglet-s**.
3PL PST catch-TRS three child piglet-PL
'They caught three baby piglets.'

As example (4-27) above demonstrates, the plural suffix *-s* possesses a variant *-is*, which, in fact, is an allomorph /is/. There exist other allomorphs of the plural suffix, namely, /z/, /iz/, /əz/, and /əs/ that are realised when uttered by children and young residents, however, /s/ and /is/ prevail in the speech of the middle-aged and older people.

The English-derived plural suffix -*s* appears to be highly unlikely to be attached to those words that are not English-based. In fact, no examples of the Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila nouns affixed with the plural suffix -*s* have been attested. It seems that certain English-derived nouns are more prone than others to be used with the plural suffix -*s*, e.g. *tings* 'things', *kids* 'kids', and *bois* 'boys'. The singular forms of those nouns, i.e. *ting, kid,* and *boi*, are frequently used by LRC speakers. Thus, in examples (4-30) – (4-32), the omission of the suffix -*s* is possible and is not going to affect the meaning, i.e. *ōl **ting*** 'the things', *dem kid* 'the kids', *dem tū boi* 'the two boys'.

(4-30) Yūpla   go   kam   en   pik-im-ap   <u>ōl</u>   **<u>ting-s</u>**.

   2PL   FUT   come   CONN   pick-TRS-up   DET   thing-PL

   'You will come and pick the things up.'

(4-31) <u>Dem</u>   **<u>kid-s</u>**   bi   fīl   sēd.

   DET   kid-PL   PST   feel   sad

   'The kids felt sad.'

(4-32) Ōl   folo   traik   blo   <u>dem   tū</u>   **<u>boi-s</u>**.

   3PL   follow   tracks   POSS   DET   two   boy-PL

   'They followed the tracks of the two boys.'

The latter observation is consistent with the conclusion by Siegel (1997, pp. 191-192) that there exists a considerable variability as to the transference of the English-based plural forms into Tok Pisin. Romaine (1992, p. 238) established that, in the case of some Tok Pisin nouns affixed with the English plural suffix -*s*, it is not just the suffix that migrated but whole plural forms. This is certainly evident in LRC, where some of those English whole plural forms function as nouns in singular number as well. *Machis* 'match/matches' and *asis* 'ash/ashes' in examples (4-33) and (4-35), respectively, do not possess singular forms without the suffix -*s*. The noun *gis* 'goose/geese' denotes both the singular and plural meanings, as there is no equivalent of the English 'goose'.

(4-33) Yū   straik-i   **machis.**

   2SG   strike-TRS   match

   'You strike a match.'

(4-34) Ōl   laik   kaikai   eg   blo   **gīs**   en   dak.

INDF.PRN   like   eat.TRS   egg   POSS   goose   CONN   duck

'Everybody likes to eat goose and duck eggs.'

(4-35) Mīpla   roust-i   ōl   fish   tū   we   det   **asis**.

1PL.EXCL   roast-TRS   DET   fish   also   in   DEM   ash

'We also roasted all the fish in the ashes.'

4.1.3.2 Derivation

There exist three suffixes that are used to derive nouns from members of other word classes, namely, *-wan*, *-ing*, and *-a*.

4.1.3.2.1 English-Derived Nominalising Suffix *-wan*

The English-based nominalising suffix *-wan* is used to derive nouns from adjectives. Examples (4-36) – (4-39) show that the suffix *-wan* forms a single grammatical word with the adjective to which it is affixed.

(4-36) Stōri   i   prapa   **trū-wan**.

story   PM   very   true-NMLZ

'The story is a very true one.'

(4-37) Ōl dem wīd   ōl   kam-ap   tū,   **long-wan**,   **fresh-wan**.

all   DET   weed   3PL   come-up   too   long-NMLZ   fresh-NMLZ

'All the weeds come up too, long ones, fresh ones.'

(4-38) If det eg   i   sinkdaun,   im   **gud-wan**.

if   DEM   egg   PM   sink   3SG   good-NMLZ

'If that egg sinks, it is a good one.'

(4-39) De   ōl   man   bi   teik-im-at   det   fingeneil

DET   old   man   PST   take-TRS-out   DEM   fingernail

blo   det   awu,   **long-wan**   tū.

POSS   DEM   evil spirit   long-NMLZ   too

'The old man took the evil spirit's fingernail out, it was a long one too.'

The newly derived words are indeed nouns and not two separate words, as stress always falls on the initial component and never on *-wan*, which cannot also function as a bare NP. As examples (4-36) – (4-39) above demonstrate, nouns derived by

means of -*wan* are attributive, as they describe the attributes of their antecedents, i.e. nouns mentioned previously in the same utterance or in earlier utterances. Thus, the function of nouns suffixed with -*wan* is anaphoric, as the presence of -*wan* indicates that the identity of nouns derived in that manner is identical and coreferential with that of nouns to which they refer and the attributes of which they denote. This is in agreement with Crowley (2004) who postulates that

> [t]he suffix -*wan* is added to an adjective to create a noun that expresses a thing that is characterised by the quality expressed in the original adjective. A noun derived by means of the suffix -*wan* must also refer back to something that has already been mentioned, or which the person you are speaking to already knows about. (p. 42)

This is analogous with the English *one* that acts as an "identity-of-sense anaphora" (Hudson, 2000, p. 27). In LRC, *wan* never denotes a person or a thing when appearing as a single morpheme; that meaning can only be expressed when *wan* assumes a role of a suffix in the deadjectival nouns. For that reason, nouns derived with that suffix are translated into English by means of an indefinite pronoun 'one'.

Examples (4-40) and (4-41) provide further evidence that words derived from adjectives with the use of the suffix -*wan* are indeed nouns, as they may be pre-modified by determiners, numerals, and adjectives, and may be heads of NPs functioning as subjects (example (4-40)) and objects (examples (4-41) and (4-42)). In example (4-42), *nadewan* 'another one' functions as the head of an NP (see Chapter 5) and it refers to one of the two goannas *dem tū gwana* that were knocked out. *Nadewan* and *dem tū gwana* are simply juxtaposed and not separated by a preposition (see section 4.6), such as, for example, *of* that is used in case of quantification of nouns (see subsection 5.2.2.1).

(4-40) De   tū   **smōl-wan**   spīk.

DET   two   small-NMLZ   speak

'The two little ones speak.'

(4-41) Ōl   bi   luk   big   **blak-wan**.

3PL   PST   see.TRS   big   black-NMLZ

'They saw a big black one (crocodile).'

(4-42) Im   nok-i   **nade-wan**   dem tū   gwana.

3SG.   knock out-TRS   another-NMLZ   DET two   goanna

'He knocked out another one of the two goannas.'

Examples (4-43), (4-44), and (4-45) show that the suffix *-wan* may also be affixed to nouns. In (4-43), it is attached to the noun *woman* 'female' and *womanwan* 'female one' forms a separate NP (see Chapter 5) from *big tētul* 'a big turtle'. In (4-44), *-wan* is affixed to the noun *beibi* 'baby' and *beibiwan* 'the baby one' functions as the head of an NP. In (4-45), *-wan* is suffixed to the noun *taip* 'type' and *taipwan* 'type one', which is pre-modified by the adjective *winj* 'whinging', is the NP of an equational predicate.

(4-43) Big   tētul,   **woman-wan**.

big   turtle   woman-NMLZ

'A big turtle, a female one.'

(4-44) 'Ōrait',   ōl   man   spīk   tū   de   **beibi-wan**.

alright old   man   speak PREP DET   baby-NMLZ

''Alright', the old man said to the baby one (flying fox).'

(4-45) Ai   tink   im   winj   **taip-wan**,   ai?

1SG think 3SG whinging type-NMLZ   huh

'I think he is a whinging type one, huh?'

4.1.3.2.2 English-Derived Gerundial Suffix *-ing*

Nouns may be derived from verbs with the English-based gerundial suffix *-ing*, the use of which is widespread and not limited to any particular age or ethnic group. In examples (4-46) and (4-47), the suffix *-ing* functions as a nominaliser, as it derives nouns that denote events and actions.

(4-46) Dei   gad   gud   **smel-ing**.

3PL   have.TRS good smell-NMLZ

'They have a good sense of smell.'

(4-47) Gud **swim-ing**, gud **fish-ing** en gud **ant-ing**.

good swim-NMLZ, good fish-NMLZ CONN good hunt-NMLZ

'Good swimming, good fishing and good hunting.'

4.1.3.2.3 English-Derived Agentive Suffix -a

The agentive suffix -*a*, which is approximately equivalent to the English-derived suffix -*er*, is used to form agent nouns from verbs. It therefore functions as a nominaliser. It is marked by variable pronounciation, i.e. allomorphs. Thus, there exist allomorphs [a], [ɛ], and [ə]. Although [a] is the preferred choice of Torres Strait Islanders, both [a] and [ɛ] occur in the speech of the middle-aged and older LR people. On the other hand, [ə] is uttered by children and young residents. Thus, the choice of allomorph is unpredictable only in the case of the middle-aged and older inhabitants. Examples (4-48) – (4-51) demonstrate that the variation occurs in the case of the same nouns.

(4-48) I bi abi mī en wan **tīch-e** from de skūl.

PM PST have 1SG CONN DET teach-NMLZ PREP DET school

'There was I and a teacher from the school.'

(4-49) Det nyu gēl im prapa gud **tīch-a**.

DET new girl 3SG very good teach-NMLZ

'That uncle of his is a very good teacher.'

(4-50) Im prapa dedli **dāns-a**.

3SG very deadly dance-NMLZ

'She is a wonderful dancer.'

(4-51) Gēl blong im im prapa gud **dāns-e**.

daughter POSS 3SG 3SG very good dance-NMLZ

'Her daughter is a very good dancer.'

4.2 Pronouns

LRC pronouns constitute a closed word class. They can stand in place of nouns and noun phrases (NPs) (see Chapter 5). LRC pronominal system consists of personal and non-personal pronouns, which function as the heads of NPs.

4.2.1 Personal Pronouns

The following pronouns could be distinguished within the personal pronoun type:

1. personal pronouns
2. reflexive personal pronouns
3. possessive pronouns
4. reciprocal personal pronouns
5. distributive personal pronouns.

4.2.1.1 Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns appear in singular, dual, and plural numbers and there exists an inclusive-exclusive distinction pertaining to the first person pronouns only. In addition, personal pronouns appear in first, second, and third person, do not reference gender, and customarily remain unstressed. Personal pronouns are outlined in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Personal Pronouns

Person	Number	Subject Case	Object Case
First Person Inclusive	**Singular**	ai (mī) 'I'	mī 'me'
	Dual	yūmītū 'two of us'	
	Non-Singular	yūmī 'we'	yūmī 'us'
First Person Exclusive	**Singular**	-----------	
	Dual	mītū 'two of us'	
	Plural	mīpla 'we/us'	
First Person Non-Singular	**Dual**	wī 'we/us'	
	Plural		
Second Person	**Singular**	yū 'you	
	Dual	yūtū 'you two/two of you'	

	Plural	yūpla 'you'	
Third Person	**Singular**	im ~ i (em) 'he/she/it'	im 'him/her/it'
	Dual	demtū 'two of them/them'	
	Plural Unmarked	dempla ~ demlot ~ demblat 'they all'	dempla ~ demlot ~ demblat 'them all'
	Plural Marked	dei ~ ōl 'they all'	dem ~ im 'them all'

4.2.1.1.1 First Person Inclusive Singular Pronouns

As it is shown in Table 4.2, both the first person singular pronoun *ai* 'I' and its object form *mī* 'me' may function as a subject. Of the two of them, *ai* is the primary first person singular pronoun used when the pronoun alone constitutes the subject of the utterance.

(4-52) **Ai**   tayed.

    1SG tired

    'I am tired.'

(4-53) **Ai**   spīk   fō   mai   brade   en   misis   blong im.

    1SG speak PREP POSS.PRN brother CONN wife   POSS 3SG

    'I spoke to my brother and his wife.'

Mī, and not *ai*, always assumes a role of a subject when more than one subject is listed. Thus, *mī* is contrastive. The subjects may or may not be connected by means of coordinators, as examples (4-54) and (4-55) show.

(4-54) **Mī**, mai   mama en   ōl mai   femli   mīpla   siden.

    1SG POSS.PRN mum CONN all POSS.PRN family 1PL.EXCL sit

    'I, my mom, and all my family were sitting.'

(4-55) **Mī**   en   mai   brade   luk   en   spīk.

    1SG CONN POSS.PRN   brother look CONN speak

    'I and my brother looked and spoke.'

However, *mī* can also sporadically function as the only subject of a sentence, although the context could imply or provide evidence regarding the presence of other potential subjects. While the choice of *mī* in example (4-57) could most likely be attributed to the influence of the English expression 'me too', in other situations it appears not to be governed by any rules but depends solely on a given speaker. Thus, there is no change in meaning if in example (4-56) *mī* is substituted by *ai*, i.e. *Ai padl wansaid* 'I paddled on one side'. In this example, paddling on one side implies that another potential subject was involved, as someone else most likely paddled on the other side.

(4-56) **Mī**   padl   wan-said.

       1SG   paddle   one-side

       'I paddled on one side.'

(4-57) **Mī**,   laka,   tū.

       1SG   DISC   too

       'Me too.'

As far as the object role is concerned, *mī* is the only pronominal form used for the first person inclusive singular.

(4-58) Tīch-i   **mī**!

       teach-TRS   1SG

       'Teach me!'

(4-59) Yū   tel-i   **mī** fō   kil-i   mai   fō   pikinini.

       2SG   tell-TRS 1SG COMP kill-TRS POSS.PRN four child

       'You told me to kill my four children.'

4.2.1.1.2 First Person Inclusive Dual Pronoun

There exists one first person inclusive dual pronoun, namely, *yūmītū* 'two of us' that functions both as a subject (example (4-60)) and an object (example (4-61)). The combination *yūmītū* comprises the second person singular pronoun *yū* (see subsection 4.2.1.1.6), the first person singular *mī* (see subsection 4.2.1.1.1), and a

bound numeral *tū* 'two' (see subsection 4.4.1). *Yūmītū* also functions in its reduced form *yūmtū* 'the two of us (inclusive)'.

(4-60) **Yūmītū**   mas   kuk-i   dem   crab.

        1DU.INCL   must   cook-TRS   DET   crab

        'The two of us must cook the crabs.'

(4-61) Ōl   kan   it-i   **yūmītū**.

        3PL   cannot   hit-TRS   1DU.INCL

        'They cannot hit the two of us.'

Shnukal (1988, p. 228) notes the existence of *yumitu* in TSC and Crowley and Rigsby (1979, pp. 157-159) observe the use of *yumtu* in Cape York Creole.

The remaining cardinal numerals appear to follow personal pronouns, with the exception of *fõ* 'four', which is found to also precede the first person exclusive plural pronoun *mīpla* without any change to the meaning occurring.

(4-62)

(a) *yūmī trī*	-	'the three of us (inclusive)'
(b) *yūmī fõ*	-	'the four of us (inclusive)'
(c) *mīpla fõ* or *fõ mīpla*	-	'the four of us (exclusive)'
(d) *yupla faiv*	-	'the five of you'
(e) *dembla seven*	-	'the seven of them'

4.2.1.1.3 First Person Inclusive Non-Singular Pronoun

Yūmī is the first person inclusive non-singular pronoun that can function both in the subject and the object role. It is described in subsection 4.2.1.1.2. LRC speakers frequently post-modify *yūmī* either with the indefinite pronoun *ebriwan* 'everyone' or its reduced form *ebran* (see subsection 4.2.2.1). The indefinite pronoun, however, is added only when everyone is included. If not, then just *yūmī* is used. In example (4-63), *yūmī* expresses plurality without specifying that everyone is included. By comparison, in (4-64) the presence of the indefinite pronoun *ebriwan* signals that

everyone is included. It should, however, be noted that the indefinite pronoun never modifies *yūmī* when it functions as an object.

(4-63) Ei, **yūmī** no gad mayi.

hey 1NSG.INCL NEG have food

'Hey, the two of us do not have food.'

(4-64) **Yūmī** ebriwan go kaikai.

1NSG.INCL INDF.PRN FUT eat

'All of us will eat.'

It should be mentioned that *yumpla* constitutes the first-person plural inclusive personal pronoun in TSC (Shnukal, 1988, p. 30), which can be encountered in the speech of those LR residents who come from the Torres Strait or spent some time there.

4.2.1.1.4 First Person Exclusive Dual Pronoun

Mītū 'two of us' is able to function as a subject and an object. *Mītū* consists of the first person inclusive singular pronoun in the object form *mī* 'me' and a numeral *tū* 'two'. In example (4-65), *mītū* is a subject and in (4-66), it occurs in the object role.

(4-65) **Mītū** bi go stō.

1DU.EXCL PST go store

'The two of us went to the store.'

(4-66) Big geing blo demblat bi kam fō it-i **mītū**.

big group POSS 3PL PST come COMP beat-TRS 1DU.EXCL

'Big group of them came to beat the two of us up.'

4.2.1.1.5 First Person Exclusive Plural Pronoun

Mīpla 'all of us' is the first person exclusive plural pronoun used in LRC. It may assume the roles of either a subject or an object. *Mīpla* comprises the first person inclusive singular pronoun in its object form *mī* 'me' and the suffix *-pla*. This suffix, which is related not only to Tok Pisin suffix *-pela*, but also to Bislama and Pijin suffix *-fala* and, as a result, to Pijin contracted form *-fla*, originates from English 'fellow' (Beimers, 2008; Crowley, 2004; Verhaar, 1995). Crowley and Rigsby

(1979, p. 179) note the use of its variant *-pela* in Cape York Creole. Shnukal (1988, p. 182), however, specifies that only *-pla* is present in TSC. The suffix *-bala* is present in Kriol (Sandefur, 1979, p. 86). In example (4-67), *mīpla* functions as a subject. In (4-68), it functions as an object.

(4-67) **Mīpla**   chak-im   gen   ainka.
1PL.EXCL throw.in-TRS again   anchor
'We threw the anchor in again.'

(4-68) Mai   ankel   drop-i   **mīpla**   nade   said.
POSS.PRN uncle   drop-TRS 1PL.EXCL another side
'My uncle dropped us on the other side.'

The inclusion of everyone is achieved when *mīpla* is post-modified by the indefinite pronouns *ebribodi/evribodi* 'everybody'*, ebriwan/evriwan* 'everyone'*, ebribodiwan/evribodiwan* 'everybody' (see subsection 4.2.2.1)*,* and *ōl* 'all', as examples (4-70) and (4-71) show. If not everyone is included, then just *mīpla* is used. *Mīpla* can also be pre-modified by *ebribodi/evribodi*, as example (4-69) demonstrates. The meaning is not dependent on and is not affected by the choice of a particular indefinite pronoun. It should, however, be noted that *mīpla* can only be modified by the indefinite pronouns when it functions as a subject.

(4-69) **Ebribodi** **mīpla**   ūk-i   ōl   fish.
INDF.PRN 1PL.EXCL unhook-TRS DET   fish
'All of us unhooked the fishes.'

(4-70) **Mīpla**   **ebriwan**   slīp   na.
1PL.EXCL INDF.PRN sleep   EMP
'All of us then slept.'

(4-71) **Mīpla**   **ōl**   bi   draib go   dis-wei   lūwid.
1PL.EXCL INDF.PRN PST   drive SV.COME this-way leeward
'We all drove this way leeward.'

4.2.1.1.6 First Person Non-Singular Pronoun

Wī 'we', the presence of which could most likely be attributed to the influence of English, is the first person non-singular pronoun that is most commonly used by LRC speakers. It is a generic personal pronoun, as it does not mark the inclusive-exclusive distinction. It also refers to and is used interchangeably with the first person inclusive and exclusive dual and plural pronouns. As a result, if *wī* co-occurs with one of those pronouns in the same sentence, it always follows them, as examples (4-72) and (4-73) demonstrate. It then functions as an anaphora, as it refers to the first personal pronoun in a sentence. If, however, it were to precede the other personal pronouns, then without any contextual clues it could very well refer not to a specific personal pronoun but to any of them. Thus, in example (4-75), which is example (4-74) with the reversed order, *wī* is the first person non-singular pronoun and not the first person inclusive dual pronoun.

(4-72) **Yūmītū**   kaikai   na   en   **wī**   leden   na.
      1DU.INCL   eat   EMP   CONN   1NSG   lie.down   then
      'The two of us ate and then we laid down.'

(4-73) **Mīpla**   teik-i   nest   eg   **wī**   kaikai.
      1PL.EXCL   take-TRS   nest   egg   1NSG   eat
      'We took eggs that we ate.'

(4-74) **Wī**   kaikai   na   en   **yūmītū**   leden   na.
      1NSG   eat   EMP   CONN   1DU.INCL   lie.down   then
      'We ate and then the two of us laid down.'

Wī 'we' is also used when no other pronouns occur. As examples (4-75a) and (4-75b) demonstrate, the inclusive-exclusive distinction is not specified.

(4-75)

    (a) **Wī**   luk   det   sheip   blo   det   krab.
        1NSG   see   DEM   shape   POSS   DEM   crab
        'We saw that shape of that crab.'

(b) **Wī**   stap   kwait.

   1NSG   remain   quiet

   'We remain quiet.'

4.2.1.1.7 Second Person Singular Pronoun

Yū 'you' functions both as a subject (example (4-76)) and an object (example 4-77)).

(4-76) **Yū**   mas   lisin   fõ   mī.

   2SG   must   listen   PREP   1SG

   'You must listen to me.'

(4-77) Wen   im   grab **yū**,   im   teik   **yū**   go   long-wei   na.

   COMP   3SG   grab 2SG   3SG   take   2SG   SV.GO   long-way   EMP

   'When it grabs you, it takes you far.'

4.2.1.1.8 Second Person Dual Pronoun

Yūtū 'two of you' assumes a role of both a subject (example (4-78)) and an object (example (4-79)). It consists of the second person singular pronoun *yū* 'you' and the numeral *tū* 'two'.

(4-78) **Yūtū**   go   en   loud-im   faya-wud.

   2DU   go   CONN   load-TRS   fire-wood

   'The two of you, go and load the firewood.'

(4-79) I   mait   bait   **yūtū**!

   3SG   might   bite   2DU

   'It (snake) might bite the two of you!'

4.2.1.1.9 Second Person Plural Pronoun

Yūpla 'you all/all of you' functions both as a subject (example (4-80)) and an object (example (4-81)). It consists of the second person singular pronoun *yū* and the suffix *-pla*, which is discussed in subsection 4.2.1.1.5.

(4-80) **Yūpla**   ken   flai   eniwe.

   2PL   can   fly   INDF.PRN

   'You can fly anywhere.'

(4-81) Ai   go   tel   **yūpla**   stōri.

     1SG   FUT   tell   2PL   story

     'I will tell you a story.'

Yūpla may be both pre- and post-modified by the indefinite pronouns *evriwan/ebriwan* and *evribodi/ebribodi* (see subsection 4.2.2.1) when it appears in the subject role. The addition of indefinite pronouns indicates that everyone is included. If not, then just *yūpla* is used. When in the company of indefinite pronouns, it appears best to translate *yūpla* as 'you all/all of you'. Indefinite pronouns are never used when *yūpla* functions as an object.

(4-82) **Yūpla**   **ebriwan**   ged-i   punya   blo   yūpla.

     2PL   INDF.PRN   get-TRS   bag   POSS   2PL

     'You all, get your dillybags.'

(4-83) **Ebribodi yūpla**   kar-i   dem   ting-s   kam   insaid   bout

     INDF.PRN   2PL   carry-TRS   DET   thing-PL   SV.COME   into   boat

     'All of you, carry the things into the boat.'

4.2.1.1.10 Third Person Singular Pronouns

In the function of the third person singular pronoun, the following forms can be encountered: *im, em*, and *i.* All of them reference masculine, feminine, and neuter genders, and can assume the subject role. Although *im* appears to be the most widely and commonly used of them all, as it was used 939 times in the recordings for this project, *i* can also be heard quite frequently, as it was encountered 578 times. *Em*, which was uttered 233 times, is quite noticeable in the speech of Torres Strait Islanders and those LR residents who have a connection with the Torres Strait Islands, either because they were born there or lived there for some time in the past. This could be substantiated by the fact that Shnukal's (1988, p. 30) inventory of TSC pronominal system lists *em* as the sole third person singular pronoun used in the Torres Strait.

(4-84) **Im**   snīz   gen.

     3SG   sneeze   again

     'He sneezed again.'

(4-85) **I** rinkl-i   nous blong im.

   3SG wrinkle-TRS nose POSS 3SG

   'He wrinkled his nose.'

(4-86) **Em** spīk fõ dem fõ   pikinini blong im.

   3SG speak PREP DET four   child POSS 3SG

   'He spoke to his four children.'

Im is the only third person singular pronoun that can be used in the object function. *Im* can be used only to refer to animate objects and subjects, while only full nouns/NPs can be used with inanimate objects and subjects. Thus, in example (4-87), *im* is used, as it refers to an animate referent. By comparison, in example (4-88), the NP *de injin* 'the engine' is used since it represents an inanimate referent.

(4-87) Kam,   yūmītū   go go join-i   **im**.

   come.IMP 1DU.INCL   FUT go join-TRS 3SG

   'Come, the two of us will go and join him.'

(4-88) Mai   brade i put-i   roup raun <u>**de injin**</u>

   POSS.PRN brother PM put-TRS rope PREP   DET engine

   fõ   pul-i   de   injin.

   COMP   pull-TRS   DET engine

   'My brother put rope around the engine to pull the engine.'

4.2.1.1.11 Third Person Dual Pronoun

Demtū 'two of them' functions both as a subject (example (4-89)) and as an object (example (4-90)). It consists of the plural determiner *dem* 'the' and a numeral *tū* 'two'.

(4-89) **Demtū** spīye mõ   tingri.

   3DU   spear more stingray

   'The two of them speared more stingrays.'

(4-90) Em   woch-i   **demtū**   kam   na.

       3SG   watch-TRS   3DU   come   EMP

       'He watched the two of them come.'

4.2.1.1.12 Third Person Plural Pronouns

The subject function of the third person plural pronoun can be expressed by *dempla* and its variants, as well as by *dei* and *ōl. Dempla* consists of the plural determiner *dem* and the suffix *-pla* or its alternative forms *-bla/-blat*, which are discussed in subsections 4.3.1.1 and 4.2.1.1.5, respectively. The function of the third person plural pronoun may also be expressed by *demlot* and its variants, which are the result of compounding the determiner *dem* 'them' and a noun *lot* 'lot'. It is entirely possible that the variants *demblat/damblat* could be a blend of *-pla* and *-lot/-lat* forms. *Dembla* and *demlot*, together with their variants, prevail in the speech of LRC speakers and while they refer to animate subjects and objects, they are not used in relation to inanimate ones. By comparison, it is possible for *dei* and *ōl* to refer not only to animate, but also to inanimate subjects and objects.

(4-91) **Demblat** ab-im   tū   ōl   stōri   we   dei   kantri.

      3PL   have-TRS   too   DET   story   PREP   POSS.PRN   country

      'They also have stories in their country.'

(4-92) **Dei**   krōl   ebriwe   luk-ran   fō   kaikai.

      3PL   crawl   everywhere   look-around   PREP   food

      'They crawl everywhere looking around for food.'

(4-93) **Ōl** wag-abat   stedi~stedi wit   dem   yam prapa hot.

      3PL walk-PROG   steadily~   PREP   DET yam very   hot

      'They were walking really steadily with the very hot yams.'

Shnukal (1988) posits that there is a distinction in TSC between the use of *dempla* and *ol*, where *dempla* pertains only to people "and usually means those people who are distant from the speaker, either physically in space or time, or psychologically, in that they are contrasted with the speaker, felt as different in some way: 'they rather than us'" (p. 31). In comparison, LRC pronoun *ōl* does not appear to possess the same distancing meaning as *dempla* does. When referring to people *ōl*, which is also

used for non-human animate objects and subjects, denotes people in general, while *dempla* and *dei* involve people who are known to all the interlocutors. Although this distinction is present in LRC, it is not always maintained, as *dembla* and *demlot*, together with their variants, as well as *dei* and *ōl* may be used interchangeably when referring to the same subjects in one sentence, as examples (4-94) and (4-95) demonstrate. In (4-94), *dei* serves as an anaphora, as it refers back to its antecedent, i.e. *ōl*. An analogous situation occurs in (4-95), where the function of *ōl* is anaphoric, as it is coreferential with *demblat*.

(4-94) **Ōl** go   klaimap   dem il   antil   **dei** kam   tū

3PL FUT climb.TRS DET hill COMP 3PL come PREP

det   thampu pleis.

DEM yam   place

'They will climb up the hills until they come to that yam place.'

(4-95) **Demblat** ab-i   oun baig, **ōl** put-i   de   mayi   insaid.

3PL   have-TRS own bag   3PL put-TRS DET food   inside

'They had their own bags into which they put the food.'

Dembla and all its variants may express the associative meaning 'and associates, mates, close friends, the people one hangs out with'.

(4-96) Ankel   **dembla** ōl   no   teik-i   plenti   eg.

uncle   3PL   3PL NEG take-TRS   many   egg

'Uncle and his friends did not take many eggs.'

(4-97) Josiah   **dembla** de   standap.

Josiah   3PL   there   stand.up

'Josiah and his friends stand there.'

In addition to using *dempla* and *demlot*, together with their variants, the object function of the third person plural pronoun can also be expressed by *dem* and *im* but not by *dei* and *ōl*. The use of *dem*, which seems to result from the growing exposure to English, may be used for animate objects, as example (4-99) demonstrates.

(4-98) Ai   bi   kil-i   **dembla**.

     1SG   PST   kill-TRS   3PL

     'I killed them.'

(4-99) De   awu   sī   **dem**   kaikai   krab   en   fish   na.

     DET   evil.spirit   see   3PL   eat   crab   CONN   fish   EMP

     'The evil spirit saw them eating crabs and fish.'

4.2.1.1.13 Dual Subject Personal Pronoun

There exists an emphatic expression *tū of dem* 'two of them', which accentuates the notion of duality and constitutes an equivalent of TSC dual personal pronoun *tuwabem* 'both of, the two of' (Shnukal, 1988, pp. 34-35).

(4-100) **Tū of dem**   **demtū**   ōl   stap   we   aus.

     EMP   3DU   3PL   live   PREP   house

     'The two of them live in the house.'

4.2.1.2 Reflexive Personal Pronouns

LRC reflexive personal pronouns indicate that both the subject and the object represent the same entity that performs a given action upon themselves. They appear in singular, dual, and plural numbers, and the inclusive-exclusive distinction is maintained. They can also be used as emphatic, stressed, pronouns meaning 'on my/your/her etc. own', as example (4-103) below demonstrates. They consist of the possessive pronouns (see subsection 4.2.1.3) and the reflexive suffix, the two variants of which are *-selp* and *-self*. Reflexive personal pronouns are listed in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 Reflexive Personal Pronouns

Person	Singular	Dual	Non-Singular	Plural
First Person Inclusive	maiself 'myself'	yūmītūself 'ourselves'	yūmīself 'ourselves'	
First Person Exclusive		mītūself 'ourselves'		mīplaself 'ourselves'

Second Person	yūself 'yourself'	yūtūself 'yourselves'		yūplaself 'yourselves'
Third Person	imself 'himself/herself/itself'	demtūself 'themselves'		demplaself ~ demblatself ~ demself 'themselves'

The following are a few examples that illustrate the use of the reflexive personal pronouns.

(4-101) Bambai ai go elp-i **maiself** āfte ai redi.

later 1SG FUT help-TRS REFL COMP 1SG ready

'I will help myself later after I am ready.'

(4-102) Damblat swim-i **damblatself** we de riba.

3PL wash-TRS REFL PREP DET river

'They washed themselves in the river.'

(4-103) Det smōl gēl put-im klous **imself**.

DET small girl put-TRS clothes REFL

'That little girl dressed herself / on her own.'

As -*selp* is the reflexive suffix used in the Strait (Shnukal, 1988, p. 33), it is not surprising that it is favoured by Torres Strait Islanders residing in LR and occasionally by those LR people who spent some time in the Strait. By comparison, -*self* occurs in the speech of the remaining LR inhabitants. In LRC, it is not customary to use TSC reflexive personal pronoun *wiselp* 'ourselves' (Shnukal, 1988, p. 226), but all other reflexive pronouns referring to 'ourselves' constitute the preferred choice instead. Conversely, TSC-based reflexive pronouns *yūmplaself/yūmplaselp* are in use by Torres Strait Islanders and those LR people who were in the Strait.

4.2.1.3 Possessive Pronouns

LRC possessive pronouns primarily encode information regarding the ownership of a given thing or close association with a given person. They do not function independently as NPs but instead constitute parts of NPs, where they precede the head nouns. They appear in first, second, and third person as well as in singular, dual, and plural number. The inclusive-exclusive distinction also pertains to them. With the exception of the English-derived pronominal forms *is* and *his* 'his', the use of which is marginal and clearly restricted to acrolectal speech, possessive pronouns do not reference gender and are usually unstressed unless special emphasis is placed on them. Thus, when unstressed, they function as clitics. As it is shown in Table 4.4, which provides a summary of LRC possessive pronouns, only the first person singular has a special possessive form, while the other forms just use the objective personal forms.

Table 4.4 Possessive Pronouns

Person	Singular	Dual	Non-Singular	Plural
First Person Inclusive	mai 'my'	yūmītū 'our/of the two of us'	yūmī 'our'	
First Person Exclusive		mītū 'our'		mīpla 'our'
Second Person	yū 'your'	yūtū 'your'		yūpla 'your'
Third Person	im 'his/her/its'	demtū 'their'		dempla ~ demlot ~ demblat 'their'

Examples (4-104) – (4-107) demonstrate the use of the possessive pronouns.

(4-104) **Mai**   brade   bi   meik-i   kemp   de.

        POSS.PRN   brother   PST   make-TRS   campsite   there

        'My brother made a campsite there.'

(4-105) Yū   gada   yūs   **yū**   glasis.

        2SG   have.to   use   POSS.PRN   glasses

        'You have to use your glasses.'

(4-106) Mīpla   faind-i   sneik,   **mīpla**   tīche   law-i   det.

        1PL.EXCL   find-TRS   snake   POSS.PRN   teacher   allow-TRS   DEM

        'We found a snake, our teacher allowed that.'

(4-107) Dem   bēd   dū   **dembla**   oun   ting-s.

        DET   bird   do   POSS.PRN   own   thing-PL

        'The birds do their own things.'

4.2.1.4 Reciprocal Personal Pronoun

Reciprocal personal pronouns indicate that the subject and the object either share a mutual relationship or their behaviour is the same. They fulfil the role of the direct and indirect objects. Two LRC pronouns *wananada/wananade* 'one another, each other', and its variants *wanada/wanade* as well as *īchada* 'each other' denote reciprocity. While the use of the former is congruous with that of TSC pronoun *wananada* in that it may refer not only to two people, but also to more than two people, the use of *īchada* is reserved for just two people. It should also be mentioned that *wananada/wananade* and *wanada/wanade*, which were encountered 47 and 38 times, respectively, in the data, are much more frequently used in comparison with *īchada*, which was used 16 times. *Īchada* seems to be a more recent addition to LRC, most likely in view of the growing exposure to English. In example (4-110), *wananade* follows *īchada* as if to reiterate the reciprocity meaning by means of a more established and fully stabilised LRC reciprocal pronoun. As a result, it could be deduced that the position of *īchada* in LRC has not yet stabilised.

(4-108) Dem   tū   gwana   folo   **wanada**.

        DET   two   goanna   follow   RECP

        'The two goannas followed each other.'

(4-109) Mīpla   luk   fō   **wananade**.

        1PL.EXCL   look   PREP   RECP

        'We looked for one another.'

(4-110) Demtū tēn-i fō **īchada**, **wananade** en ōl spīk.

      3DU turn-TRS PREP RECP RECP CONN 3PL speak

      'The two of them turned to each other, to each other and they said.'

4.2.1.5 Distributive Personal Pronoun

In LRC, the distribution of people, animals or things may be expressed by *wan bai wan* 'one by one', as examples (4-111) and (4-112) demonstrate.

(4-111) Kar-i dembla **wan bai wan**!

      carry.IMP-TRS 3PL DISTR

      'Carry them one by one!'

(4-112) Teik-i dem go **wan bai wan**!

      take.IMP-TRS 3PL SV.GO DISTR

      'Take them one at a time!'

It should be noted that LRC distributive personal pronoun constitutes an equivalent of TSC *wanwan* 'one by one, one at a time, one after another, in single file' (Shnukal, 1988, p. 35).

4.2.2 Non-Personal Pronouns

The following pronouns may be classified as non-personal pronouns:

1. indefinite pronouns
2. demonstrative pronouns
3. interrogative pronouns

4.2.2.1 Indefinite Pronouns

Indefinite pronouns, which are listed in Table 4.5, make a consistent distinction between animate and inaminate referents. The meaning of such indefinite pronouns as, for example, *ebriwan* and *nowan* is synonymous with that of *ebribadi(-wan)* and *noubadi*, respectively, and, as a result, they are used interchangeably. Only *ebriwan* and its reduced form *ebran* may be added to the first person inclusive non-singular

pronoun *yūmī* to accentuate that everybody is included (see subsection 4.2.1.1.3). There also exist two other indefinite pronouns, namely, *ōl* and *ōlgeda*, which denote the meaning 'everyone/everybody/all'.

Table 4.5 Indefinite Pronouns

Indefinite Pronoun	Gloss
ebriwan/ebran	'everyone, everybody'
ebribadi(-wan)	'everybody, everyone'
ebriting	'everything'
enibadi	'anybody, anyone'
eniting	'anything'
nowan	'no-one, nobody'
noubadi	'nobody, no-one'
nating	'nothing'
ōl	'everyone/everybody/all'
ōlgeda	'everyone/everybody/all of them'
sambadi	'somebody, someone'
samting	'something'

Examples (4-113) – (4-116) demonstrate the use of LRC indefinite pronouns.

(4-113) **Ebri-wan**   siden   kloustū   waya   de   faya.

every-one   sit   next.to   PREP   DET   fire

'Everyone sat next to the fire.'

(4-114) Ai   ken   lisin   **sam-ting**   meik-i   nois   waya   de   trap.

1SG   can   hear   some-thing   make-TRS   noise   PREP   DET   trap

'I can hear something making noise in the trap.'

(4-115) Yūpla   faind-i   **eni-ting**?

2PL   find-TRS   any-thing

'Did you find anything?'

(4-116) Dem dog   bin kech-i   de   smel   na   blo   **ōlgeda**.

       DET dog   PST catch-TRS   DET   smell EMP POSS everyone

       'The dogs caught everyone's smell.'

Beimers (2008, p. 96) attempts to analyse the internal composition of Pijin indefinite pronouns and, for that reason, he quotes the view of Schachter (1985, p. 30) that in many languages indefinite pronouns consist of two morphemes, where the first one denotes indefiniteness and the second - refers to a 'person' or 'thing'. Thus, the analysis of the internal structure of LRC indefinite pronouns listed in Table 4.5 shows that with the exception of *ōl* and *ōlgeda* they are built in that way. However, following further the reasoning of Beimers (2008, p. 96), one may ponder two possibilities regarding LRC indefinite pronouns. Firstly, that the numeral 'one' participates in their formation (Haspelmath, 1997, p. 29) and secondly, that those LRC indefinite pronouns containing morpheme -*wan*, namely, *ebriwan* and *nowan* are indeed exact transfers from English. It could very well be that Haspelmath's (1997) postulate that "combinations of a generic ontological-category noun plus an indefiniteness marker have been grammaticalized sufficiently to qualify as real pronouns" (p. 28) holds true for LRC indefinite pronouns.

4.2.2.2 Demonstrative Pronouns

All of the demonstrative pronouns are formed by means of the suffix -*wan* attached to the demonstrative determiners *dis, dat/det*, and *dem*, which are discussed in subsection 4.3.2. They denote two distance dimensions, in accordance with which a person or a thing can be described as either spatially near or far from the speaker. The singular proximal demonstrative pronoun *diswan* has four other variants, namely, *disen/dasan/disan/dasen*, all of which can be frequently encountered in the speech of LR residents. Similarly, the singular distal demonstrative pronoun may appear either as *datwan* or *detwan*, where the shape of *datwan* mirrors TSC demonstrative pronoun *datwan*. As *demwan* is used both for the proximal plural and distal demonstrative pronouns, the distinction is facilitated by the addition of the adverbs (see section 4.8) *ya* 'here' and *de* 'there', which indicate proximity and distance, respectively. *Ya* and *de* serve as NP-internal modifiers and are restricted to

plural NPs, as they help distinguish *dem* used as the plural definite article from *dem* used as the plural demonstrative determiner (see subsection 4.3.2).

Table 4.6 Demonstrative Pronouns

	Singular	**Plural**
Proximal	diswan 'this'	demwan … ya 'these'
Distal	datwan/detwan 'that'	demwan … de 'those'

Examples (4-117) – (4-120) show the use of demonstrative pronouns:

(4-117) **Diswan**   i   kloustū   waya mī.

       DEM.PRN PM   close.to   PREP me

       'This is close to me.'

(4-118) **Datwan**   i   long-wei   from yū.

       DEM.PRN   PM   long-way   PREP you

       'That is far from you.'

(4-119) **Demwan**   ōl   **ya**.

       DEM.PRN   3PL   here

       'These are here.'

(4-120) **Demwan**   ōl   **de**.

       DEM.PRN   3PL   there

       'Those are there.'

4.2.2.3 Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogative pronouns are used to gather information about an unknown referent. They may function as subjects, subject complements, direct and indirect objects, object complements, and prepositional complements. Some of them occur in place of nouns (see section 4.1), NPs (see chapter 5), and clauses that are the focus of questions. Some, however, do not possess that ability, i.e. *au* 'how'. *Uda* 'who' and *uda blo* 'whose' are used in relation to animate antecedents, while *wanim* 'what, which' is used for inanimate referents. Similarly to other pronouns, in addition to

being constituents of a given clause, they are able to form freestanding and independent short utterances. As Table 4.7 demonstrates, some of the interrogative pronouns possess more than one variant. As noted in the introductory remarks to Chapter 3, a considerable phonological variation in LRC stems from the age of its speakers, and their ethnic and linguistic background.

Table 4.7 Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogative Pronoun	Gloss	Questions about
amach	'how much/how many'	quantity
au	'how'	manner
haukam	'how come/why'	reason
uda	'who'	person
uda blo	'whose'	possession
wanim	'what/which'	animal/thing
wanim fō	'what for/why'	purpose
wasmada	'what's the matter/why/what caused'	cause
wataim	'when'	time
we/weya/waya	'where'	location
wen	'when'	time
wich	'which'	choice
wichkain	'how/which kind of/what kind of'	manner/choice
wichwan	'which/which one'	choice
wichkainwan	'which kind/what kind'	choice
wichwei	'how/what/which/which way'	route
worebat	'what about/how about'	inclusion/response/suggestion

Haukam appears at the beginning of interrogative sentences asking about a reason, e.g.:

(4-121) **Hau-kam** yū onli gad tū pikinini blo yū ya?

how-come 2SG only have two child POSS 2SG EMP

'How come you only have two of your children?'

Uda is used in information questions asking about people, e.g.:

(4-122) **Ūda**   smel   stink   nau?

        who   smell badly now

        'Who smells badly now?'

Wanim and its reduced variant *wani* appear at the beginning of those questions that seek information about animals and things, e.g.:

(4-123) **Wanim** rong   we   mīpla?

        what   wrong PREP   1PL.EXCL

        'What is wrong with us?'

Questions about a cause, which refer to the past, necessitate the use of *wasmada* or its variant *wasmara*, e.g.:

(4-124) Wī   stil   kam   bek   ya   we   de   seim pleis. **Wasmada**?

        1NSG CONT come back here PREP DET same place   why

        'We are constantly coming back here to the same place. Why?'

We and its variants *weya* and *waya*, all of which are used interchangeably, occur in questions about location and direction, e.g.:

(4-125) **We**   yūpla?

        where   2PL

        'Where are you?'

Wen, wani taim, and *wataim*, together with its variant *wotaim*, are used interchangeably and appear at the beginning of interrogative sentences seeking information about the time something took place or will happen, e.g.:

 (4-126) **Wen**   wī   go   kaikai?

        when   1NSG FUT   eat

        'When will we eat?'

(4-127) **Wa-taim** gēl blo yū go kam?

What-time daughter POSS 2SG FUT come

'When will your daughter come?'

Wichwei and its variant *wichei* appear in questions asking about the route to be taken, e.g.:

(4-128) **Wich-wei** yū go go?

which-way 2SG FUT go

'How (by what route) will you go?'

Wich and *wichwan*, together with its reduced form *wichan*, appear in questions asking for a choice to be made. *Wich* is used in those questions that list things or animals to be chosen from, as example (4-129) demonstrates. *Wichwan* occurs in questions, where things or animals are not specifically listed, as they are implied by the suffix *-wan*, as example (4-130) shows.

(4-129) **Wich** dres i mō priti?

which dress PM more pretty

'Which dress is prettier?'

(4-130) **Wich-wan** i mō priti?

which-NMLZ PM more pretty

'Which one is prettier?'

Au, together with its variant *hau*, and *wichkain*, which are used interchangeably, occur in interrogative sentences that ask about a manner of doing something, e.g.:

(4-131) **Au** yū kuk-i dampa?

how 2SG cook-TRS damper

'How (in what manner) do you cook damper?'

(4-132) **Wich-kain** yū kuk-i dampa?

which-kind 2SG cook-TRS damper

'How (in what manner) do you cook damper?'

In addition, *wichkain*, together with *wichkainwan,* can also be used in questions asking for a choice to be made. *Wichkain* is used in those questions that list the kinds of things or animals to be chosen from, as example (4-133) demonstrates. *Wichkainwan* occurs in questions, where the kinds of things or animals are not specifically listed, as they are implied by the suffix *-wan*, as example (4-134) shows.

(4-133) **Wich-kain** dāns ōl dū we Lokāt?
which-kind dance 3PL do PREP Lockhart
'Which kind of dance people dance in Lockhart?'

(4-134) **Wich-kain-wan** ōl dāns we Lokāt?
which-kind-NMLZ 3PL dance PREP Lockhart
'Which kind [of dance] people dance in Lockhart?'

4.3 Determiners

This section describes LRC determiners, which can be further divided into the following three groups:

1. articles
2. demonstrative determiners
3. interrogative determiners.

LRC determiners, which constitute a small closed class of function words, modify the referential value of an NP (see Chapter 5). They contain information on the position of the head noun in relation to time or space and on whether the head noun is of a particular or non-particular character. There can only be one determiner within a given NP, where it occupies an initial position.

4.3.1 Articles

Table 4.8, which provides a summary of LRC articles, shows that they only reference singular and plural numbers.

Table 4.8 Articles

	Singular	**Plural**
Definite	de ~ da 'the'	dem (de ~ da) 'the'
Indefinite	wan 'a/an'	ōl 'the (general)'
Generic	ø	ø

The use of articles in LRC is optional, i.e. they may or may not appear within NPs. If present, they usually signal the desire of the speaker to ensure that the listener is fully aware to whom or what the speaker refers. As a result, in example (4-135), the definite singular article *de* 'the' is present, thus drawing attention to the fact that it was a particular man who performed the act of speaking. In example (4-136), the omission of the definite singular article occurs, as the old man has already been introduced in the earlier part of the story and is, therefore, known to the hearer.

(4-135) **De**   ōl   man   spīk.

DET   old   man   speak

'The old man spoke.'

(4-136) <u>Ōl   man</u>   im   kam-at   from   det   wata   andenīt.

old   man   3SG   come-out   PREP   DET   water   underneath

'The old man came out from that water underneath.'

4.3.1.1 Definite Articles

Definite articles mark a noun as a known or previously mentioned referent. Their omission implies a non-particular character of a given referent as well as a lack of its previous mention. Thus, in example (4-137), the definite singular article *de* 'the' makes reference to a particular little boy who was sick and who was mentioned earlier by the storyteller.

(4-137) **De**   smōl   boi   im   sik.

DET   little   boy   3SG   sick

'The little boy is sick.'

As examples (4-138) and (4-139) demonstrate, the definite plural article *dem* not only encodes information regarding the plural number of particular referents, i.e.

friends and oysters, respectively, but also their identifiability, i.e. the friends of a particular person mentioned previously in the story and the oysters that were harvested during a particular fishing trip referred to in the story.

(4-138) Im   no   laik   join-i   **dem** <u>fren</u>   <u>blong</u>   <u>im</u>.

        3SG   NEG   like   join-TRS DET   friend   POSS   3SG

        'He does not like to join his friends.'

(4-139) Mīpla   roust-i   **dem**   <u>oiste</u>.

        1PL.EXCL   roast-TRS DET   oyster

        'We roasted the oysters.'

In addition to functioning as definite singular articles, the article *de*, which was uttered 997 times, and its much less frequently used variant *da*, which was encountered 49 times, may also occur in the role of definite plural article, most likely due to the influence of English. In that case, the context provides information as to the singularity or plurality of the head noun. Thus, in example (4-140), *de*, which precedes *tū flaying foks* 'two flying foxes', is not only functioning as the definite plural article, but it also stresses the fact that the referent, i.e. the two flying foxes, was previously mentioned in the story. *De* in front of *smok* 'smoke' and *bus* 'bush' functions as the definite singular article that draws attention to the fact that a particular smoke came out from a particular bush.

(4-140) **<u>De</u>** <u>tū</u> <u>flaying</u> <u>foks</u> luk-im **<u>de</u>**   <u>smok</u> kam-at   from **<u>de</u>** <u>bus</u>.

       DET two flying fox see-TRS DET smok come-out PREP DET bush

       'The two flying foxes saw the smoke come out from the bush.'

It should, however, be noted that the use of the plural article *dem*, which was uttered 1,195 times, prevails in comparison with *de/da*, which were used 455 times, in this function.

A plural noun does not need to be accompanied by an article, if there is no requirement to define it in any special manner. Thus, in example (4-141), the noun *stōri* 'stories' is not preceded by an article, as the speaker does not need to stress the nature of the stories told to the children.

(4-141) Ai   yān-i   <u>stōri</u>   fõ   dem   pikinini.

        1SG   yarn-TRS   story   PREP   DET   child

        'I yarned stories for the children.'

It is possible to exclude articles when a noun denotes a unique referent. Thus, the article does not occur in examples (4-142) and (4-143) taking into account the fact that there is only one sun and, therefore, there is no need for the article to identify it in any unique fashion.

(4-142) <u>San</u>   i   go-dan   na   leit.

        sun   PM   go-down EMP   late

        'The sun set late.'

(4-143) Put-i   dem   klous   de   autsaid we   <u>san</u>!

        put-TRS.IMP DET   clothes   there outside PREP   sun

        'Put the clothes outside in the sun!'

However, in the sentences similar to example (4-144), the presence of the article is not uncommon and could be caused by the growing exposure to English.

(4-144) <u>**Da**   **san**</u> im   bi   go-dan.

        DET sun 3SG PST   go-down

        'The sun was setting down.'

In example (4-145) the article seems to be necessary, as it not only emphasises definiteness, but it also draws attention to the act of looking at the sun at the time of uttering that sentence. The object role of a noun usually necessitates the presence of the article.

(4-145) Luk   <u>**de**   san de</u>   go-dan   na!

        look.TRS.IMP DET sun there go-down EMP

        'Look at the sun setting down there!'

4.3.1.2 Indefinite Articles

The indefinite singular article *wan* 'a/an' is used when there is no need to identify a referent in any particular way and when the first mention of a referent occurs, as example (4-146) demonstrates.

(4-146) Insaid waya de   trap i   bi   ab-i   **wan** bandikūt, laka.

in   PREP DET trap PM PST have-TRS DET   bandicoot DISC

'There was a bandicoot in the trap.'

It could also be argued that *wan* in that example functions not as the indefinite article but as the numeral 'one' instead. It is the contextual information that provides clarification in doubtful situations. Dryer (2013) notes that the use of the numeral 'one' as an indefite article is a feature characteristic of many languages, e.g. German, Givón (1981, p. 35) narrows down this statement noting that the numeral 'one' in the role of a marker for singular-indefinite nouns constitutes a characteristic feature of creole languages. To substantiate his claim, Givón (1981, pp. 35-36) uses as an example the dialect, to which he refers by means of a term 'Street Hebrew', that he classifies as a creole, as the numeral 'one' introduces referential-indefinite nouns into discourse. The function of 'one' as an indefinite and, therefore, existential marker results from the fact that quantifiers possess the ability to denote referentiality/existence of referents (Givón, 1981, p. 38). However, in opposition to other quantifiers 'one' can also identify referents by their generic properties labelling them as 'one out of many', 'one out of the group' or 'one out of the type' (Givón, 1981, p. 52). As a result, 'one' fulfils those two requirements for introducing referential-indefinite referents into discourse. Thus, in example (4-146), above it is reasonable to assume that the role of *wan* is that of the indefinite article, and not of the numeral, as it is the first mention of a referent, i.e. a bandicoot, in the story. *Wan* also classifies a bandicoot as one out of many bandicoots.

In example (4-147), *wan* also functions as the indefinite article, as it not only introduces the time of the story, i.e. a Saturday afternoon, but it also identifies it as one of many Saturday afternoons.

(4-147) **Wan** Satedei <u>āftenūn</u>   ai   spīk   fõ   mai   femili.

        DET Saturday afternoon 1SG speak PREP POSS.PRN family

        'On a Saturday afternoon I talked to my family.'

Another indefinite article *ōl* is able to express that non-particular meaning both in relation to people and things, as examples (4-148) – (4-151) demonstrate.

(4-148) <u>**Ōl**</u>   pikinini   laik   cheis-i   dog.

        DET   child   like   chase-TRS   dog

        'Children (in general) like chasing dogs.'

(4-149) De   anti   miks-im-ap   waya   wata   laik   <u>**ōl**</u>   ōl   pīpul

        DET   auntie   mix-TRS-up   PREP   water   like   DET   old   people

        yūstū   dū.

        HAB   do

        'Auntie mixed it (cordial) with water like old people (in general) used to do.'

(4-150) <u>**Ōl**</u>   yam   en   wail   ka'ata.

        DET   yam   CONN   wild   karo (yam type)

        'Yams and wild karos (in general).'

(4-151) Mīpla   luk   <u>**ōl**</u>   <u>fish</u>   <u>de</u>   swim   andenīt   ebriwei.

        1PL.EXCL see   DET   fish   there   swim   underneath   everywhere

        'We saw fish (in general) there swimming everywhere.'

When the article *ōl* is removed from example (4-151), a definite meaning is obtained, as a definite set of fish of unspecified quantity was observed.

(4-152) Mīpla   luk   fish   de   swim   andenīt   ebriwei.

        1PL.EXCL see   fish   there   swim   underneath   everywhere

        'We saw fish there swimming everywhere.'

4.3.2 Demonstrative Determiners

The task of LRC demonstrative determiners is to convey referential deixis indicating whether the spatial location of a person or thing is either near or far in relation to the speaker. As Table 4.9 shows, there are four demonstratives in LRC, where the form of the distal singular demonstrative determiner may be either *dat* or *det*. As *dem* is used both for the proximal plural and distal plural nouns, the distinction is facilitated by the addition of the adverbs (see section 4.8) *ya* 'here' and *de* 'there', which indicate proximity and distance, respectively. *Ya* and *de* help distinguish *dem* used as the plural definite article from *dem* used as the plural demonstrative determiner.

Table 4.9 Demonstrative Determiners

	Singular	**Plural**
Proximal	dis 'this'	dem … ya 'these'
Distal	dat/det 'that'	dem … de 'those'

In example (4-153), the proximal singular demonstrative determiner *dis* 'this' precedes the noun *dei* 'day'.

(4-153) Ai   kan   weit   fõ   **dis**   dei   i   kam.

1SG   cannot   wait   for   DEM   day   PM   come

'I cannot wait for this day to come.'

The distal singular demonstrative *det* 'that', which precedes the possessive prepositional phrase *ankel blong im* 'his uncle', is used in example (4-154).

(4-154) **Det**   ankel   blong   im   im   prapa   gud   anta.

DEM   uncle   POSS   3SG   3PL   very   good   hunter

'That uncle of his is a very good hunter.'

In example (4-155), the presence of the adverb *ya* 'here' following the noun *thampu* 'yam' signals the use of the proximal plural demonstrative *dem* N *ya*. Thus, *ya* is not used in the singular number.

(4-155) Put-i **dem** thampu **ya** long-said waya faya!

put-TRS.IMP DEM yam here next.to PREP fire

'Put these yams next to the fire!'

In (4-156) it is the adverb *de* 'there' after *tū boi* 'two boys' that provides information as to the presence of the distal plural demonstrative *dem* N *de*. *De* does not occur in the singular number.

(4-156) Ai woch-i **dem** tū boi **de** plei.

1SG watch-TRS DEM two boy there play

'I am watching those two boys play.'

4.3.3 Interrogative Determiners

Interrogative pronouns, which are discussed in section 4.2.2.3, may also function as interrogative determiners, also known as *wh-* determiners. Both interrogative pronouns and interrogative determiners signal that the focus of a question centres on an NP. However, while interrogative pronouns appear in place of nouns, interrogative determiners occur before the head nouns, with which they form constituents.

(4-157) Im no sabi **wich** dres im laik.

3SG NEG know INTRG.DET dress 3SG like

'She does not know which kind of dress she likes.'

(4-158) Mīpla sabi **wich** kā i mō gud.

1PL.EXCL know INTRG.DET flower PST more good

'We know which car is better.'

4.4 Quantifiers

The following subsections present the class of quantifiers, within which it is possible to distinguish numerals, both cardinal and ordinal, which express the numerical value of the head noun, and those quantifiers that indicate a non-numerical quantity of what is expressed by the head noun.

4.4.1 Numerals

LRC numerals, which exhibit some adjectival properties, act as pre-modifiers within NPs, i.e. they modify a head noun. The following three constraints are valid for numerals. Firstly, not all determiners (see section 4.3) and quantifiers may appear in the company of numerals (example (4-159b)). Secondly, whereas numerals precede adjectives (see section 4.6) within NPs, they are not able to follow adjectives (example (4-160b)). Thirdly, unlike adjectives, numerals do not co-occur with other quantifiers (see subsection 4.4.2) (example (4-161b)).

(4-159)

(a) <u>Dem</u> **<u>tū</u>** <u>boi</u> <u>ya</u> ōl bin go fishing fō malet.
DEM two boy EMP 3PL PST go fishing PREP mallet
'These two boys went fishing for mallet.'

(b) * litilbit tū boi ōl bin go fishing fō malet.
a few two boy 3PL PST go fishing PREP mallet

(4-160)

(a) **<u>Tū</u>** strong <u>boi</u>.
two strong boy
'two strong boys'

(b) *strong tū boi
strong two boy

(4-161)

(a) **<u>Fifti</u>** eg im ley-im.
fifty egg 3SG lay-TRS
'It (turtle) laid fifty eggs.'

(b) *Plenti fifti eg im ley-im.
plenty fifty egg 3SG lay-TRS

4.4.1.1 Cardinal Numerals

LRC cardinal numerals are used for counting people and things. Their summary is provided in Table 4.10.

Table 4.10 Cardinal Numerals

Cardinal Numeral	Gloss
Ziro	'zero'
Wan	'one'
Tū	'two'
Trī	'three'
Fō	'four'
Faib	'five'
siks	'six'
Seben	'seven'
Eit	'eight'
Nain	'nine'
Ten	'ten'
Leben	'eleven'
Twelb	'twelve'
Tētin	'thirteen'
Fōtin	'fourteen'
Fiftin	'fifteen'
Sikstin	'sixteen'
Sebentin	'seventeen'
Eitin	'eighteen'
Naintin	'nineteen'
Twenti	'twenti'
Tēti	'thirty'
Fōti	'forty'
Fifti	'fifty'
Siksti	'sixty'
Sebenti	'seventy'
Eiti	'eighty'
Nainti	'ninety'
Andred	'hundred'
Tauzen	'thousand'
Milien	'million'

It is possible for LRC cardinal numerals to either follow (example (4-162)) or precede (example (4-163)) pronouns. It should be noted that the most common scenario involves cardinal numerals appearing after pronouns, as is the case in example (4-162). This rule, however, does not pertain to common nouns, as cardinal numerals always precede common nouns (see subsection 4.4.1.3).

(4-162) Lās Satedei <u>mīpla</u> **<u>fō</u>** bi go wif bout blong im.

last Saturday 1PL.EXCL four PST go PREP boat POSS 3SG

'Last Saturday, we four went (fishing) in his boat.'

(4-163) **<u>Fō</u>** <u>mīpla</u> bi go.

four 1PL.EXCL PST go

'The four of us went.'

Structurally, the numerals consist of either a single numeral or they function as compounds that comprise more than one numeral. Thus, in examples (4-164) and (4-165), there are single numerals, namely, *faib* 'five', *trī* 'three', and *twelb* 'twelve'. In example (4-165), a compound numeral *tētifaib* 'thirty-five' consists of two single numerals, *tēti* 'thirty' and *faib* 'five'. LRC uses the English number system.

(4-164) Mīpla ker-i-bat **<u>faib</u>** kreifish en **<u>trī</u>** lobsta.

1PL.EXCL carry-TRS-PROG five crayfish CONN three lobster

'We were carrying five crayfish and three lobsters.'

(4-165) De taim i bin go pas **<u>twelb</u>** oklok.

DET time PM PST go past twelve o'clock

'It was past twelve o'clock.'

(4-166) Mīpla siden weit fõ **<u>tēti-faib</u>** minit.

1PL.EXCL sit wait PREP thirty-five minute

'We sat waiting for twenty, thirty-five minutes.'

(4-167) **<u>tū</u>** **<u>andred</u>** **<u>siksti-nain</u>**

two hundred sixty-nine

'two hundred sixty nine'

(4-168) **<u>seben</u>** **<u>tauzen</u>** **<u>twenti-trī</u>**

seven thousand twenty-three

'seven thousand twenty-three'

It is also possible for two numerals, where the lower one precedes the higher one to form a complex numeral that denotes a non-particular meaning. Two consecutive numerals very often form such compounds, e.g.: *tūtrī* 'two or three', as example (4-169) shows. *Tutri* 'two or three' also exists in Bislama and TSC (Crowley, 2004; Shnukal, 1988).

(4-169) **tūtrī**   taim   we   wīk

        two.three   time   PREP   week

        'two or three times per week.'

Only one numeral, namely, *wan* 'one' has been noted to undergo the reduplication process to indicate distribution. In its reduplicated form *wanwan* is always accompanied by the quantifier *īch* 'each' (see subsection 4.4.2), e.g.:

(4-170) Gib-i   demblat   **wan~wan**   **īch**!

        give.IMP-TRS   3PL   one~   each

        'Give them one each!'

4.4.1.2 Ordinal Numerals

The function of LRC ordinal numerals, which precede head nouns, is to specify the numerical order, in which people and things appear. Table 4.11 summarises ordinal numerals.

Table 4.11 Ordinal Numerals

Ordinal Numeral	Gloss
fas	'first'
seken / nambatū	'second'
tēd / nambatrī	'third'
fōt / nambafō	'fourth'
fift / nambafaib	'fifth'
sikst / nambasiks	'sixth'
sebent / nambaseben	'seventh'
eit / nambaeit	'eight'
naint / nambanain	'ninth'
tent / nambaten	'tenth'

lebent / nambaleben	'eleventh'
twelb / nambatwelb	'twelfth'
tētīnt / nambatētīn	'thirteenth'
fōtīnt / nambafōtīn	'fourteenth'
fiftīnt / nambafiftīn	'fifteenth'
sikstint / nambasikstin	'sixteenth'
sebentīnt / nambasebentīn	'seventeenth'
eitīnt / nambaeitīn	'eighteenth'
naintīnt / nambanaintīn	'nineteenth'
twentiet / nambatwenti	'twentieth'
tētiet / nambatēti	'thirtieth'
fōtiet / nambafōti	'fortieth'
fiftiet / nambafifti	'fiftieth'
sikstiet / nambasiksti	'sixtieth'
sebentiet / nambasebenti	'seventieth'
eitiet / nambaeiti	'eightieth'
naintiet / nambanainti	'ninetieth'
andredt / nambaandred	'hundredth'
tauzendt / nambatauzen	'thousandth'
milient / nambamilien	'millionth'

Ordinal numerals assume either of the two following forms. Firstly, as example
(4-171) shows, all of them may mirror their English equivalents, where the
word-final /t/ substitutes for /θ/ in ordinal numerals from 'fourth' onwards, with the
exception of 'twelfth', where /θ/ is deleted. Secondly, as example (4-172) indicates,
apart from 'first' all of LRC ordinal numerals may be in the form of compounds
created by conjoining the noun *namba* 'number' with an appropriate cardinal
numeral. This is because in LRC, *nambawan* is not an ordinal numeral 'first' but an
adjective meaning 'best, excellent', instead, as example (4-173) demonstrates. 'First'
is expressed in LRC as *fas* or by any of its variants *pas, fẽst*, and *fes*, as example
(4-174) demonstrates.

(4-171) Tūmora   i   gad   **eitīnt**   bēdei   pāti   blo   det   gēl.

tomorrow   PM have eighteenth birthday party POSS DEM girl

'Tomorrow there is going to be that girl's eighteenth birthday party.'

(4-172) Det   ōl   man   im   **namba-tū**   ōld-est   man   waya   Lokāt.

DEM old man 3PL number-two old-est   man   PREP   Lockhart

'That old man is the second oldest man in Lockhart.'

(4-173) Prapa   gud   minya, prapa   gud   mit,   **namba-wan**   taka.

very   good   meat   really   good   meat   number-one   tucker

'Very good meat, really good meat, the best tucker.'

(4-174) Boi   blo   mi   bi   abi   **fās** bēdei   pāti   lās   Sandei.

son   POSS   1SG   PST have   first birthday party   last   Sunday

'My son had his first birthday party last Sunday.'

4.4.2 Quantifiers

This subclass indicates the amount of a referent expressed by a head noun. Quantifiers form a full NP when paired with head nouns, which they precede, and they cannot appear in the company of determiners. Quantifiers can also be followed by adjectives. Table 4.12 provides a summary of quantifiers.

Table 4.12 Quantifiers

Quantifiers	Gloss
āf	'half'
ebri	'every/each'
eni	'any'
īch	'each/every'
inaf	'enough'
litilbit	'a little bit/a few/a couple'
ōl	'all'
ōlgeda	'all of'
plenti	'plenty/many/much/a lot/lots'

sam	'some/a few'
tūmach/tūmani	'too much/too many/much/many/a lot/lots'

In examples (4-175) – (4-177), all of the quantifiers precede the nouns.

(4-175) **Ebri**   wīkend   mīpla   stap   de   autsaid.

        every   weekend   1PL.EXCL   stay   there   out

        'Every weekend we stay out there.'

(4-176) Demtū prapa gud anting dog fō   kech-i   **eni** bush-taka.

        3DU   very good hunting dog COMP catch-TRS any bush-tucker

        'The two of them are good hunting dogs for catching any bush tucker.'

(4-177) Ai   bi   breik-i   **litilbit**   dampa.

        1SG   PST   break-TRS   little.bit   damper

        'I broke a little bit of damper off.'

4.4.2.1 Quantifiers and Pronouns

It should be noted that *plenti*, *tumach/tumas/tumani*, and *litilbit* possess the ability to function as post-pronominal modifiers, as examples (4-178) – (4-181) demonstrate.

(4-178) yūpla   **plenti**

        2PL   a.lot

        'a lot of you'

(4-179) dempla   **plenti**

        3PL   plenty

        'plenty of them'

(4-180) dempla   **tūmach**

        3PL   too.many

        'too many of them'

(4-181) mīpla   **litilbit** ya

        1PL.EXCL some here

        'some of us here'

In example (4-181) above, *litilbit* is used instead of *sam* 'some', as in LRC, it is incorrect to say *sam mipla, which constitutes a correct expression in TSC (Shnukal, 1988, p. 29).

In LRC, *ōlgeda* may act both as a pre- and post-pronominal modifier, as examples (4-182) and (4-183), respectively, show, while in TSC, *ōlgeda* is a pre-pronominal modifier.

(4-182) **ōlgeda**   yūmī

       all.of   1NSG.INCL

       'all of us'

(4-183) yūmī   **ōlgeda**

       1NSG.INCL   all of

       'all of us'

4.4.3 Numeral-Determiner Constraints

As noted in subsection 4.4.1, not all of LRC determiners can occur before numerals, in spite of the fact that a wide range of determiners are able to precede numerals. Apart from both the singular articles *de/da* 'the' and *wan* 'a, an', all the plural articles are able to precede numerals. Thus, in examples (4-184), (4-185), and (4-186), the articles *de, dem*, and *ōl* precede the numerals *tū* 'two', *fō* 'four', and *twelb* twelve', respectively.

(4-184) Ōl   folo   <u>de</u>   **<u>tū</u>**   <u>dog</u>   waya skrab.

       3PL   follow   DET   two   dog   PREP shrub

       'They followed the two dogs to the shrub.'

(4-185) Kutini   bin spīk fō   <u>dem</u> **<u>fō</u>**   <u>kā'i</u> <u>blong</u> <u>im</u>.

       cassowary PST talk PREP DET   four   baby POSS 3SG

       'A cassowary talked to the four babies of his.'

(4-186) <u>Ōl</u>   **twelb**   <u>boi</u>   ōl   go   kam waya big   geing blo

DET   twelve   boy   3PL   FUT come PREP big   gang POSS

demblat fō   it-i   yūmītū.

3PL   COMP beat-TRS   1DU.INCL

'The twelve boys will come with their big gangs to beat the two of us.'

All demonstrative and some interrogative determiners as well as all possessive pronouns may precede numerals. Thus, in example (4-187), the demonstrative *det* 'that' appears in front of the numeral *wan* 'one' and the definite plural article *dem* 'the' precedes the numeral *tū* 'two'. In example (4-188), the possessive pronoun *mai* 'my' is in front of the numeral *tū* 'two'.

(4-187) Ōl   faind-i   <u>traik</u>   blo   **det   wan**   <u>pōkyupain</u> en

3PL   find-TRS tracks POSS DEM one   porcupine CONN

dem   tū   <u>gwana</u>.

DET   two   goanna

'They found the tracks of that one porcupine and the two goannas.'

(4-188) **Mai**   **tū**   <u>kazin</u>   demtū   bi   kam   tū.

POSS.PRN two cousin 3DU   PST   come too

'My two cousins also came.'

As examples (4-189) – (4-191), demonstrate, the quantifiers *ebri* 'every/each', *ōl* 'all', and *ōlgeda* 'all of' are able to accompany numerals, while the remaining quantifiers do not possess that ability.

(4-189) Dembla kar-i   **ebri   fō**   <u>baig</u>.

3PL   carry-TRS   every four bag

'They carried every four of the bags.'

(4-190) Demtū spīye   **ōl   faib** krab   en   **ōl   seben** <u>tingri</u>.

3DU   spear all   five crab CONN all   seven stingray

'The two of them speared all five crabs and all two stingrays.'

(4-191) Ōl   bi   kech-i   **ōlgeda** **trī**   pikinini   piglet.

3PL   PST   catch-TRS   all.of   three   baby   piglet

'They caught all of the three piglets.'

4.5 Adjectives

This section discusses adjectives, their morphology, including compound adjectives and the nominalising suffix -*wan* used to derive nouns from adjectives that is followed by the description of the adjectival reduplication.

LRC adjectives, which occur pre-nominally, provide information on the nominal qualities and states such as shape, taste, size, colour or judgements. Their form remains unchanged irrespective of the number expressed by nouns modified by them. When more than one nominal quality needs to be expressed, adjectives may appear in a string and then they may or may not be separated by coordinators, as examples (4-195) and (4-196), respectively, demonstrate. When used attributively, they follow determiners and numerals if those are present and precede nouns, to which they assign given qualities and characteristics (examples (4-192), (4-193), and (4-194)).

(4-192) Kutini   bin   meik-i   **big** faya   fō   kuk-i   mayi.

cassowary   PST   make-TRS   big   fire   COMP   cook-TRS   food

'A cassowary made a big fire to cook food.'

(4-193) Mīpla   bi   ab-i   **gud**   dine   de   autsaid.

1PL.EXCL   PST   have-TRS   good   dinner   there   out

'We had a good dinner out there.'

(4-194) Dem   **ōl**   pīpul   ōl   bi   dū   dem-kain   ting.

DET   old   people   3PL   PST   do   DET-kind   thing

'The old people did those kinds of things.'

(4-195) <u>Prapa nais, **klīn**, kristl **klie** wata</u>.

very nice clean crystal clear water

'Very nice, clean, crystal clear water.'

(4-196) <u>**Nais** en **jūsi** en **fat** oiste</u>.

nice CONN juicy CONN fat oyster

'Nice and juicy and fat oysters.'

In addition, adjectives may be used predicatively. In that case, they follow the resumptive pronouns (see Chapter 7). The following sentences show the predicative use of adjectives.

(4-197) De smōl boi <u>im **sik**</u>.

DET little boy 3PL sick

'The little boy is sick.'

(4-198) Da san <u>im bin prapa **swīt** en **wōm**</u>.

DET sun 3SG PST very sweet CONN warm

'The sun was very sweet and warm.'

(4-199) De wata <u>im prapa **spring**, **crisp**, **nais** en **klīn**</u>.

DET water 3SG very springlike crispy nice CONN clean

'The water is very springlike, crispy, nice, and clean.'

However, adjectives from Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila can also be encountered in LRC, for example, *katha* 'rotten' (Hill & Thompson, 2013, Book 10, p. 6) appears in (4-200).

(4-200) Yūpla smel stink, **katha** smel.

2PL smell badly rotten smell

'You smell badly, rotten smell.'

4.5.1 Morphology of Adjectives

The adjectival morphological processes involve compounding and the nominalising suffix -*wan* used to derive nouns from adjectives.

4.5.1.1 Compound Adjectives

Some adjectives underwent the historical process of compounding, as a result of which adjectives are conjoined with other word classes. In example (4-201), *nogud* 'bad, lousy, terrible' constitutes a compound of the negative particle *no* and the adjective *gud* 'good'.

(4-201) Dei   bi   teik-i   ōl   de   **nogud**   staf   aut.

3PL   PST   take-TRS   all   DET bad   stuff   out

'They took all the bad stuff out.'

Similarly, *stronged* 'headstrong, stubborn, pig-headed, strong-willed' and *strongmaut* 'loud-mouthed, big-mouthed' are a result of compounding the adjective *strong* with the nouns *ed* 'head' and *maut* 'mouth', respectively, while *beliful* 'full stomach' consists of the noun *beli* 'belly, stomach' and the adjective *ful* 'full' (see also subsection 4.5.1.2 example (4-214), which indicates that *stronged* and *strongmaut* are in fact adjectives and not nouns).

(4-202) Em   **strong-ed**,   prapa   **strong-ed**.

3SG   strong-head,   very   strong-head

'He is stubborn, very stubborn.'

(4-203) Im   bin   prapa   **strong-maut**.

3SG   PST   very   strong-mouth

'He was very loud-mouthed.'

(4-204) Ōl   bin   kaikai til   ebriwan   bin   **beli-ful**,   laka.

INDF.PRN PST   eat   COMP   INDF.PRN PST   belly-full DISC

'Everyone ate till everyone was full.'

In examples (4-205) and (4-206), the compounding of the adjective *long* 'long, tall' with the noun *wei* 'way' resulted in the formation of the adjective *longwei* 'distant, far, remote'.

(4-205) Mīpla   wag-abat~wagabat~wagabat~wagabat prapa **long-wei** pleis.

1PL.EXCL walk-PROG~   very   long-way place

'We were walking to a very distant place.'

(4-206) Ōlgeda   wag-abat   **long-wei**,   laka,   pleis.

all.of.them   walk-PROG   long-way   DISC   place

'All of them walked to a distant place.'

A number of adjectives stem from compounding of the noun *kain* 'kind, sort' with other word classes, e.g. the adjectives (*seim* 'same') and determiners (*ōl* 'all' and *dem* 'the'), as examples (4-207) - (4-209), respectively, demonstrate.

(4-207) Mīpla   gad-im   de   **seim-kain**   ting.

1PL.EXCL   have-TRS   DET   same-kind   thing

'We have the same kinds of things.'

(4-208) Ebribodi   roust-i   fish,   kaikai   **ōl-kain**   krab.

INDF.PRN   roast-TRS   fish   eat   all-kind   crab

'Everybody roasted fish, ate all kinds of crabs.'

(4-209) Ibin   tūdei   tū   mīpla   stil   go   anting   fō

even   today too   1PL.EXCL   CONT go   hunting   for

dem-kain   ting.

DET-kind   thing

'Even also today we still go hunting for those kinds of things.'

Compounds may also be formed with the noun *taim* 'time', which in examples (4-210) and (4-211) combines with adjectives and other nouns.

(4-210) Ankel   bi   tel-i   dembla   **long-taim**   stōri.

uncle   PST   tell-TRS   3PL   long-time   story

'Uncle told them an old story.'

(4-211) Ai   gedap   fō   toilet,   **nai-taim**   toilet.

1SG   get.up   PREP toilet,   night-time   toilet

'I got up to go to the toilet, night visit to the toilet.'

4.5.1.2 Nominalising Suffix *-wan*

LRC adjectives, including the reduplicated ones (see subsection 4.6.2), undergo nominalisation when they are suffixed with *-wan*. As noted in subsection 4.1.3.2.1, nouns formed that way are usually translated into English by means of 'one'.

(4-212) De   tū   **smōl-wan**   spīk.

      DET   two   small-NMLZ   speak

      'The two little ones speak.'

(4-213) Im   bin   **gud-wan**   en   **big-wan**   tū.

      3SG   PST   good-NMLZ   CONN   big-NMLZ   too

      'He was a good one and a big one too.'

Both polysyllabic (including reduplicated) adjectives (see subsection 4.6.2), and compound adjectives may be suffixed with *-wan*, as examples (4-214) - (4-217) demonstrate.

(4-214) De   litil   flaying   foks   prapa   **strong-ed-wan**.

      DET   little   flying   fox   very   strong-head-NMLZ

      'The little flying fox was a very headstrong one.'

(4-215) If   de   eg   i   flout,   i   **no-gud-wan**.

      COMP   DET   egg   PM   float   3SG   NEG-good-NMLZ

      'If the egg floats, it is a bad one.'

(4-216) Nomō   tach-im,   i   **poizones-wan**,   i   mait   bait-i   yū!

      CESS   touch-TRS   3SG   poisonous-NMLZ   3SG   might   bite-TRS   2SG

      'Stop touching it (snake), it is a poisonous one, it might bite you!'

(4-217) Mīpla   loud-i   tūmach   en   i   **big~big-wan**   tū.

      1PL.EXCL   load-TRS   lots   CONN   PM   big~INT-NMLZ   too

      'We loaded lots (oysters) and big ones too.'

4.5.1.3 English-Lexified Adjectives

The majority of adjectives come from English and more and more English adjectives are constantly being adopted and used by the LR inhabitants, e.g.:

(4-218) Yūpla mas go en stap de autsaid we

2PL must go CONN live there out PREP

tradishinal pleis.

traditional place

'You must go and live out there in the traditional place.'

(4-219) Fūd i veri **ekspensiv**.

food PM very expensive

'Food is very expensive.'

(4-220) Mīpla wani pikinini blo mīpla strong

1PL.EXCL want child POSS 1PL.EXCL strong

en **helfi** autsaid we bush.

CONN healthy out PREP bush

'We want our children to be strong and healthy out there in the bush.'

(4-221) Meibī mīpla ab-i **solā** sistem autsaid de tū.

maybe 1PL.EXC have-TRS solar system out there too

'Maybe we will have a solar system out there too.'

4.5.2 Reduplication

The adjectival reduplication process involves full adjectival forms. The meaning of the reduplicated adjectives may be twofold, where reduplication may signal both meanings simultaneously. Firstly, they denote the intensification of the quality, property or state expressed by the adjective in its basic unreduplicated form.

(4-222) Ōl gad-i ōl **fresh~fresh** chambangi.

3PL have-TRS DET fresh~INT cumbangi

'They have really fresh cumbangi.'

Secondly, adjectives may undergo reduplication when they modify plural nouns, as unreduplicated ones are associated with singular nouns. The reduplicated adjectives possess the meaning 'many' in this case.

(4-223) Dis   stōri   bat   **smōl~smōl**   flaying   foks.

DEM   story   about   small~PL.INT   flying   fox

'This story is about many very small flying foxes.'

(4-224) Yūmītū   go   loud-i   ōl   **big~big**   oiste.

1DU.INCL   FUT   load-TRS   DET   big~PL.INT   oyster

'The two of us will load many very big oysters.'

Adjectival reduplication also expresses intensification with clearly singular referents, as examples (4-225) and (4-226) demonstrate.

(4-225) Mipla   bi   chak-i   lain

1PL.EXCL   PST   throw-TRS   fishing.line

kloustū   det   **big~big**   stoun.

close.to   DEM   big~SG.INT   stone

'We threw a fishing line close to that very big stone.'

(4-226) Ai   bi   brei-ki   det   **big~big**   stik.

1SG   PST   break-TRS   DEM   big~SG.INT   stick

'I broke that really big stick.'

4.6 Prepositions

LRC prepositions constitute a small closed class of function words, the task of which is to describe relationships between people, things, and events, i.e. between the primary elements of the sentence. In a sentence prepositions precede NPs within prepositional phrases (PPs) (see Chapter 5), where they function as heads. The following three types of prepositions may be distinguished in LRC:

1. simple prepositions
2. adverbs in the role of prepositions
3. complex prepositions.

However, as the latter two types employ adverbs to perform the function of heads of PPs they are described in section 5.4.

4.6.1 Simple Prepositions

Eighteen simple prepositions have been observed to be used in LRC. Such an impressive and wide array of prepositions can most likely be attributed to the increasing and ongoing influence of English, as many of those prepositions not only constitute duplicates of their English equivalents, but also do not exist in other creole languages of the Pacific basin. Although the outline of the simple prepositions is provided in Table 4.13, three of them are characterised by greater frequency, namely, *blo/blong, fõ,* and *waya/weya/we*; these are discussed in the following subsections.

Table 4.13 Simple Prepositions

Preposition	Gloss
bai	'by'
bat	'about'
blong/blo	'of/belonging to'
et	'at'
fõ	'for/to/in/because of'
from	'from/because of'
frū	'through'
in	'in'
intū	'into'
kros	'across'
laik	'like'
long/lo	'along/on/in/at/with/through'
of	'of'
ōlsem	'like/as/similar to/kind of/reminiscent of'
past	'past'
tū	'to'
waya/weya/we	'with/in/on/at'

wif	'with'

In examples (4-227) – (4-229), prepositions precede noun phrases (NPs) (see Chapter 5).

(4-227) Ōl   bin   kold, laka, en   shive **from**   det   nait.

        3PL   PST   cold   DISC   CONN shiver PREP   DEM   night

        'They were cold, poor things, and shivered because of that night.'

(4-228) Em   bin   kolekt-i   ani   **in**   flawa   dram.

        3SG   PST   collect-TRS   honey PREP   flower drum

        'He collected honey in the flower drum.'

(4-229) Im   swīt   **ōlsem**   ani.

        3SG   sweet   PREP   honey

        'It is sweet like honey.'

4.6.1.1 *Blong/Blo*

As noted in subsection 4.2.1.3, possession may be expressed by possessive pronouns and with the use of the preposition *blo*/*blong* followed by an obligatory overt object NP. Both *blong* and *blo* are used in formal and informal speech, where *blong* always precedes words beginning with vowels, while *blo* appears when the next word is consonant-initial.

Possession, ownership, and close association are the primary meanings expressed by *blong/blo*, which provide an answer to the question 'whose?'. The following main pattern can be observed to occur in LRC possessive constructions involving the use of *blong/blo*, where the possessor PP (formed with the preposition *blong/blo*) follows the possessed NP:

POSSESSED NP + *BLONG/BLO* + POSSESSOR NP

(4-230) Mīpla   chak-i   swaig **blo**   mīpla   insaid   bout.

        1PL.EXCL throw-TRS   swag   POSS   1PL.EXCL   into   boat

        'We threw our swags into the boat.'

(4-231) Ōl   ran   fās   kech-i   <u>de smel **blo** de smōl boi</u>.

3PL   run   fast catch-TRS DET smell POSS DET little boy

'They ran fast catching the smell of the little boy.'

However, an alternate pattern does occur when the possessive pronouns functioning as possessors follow *blong/blo* and precede the possessed NPs:

BLONG/BLO + POSSESSOR POSSESSIVE PRONOUN + POSSESSED NP

(4-232) Dasan   **blo**   yū   buk.

DEM   POSS   POSS.PRN   book

'This is your book.'

(4-233) **blong**   im   ai

POSS   POSS.PRN   eye

'her eyes'

In spite of the fact that *blong/blo* is also used to denote the four concepts listed below, the abbreviation POSS is used for all of them, as the primary function of this preposition is to indicate the possessive relationship.

a.   membership:

(4-234) <u>mipla   **blo**   dis   mob   ya</u>

1PL.EXCL POSS   DEM   group here

'we in this group here'

b.   purpose:

(4-235) <u>kī   **blo**   kā</u>

key   POSS   car

'car key'

c.   origin:

(4-236) <u>Man   **blo**   ya</u>   im   bi   go   Cairns.

man   POSS   here   3SG   PST   go   Cairns

'A man from here went to Cairns.'

d. part of a larger whole:

(4-237) Det riba i kam-at de waya <u>maut</u> **blo** <u>Klōdi</u> <u>Riba</u>.
DEM river PM come-out there where mouth POSS Claudie River
'That river flows out there, where the mouth of the Claudie River is.'

4.6.1.2 *Fō*

Fō, which may be translated into English by means of 'for, to, about, because of, as, on behalf of', is yet another preposition that denotes more than one meaning. Firstly, *fō* expresses goal, namely, the objective of a given action or event. Here it answers the question 'for what?', e.g.:

(4-238) Yūpla go lukran **fō** thampu en ka'ata.
2PL FUT look PREP yam CONN karo
'You will look for yams and karos.'

(4-239) Em bin boil-i sam fish **fō** sūp.
3SG PST boil-TRS some fish PREP soup
'She boiled some fish for a soup.'

Secondly, *fō* indicates a beneficiary of a given action or event. It answers the question 'for whom?' in this case. Thus, *dem pikinini* 'the children' and *yūmītū* 'the two of us' in the respective examples (4-240) and (4-241) are beneficiaries of the actions of yarning a story and getting food, respectively.

(4-240) Ai yān-i stōri **fō** dem pikinini.
1SG yarn-TRS story PREP DET child
'I yarned a story for the children.'

(4-241) Yūpla go ged-i kaikai **fō** yūmītū.
2PL FUT get-TRS food PREP 1DU.INCL
'You will get food for the two of us.'

4.6.1.3 *Waya/Weya/We*

In LRC, *we* and its variants *waya/weya* indicate location and can be translated into English by means of a number of prepositions such as 'along, on, in, at, with,

through, per'. Similarly to *blong/blo* and *fō*, they also express a wide range of meanings that place people or things in relation to one another in space or time, e.g.:

a. location ('in, on, at'):

(4-242) Ōl   leyi   eg   **we**   **det**   **nest**.

3PL   lay-TRS   egg   PREP   DEM   nest

'They lay eggs in that nest.'

(4-243) Mīpla   weit   **we**   **de**   **sanbīs** na.

1PL.EXCL wait   PREP   DET   beach   EMP

'We then waited on the beach.'

(4-244) Im   de   standap   **waya**   **dō**.

3SG   there   stand   PREP   door

'She stands there at the door.'

b. addressee ('to'):

(4-245) Ōl tōk   **we**   **mī**.

3PL   talk   PREP   me

'They talked to me.'

c. instrument ('with'):

(4-246) Im   kat-i   de   said   blo   tētil   na   **we**   **naif**.

3SG   cut-TRS DET side   POSS turtle EMP PREP   knife

'He cut the side of the turtle with the knife.'

d. accompaniment ('with'):

(4-247) Im stap waya plein kantri **waya** dem tū pikinini   blong   im.

3SG live PREP plain country PREP DET two child   POSS   3SG

'He lives in the plains with his two children.'

e.   goal ('to'):

(4-248)   Mīpla   draib   go   **we**   sanbīs.

1PL.EXCL   drive   SV.GO   PREP   beach

'We drove to the beach.'

f.   source ('of, out of, because of'):

(4-249)   Im   krai,   laka,   **waya** wūnd.

3SG   cry   DISC   PREP   wound

'He cried because of the wound.'

g.   time or duration ('on, for, per'):

(4-250) Ōl   wag-abat   de   **we**   trī   dei.

3PL   walk-PROG   there   PREP   three   day

'They walked there for three days.'

4.7 Verbs

LRC verbs, which function as heads of verb phrases (VPs) (see Chapter 6) and the main elements of predicates (see Chapter 7), express actions, states, processes, occurrences, and relations between things/people.

The following two types of verbs may be distinguished in LRC:

1. transitive verbs
2. intransitive verbs.

4.7.1 Transitive Verbs

LRC transitive verbs are characterised by the fact that they require an overt or non-overt object NP to follow them. In examples (4-251) – (4-254), overt object NPs follow transitive verbs.

(4-251) Yū   bin   **trik-i**   mīpla.

2SG   PST   trick-TRS   1PL.EXCL

'You tricked us.'

(4-252) Ōl   man   **sheik-i**   ed   blong im.

old   man   shake-TRS   head POSS   3SG

'The old man shook his head.'

(4-253) Ōl   dem   flaying   foks   **lik-im**   lip   blo   demblat.

all   DET   flying   fox   lick-TRS lip   POSS 3PL

'All the flying foxes lick their lips.'

(4-254) Mīpla   **sher-im**   ōl dem fish we   de   famli   blo   mīpla.

1PL.EXCL share-TRS all DET fish PREP DET family POSS 1PL.EXCL

'We shared all the fish with our family.'

In examples (4-255) – (4-257), non-overt object NPs, which are known from the context or an earlier mention, are involved. In examples (4-255) and (4-257), the non-overt object NPs are known from the context. In (4-256), the overt object NP *de injin* 'the engine' is mentioned in the first part of the sentence.

(4-255) Ol   man   **kat-im**   ebri   dei.

old   man   cut-TRS   every day

'The old man cut them (flowers) every day.'

(4-256) Mai   brade   i   **stāt-i**   de   injin,

POSS.PRN brother   PM   start-TRS   DET engine

trai tū   **meik-im** go   stāt bat i   no bi wēk.

try COMP make-TRS SV.GO start CONN 3SG NEG PST work

'My brother started the engine, tried to make it start, but it did not work.'

(4-257) Im   **kar-im**   go,   **put-im**   de

           3SG   carry-TRS   SV.GO   put-TRS   there

           andenīt,   laka,   we   det   sheidi   trī   de.

           underneath   DISC   PREP   DET   shady   tree   there

           'He carried him (bat) there, put him (bat) there, poor thing, underneath

            that shady tree there.'

4.7.1.1 Transitive Verb Morphology

In examples (4-255) – (4-257) above, verbs are affixed with the transitive suffix *-im/-i*, which signals that the verb is transitive. Originally, the 3SG object pronoun *em* or *im* used to be a free morpheme, which followed transitive roots (Lynch, 2010, p. 229). However, as its frequent use resulted in the proportionally frequent occurrence of the structure verb + *em/im*, it consequently became a bound morpheme denoting transitivity. In LRC, there exist unmarked transitive verbs, i.e. verbs that require an overt or non-overt object but are not affixed with the transitive suffix (see subsection 4.7.1.2).

As noted above, LRC transitive suffix has a form *-im/-i*, where *-im* constitutes the base form and *-i* is the reduced form. Both forms are used interchangeably in the case of the same verb.

(4-258) Mīpla   mait   stāt   <u>**meik-im**</u>   traik.

          1PL.EXCL   might   INCP   make-TRS   tracks

          'We might start making tracks.

(4-259) Kutini   bin   <u>**meik-i**</u>   plan.

          cassowary   PST   make-TRS   plan

          'The cassowary made plans.'

(4-260) De   tū   flaying foks <u>**luk-im**</u> de smok kam-at from de bus.

          DET two flying   fox   see-TRS DET smoke come-out PREP DET bush

          'The two flying foxes saw the smoke coming out from the bush.'

(4-261) Mīpla   **luk-i**   de   sneik.

      1PL.EXCL   see-TRS   DET   snake

      'We saw the snake.'

As the above examples (4-258) through (4-261) demonstrate, both the base and the reduced forms appear in free variation, i.e. irrespective whether the next word is vowel- or consonant-initial.

4.7.1.2 Unmarked Transitive Verbs

Within the group of unmarked transitive verbs, it is possible to distinguish unmarked transitive verbs without and with intransitive equivalents.

4.7.1.2.1 Unmarked Transitive Verbs Without Intransitive Equivalents

The transitive suffix is optional with some verbs, as transitive verbs in examples (4-262), (4-264), and (4-266) are affixed with the transitive suffix, while those in (4-263), (4-265), and (4-267) are not, even though the ones not affixed with the transitive suffix also express transitivity. Thus, both suffixed and unsuffixed transitive forms are used by all of the speakers.

(4-262) Yū   **tel-i**   mī   fõ   kil-i   mai   fõ   pikinini.

     2SG   tell-TRS   1SG   COMP   kill-TRS   POSS.PRN   four   child

     'You tell me to kill my four children.'

(4-263) Mai   mama   en   anti   kin   **tel**   dem   stōri.

     POSS.PRN   mum   CONN   auntie   can   tell.TRS   DET   story

     'My mum and auntie can tell stories.'

(4-264) Mīpla   no   **kech-i**   nating   yet.

     1PL.EXCL   NEG   catch-TRS   INDF.PRN   yet

     'We have not caught anything yet.'

(4-265) Mīpla   **kech**   bush   tēki   en   krab.

     1PL.EXCL   catch.TRS   bush   turkey   CONN   crab

     'We catch bush turkeys and crabs.'

(4-266) Mai   brade   bin   **teik-i**   mīpla   en   de   bout.

         POSS.PRN   brother   PST   take-TRS   1PL.EXCL   CONN   DET   boat

         'My brother took us and the boat.'

(4-267) Dei   **teik**   big-pīpul,   enibodi.

         3PL   take.TRS   big-people   INDF.PRN

         'They (evil spirits) take adults, anybody.'

4.7.1.2.2 Unmarked Transitive Verbs with Intransitive Equivalents

The second group of unmarked transitive verbs involves verbs that are never suffixed with the transitive suffix. They may function both as transitive and intransitive verbs, and as their shape remains unchanged and the transitivity-intransitivity distinction is enabled by the presence either of an overt or non-overt object NP. In examples (4-268) – (4-273), the verbs *kaikai* 'eat', *sabi* 'know', *singat* 'call', *tinkbat* 'think of, think about', and *klaimap* 'climb' operate transitively, taking into account the fact that they are followed by overt object NPs.

(4-268) Yūpla   ken   **kaikai**   dem   flawa   ebri   dei.

         2PL   can   eat.TRS   DET   flower   every   day

         'You can eat flowers every day.'

(4-269) Im   **sabi**   ebriting.

         3SG   know.TRS   everything

         'He knows everything.'

(4-270) Yūtū   **sing-at**   ōl   dem   ade   flaying   foks   kam!

         2DU   call-out.TRS   all   DET   other   flying   fox   come

         'The two of you call all the other flying foxes to come!'

(4-271) Yupla   **sing-at**   mama   kam   tū!

         2PL   call-out.TRS   mum   come   too

         'Call mum to come too!'

(4-272) Ai **ting-bat** im.

     1SG   think-PROG.TRS   3SG

     'I think about him.'

(4-273) Ōl   go   **klaimap**   dem il.

     3PL   FUT   climb.TRS   DET   hill

     'They will climb the hills.'

All those verbs function as both intransitive and transitive verbs in Bislama (Crowley, 2003, 2004), however, in TSC, *singaute* 'call out' and *klaimape* 'climb' are transitive, and *singaut* and *klaimap* are intransitive (Shnukal, 1988, p. 147, 199). Of those five verbs only *kaikai 'eat'* and *save* 'know' are listed by Beimers (2008, p. 117) as both transitive and intransitive.

4.7.1.3 Transitive Verbs with Directional Suffixes

There exist transitive verbs that consist of transitive verbs and directional suffixes. As examples (4-274) – (4-276) show, those verbs are indeed transitive, as not only the transitive suffix is involved, but also they are followed by direct objects. Directional suffixes always follow the transitive suffix. It should also be mentioned that in compound transitive verbs the transitive suffix always appears in its base -*im*, and not the reduced -*i*, form.

(4-274) Ankel   **loud-im-ap**   det   gan   blong im.

     uncle   load-TRS-up   DEM   gun   POSS   3SG

     'Uncle loaded his gun.'

(4-275) Im,   anti   en   ōl   man   **kat-im-dan**   det   trī.

     3SG   auntie   CONN old   man   cut-TRS-down   DEM   tree

     'He, auntie and the old man cut that tree down.'

(4-276) Im   **pul-im-at**   da   spiya   en   kar-i   bat

     3SG   pull-TRS-out DET spear CONN   carry-TRS   bat

     waya   solde   blong   im.

     PREP   shoulder   POSS   3SG

     'He pulled the spear out and carried the bat on his shoulder.'

4.7.1.4 Double Suffixation

Double suffixation involves double occurrence of the transitive suffix within one verb, where both of them are separated by a directional suffix. In LRC, double suffixation appears to be rather uncommon and infrequent in comparison with compound transitive verbs comprising a single occurrence of the transitive suffix followed by the directional suffix. Similar to compound transitive verbs, the form of the transitive suffix in double suffixation utterance is always *-im* and not the *-i* form. Lee (1998, pp. 77-78) suggests that this phenomenon of double suffixation is rather old, as it can be observed across all Melanesian Pidgin dialects. It occurs when only two of directional suffixes, namely, *-ap* 'up' as well as *-aut/-at* 'out' are involved.

(4-277) Ai gada **pik-im-ap-im** ebriting from flō.
    1SG have.to pick-TRS-up-TRS INDF.PRN PREP floor
    'I have to pick everything up from the floor.'

(4-278) Ai aftū go **teik-im-at-im** orinj from teibul.
    1SG have to go take-TRS-out-TRS orange PREP table
    'I have to remove the oranges from the table.'

(4-279) Bambai i go bī tū leit fō **streit-im-ap-im** det gēl.
    later PM FUT be too late COMP straight-TRS-up-TRS DEM girl
    'Later it will be too late to straighten that girl out.'

A question, however, arises whether the first suffix *-im* could have become lexicalised as part of a new stem, e.g. *pikimap*, which then is suffixed with the productive transitive marker *-im*. If this were to be the case, this would not count as double suffication. Further research that is beyond the scope of this thesis is needed in this area.

4.7.1.5 Causative Transitives

The formation of LRC causative constructions primarily involves two causative verbs *meiki/meikim* 'make' and *leti/letim* 'let', although it is possible to encounter causative transitives formed by means of the transitive suffix, which always appears as *-im* and not *-i*.

(4-280) Yū   kin   **pas-im**   det   map   we   de   wōl.

2SG   can   stick-TRS   DEM   map   PREP   DET   wall

'You can attach the map to the wall.'

(4-281) Im   bi   **stanap-im**   dem   che   rait.

3SG   PST   stand-TRS   DET   chair   upright

'She stood the chairs upright.'

There exist some causative transitives formed from adjectives, which is not surprising, as the relations governing the derivation of verbs from adjectives resemble those pertaining to the derivation of verbs, primarily stative verbs, from other verbs (Comrie, 1985, p. 345).

(4-282) Ai   āftū   **slaik-i**   det   roup   de,   i   tū   tait.

1SG   have.to   loose-TRS   DEM   rope   there   3SG   too   tight

'I have to loosen that rope there, it is too tight.'

(4-283) Ai   āftū   **streit-im**   tōk   blong   im.

1SG   have.to   straight-TRS   speech   POSS   3SG

'I have to straighten his speech.'

4.7.2 Intransitive Verbs

LRC intransitive verbs are characterised by the fact that they are never affixed with the transitive suffix *-im/-i*. They concentrate on denoting states and actions that are not directed towards objects but only involve subjects.

(4-284) Det   nait   det   smōl   boi   im   bin   **drīm**.

DEM   night   DEM   little   boy   3SG   PST   dream

'That night the little boy was dreaming.'

(4-285) Mai   pikinini   bin   **dai**.

POSS.PRN   child   PST   die

'My children died.'

(4-286) Ōl   bi   stāt   **shive,** laka.

       3PL   PST   INCP   shiver DISC

       'They started to shiver.'

4.7.2.1 Complex Intransitive Verbs

Some intransitive verbs are able to be affixed with locational and directional suffixes *-ap* 'up', *-at/-aut* 'out', *-(a)bat* 'about', *-dan/-daun* 'down', *-ewei* 'away', *-of* 'off', and *-ran/-raun/-eraun* 'around', e.g.:

(4-287) De   san   i   bi   **kam-ap**.

       DET   sun PM   PST   come-up

       'It was sunrise.'

(4-288) Ōl   man   im   **sing-at**.

       old   man   3SG   sing-out

       'The old man called out.'

(4-289) Bat im   sidan   en   **ting-bat**.

       bat   3SG   sit   CONN think-PROG

       'The bat was sitting and thinking.'

Intransitive verbs may be followed by adverbs, with which they form productive combinations and not lexicalised items as is the case in Pijin. Beimers (2008, p. 108) states that in Pijin, such intransitive verbs, which he considers to be lexicalised items, are formed from intransitive verbs and adjectives. However, it is proposed that adverbs, and not adjectives, follow those intransitive verbs, as it is the adverbs whose shape generally matches that of LRC adjectives that modify the verbs.

(4-290) **Spīk**   **laud**!

       speak   loudly

       'Speak loudly!'

(4-291) Ai   āftū   **tōk** **lou** sou   mai   mama no   lisin.

       1SG   have.to talk low   COMP POSS.PRN mum NEG listen

       'I have to whisper so my mum does not hear.'

Meik-shū 'make sure/ensure', however, is an example of a synchronically lexicalised complex intransitive verb, where the verb *meik* 'to make' constitutes the initial element and *shū* 'sure' forms the second part of this verb. When paired up with the object complement, as in examples (4-292) – (4-294), it is then transitive taking a clausal object.

(4-292) Demtū ran go **meik-shū** dem tū gwana bi ded.
3DU run SV.GO make-sure DET two goanna PST dead
'The two of them ran (there) making sure that the two goannas were
 dead.'

(4-293) Yū **meik-shū** yūpla ōlweis wag-abat tūgede.
2SG make-sure 2PL always walk-PROG together
'(You) make sure that you always walk together.'

(4-294) Dei **meik-shū** i no gad no ōl
3PL make-sure PM NEG have NEG hole
insaid we dem bak.
in PREP DET bark
'They make sure there is no hole in the bark.'

To conclude, LRC complex intransitive verbs fulfil the criteria to be regarded as single lexical items. Firstly, only one syllable is stressed. Secondly, the majority of the directional suffixes such as, for example, *-ap* 'up' are not independent morphemes; they may be attached to intransitive verbs (see subsection 4.7.2) denoting motion and may be preceded, and followed, by the transitive suffix in case of transitive verbs (see next paragraph). Thirdly, object NPs never separate intransitive verbs from directional indicators. Fourthly, such complex intransitive verbs as, for example, *gobaik* 'to go back', *kambek* 'to come back', and *godaun'* possess the ability to function as serial verbs (see subsection 6.1.3).

As far as the second criterion is concerned, although *-ap* 'up' does only appear after motion verbs and does not constitute a freestanding morpheme, it may or may not be affixed with the transitive suffix. The first scenario, where the transitive suffix

precedes *-ap* (example (4-295)) appears to be much more common than the second one, where the transitive suffix occurs twice, as it both precedes and follows *-ap* (example (4-296)):

(4-295) Mai   brade   **lift-im-ap**   de   net.

        POSS.PRN   brother   lift-TRS-up   DET   net

        'My brother lifted the net up.'

(4-296) Ai   gada   **pik-im-ap-im**   ebriting   from   flō.

        1SG   have.to   pick-TRS-up-TRS INDF.PRN PREP   floor

        'I have to pick everything up from the floor.'

4.7.3 Transitive and Intransitive Verb Morphology

In addition to being able to be affixed with directional suffixes, both transitive and intransitive verbs can be suffixed with the progressive aspect suffix *-(a)bat* and can also undergo reduplication.

4.7.3.1 Progressive Aspect Suffix *-(a)bat*

When the suffix *-(a)bat* 'about' is affixed to the verb, it denotes the progressive aspect that indicates temporary uncompleted ongoing actions, events and states. The suffix *-(a)bat* can be attached to both transitive verbs, as examples (4-297) and (4-298) demonstrate.

(4-297) Mīpla   ker-i-**bat**   faib kreifish en   faib   lobsta.

        1PL.EXCL   carry-TRS-PROG five crayfish CONN five   lobster

        'We were carrying five crayfish and five lobsters.

(4-298) Dem   krab en   oiste   bi   sizil-**bat**   ebriwe.

        DET   crab CONN oyster PST sizzle-PROG everywhere

        'The crabs and oysters were sizzling everywhere.'

The progressive aspect suffix *-(a)bat* is not used in case of natural phenomena. The simple present, past, and future tense constructions are utilised instead, as examples (4-299) – (4-301) demonstrate.

(4-299) De   win   i   bi   blou prapa nais andenīt we   de   sheidi trī.
DET win   PM PST blow very nice under PREP DET shady tree
'The wind was blowing very nicely under the shady tree.'

(4-300) Weni de   san bi   go-dan, ebribodi filim angri, laka, na.
COMP DET sun PST go-down INDF.PRN feel   hungry DISC   EMP
'It was hungry that everybody felt when the sun was setting down.'

(4-301) I   bi   rein   det   kapul of   wīk-s.
PM   PST   rain   DET   couple PREP   week-PL
'It was raining that couple of weeks.'

As noted in section 2.6, which outlines the probable migration route of -*(a)bat* to the LR area, this suffix takes its origin from the New South Wales Pidgin English *baut* 'to be doing' (Troy, 1994, p. 713). Troy (1994, p. 249) states that there exists evidence, which is suggestive of *baut* functioning as the present continuous suffix equivalent to English '-ing'. She provides two examples, where *baut* is suffixed to *krai* to cry', thus forming the present continuous verb *kraiabaut* 'to be crying' (Troy, 1994, pp. 249-250). Sharpe (1975, p. 51) and Sharpe and Sandefur (1976, p. 68) confirm the existence of the suffix -*bad* in the creole language of the Katherine and Roper River areas in the 1960s and the 1970s, indicating that the continuous aspect is expressed by the suffix -*bad* attached to verbs, as in example *Im bin megim-bad ginu* 'He was making a canoe' (Sharpe & Sandefur, 1976, p. 69). Futhermore, they note that for intransitive verbs reduplication may be used instead of the suffix -*bad* (Sharpe & Sandefur, 1976, p. 68). In her later publication, Sharpe (1985, p. 187) postulates that -*bat*, and not -*bad*, is the continuative suffix. Nicholls (2009, p. 27) confirms the existence in Kriol of the progressive aspect suffix -*bat*. Hudson (1983, p. 33) postulates that in Fitzroy Valley Kriol -*(a)bat* is the iterative aspect suffix and -*in* is the progressive aspect suffix.

4.7.3.2 Verb Reduplication

In LRC, full reduplication is a morphological feature of both transitive and intransitive verbs. LRC reduplicated verbs display one intonation pattern, and are never separated by pauses. This is consistent with the findings of Huttar and Huttar

(1997, pp. 395-396) in relation to the reduplicated words in Ndyuka, a creole language spoken in Suriname. Thus, the reduplicated LRC verbs represent single intonation units, where the last syllable is stressed and characterised by higher pitch, greater intensity and duriation. This is in accordance with the research findings of Gil (2005, pp. 35-36) pertaining to Riau Indonesian, a language spoken in Indonesia. The meaning of the reduplicated verb is distributive/intensive, where the number of repetitions denotes the length of the action. Thus, verbal reduplication expresses repetition, continuity, and duration, but it also emphasises the intensity of the performed action. As a result, verbal reduplication serves to mark aspect. It should, however, be noted that verbal reduplication does not indicate distributivity, i.e. the plurality of participants, without necessarily conveying extended and/or repeated activity. In examples (4-302) – (4-303), verbal reduplication marks continuative aspect, which refers to an action that is still taking place at a particular time; usually, but not always, at the time of speaking or writing.

(4-302) De   ōl   man   im   **tink~tink**   na.

DET   old   man   3SG   think~.ITR   EMP

'Then the old man was thinking.'

(4-303) Ōl   bi   **weit~weit~weit~weit**,   laka,   de   nade   said.

3PL   PST   wait~.ITR   DISC   DET   other   side

'They were waiting and waiting, poor things, on the other side.'

As noted above, verb reduplication also marks repetitive or iterative aspect, as examples (4-304) - (4-307) demonstrate.

(4-304) Dem   dog   ōl   **bi   bāk~bāk~bāk**.

DET   dog   3PL   PST   bark~.RPT

'The dogs were barking and barking.'

(4-305) **I   it-im~itim~itim**   til   im   bi   kili   de   sneik.

3SG   hit-TRS~.RPT   COMP   3SG   PST   kill-TRS   DET   snake

'He was hitting and hitting it until he killed the snake.'

(4-306) Ōl   bin   **wag-abat~wagabat**.

        3PL   PST   walk-PROG~.ITR

        'They kept on walking.'

(4-307) Ōl   **sing~sing~sing~sing~sing**.

        3PL   sing~.ITR

        'They kept on singing.'

Thomson (1933) notes that in the traditional languages spoken in the Lockhart River area repetition has an emphatic function and it signifies "a great deal or a long way", e.g.: *Yạlkịna yạlkịna yạlkịna* 'They walk and walk and walk' (p. 485).

4.8 Adverbs

This section describes adverbs, which belong to a group of verb modifiers, together with their morphology and reduplication. Pre-verbal markers, i.e. negative markers as well as tense, modality, and aspect (TMA) markers are presented in Chapter 7.

LRC adverbs denote time, manner, place, frequency, circumstance, degree, and cause. In sentences, they occur in verb phrases (VPs) (Chapter 6) and adjectival phrases (AdjPs) (Chapter 5) wherein they modify head verbs and adjectives. They may also modify other adverbs and entire clauses. In the majority of instances, they have the same shape as adjectives, from which they differ in the role they fulfil in a sentence. Thus, adjectives can modify verbs as well as nouns, i.e. they have an adverbial function and adverbs possess the ability to modify all types of constituents, with the exception of nouns, whether that constituent is a single lexical item or a phrase/clause (Beimers, 2008, p. 124). As a result, in examples (4-308) and (4-310), *longwei* 'far' and *nais* 'nicely' function as adverbs, while in (4-309) and (4-311), *longwei* 'distant' and *nais* 'nice' fulfil the role of adjectives.

(4-308) Bat   en   fren   blong im   bin go na,
bat   CONN friend POSS 3SG PST go EMP

ōl   bi   go   **long-wei**.
3PL PST go   long-way

'Then the bat and its friend went, they went far.'

(4-309) Mīpla   go   **long-wei**   pleis.
1PL.EXCL go   long-way   place

'We went to a distant place.'

(4-310) Det   win i   blou   prapa **nais**.
DEM   wind PM blow   really   nicely

'That wind blew very nicely.'

(4-311) Mīpla   leden de   we   de   **nais** san.
1PL.EXCL lay   there   PREP   DET   nice   sun

'We lay there in the nice sun.'

Adverbs may be preceded by intensifiers such as *litilbit* 'rather', *nadakain* 'extremely', *prapa* 'very/really', *rili* 'really/very', *so/sou* 'so', *tū* 'too', and *veri* 'very', e.g.:

(4-312) Im   tōk   **nada-kain** rūd   fō   yūpla.
3SG   talk   another-kind rudely PREP 2PL

'He talks extremely rudely to you.'

(4-313) Wī   **prapa** strong   bilib.
1NSG   very   strongly believe

'We very strongly believe.'

(4-314) Dei   swim kam   **rili**   kwik.
3PL   swim SV.COME   really quickly

'They swim really quickly.'

Some adverbs may appear both pre- and post-verbally and, as a result, act both as pre- and post-verbal markers. For example, *wantaim* in example (4-315) appears post-verbally, while in example (4-316), it precedes the verb. *Bambai* 'later/later on/eventually/afterwards' occurs pre- and post verbally in examples (4-317) and (4-318), respectively.

(4-315) Demtū   hit-im   **wan-taim**   de   tū   gwana.

      3DU   hit-TRS   one-time   DET   two   goanna

      'The two of them hit at the same time the two goannas.'

(4-316) Nhampi   **wan-taim**   spīk   fō   ōlgeda   pikinini.

      emu   one-time   speak   PREP   all.of   child

      'The emu talked at the same time to all of his children.'

(4-317) Ai   go   **bambai**   luk-i   demblat.

      1SG   FUT   later   see-TRS   3PL

      'I will see them later.'

(4-318) Im   go   faind-im   **bambai**.

      3SG   FUT   find-TRS   later

      'She will find it later.'

A wide array of the temporal and locational adverbs as well as PPs (see Chapter 5) expressing time and location occur within the predicate (see Chapter 7). The sentence-final position is one of the most common positions occupied by those PPs and adverbs, as examples (4-319) – (4-322) demonstrate.

(4-319) De   sneik   i   glou   **nai-taim**.

      DET   snake   PM   glow   night-time

      'The snake glows at night.'

(4-320) Anti   im bin kat-i   bāk dish fō   old-i   de ani   **insaid**.

      auntie 3SG PST cut-TRS bark dish COMP hold-TRS DET honey inside

      'Auntie cut the bark dish to hold the honey inside.'

(4-321) Yūpla   kam   stap   **lo**   **wīkend**!

         2PL   come   stay   PREP   weekend

         'Come and stay on the weekends!'

(4-322) I   meiki   faye   de   **antap**   **waya**   **sanbīs**.

         3SG   make-TRS   fire   there   on.top   PREP   beach

         'He made a fire there on the beach.'

As the position of the temporal and locational adverbs as well as PPs denoting time and location is not fixed, it is possible for them to also precede and follow the predicate as well as occur sentence-initially.

(4-323) Ai   ken   sī   **nai-taim**   waya   mai   ai.

         1SG   can   see   night-time   PREP   POSS.PRN   eye

         'I can see at night with my eyes.'

(4-324) Mīpla   luk   det   krokodail   i   kam   **autsaid**

         1PL.EXCL   see   DET   crocodile   PM   come   outside

         folou   det   smel   blo   de   tētil.

         follow   DEM   smell   POSS   DET   turtle

         'We saw that crocodile come outside and follow that smell of the turtle.'

(4-325) **Lo**   **wīkend**   mīpla   bi   go   fishing.

         PREP   weekend   1PL.EXCL   PST   go   fishing

         'On the weekend, we went fishing.'

(4-326) **Antap**   **waya**   **trī**   im   bin   siden.

         on.top   PREP   tree   3SG   PST   sit

         'On top of the tree, he was sitting.'

(4-327) Put-i   bulet   **insaid**!'

         put-TRS   bullet   inside

         'Put the bullet inside!'

4.8.1 Morphology of Adverbs

Similarly to adjectives (see section 4.5), adverbs may form compounds with the use of the nouns *kain* 'kind', *taim* 'time', and *wei* 'way (see subsection 4.5.1.1). The noun *said* 'side' when combined with adjectives gives rise to a number of adverbs.

(4-328) Ai   siden   **byain-said**   blo   mai   aus.

1SG   sit   behind-side   POSS   POSS.PRN   house

'I sit at the back of my house.'

(4-329) Kam   siden   **long-said**!

come.IMP   sit.IMP   long-side

'Come and sit close!'

The equivalent of the English-based adverbial suffix -*ly* is present in some of LRC adverbs. With the exception of *slouli*, which also functions as *slou*, the adverbs in examples (4-330) – (4-332) are only used in that form.

(4-330) kēfu-li

careful-ly

'carefully'

(4-331) nī-li

near-ly

'nearly'

(4-332) saden-li

sudden-ly

'suddenly'

(4-333) slou-li

slow-ly

'slowly'

The suffix -*we* 'where' is frequently used interchangeably with the suffix -*wei* 'where, way' in such adverbs as, for example, *ebriwe – ebriwei* 'everywhere', *eniwe*

– *eniwei* 'anywhere', and *samwe – samwei* 'somewhere'. This variation could most likely be accounted for by the fact that such adverbs as, for example, *ebriwei, eniwei,* and *samwei* are present in TSC and that *-wei* is TSC adverbial suffix, which comes from English '-where, -way, -ways' (Shnukal, 1988, p. 224). *We*, which comes from English 'where', is not a suffix in TSC, but a preposition and a conjunction. Historically, the forms suffixed with *-wei* most likely migrated to LRC from TSC, while those with the suffix *-we* probably result from the influence of English. Some examples include:

(4-334) Dem　　wīd　　　ōl　　kam-at　　**ebri-wei**.

　　　　DET　　weed　　3PL　　come-out　　every-where

　　　　'The weeds came out everywhere.'

(4-335) Dei　　krōl　　**ebri-we**　　lukran　　fō　　kaikai.

　　　　3PL　　crawl　　every-where　　look　　PREP　　food

　　　　'They crawled everywhere looking for food.'

(4-336) Sun　　mipla　　tōch-im　　**eni-wei.**

　　　　soon　　1PL.EXCL　　torch-TRS　　any-where

　　　　'Soon we shone the flashlight anywhere.'

(4-337) Yupla　　ken　　flai　　**eni-we**.

　　　　2PL.EXCL　　can　　fly　　any-where

　　　　'You can fly anywhere.'

Some of LRC adverbs are affixed with the suffix *-wan* 'one', which also participates in the formation of nouns from adjectives (see subsection 4.5.1.2), although they may also be encountered without that suffix, e.g.: *ād – ādwan* 'hard' and *laud – laudwan* 'loudly'. It appears that the suffix *-wan* functions both as a nominaliser when deriving nouns from adjectives and as an adverbial suffix, where it has a strengthening effect, for example, accentuating a very hard fall and a very loud voice, fall and voice being nouns, as examples (4-338) and (4-339) demonstrate. However, although the suffix *-wan* is primarily a nominalising suffix, the abbreviation EMP is used in view of its emphasising function in this case.

(4-338) Im   bin   fõl   prapa   **ād-wan**,   laka,   daun   we   graun.

        3SG   PST   fall   very   hard-EMP   DISC   down   PREP   ground

        'It fell very hard, poor thing, onto the ground.'

(4-339) Ai   go   sing-at   prapa   **laud-wan**.

        1SG   FUT   call-out   very   loud-EMP

        'I will call out very loudly.'

4.8.1.1 Reduplication

Adverbial reduplication appears to be extremely rare in LRC, as only three adverbs, namely, *stedi, kwik,* and *slou* are able to undergo full reduplication in order to denote intensity.

(4-340) Ōl   wag-abat   **stedi~stedi**   wit   dem   yam   prapa   hot.

        3PL   walk-PROG   steadily~.INT   PREP   DET   yam   very   hot

        'They were walking really steadily with the very hot yams.'

(4-341) Āt   blo   demblat   bin   pamp   rili   **kwik~kwik**.

        heart   POSS   3PL   PST   pump   really   quickly~.INT

        'Their hearts were pumping really, really quickly.'

(4-342) Mīpla   drift   **slou~slou**.

        1PL.EXCL   drift   slow~.INT

        'We drifted very slowly.'

Only one example of partial reduplication has been encountered. In that example reduplication involves the adjective *long* 'long' but not the suffix *-wei* 'way':

(4-343) Yūpla   nomō   go   **long~long-wei!**

        2PL   CESS   go   long~INT-way

        'Don't go very far!'

4.8.2 Temporal Functions of Adverbs

Some adverbs, e.g. *bambai* 'later' (future), *bifō* 'before' (past), *bifōdeis* 'in the past' (distant past), *bifōtaim* 'before, in the past, in the old days' (distant past), *distaim* 'at present, currently' (present), *klusap* or *kloustū* 'nearly, almost' (very near future), *longtaim* 'a long time ago, long ago' (distant past), *nau/na* 'now, then' (present), *nīli* 'nearly, almost' (very near future), *fās/fēs/fēst* 'immediately, first' (before doing something else), *pāstaim* 'in the past, a long time ago (distant past), *sūn* 'soon' (very near future), *wantaim* 'once upon a time' (distant past) are often used in place of tense markers in LRC. Apart from *fās/fēs/fēst, klusap/kloustū, nau/na*, and *nīli*, all of the other adverbs have been observed to occur sentence-initially. *Nau/na* and *sūn* frequently follows the core predicate constituent and it can appear sentence-finally as well. Sentence-final position can be occupied by *bifō, distaim, fās/fēs/fēst, longtaim*, and *wantaim. Bambai, bifō, bifōdeis, fās/fēs/fēst, klusap/kloustū, nīli*, and *wantaim* are known to also precede the core predicate constituent.

(4-344) **Bifō**   ōl   yūstū   sūt-i   dem, ibin we   Ōl   Sait tū.

before   3PL   HAB   shoot-TRS 3PL   even   PREP   old   site   also

'Before they used to shoot them, even at the Old Site too.'

(4-345) **Dis-taim**   no   gad   krokodail.

DEM-time   NEG   have   crocodile

'At present, there are no crocodiles.'

(4-346) **Pās-taim** wan   mōning   mai   mama   en   anti   spīk.

past-time   one   morning   POSS.PRN   mum   CONN   auntie   speak

'One morning a long time ago my mum and auntie talked.'

4.8.3 Aspectual Functions of Adverbs

It is not unusual for some adverbs to be used in place of aspect markers. Thus, *ōltaim/ōldetaim* and *ōlweis* are frequently used for habitual aspect, *ebritaim* for iterative aspect, and *egen/gen* for repetitive aspect recency of completion. Only *egen/gen* has been observed to co-occur with the past tense marker; further research could clarify if there are any co-occurrence constraints involving the other

aspectually used adverbs and the past marker. All of the adverbs used in place of aspect markers in the following examples are written in bold.

4.8.3.1 *ōltaim/ōldetaim*

Ōltaim/ōldetaim 'all the time', which are used interchangeably, fulfil a role of the habitual aspect marker that pertains to the actions, events, and states that are or used to be a habit. In the gathered data, *ōltaim/ōldetaim* usually appears either sentence-initially or precedes the core predicate constituent.

(4-347) Ōl dem gīs eig **ōltaim** feibrit taka blo mīpla na.
all DET goose egg HAB favourite tucker POSS 1PL.EXCL then
'All the geese eggs were generally our favourite tucker then.'

(4-348) **Ōldetaim** demtū wani go fishing fõ malet
HAB 3DU want go fishing PREP mullet
en kech-im krab, stingrei.
CONN catch-TRS crab stingray
'They usually wanted to go fishing for mullet and to catch crabs and stingreys.'

4.8.3.2 *ōlweis*

Ōlweis 'always' is yet another adverb that possesses the ability to function as the habitual aspect marker. *Ōlweis* either precedes the core predicate constituent or occurs sentence-finally. It has not been observed to occupy the sentence-initial position.

(4-349) Mīpla **ōlweis** go de na ant-ing fõ gīs.
1PL.EXCL HAB go there EMP hunt-ing for goose
'It was there that we always went to hunt geese.'

(4-350) Mai grendfade en mai ankel dei **ōlweis**
POSS.PRN grandfather CONN POSS.PRN uncle 3PL HAB
kar-i dem skin kam bifõ.
carry-TRS DET skin SV.COME before
'My grandfather and my uncle always carried the skins before.'

4.8.3.3 *ebritaim*

Ebritaim 'every time, continually' is frequently acting as the iterative aspect marker. *Ebritaim* may appear either sentence-initially or sentence-finally. It has not been observed to occur in front of the core predicate constituent.

(4-351) Mīpla   chak-im   krab   pot   **ebritaim**.

1PL.EXCL   throw.in   crab   pot   ITR

'We continually threw the krab pots in.'

(4-352) **Ebritaim**   mai   brade   lift-im-ap   de   net,

ITR   POSS.PRN   brother   lift-TRS-up   DET   net

mai   brade   luk   de   smōl   boi.

POSS.PRN   brother   see   DET   small   boy

'Every time my brother lifted the net up, my brother saw the little boy.'

4.8.3.4 *egen/gen*

Egen/gen 'again' is able to function as the repetitive aspect marker that refers to the actions and events that were repeated once or more than once. *Egen/gen* may occur both sentence-initially and sentence-finally. It may also follow the core predicate constituent, however, it has not been observed to precede it. There exist two variants *egen* and *gen*, which are used interchangeably. As mentioned in the introductory remarks (see subsection 4.8.3), *egen/gen* is the only aspectually used adverb that has been observed to co-occur with the past tense marker, as example (4-356) demonstrates.

(4-353) Mīpla   chak-im   **gen**   ainka.

1PL.EXCL   throw.in-TRS   RPT   anchor

'We threw the anchor in again.'

(4-354) Im   snīz   **gen**.

3SG   sneeze   RPT

'He sneezed again.'

(4-355) **Gen** nade   brade   go im noki   nade-wan dem tū   gwana.

         RPT another brother go 3SG knock.out another-one DET two goanna

         'Another brother went again and he knocked out the other one of the two

         goannas.'

(4-356) Dadi   bin   ala   **gen**.

         dad   PST   call.out RPT

         'Dad called out again.'

4.8.3.5 *jast*

Jast 'just', which precedes the core constituent of the predicate in a sentence, is yet another adverb that is characterised by multifunctionality. Firstly, it expresses recency of completion, as it assumes a role of a time adverbial that is used to denote recent actions, events, and states (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 194), as examples (4-357) and (4-358) demonstrate.

(4-357) I   **jast**   ley-im.

         3SG   IMD.PST   lay-TRS

         'It (turtle) has just laid them (eggs).'

(4-358) I   **jast**   put-im byain   bak   blong im

         3SG   IMD.PST   put-TRS at.the.back.of back POSS 3SG

         kar-im   bikos   i   gad   big   taata   de.

         carry-TRS.SV   COMP   3SG have big   throat there

         'It (crocodile) has just put it (turtle shell) at the back of its back carrying

          it because it has a big throat there.'

Secondly, *jast* also serves as the restrictive emphatic marker 'only' when it precedes the focused predicate (Quirk et al., 1985, pp. 607-608), as examples (4-359) and (4-360) show.

(4-359) Dei **jast** get inaf   fō   demself tū   īt   fō   det wīk.

         3PL PROX get enough PREP 3PL.REFL COMP eat PREP DEM week

         'They only get enough for themselves to eat for that week.'

(4-360) Wani demtū **jast** wani fōl-dan, dadi bin ala gen

COMP 3DU PROX want fall-down dad PST call.out again

kōl-i neim blo dem tū boi.

call-TRS.SV name POSS DET two boy

'When the two of them wanted nothing other than to fall down, daddy
called out again calling the names of the two boys.'

4.9 Conjunctions

This section describes LRC conjunctions, the function of which is to combine words, phrases, and clauses, and which can be divided into:

1. coordinators
2. subordinators.

4.9.1 Coordinators

LRC coordinators connect not only two lexical items from the same category, but also participate in linking two phrases and clauses. Thus, two coordinated words result in a new phrase and two coordinated clauses give rise to a new clause. LRC possesses three main coordinators, namely, *en* 'and', *bat* 'but', and *ō* 'or', which denote addition, contrast, and alternation, respectively. *En/end* and *ō* are encountered in word and phrase coordination (see Chapter 7), and *bat* participates in sentential coordination (see Chapter 8). The following are a few examples demonstrating their use:

(4-361) De ōl man put-i tang blong im autsaid

DET old man put-TRS tongue POSS 3SG out

na **en** smail.

EMP CONN smile

'The old man then put his tongue out and smiled.'

(4-362) Im   chak-i   de   laite   na   **ō**   mach-is.

        3SG   throw-TRS DET lighter   EMP CONN match-es

        'He then threw the lighter or matches.'

(4-363) Mīpla   luk-raun   **bat**   det   pōkyupain

        1PL.EXCL look-around CONN DEM   porcupine

        en   dem   tū   gwana   ōl   stil   de.

        CONN   DET   two   goanna   3PL   CONT   there

        'We looked around but that porcupine and the two goannas were still

         there.'

Ōrels 'or, or else' functions as a conditional coordination conjunction, as example (4-364) shows.

(4-364) Stap   waya   aus   **ōrels**   ai   go   mis-i   yū!

        stay   PREP house COMP   1SG FUT   miss-TRS 2SG

        'Stay at the house or else I will miss you!'

4.9.2 Subordinators

Within the group of subordinators, which are discussed in detail in Chapter 8, it is possible to distinguish subordinating conjunctions that introduce adverbial clauses (see subsection 4.9.2.1), complementisers that introduce complements (see subsection 4.9.2.2), and relativisers (see subsection 4.9.3). The function of subordinators is to connect a clause to another element. Thus, clauses introduced by subordinators constitute integral parts of other phrases.

There exist eighteen subordinators in LRC and they are summarised in Table 4.14. They can be further divided into subordinating conjunctions that introduce adverbial clauses (see subsection 4.9.2.1) and complementisers that introduce complements (see subsection 4.9.2.2).

Table 4.14 Subordinators

Subordinator	Introduces	Gloss
āfta/āfte	adverbial clauses	'after'
antil/til	adverbial clauses	'until/till'
bīfõ	adverbial clauses	'before'
bīkos/kos	adverbial clauses	'because'
dat/det	complements	'that'
es long es	adverbial clauses	'as long as'
es sūn es	adverbial clauses	'as soon as'
fõ	adverbial clauses/ verbal complements	'for/to/in order to/so as to/so that/until'
from	adverbial clauses	'because/because of/as a result of/ as a consequence of'
if	adverbial clauses/ complements	'if'
ōlsem	adverbial clauses	'like/as'
so	adverbial clauses	'so/therefore/hence/thus'
wail	adverbial clauses	'while'
we/weya/waya	complements	'that'
wen	adverbial clauses	'when'

4.9.2.1 Subordinating Conjunctions

As Table 4.14 demonstrates, there are sixteen subordinating conjunctions that introduce adverbial clauses. The function of *fõ* 'for/to/in order to/so as to/so that/until' and *if* 'if' are twofold, as they possess the ability to introduce not only adverbial clauses, but also complements (see subsection 4.9.2.2). In example (4-367), *fõ* introduces a complement; it introduces adverbial clauses in (4-365) and (4-366).

(4-365) Ōl   luk   pās

     3PL   look   first

     bīfõ ōl go kloustū **fõ**   kech-im dem tū   gwana.

     COMP 3PL go close   COMP catch-TRS DET two   goanna

     'They looked first before they went close to catch the two goannas.'

(4-366) Ai go weit pās **fō** i   dāk en

1SG FUT wait first COMP PM   dark CONN

ai   go   go   oum.

1SG   FUT   go   home

'I will wait first until it gets dark and I will go home.'

(4-367) Im   luk **ōlsem** im   redi **fō**   go fõ   pāti.

3SG   look COMP 3SG   ready COMP   go PREP party

'She looks as if she is ready to go to a party.'

4.9.2.2 Complementisers

Certain complementisers are used to mark certain complements. Thus, *dat/det* 'that', *if* 'if', and *we/weya/waya* mark complements of the verbs of speech, thought, hearing, communication, and perception, e.g.:

(4-368) Ōl man im   luk-ran   en   sī **we** ōl dem flawe

old man 3SG   look-around CONN see COMP all DET   flower

ōl   dem trī-s   ōl gadi blosom ō   flawe-s.

all   DET tree-PL 3PL have blossom CONN flower-PL

'The old man looked around and saw that all the flowers, all the trees there had   blossoms or flowers.'

(4-369) Dei   tink **det**   det heri men bi teik-im   long-wei.

3PL   think COMP DEM hairy man PST take-TRS long-way

'They think that that hairy man took him far.'

(4-370) Im trai luk-i   **if**   det ting i cheis-i   demblat kam.

3SG try look-TRS COMP DEM thing PM chase-TRS 3PL SV.COME

'He tried to see if that thing was chasing them.'

As noted in subsection 4.9.2.1, *fō* 'for' introduces verbal complements, e.g.:

(4-371) De   smōl boi im redi **fō**   go   skūl   na.

DET   little boy 3SG ready COMP go school EMP

'It's to school that the little boy was ready to go.'

4.9.3 Relativisers

LRC relative clauses (RCs) are introduced by the relativiser *we/weya/waya*, the three forms of which are used interchangeably for nouns that refer both to human beings and non-human beings. Although RCs are discussed in Chapter 8, the following are a few examples demonstrating the use of LRC relativisers.

(4-372) Haumach   fish,   krab,   lobste   en   kreifish
how.many   fish   crab   lobster   CONN   crayfish

mīpla   kech-im   insaid   waya   dem   net
1PL.EXCL   catch-TRS   into   PREP   DET   net

waya mai   mama   en   mai   anti   bi   meik-im?
REL   POSS.PRN   mum   CONN   POSS.PRN   auntie   PST   make-TRS

'How many fish, crabs, lobsters and crayfish did we catch into the nets, which my mum and auntie had made?'

(4-373) Ai   go   kuk-i   dampa   en   dem   brīm
1SG   FUT   cook-TRS   damper   CONN   DET   bream

we   ai   bi   kech-im.
REL   1SG   PST   catch-TRS

'I will cook damper and the bream, which I caught.'

4.10 Interjections

LRC interjections appear independently and frequently in isolation, and, for that reason, they do not form an integrated syntactic constituent. They constitute monomorphemic utterances on their own in response to particular situations (Wilkins, 1992, p. 124) and, for that reason, they express a wide array of sudden emotions of varying strength ranging from harmless and insignificant to forceful, offensive, and vulgar. They are characterised by the rising-falling intonation pattern. For example, *ei* 'hey' appears sentence-initially, while *yā/ye* 'yeah' may occur both sentence-initially and sentence-finally. However, some interjections, for example, *ōrait* 'alright' and *yā/ye* 'yeah' are able to occur sentence-medially as well. The following are a few examples demonstrating the use of the interjections.

(4-374) **Ei**, dem tū boi, dem smōl boi blo yūmītū

hey DET two boy DET small boy POSS 1DU.INCL

no bi kam yet.

NEG PST come yet

'Hey, the two boys, our little boys have not come yet.'

(4-375) Satēdei las wīk, **ye**, prapa gud weda.

Saturday last week yeah very good weather

'Saturday last week, yeah, it was a very good weather.'

(4-376) Ōl laik smōl boi en smōl gēl, **ōrait**.

3PL like small boy CONN small girl alright

'They like small boys and small girls, alright.'

4.11 Brief Comparison with Other Creoles

Table 4.15 below provides a summary of a number of creole features outlined in Chapter 4, and indicates if a given feature is present in LRC and the remaining five creole languages. A + indicates that the feature is characteristic of the creole, a blank indicates it is not; +/- indicates the feature occurs optionally or irregularly in the creole. As it is demonstrated, the majority of features present in TSC, Kriol, Pijin, Bislama, and Tok Pisin are also attested in LRC, thus substantiating a claim that LRC is indeed a creole.

Table 4.15 Comparison of Some of LRC Creole Features of Various Word Classes with Other Creoles

Feature	LRC	TSC	Kriol	Pijin	Bislama	Tok Pisin
Countability of All Nouns	+	+				
Fully Reduplicated Nouns			+	+	+	+
Apparent Noun Reduplication	+	+	+	+	+	+
Nominalising Suffix -*wan*	+	+	+	+	+	
Three-Number Pronominal System	+	+	+			
Four-Number Pronominal System				+	+	+

Inclusive-Exclusive Distinction in the Pronominal System	+	+	+	+	+	+
Suffix *-pla* in LRC and TSC (*-bala* in Kriol, *-fala* in Pijin and Bislama, and *-pela* in Tok Pisin)	+	+	+	+	+	+
Suffixation of Some Cardinal Numerals (with *-bala* in Kriol, *-fala* in Pijin and Bislama, and with *-pela* in Tok Pisin)			+	+	+	+
Use of the Noun *namba* to Form Ordinal Numerals	+			+	+	+
Use of *wan* 'one' to Form Ordinal Numerals			+			
Suffixation of Adjectives (with *-bala* in Kriol, *-fala* in Pijin and Bislama, and *-pela* in Tok Pisin)			+	+	+	+
Both Prenominal and Postnominal Use of Adjectives				+		
Full Adjectival Reduplication	+	+	+	+	+	+
Partial Adjectival Reduplication					+	
Nominalisation of Polysyllabic and Compound Adjectives	+	+	+		+	+
Possessed NP + *blong/blo* + Possessor NP	+	+	+	+	+	+
***Blong/blo* + Possessor NP + Possessed NP**	+		+		+	
Transitive Suffix	+	+	+	+	+	+
Form of the Transitive Suffix Is Dictated by the Vowel Harmony Rule		+		+	+	
Compound Transitive Verbs	+	+	+	+	+	+
Causative Transitives Affixed with the Transitive Suffix	+	+	+	+	+	+
Intransitive Verbs Always Occur Without the Transitive Suffix	+	+	+	+	+	+
Progressive Aspect Suffix	+		+			

-(a)bat						
Full Verb Reduplication	+	+	+	+		+
Partial Verb Reduplication					+	
Verb Reduplication Expresses Repetition, Continuity, and Duration	+	+	+	+	+	+
Suffixation of Adverbs (with -bala in Kriol and -pela in Tok Pisin)			+			+
Adverbs Suffixed with -wan	+					
Compound Adverbs	+	+	+	+	+	+
Adverbial Reduplication	+		+		+	
***We* Introduces Relative Clauses**	+/-	+/-		+/-	+/-	

Table 4.16 below presents the comparison of some of LRC English-derived features with the remaining five creole languages. Some of those features are present in all of the other creoles, while some of them exist only in some of them. A + indicates that the feature is characteristic of the creole, a blank indicates it is not; +/- indicates the feature occurs optionally or irregularly in the creole. A detailed discussion of the features outlined in Tables 4.15 and 4.16 follows.

Table 4.16 Comparison of Some of LRC English-derived Features with Other Creoles

Feature	LRC	TSC	Kriol	Pijin	Bislama	Tok Pisin
Compounds – Direct Transfers from English	+	+	+	+	+	+
Plural Suffix -s	+/-		+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-
Gerundial Suffix -ing	+				+	+
Agentive Suffix -a	+				+	
Four Demonstrative Pronouns	+	+	+			
Articles	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-
Reflexive Suffix -self (-selp in TSC, -self and the form mijelb in Kriol)	+	+	+			
Reciprocal Pronouns	+	+	+			

Distributive Pronouns	+	+				
Interrogative Pronouns Used as Short Utterances	+	+	+	+	+	+
Normally Unmarked Transitive Verbs	+/-					
Adverbs Suffixed with *-li*	+					
Hu Introduces Relative Clauses				+/-		

Countability of all nouns is a feature not only of LRC, but also of TSC, including those nouns, which are mass nouns in English. Thus, such TSC nouns as *ud* 'wood' and *plawa* 'flour' are count nouns as well that are able to be preceded by the plural determiner *dem* 'the' (Shnukal, 1988, p. 23). In Pijin, non-count nouns and count nouns constitute separate noun groups, where the quantification of non-count nouns is done by means of quantifying nouns that prepose them (Beimers, 2008, p. 59). Similarly, in Kriol, non-count nouns and count nouns are regarded as separate noun groups (Sandefur, 1979, p. 80).

Similarly to LRC, many compounds in both Pijin and Tok Pisin are a result of direct transfers from English and they constitute combinations of nouns with other nouns, adjectives, verbs, and numerals (Beimers, 2008; Verhaar, 1995). However, unlike in LRC, where compounds do not involve Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila lexical items, in TSC, there exist some compounds that combine a Kala Lagaw Ya, Meriam Mir, and Melanesian Pidgin word with an English-based word, as in *augemwali* 'island dress', *kaikaispun* 'dessert spoon', and *pwakablad* 'pig blood' (Shnukal, 1988, pp. 21-22). Similarly to LRC, some of the compounds have migrated into TSC as single morphemes, although their direct sources in English consist of separate morphemes. In Kriol, in addition to compounds, which consist of two close-knit root words that are written as single lexical items, there also exist double nouns, which comprise two not so close-knit root words that are written separately (Sandefur, 1979, p. 81). Sandefur states that the distinction between compounds and double noun is not well defined.

There exists a considerable number of nouns formed by full reduplication in Pijin, Bislama, Tok Pisin, and Kriol (Beimers, 2008; Crowley, 2004; Verhaar, 1995; Sandefur, 1979). In Kriol, many reduplicated nouns pertain to animal names that have been derived from English, although there some reduplicated Aboriginal nouns, however, the majority of them are onomatopoeic (Sandefur, 1979, p. 81). Similarly to LRC, there are no fully reduplicated nouns in TSC, in spite of the fact that reduplication used to be quite a productive word formation process in the incipient stages when pidgin was coming into existence in the Torres Strait (Shnukal, 1988, p. 22).

Beimers (2008, p. 64) lists Pijin noun *pikpik* 'pig', which is synonymous with LRC *pigipigi*, as an example of apparent reduplication. Although the noun *pigpig* 'pig' is sometimes used in Bislama, the use of *pig* prevails (Crowley, 2003, p. 204), thus indicating that *pigpig* is a fully reduplicated noun. In Kriol, *bigibigi* 'pig' is an example of a fully reduplicated noun (Sandefur, 1979, p. 81). Examples in Table 4.1 are also in use in TSC. *Kaikai* 'to eat, food' is used in Tok Pisin, Pijin, and TSC (Dutton & Thomas, 1985; Simons & Young, 1978; Shnukal, 1988), while *kakae* in Bislama (Crowley, 2003, p. 119). *Susu* 'breast' is used in Tok Pisin, Bislama, Pijin, and TSC. *Labalaba* and *lavalava* remain in use in TSC and Bislama, respectively, and its cognate *laplap* is used in Tok Pisin. *Fadem kaliko* or *sulu* are used in Pijin. *Puripuri* 'magic, sorcery' is used in TSC and Tok Pisin, but it is *majik* in Bislama. In Kriol, *bibi* denotes 'breast', and the nouns *daga, mama,* and *taka* are used for 'food' (Grimes & Lecompte, 2014).

Apart from TSC, the English plural suffix *-s* is present in Pijin, Bislama, and Tok Pisin, where, similarly to LRC, it does not tend to be attached to words of non-English origin (Beimers, 2008; Crowley, 2004, Verhaar, 1995). In Kriol, the occurrence of *-s* is sporadic and not marked by any consistency, and should be regarded as an acrolectal feature (Schultze-Berndt & Angelo, 2013). Both Tok Pisin and Bislama also possess the gerundial suffix *-ing*, however, in comparison with its very widespread use in LRC, it appears that in Bislama, that suffix is semi-productive and is primarily used by urban and better-educated people (Crowley, 2004, p. 45). The presence of the agentive suffix *-a* is yet another

similarity that LRC shares with Bislama. However, while in Bislama that suffix possesses only one variant -*a*, its presence in LRC is marked by variable pronunciation. Thus, there exist allomorphs [ɛ], and [ə].

While LRC pronominal system involves three numbers, i.e. singular, dual, and plural, in Pijin, Bislama, and Tok Pisin there is a four-number system, as in addition to singular, dual, and plural numbers there is also the trial number (Beimers, 2008; Crowley, 2004; Verhaar, 1995). Similarly to LRC, there are also three numbers in Kriol, namely, singular, dual, and plural (Sandefur, 1979, p. 86). Lynch (1998, p. 227) does not list the trial number but only singular, dual, and plural numbers, noting that this is the personal pronoun pattern observed in Melanesian Pidgin, which in turn is consistent with the Austronesian pattern. The structure of Pijin, Bislama, and Tok Pisin personal pronouns differs from that of LRC pronouns. Thus, in Pijin, Bislama, and Tok Pisin pronouns in dual, trial, and plural numbers, with the exception of the first person plural inclusive *yumi* and the third person plural *olketa* in Pijin, *olgeta* in Bislama, and *ol* in Tok Pisin, are affixed not only with the numerals *tu* 'two' and *tri* 'three', respectively, but also with the suffix -*fala* in Pijin and Bislama, and the suffix -*pela* in Tok Pisin. By comparison, in LRC, pronouns in dual number are suffixed with a numeral *tū* and with -*pla* in plural number. As noted above, Pijin *olketa* and Bislama *olgeta* constitute the third person plural pronouns, while in LRC *ōlgeda* 'all of them' is an indefinite pronoun and *dempla* and *demlot*, together with their variants as well as *dei* and *ōl* are used as the third person plural personal pronouns. Pijin personal pronouns do not have possessive forms in comparison with LRC, where only the first person singular has a special possessive form, while the remaining ones just use the objective personal pronouns.

LRC pronominal system to a large extent mirrors TSC one, as both involve singular, dual, and plural numbers (Shnukal, 1988, pp. 30, 32, 33). While in LRC *mī* functions both as a subject and an object, in TSC, it only occurs in the role of an object. TSC first person plural inclusive *yumpla* is used in LRC only by Torres Strait Islanders and those LR people who spent time in the Strait. TSC third person singular and plural pronouns *em* and *dempla*, respectively, do not possess any variants, as they do in LRC. While TSC reflexive pronouns are affixed only with the reflexive suffix

-*selp*, there is a variation in LRC, as the reflexive suffix functions either as -*self* or -*selp.* While in TSC *wiselp* 'ourselves' may be used for the first person inclusive and exclusive pronouns in dual and plural numbers, in LRC, *wiselp* is not used and the appropriate inclusive or exclusive pronouns have to be used. In comparison with LRC and TSC, Bislama and Tok Pisin do not have reflexive pronouns and the reflexive meaning is expressed syntactically (Crowley, 2004; Dutton & Thomas, 1985). While both LRC and TSC have distributive and reciprocal pronouns, Tok Pisin has neither and achieves this function by repeating numerals. In Bislama, verb reduplication is used to express reciprocal actions.

There also exist similarities between LRC and Kriol (Sandefur, 1979, p. 86) pronominal systems, as apart from the three numbers both of them share the inclusive-exclusive distinction. Both *mi* and *ai* are used as the first person singular pronouns in both languages. While in Kriol only *im* is used as the third person singular pronoun, in LRC, *im, em,* and *i* function in that role. The pronoun *wi* is used in both languages, however, while in Kriol it is solely reserved for the first person inclusive plural meanings, in LRC, it functions as a first person non-singular pronoun, not restricted to inclusive or exclusive contexts. In contrast to LRC, the suffix -*bala* is a characteristic feature of Kriol first person exclusive dual and plural, second person dual and plural, and third person dual numbers. *Yunmi* is the first person inclusive dual pronoun and *olabat* is the third person plural pronoun in Kriol. As far as the possessive pronouns are concerned, Kriol does not have a pronominal system that differs from the personal pronouns and, for that reason, personal pronouns also function as possessive pronouns (Sandefur, 1979, p. 89). In contrast to LRC, Kriol has only one reflexive pronominal form that is used for all the persons and numbers, namely, *mijelb* (Sandefur, 1979, p. 91), although the forms *yuself* 'yourself' and *imself* 'himself/herself/itself', which also exist in LRC, can sporadically be encountered in the speech of Kriol speakers (Sandefur, 1979, p. 92). Kriol reciprocal pronoun *gija* (Sandefur, 1979, p. 94) differs from *wananada/wanada* 'one another, each other' and *ichada* 'each other' used in LRC.

While in LRC compounding with the use of *wan* 'one' results in the formation of the indefinite pronouns *ebriwan* 'everyone' and *nowan* 'no-one', in TSC, only *bodi/badi*

'body' is able to participate in such compounds (Shnukal, 1988, p. 35). In Bislama, *wan* can be found in such indefinite pronouns as *eniwan* 'anyone' and *evriwan* 'everyone' (Crowley, 2004, p. 53). In Pijin, the indefinite pronoun *enisamting/eniting* 'anything' may be a compound either of *eni* 'any' and *samting* 'thing'or of *eni* 'any'and *ting* 'thing' (Beimers, 2008, p. 95). In LRC, the compounds involve the noun *ting* 'thing' but never the indefinite pronoun *samting*, as it means 'something' and not 'thing'. Similarly to Pijin, in TSC, *samting* functions both as the noun 'thing' and as the indefinite pronoun 'something', however, *samting* never participates in the formation of compounds. In Bislama, both *samting* and *ting* denote the meaning 'thing', where both of them participate in the formation of indefinite pronouns. An interesting feature in Tok Pisin pertains to the fact that there are no negative indefinite pronouns; in order to achieve the negation effect, indefinite pronouns have to be negated by means of the negative marker *no* (Verhaar, 1995, pp. 367-385). Within Kriol indefinite pronouns, it is possible to distinguish two groups, where the pronouns in the first group are always used as independent pronouns and can stand alone, while the pronouns in the second group may appear either alone or function as adjectives in NPs (Sandefur, 1979, p. 98). The indefinite pronouns of the first group form compounds involving any combinations of *ebri* 'every', *sam* 'some', *eni* 'any', and *no* 'no' with *wan* 'one', *bodi* 'body', and *jing* 'thing' (Sandefur, 1979, p. 99). The indefinite pronouns of the second group are not compounds, for example, *fyu* 'few', *eni* 'any', and *lilbit* 'a little' (Sandefur, 1979, pp. 98,100); those types of pronouns are considered to be quantifiers in LRC (see section 4.4).

Only two demonstrative pronouns, namely, *diswan* 'this' and *dat* 'that' exist in Pijin. In both LRC and TSC in addition to the singular forms *diswan* and *datwan*, there are also the plural forms *demwan ya* 'these' and *demwan de* 'those'. Bislama makes use of one demonstrative pronoun *hemia* 'that' and the demonstrative *ya* 'this'. A similar situation occurs in Tok Pisin, where there is one demonstrative pronoun *dispela*, which is used both for singular and plural nouns, and the demonstrative *em*. An interesting situation concerns demonstrative pronouns in Kriol, as in addition to the singular and plural set of pronouns, which denote both proximal and distal distinctions, there also exist long and short forms as well as the normal for form the

singular set (Sandefur, 1979, p. 94). Kriol plural set also has two alternate forms. Nicholls (2009, p. 26) states that in Kriol, *dijan/diswan* 'this' and *darran/dan* 'that' function as the proximal and distal demonstrative pronouns, respectively, that are used for both singular and plural numbers.

In comparison with LRC and TSC, where there are seventeen and thirteen interrogative pronouns, respectively, Pijin has ten such pronouns. Bislama *wanem* 'what' can be reduplicated when the noun phrase is plural and marked with the plural marker *ol* or *ō*. Tok Pisin inventory of interrogatives includes both single word forms and phrasal interrogatives marked by *long* or *bilong*. Unlike in LRC, TSC *wen* is not used at the beginning of interrogative sentences, as it is used only as a subordinate conjunction (see subsection 4.9.2.1.1), and *wataim* functions as an interrogative pronoun meaning 'when'. Similarly to Pijin, Tok Pisin, Bislama, Kriol, and TSC interrogatives, LRC interrogative pronouns in addition to being constituents of a given clause, they have the ability to form freestanding and independent short utterances. Kriol interrogative pronouns involve four forms, i.e. two forms having human and personal reference, namely, *hu* 'who' and *blau* 'whose', one form having non-human and non-personal reference, namely, *wanim* 'what' and one form having neutral reference, namely, *wijan* 'which' (Sandefur, 1979, pp. 96-97). However, Schultze-Berndt and Angelo (2013) list other interrogatives as well, for example, *wot* 'what', *wot fo* 'why', *we* 'where', *wotaim* 'when', and *hau* 'how'.

Similarly to LRC, the presence of TSC articles is optional (Shnukal, 1988, p. 24). Speakers appear to primarily use them when they want to clarify the otherwise unclear context and draw the attention of the hearer to the person or thing, to whom/which they refer. Unlike in LRC, the TSC singular article *da* 'the' does not possess any variants. In Pijin, *olketa* 'the' functions as a plural article, and *wanfala* 'a/an' and *disfala* 'the' are the indefinite and definite singular articles, respectively (Beimers, 2008, p. 139). In Tok Pisin, *wanpela* 'a/an' is an indefinite singular article and *ol* 'the' functions as a plural article (Dutton & Thomas, 1985, p. 68). As far as Kriol is concerned, Sandefur (1979, p. 104) states that there are no articles in Kriol, however, he does indicate that *wanbala* 'a/an, one' functions somewhat like an

article. Grimes and Lecompte (2014) classify *wan/wanbala* 'a/an' as the indefinite article and also note the presence of the definite article *da* 'the'. However, Nicholls (2009, p. 26) posits that in Kriol, *wan/wanbala* 'a/an' and *sambala* 'some' are the indefinite singular and plural articles, respectively. Nicholls (2009) also postulates that *det* 'that', the form of which is the same for both singular and plural numbers, is best categorised as an article, namely, a 'recognitional article', as "it is used when a speaker assumes the referent of the NP to be familiar to other interlocutors, but not immediately mentally accessible to him or her" (p. 19).

TSC uses the same demonstrative determiners as LRC. In Bislama, there is only one demonstrative, namely, postnominal *ia* 'this/that/these/those' that possesses a longer variant *hemia* (Crowley, 2004, p. 64). Thus, its form is the same for both singular and plural nouns. As a result, it is necessary to add the pre-modifier *ol* or *olgeta* to accentuate plurality. In Pijin, *disfala* 'this' and *datfala* 'that' function as demonstrative determiners. In Tok Pisin, *dispela* 'this, these' is a demonstrative determiner and *em* he/she/it' may precede lexical items form a number of word classes in order to denote the meaning 'this, that, these, those'. Nicholls (2009, p. 26) posits that *dis* 'that' and *darran/dan* 'that' function as the proximal and distal adnominal demonstratives that are used for both singular and plural numbers.

Similarly to LRC, some interrogative pronouns possess the ability to also function as interrogative determiners in Pijin, Bislama, Tok Pisin, and TSC.

Structurally, LRC cardinal numerals are similar to their TSC counterparts (Shnukal, 1988, pp. 27-28). However, unlike in LRC, where cardinal numbers may either precede or follow pronouns, TSC cardinal numerals are never preposed to pronouns but always follow them instead. In Pijin, cardinal numerals from one to twenty and other non-complex numerals may be either affixed with the suffix *-fala* or they resemble their English couterparts (Beimers, 2008, pp. 72-73). In Tok Pisin, while cardinal numerals from one to ten may be either affixed with the suffix *-pela* or not, those above ten usually are devoid of that suffix (Dutton & Thomas, 1985, p. 42). Similarly, in Kriol, cardinal numerals are affixed with the suffix *-bala* (Nicholls,

2009, p. 71). In comparison with Bislama, where reduplication of cardinal numerals, which from one to ten are affixed with the suffix *-fala*, occurs quite commonly (Crowley, 2004, pp. 53-54), only LRC numeral *wan* 'one' has been noted to undergo this process. In its reduplicated form *wanwan* is part of a distributive personal pronominal expression *wanwan ich* 'one each' (see subsection 4.4.1.1.). In Bislama, as a result of reduplication *wanwan*, which modifies a noun, acquires a meaning of 'occasional', in addition to its regular meaning 'one at a time, one each'.

As far as the ordinal numerals are concerned, in TSC, from first to fifth they mirror their English counterparts, while from sixth onwards their form matches that of the cardinal numerals. Unlike in LRC, TSC ordinal numerals are not formed by means of the noun *namba* 'number'. In Pijin, there exist two ways of expressing ordinal numerals. Firstly, in contrast to other varieties of Melanesian Pidgin, there exists yet another unique way to form ordinal numerals, namely, by compounding the word *mek* 'make' with a cardinal numeral, for example, *mek-eit* 'the eighth', however, when formed that way, ordinals function as nouns. Secondly, similarly to LRC, the noun *namba* 'number' may be compounded with a numeral. This process occurs also in Bislama and Tok Pisin (Crowley, 2004; Verhaar, 1995). However, similarly to Bislama, Pijin, Tok Pisin, and TSC, in LRC, *nambawan* is not an ordinal numeral 'first' but an adjective with a meaning of 'best, excellent' instead. Grimes and Lecompte (2014) state that in Kriol, *nambawan* denotes not only the meaning 'principal, very good, most important', but also that of an ordinal numeral 'first', in addition to *fes* that has the same meaning. The ordinal numerals second and third are formed by compounding the equivalents of the English ordinal numerals with *wan* 'one', e.g. *sekanwan* 'second' and *thedwan* 'third', while from fourth onwards they are formed by means of compounding cardinal numerals with *wan*, e.g. *sikswan* 'sixth' and *sebenwan* 'seventh'.

In contrast to TSC, where *plenti* 'a lot, plenty', *tumas* 'too many, too much', *lelbet* 'a bit', *olgeda* 'all' are pre-pronominal modifiers (Shnukal, 1988, pp. 29-30), it is customary for their LRC equivalents to function both as pre- and post-pronominal modifiers. Bislama *fulap* 'many, much' (Crowley, 2004, p. 53) and its TSC counterpart *pulap* 'many, plenty, lots' do not have a similar corresponding form in

LRC and the speakers use *plenti* or *tūmach/tūmas/tūmani* instead. The same pertains to both Pijin and Tok Pisin, where *plande* and *planti*, respectively, denote that meaning (Beimers, 2008; Dutton & Thomas, 1985). Unlike in LRC, some of Kriol quantifiers consist of the suffix *-bala*, for example, *sambala* 'some' and *blandibala* 'plenty' although unsuffixed forms do also exist, namely, *sam* 'some' and *blandi* 'plenty' (Sandefur, 1979, p. 100). Similarly, Pijin *samfala* 'some' represents a quantifier affixed with the suffix *-fala* (Beimers, 2008, p. 97). Another difference between LRC and Kriol involves the fact that there exists a quantifier *bigmob* 'lots, many' in Kriol that comprises the adjective *big* 'big' and the collective suffix **-mob** 'mob, group' that is used for a group that has in common certain distinctive qualities or shared activities (Munro, 2004; Nicholls, 2009; Sandefur, 1979). There are also such compounds as *holot* and *holbit*, both denoting the meaning 'all, whole'. Sandefur (1979, p. 100) categorises such lexical items not as quantifiers but as adjectival indefinite pronouns.

Similarly to LRC, the form of Pijin, Bislama, Tok Pisin, and TSC adjectives remains unchanged regardless of the number and gender of the nouns modified by them (Beimers, 2008; Crowley, 2004; Verhaar, 1995; Shnukal, 1988). In all those languages, adjectives may function attributively and predicatively. Similarly to TSC, LRC adjectives are never suffixed with *-fala* nor *-pela*. In comparison, while the suffix *-pela* is attached to all Tok Pisin monosyllabic adjectives (Dutton & Thomas, 1985; Lynch, 1998), in Pijin and Bislama, the suffix *-fala* is added to those adjectives that are emphasised (Lynch, 1998, p. 228). Kriol adjectives are suffixed either with *-wan* or *-bala* (Nicholls, 2009, p. 25). Sandefur (1979, pp. 100-101) states that occasionally Kriol adjectives may also be affixed with the suffix *-baga*, however, it is not unusual to encounter forms devoid of any suffix.

In LRC, adjectives occur pre-nominally. On the other hand, Lynch (1998, p. 319) provides an example from Pijin *Mi kaekae fish nogud* 'I ate a bad fish' states that *nogud* 'bad' is an exception, as it appears post-nominally. Beimers (2008, p. 99) indicates that *nogud* may appear both post- and pre-nominally in Pijin. In LRC, no post-nominal occurrence of *nogud* has been observed, which seems to always precede the noun.

(4-377) Ai   **<u>nogud</u>** <u>meit</u> <u>blo</u> <u>yū</u>   laka   na.

1SG   bad   friend POSS 2SG   DISC   EMP

'I have been a bad friend to you.'

Similarly to Bislama and TSC, LRC adjectives are also subject to reduplication. Unlike in Bislama, where partial syllable and partial root reduplication is possible, in LRC, only reduplication of full adjectival forms occurs. While in LRC the adjectival reduplication indicates intensity and plurality in case of plural referents, and both of those meanings may be signalled simultaneously, it does not indicate variety in whatever it is that noun refers to, as it does in Bislama. However, adjectival reduplication also expresses intensification in clearly singular referents. Similarly to Pijin, reduplicated adjectives can be affixed with the suffix *-wan*. However, unlike in LRC and Bislama, Pijin polysyllabic and compound adjectives cannot undergo nominalisation. In Kriol, adjectives can be fully reduplicated (Sandefur, 1979; Nicholls, 2009).

In comparison with LRC, where eighteen simple prepositions have been observed to occur, nowadays there are three simple prepositions in Tok Pisin (Verhaar, 1995, p. 236), six in Bislama (Crowley, 2004), and thirteen in TSC (Shnukal, 1988, p. 56). According to Beimers (2008, p. 99), there are three simple prepositions in Pijin. Lynch (1998, pp. 230), however, lists six of them. Sandefur (1979, p. 144) states that there are only four simple prepositions in Kriol, however, each of them possesses alternate forms. However, Nicholls (2009, pp. 33-34) lists only three primary prepositions, noting that there also exist a small group of less common prepositions. It is likely that the number of prepositions mentioned for Kriol and the other creoles in published works is so low, because variation and influence of English were taken into account less in comparison with the present study of LRC.

Crowley and Rigsby (1979, p. 181) observe that in Cape York Creole *blong* is used when the following word begins with a vowel and that *bla*, which constitutes a variant of *blo*, appears if the next word is consonant-initial. Although the latter observation does not appear in Shnukal, she does postulate that in TSC, *blong* is used before vowels and in formal speech, while *blo* is characteristic for casual

conversations. Similarly, Beimers (2008, p. 100) observes that in Pijin, *blong* takes the form of [blo] or [blõ] when it appears in informal speech. This is confirmed by Crowley who indicates that in Bislama, *blo* is further reduced to just *bl-* when the following word is vowel-initial. Although both Mihalic (1971, p. 71) and Dutton and Thomas (1985, p. 38) state that in Tok Pisin, there exists one single variant of this preposition, namely, *bilong*, Wakizada (2008, p. 28) also lists the reduced form *blo*. In Kriol, *blanga* and its reduced form *bla* indicate a genitive or benefactive relation (Sandefur, 1979, p. 144). Schultze-Berndt and Angelo (2013) note that the form *bo* can be encountered in the speech of younger people of some Kriol varieties. The use of *blong* and *blo* in LRC is consistent with that in those creoles, as in LRC, *blong* is used before vowels, while *blo* precedes consonants and occurs primarily in casual speech. The primary pattern of using *blo* matches that in Pijin, Bislama, Tok Pisin, and TSC in that the possessor PP (formed with the preposition *blong/blo*) follows the possessed NP. However, similarly to Bislama, an alternate pattern does occur (see subsection 4.2.1.3), where the possessive pronouns functioning as possessors follow *blong/blo* and precede the possessed NPs. This pattern also occurs in Fitzroy Valley Kriol (Hudson, 1983). In Kriol, the occurrence of both orders, i.e. possessed NP + *blanga/bla* + possessor NP and *blanga/bla* + possessor NP + possessed NP, is attested. Unlike in some varieties of Kriol, where *blanga/bla* is occasionally used as a postposition, LRC *blong/blo* never is used in that way.

Long/lo and *we* share the same meaning both in LRC and TSC, namely, they indicate location. Although *waya* and its variant *weya* fulfil a role of both interrogative pronouns and determiners in TSC, *we* functions as a preposition and a subordinator introducing relative clauses. By contrast, in LRC, *waya/weya/we* share all those four functions, i.e. all of them can be encountered to act as interrogative pronouns (see subsection 4.2.2.3) and determiners (see subsection 4.3.3) as well as prepositions and subordinators introducing relative clauses (see subsection 5.3.3). In LRC, the use of *we* and its variants *waya/weya* is much more prevalent in comparison with the preposition *long* and its reduced form *lo*, which denote identical meanings. In Kriol, *langa* and its reduced form *la* indicate location and direction.

Although the transitive suffix is a characteristic feature of transitive verbs, it is not inherent only to LRC transitive verbs, as it is also present in Pijin, Bislama, Kriol, TSC, and Tok Pisin (Beimers, 2008; Crowley, 2004; Nicholls, 2009; Shnukal, 1988; Verhaar, 1995). However, it is not unusual for a language to possess two variants *-em* and *-im*, e.g. Bislama, Pijin, and the western and central TSC dialect, where the existence of both forms seems to be dictated by the rule of vowel harmony. By contrast, the form of LRC transitive suffix does not depend on such a rule. In Bislama, the transitive suffix is frequently and optionally devoid of *m* when an object NP follows the verb but never when the verb occupies the sentence-final position. In Kriol, the transitive suffix possesses more than two forms, as in addition to the primary *-im* and its reduced variant *-i*, there also exist forms *-it, -at, -em, -am,* and *-um* (Nicholls, 2009; Sandefur, 1979). Similarly to LRC, it is possible for Kriol transitive verbs to occur without the transitive suffix (Nicholls, 2009, p. 26). This view is shared by Sandefur (1979, p. 113) who posits the existence of both marked and unmarked transitive verbs in Kriol.

Similarly to LRC, there exist transitive verbs in Pijin that do not possess intransitive equivalents, although they are marked by the transitive suffix, which is attached to a verbal bound root, e.g. *talem* 'tell (something)', *baem* 'buy (something), and *bitim* 'beat (something)'. Another difference involves the verb *luk* 'look at, see', which is both transitive and intransitive in Bislama, where form *lukim* is also present, and in TSC, but it is strictly intransitive in Pijin. In Tok Pisin, there exists a transitive form *lukim* 'see' and in LRC, both suffixed and unsuffixed forms do function as transitive, however, the unsuffixed one appears to be much more frequently used in comparison with the suffixed form.

In LRC, there are compound transitive verbs, which stem from combining transitive verbs with directional suffixes. This process is also known to take place in Pijin, Bislama, Tok Pisin, TSC, and Kriol. While in TSC and Tok Pisin, directional suffixes precede the transitive suffix, in Pijin, Bislama, Kriol, and LRC, they follow it. Beimers (2008, p. 115) notes that in certain cases the transitive suffix may follow directional suffixes, which does not result in the change of meaning.

In Pijin and TSC, the transitive suffix frequently participates in the formation of causative transitives when it is attached to intransitive verbs. However, although the same can be observed in Bislama, the primary way to make causative constructions involves two causative verbs, namely, *mekem* 'make' and *letem* 'let', which precede the verbs denoting the resulting action or state. It is possible to attach the transitive suffix to adjectives in order to form causative transitives in Pijin, Bislama, Tok Pisin, TSC, and LRC.

As in LRC, intransitive verbs are never affixed with the transitive suffix in Pijin, Bislama, Kriol, TSC, and Tok Pisin (Beimers, 2008; Crowley, 2004; Sandefur, 1979; Shnukal, 1988; Verhaar, 1995). Also as in LRC (see subsection 4.7.2.1), there exists in Pijin a complex lexicalised intransitive verb *mek-sua* 'to confirm', which is a compound in which *mek* 'make' is the initial element, and the second part of the compound "may be drawn from any class or even bound morphemes that occur nowhere else in Pijin. In all such cases the intransitives appear to be causative in nature" (Beimers, 2008, p. 110).

The progressive aspect function of LRC suffix *-(a)bat* is congruous with that of its Kriol counterpart *-(a)bat* (Schultze-Berndt & Angelo, 2013). Sandefur (1979, p. 119) also notes the existence of Kriol variant *-labat*. This suffix is, however, absent from TSC, Tok Pisin, Pijin, and Bislama.

Both full and partial verb reduplication is present in Pijin and Kriol, and partial reduplication is characteristic for Bislama (Beimers, 2008; Crowley, 2004; Nicholls, 2009). In Tok Pisin, verbal reduplication, which denotes prolonged or repeated actions, primarily involves reduplicated stems (Mihalic, 1971, p. 22). Conversely, only full verbal reduplication is pertinent to TSC, where it is one of the methods of expressing an iterative aspect (Shnukal, 1988, p. 51). A verb may be repeated once or several times; the more the verb is reduplicated, the longer it takes to complete the action. This observation resonates in Beimers (2008, p. 120) and in Nicholls (2009, p. 28) who posit that verbal reduplication in Pijin and Kriol, respectively, expresses continuous aspect. Similarly to TSC, in LRC, there is no partial verbal reduplication

and a verb may be repeated once or many times with no change in meaning, which, as noted in subsection 4.7.4, is synonymous with the root and the number of repetitions denotes the length of the action. Thus, verbal reduplication in LRC expresses repetition, continuity, and duration, but it also emphasises intensity of the performed action. This is in agreement with the observations of Keesing (1989, p. 29), Jourdan (2002, p. xvi), and Huebner and Horoi (1979, p. 93) in relation to the verbal reduplication in Pijin. Similarly, Nicholls (2009, p. 28) asserts that in Kriol, reduplication expresses duration. Sharpe and Sandefur (1976, pp. 68-69) note that verbal reduplication may be used to express the continuative aspect for intransitive verbs instead of the suffix *-bad* (see section 2.6) in the creole language of the Katherine and Roper River areas, as example (4-378) demonstrates.

(4-378) Im   bin   gray~gray.

       3SG   PST   cry~.CONT

       'He was crying'.

Crowley (1990, pp. 307-320) notes that in Bislama, verbal reduplication also denotes the habitual aspect of verbs and accounts for the formation of intransitives from transitives. The latter two features, however, appear to be absent from LRC.

With the exception of those LRC adverbs that are characterised by the presence of the English-based adverbial suffix *-li*, the form of other LRC and TSC adverbs matches that of adjectives (Shnukal, 1988, p. 55). However, in Bislama, while adjectives are suffixed with *-fala*, adverbs are devoid of that suffix, i.e. they appear in the adjectival basic root form (Crowley, 2004, pp. 30-31). While Tok Pisin adverbs are not characterised by any special morphological form, and can appear both pre- and post-verbally, the position of those adverbs, which are suffixed with *-pela*, is only post-verbal (Verhaar, 1995. pp. 392, 401-403). By comparison, Nicholls (2009, p. 32) points out that some of Kriol adverbs are affixed with the suffix *-bala*, noting that it is possible to distinguish fixed position adverbs that occur within the verb phrase (VP) (see Chapter 6) and free adverbs that possess the ability to occur either pre- or post-verbally. Unlike in LRC, adverbs are never affixed with either the nominalising suffix *-wan* or with the equivalent of the English adverbial suffix *-ly* in Pijin, Bislama, Tok Pisin, and TSC. Similarly to LRC, compound

adverbs may be formed with -*kain* 'kind of', -*taim* 'time of', and -*wei* '-ly' as in 'quickly' in TSC. In Bislama, there exist adverbs compounded with *taem* 'time' and *saed* 'side' but not with 'kind'. In Pijin, *taem* 'time' constitutes an integral part of some of the adverbs but not 'side' or 'kind' (Beimers, 2008, pp. 124-125). Similarly to LRC, adverbial reduplication is quite rare in Bislama, as only three adverbs, namely, *kwik* 'quick', *spid* 'quick', and *hariap* 'fast' can be reduplicated to denote intensity. Of those three adverbs only *hariap* is subject to partial reduplication – *harhariap* 'very fast'.

Beimers (2008, p. 198) notes that a considerable number of Pijin adjectives are able to function adverbially and, as a result, assume usually a role of the adverbs of manner. Thus, Beimers (2008, pp. 124-125) does not categorise them as adverbs. Accepting that opinion would mean that LRC adverbs in many of the examples provided above are indeed adjectives acting adverbially. However, as noted above, it is reasonable to treat them as adverbs and not as adjectives. Although the majority of LRC adverbs have the same shape as adjectives, adjectives can modify verbs and nouns, while adverbs possess the ability to modify all types of constituents with the exception of nouns (Beimers, 2008, p. 124). This is in agreement with the assessment of adverbs in Bislama and TSC as proposed by Crowley (2004) and Shnukal (1988), respectively. Although Mihalic (1971, pp. 34-35) posits that in Tok Pisin, any adjective may function as an adverb, he does include adjectives functioning adverbially in the section devoted to adverbs, noting that they are never affixed with the suffix -*pela*, with the exception of *nupela* 'recently'. Both Mihalic (1971, p. 36) and Verhaar (1995, p. 400) classify such lexical items as the adverbs of manner.

Similarly to LRC, both Pijin and TSC possess three coordinators, namely, *an* 'and', *bat* 'but', and *o* 'or', which denote addition, contrast, and alternation, respectively (Beimers, 2008; Shnukal, 1988). 'And' in TSC may also occur as *ane* or *ene*. However, in Bislama, *mo* functions as 'and', *be* as 'but', *o/no* as 'or' (Crowley, 2004, pp. 172-174). In Tok Pisin, *na* is the additive coordinator, *o* or *no* assume a role of the alternative coordinators, and *tasol* functions as the contrastive coordinator (Verhaar, 1995, pp. 422-424). By comparison, in Kriol, *en* 'and' is a coordinating

conjunction denoting addition (Nicholls, 2009, p. 89). While Sandefur (1979, pp. 107-108) points out that juxtaposition also occurs in Kriol, Nicholls indicates that that phenomenon is unattested in her data.

As far as subordinators are concerned, while *blong* and *long* act as complementisers introducing complements in Bislama, they do not in LRC, where *long* 'long' is an adjective and *blong* is a possessive pronoun. While *taim* 'when' in Tok Pisin, and *taem* 'when' in Pijin and Bislama introduce adverbial clauses of time, *wen* 'when' assumes that role both in TSC and LRC. *Sapos* 'if' serves as the subordinator introducing conditional clauses in Pijin, Bislama, and Tok Pisin, *if* and *ip* assume that role in LRC and TSC, respectively. In Bislama, *sapos* may also be accompanied by the following *we* or *se*, where *we* introduces relative clauses and *se* functions as a subordinator occurring after speech verbs as well. By contrast, *sei* is used as the main verb when it is followed by reported speech and quotations in Pijin, TSC, and LRC. However, *olsem* when following speech verbs signals the presence of reported speech.

Similarly to LRC, relative clauses (RCs) are introduced by *we* in Bislama and TSC. This takes place in TSC primarily when *we* functions as the subject rather than the object of the RC. However, as noted in subsection 4.9.2.2, in LRC, RCs may also be introduced by the two variants of *we*, namely, *weya/waya*, as all those forms are used interchangeably. This is a difference with TSC, where *weya/waya* act solely as interrogative determiners and interrogative pronouns, and never introduce RCs. In Pijin, there are two relativisers, i.e. *wea* and *hu*, where the former is used for nouns that do not refer to human beings and the latter is used for nouns that do (Beimers, 2008, p. 134). This distinction does not exist in LRC, where *we/weya/waya* are used for nouns that refer both to human beings and not.

4.12 Conclusion

This chapter has described LRC word classes and morphological processes. Thus, it has presented nouns, pronouns, determiners, quantifiers, adjectives, prepositions, verbs, adverbs, conjunctions, and interjections. Each word class has also involved

the presentation of morphological processes. Thirty-one creole features have been examined and out of them, LRC shares twenty-one features with other either all or some of the remaining creoles. Thus, the following ten creole features are present in LRC and the other five creoles:

1. apparent noun reduplication
2. suffix -*pla* (in LRC and TSC, -*bala* in Kriol, -*fala* in Pijin and Bislama, and -*pela* in Tok Pisin)
3. full adjectival reduplication
4. possessed NP + *blong/blo* + possessor NP
5. the transitive suffix
6. compound transitive verbs
7. causative transitives affixed with the transitive suffix
8. intransitive verbs always devoid of the transitive suffix
9. verb reduplication expressing continuity, repetition, and duration
10. compound adverbs.

In addition, all nouns are countable in both LRC and TSC. With the exception of Tok Pisin, the nominalising suffix -*wan* is present in LRC, TSC, Kriol, Pijin, and Bislama. The three-number pronominal system is a feature characteristic of LRC, TSC, and Kriol. The noun *namba* 'number' participates in the formation of ordinal numerals in LRC, Pijin, Bislama, and Tok Pisin. The nominalisation of polysyllabic and compound adjectives occurs in LRC, TSC, Kriol, Bislama, and Tok Pisin. The possessive order *blong/blo* + possessor NP + possessed NP can be found in LRC, Kriol, and Bislama. The progressive aspect suffix -*(a)bat* is present in both LRC and Kriol. With the exception of Bislama, full verb reduplication takes place in LRC, TSC, Kriol, Pijin, and Tok Pisin. Adverbial reduplication is present in LRC, Kriol, and Bislama.

All of the thirteen English-derived features, which have been examined, have been found to exist in LRC. The following four English-derived features also exist in the remaining five creoles:

1. compounds that are direct transfers from English

2. articles

3. interrogative pronouns used as short utterances

4. unmarked transitive verbs.

Additionally, with the exception of TSC, the plural suffix *-s* can be found in LRC, Kriol, Pijin, Bislama, and Tok Pisin. The gerundial suffix *-ing* occurs in LRC, Bislama, and Tok Pisin. The agentive suffix *-a* is a feature characteristic of both LRC and Bislama. The system of four demonstrative pronouns exists in LRC, TSC, and Kriol. The reflexive suffix has the form *-self* in LRC, *-selp* in TSC, and *-self* in Kriol. Reciprocal pronouns are present in LRC, TSC, and Kriol. Distributive pronouns can be found in LRC and TSC. *We* introduces relative clauses in LRC, TSC, Pijin, and Bislama.

Chapter 5 The Noun Phrase (NP), and the Word and Phrase Coordination

This chapter presents the internal structure of LRC NPs and their constituents. It also describes the structure of two additional types of phrases that act as constituents: the Adjectival Phrase (AdjP) and the Prepositional Phrase (PP). There are two subtypes of NPs, namely, those NPs headed by a noun and those headed by a pronoun. NPs headed by a noun include simple NPs, which may include determiners, quantifiers, AdjPs, modifying nouns as well as post-modifiers. In complex NPs, PPs and/or clauses can additionally occur as constituents. Simple NPs contain all and only constituents, which directly modify the head. Complex NPs include constituents, which take the whole NP within their scope, rather than modifying any of the NP internal constituents. Pronominal NPs, which are described separately in section 5.4, in view of their unique characteristics may also be divided into two subtypes; namely, those that comprise only pronouns and those with a complex structure. The following sections first discuss pre-head constituents in the order they appear within NPs and then post-head constituents.

5.1 Simple NPs

This section presents simple NPs that constitute one of the two subtypes of NPs in LRC. The structure of simple NPs is captured by the following diagram, which shows that only a noun is an obligatory element and all of the remaining constituents are optional.

NP → (DET) (Q) (AdjP) (N) **N** (PN)

Pre-head constituents are described below. Within the group of postnominal modifiers, it is possible to distinguish post-head emphatic modifiers *tū* 'too/also' and *mō* 'more', which are presented in subsection 5.1.6, and post-head discourse markers *nau/na* and *ya*, which are described in subsection 9.4.1.

5.1.1 Bare Nouns as NPs

Bare nouns are generally proper nouns (see subsection 4.1.1.1), or generic or indefinite common nouns. In examples (5-1) and (5-2), nouns, *dadi* 'dad' and *trak* 'truck', respectively, function as bare nouns. It could be concluded that *dadi* 'dad' functions most likely as a proper noun in example (5-1), as it does not combine with a determiner (see section 4.3). However, it is not possible for *trak* 'truck' in example (5-2) to function as a proper noun, as it may or may not be preceded by a determiner without evoking a change in meaning.

(5-1) **Dadi** bin ala gen kōl-i neim blo dem tū boi.
dad PST shout again call-TRS name POSS DET two boy
'Dad shouted again calling the names of the two boys.'

(5-2) Ebriwan loud-i ōl ting-s blo dembla insaid we **trak**.
INDF.PRN load-TRS all thing-PL POSS 3PL into PREP truck
'Everyone loaded all their things into the truck.'

The articles are absent in (5-3) and (5-4), as *thampu* 'yam' and *ka'ata* 'karo, yam type' in (5-3) are examples of non-specific indefinite nouns, while *bomfaya* 'bonfire' in (5-4) constitutes a specific indefinite noun.

(5-3) Yūpla go luk-ran fō **thampu** en **ka'ata**.
2PL FUT look-round PREP yam CONN karo
'You will look for yams and karos (type of yam).'

(5-4) Mīpla meik-i **bomfaya**.
1PL.EXCL make-TRS bonfire
'We made a bonfire.'

To summarise, a lack of determiners does not have to signal unspecificity and indefiniteness, but instead bare nouns functioning as NPs may represent singular or plural entities of specific or non-specific character (Nicholls, 2009; Sankoff & Mazzie, 1991).

5.1.2 NP Determiner

NP determiners, which are detailed in section 4.3, express a variety of semantic meanings, such as, for example, definiteness, indefiniteness, singularity, plurality, demonstrative proximal and distal meanings, possession, and choice with a use of relevant interrogative determiner. Thus, in example (5-5), the indefinite plural article *ōl* 'the' denotes the non-particular meaning of the head noun (see subsection 4.3.1.2). *Ya* functions here as a postnominal emphatic modifier (see subsections 5.1.6 and 9.4.1.2) that does not not provide any information pertaining to the deictic proximal - distal location of the NP, but it draws attention to a given head noun/NP (see Chapter 5) instead.

(5-5) Mīpla   luk   **ōl   korol   ya**   kam-at   ebriwe.
      1PL.EXCL   see   DET   coral   EMP   come-out   everywhere
      'We saw coral (in general) come out everywhere here.'

The article *dem* 'the' not only encodes information regarding the plural number of particular referents, but also their identifiability, as example (5-6) shows.

(5-6) Im   no   laik   join-i   **dem   fren   blong   im**.
      3SG   NEG   like   join-TRS   DET   friend   POSS   3SG
      'He did not like to join his friends.'

The definite article *de* 'the' may denote both singularity and plurality. Thus, in example (5-7) *de* is used as a singular article, as the speaker threw only one anchor into the water. By comparison, in example (5-8) *de* depicts plurality, as the speaker cooked more than one crab.

(5-7) Ai   chak-i   **de   ainka**.
      1SG   throw.in-TRS   DET   anchor
      'I threw the anchor in.'

(5-8) Ai   kuk-i   **de   krab**   en   meik-i   tingri   mints.
      1SG   cook-TRS   DET   crab   CONN   make-TRS   stingray   mince
      'I cooked the crabs and made a mashed stingray.'

In example (5-9), the demonstrative determiner *det* 'that' (see subsection 4.3.2) precedes the head noun *bat* 'bat' thus referring to a particular bat.

(5-9) Sabi   dadi,   **det   bat**   spīk   mīpla   smel   stink.

know   dad   DEM   bat   say   1PL.EXCL   smell   badly

'You know, dad, that bat said that we smelled badly.'

In example (5-10), *wichkain* 'which kind of' functions as an interrogative determiner and denotes the meaning of choice/selection (see subsections 4.2.2.3 and 4.3.3).

(5-10) Im   no   sabi   **wich-kain**   kā   im   laik.

3SG   NEG   know   which-kind   car   3SG   like

'He does not know, which car he likes.'

Mai 'my' in example (5-11) denotes possession (see subsection 4.2.1.3). All possessive pronouns function as determiners since they cannot co-occur with the other determiners.

(5-11) Mīpla   elp-i   **mai**   brade   meik-i   kemp.

1PL.EXCL   help-TRS   POSS.PRN   brother   make-TRS   campsite

'We helped my brother to make a campsite.'

It should be noted that LRC does not allow co-occurrence of its determiners within a single NP.

5.1.2.1 Pronoun Appositions

Apposition constitutes a type of construction, where two or more referring expressions are juxtaposed and neither are clearly the head of the NP (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002; Sadler & Nordlinger, 2006). In such constructions, the juxtaposed NPs are not syntactically modifying each other, neither of the NPs is the head of the entire phrase (Nicholls, 2009, p. 52).

The pronoun appositions, which are quite rare in LRC, are included under NP determiners, as they occupy the determiner position in the NP, in spite of the fact that they do not function as determiners. They are parallel to the NPs and both the apposition and the NP are co-referential. They are consecutive and have the same

relation to the other elements in the sentence. The NP identifies and supplements the pronoun apposition. Both the pronoun apposition and the NP have the same function in a sentence, for example, in (5-12), both *dembla* '3PL' and the NP *ōl smōl gēls* 'the little girls' function as an object. On the other hand, in example (5-13), both *yūmī* '1NSG.INCL' and *ōl big man* 'the grown men' function as a subject. In this case, pronouns do not fulfil a role of determiners but function as pronoun appositions followed by co-referential NPs. Thus, in examples (5-12) and (5-13), *dembla* '3PL' and *yūmī* '1NSG.INCL' are pronouns in apposition to full NPs *ōl smōl gēls* 'the little girls' and *ōl big man* 'the grown men', respectively. Structurally, both the pronoun appositions and the NPs are two separate NPs and, therefore, in examples below are underlined separately.

(5-12) Mīpla   kar-i   <u>dembla</u>   <u>ōl   smōl   gēl-s</u>.
1PL.EXCL carry-TRS   3PL   DET   little   girl-PL
'We carried the little girls.'

(5-13) <u>Yūmī</u>   <u>ōl   big   man</u>   yūmī   gada   kar-i   dem   dog.
1NSG.INCL DET   big   man   1NSG.INCL have.to take-TRS DET   dog
'We grown men have to take the dogs.'

Ōl, which functions both as the third person plural pronoun (see subsection 4.2.1.1.11) and the indefinite plural article (see subsection 4.3.1.2), occurs in utterances of this type. If there is a determiner in the NP following the pronoun, then it is in apposition to the pronoun. Such NPs are supplemental, especially if intonational separation is present between the supplemental NP and the pronoun. If there is no intonational separation, then *ōl* could be omitted, with no change to the meaning, which results in pronouns assuming a role of determiners that denote both the person deixis and the plurality of the NPs. To better illustrate this phenomenon, *ōl* is omitted in examples (5-14) and (5-15), which otherwise represent the replicas of (5-12) and (5-13).

(5-14) Mīpla   kar-i   <u>dembla</u>   <u>smōl   gēl-s</u>.
1PL.EXCL carry-TRS   3PL   little   girl-PL
'We carried little girls.'

(5-15) <u>Yūmī</u>   <u>big</u>   <u>man</u>   yūmī   gada   kar-i   dem   dog.

1NSG.INCL   big   man   1NSG.INCL   have.to   take-TRS   DET   dog

'We grown men have to take the dogs.'

In examples (5-16) – (5-19), NPs are in apposition, as pronouns may either precede or follow NPs, with no change to the meaning. As a result, either order is appropriate. LRC pronouns possess the ability to precede nouns, where they do not function as determiners but express the notion of inclusivity instead. As a result, in such constructions, they denote the meaning 'associates, mates, close friends, the people one hangs out with'. Thus, in examples (5-16) and (5-17), both *dembla* '3PL' and *mītū* '1DU.EXCL' precede the proper nouns *Josiah* 'Josiah' and *Deivid* 'David', respectively.

(5-16) <u>Dembla</u>   <u>Josiah</u>   de   standap.

3PL   Josiah   there   stand.up

'Josiah and his friends stand there.'

(5-17) <u>Mītū</u>   <u>Deivid</u>   bin   dāns.

1DU.EXCL   David   PST   dance

'David and I danced.'

Pronouns may not only precede proper nouns when they denote inclusivity, but they may also follow both proper and common nouns. It should be noted that no change in meaning is involved, as examples (5-18) and (5-19) demonstrate. There is no preferred order and those constructions are used interchangeably.

(5-18) <u>Ankel</u>   <u>dembla</u>   ōl   no   teik-i   plenti   eg.

uncle   3PL   3PL   NEG   take-TRS   many   egg

'Uncle and his friends did not take many eggs.'

(5-19) <u>Josiah</u>   <u>dembla</u>   de   standap.

Josiah   3PL   there   stand.up

'Josiah and his friends stand there.'

Beimers (2008, pp. 140-142) refers to the work of Lichtenberk (2000, pp. 1-32) who calls such constructions and pronouns, which appear in them inclusory, as the latter

denote a complete set of participants. The lexical NPs that follow or precede inclusory pronouns, and to which Lichtenberk refers by means of a term "included NPs", mark subsets of those complete sets of participants. Thus, in LRC examples (5-16) - (5-19), the lexical NPs *Josiah, Deivid,* and *ankel* 'uncle' constitute subsets of the inclusory pronouns *dembla* '3PL' and *mītū* '1DU.EXCL'. Lichtenberk indicates that in the inclusory constructions the inclusory pronouns function as heads and the lexical nouns as their modifiers. Beimers is in agreement with Lichtenberk in that pronouns in the inclusory constructions are not determiners, but indeed they function as inclusory pronouns. In his reasoning, Beimers argues that the lexical NPs do not specify referents expressed by the inclusory pronouns and that that information is provided solely by the latter. The same is valid for RC inclusory pronouns and inclusory constructions, as in examples (5-16) - (5-19), *Josiah, Deivid,* and *ankel* 'uncle' do not indicate referents expressed by the inclusory pronouns *dembla* 'they' and *mītū* 'the two of us'.

5.1.3 NP Quantifier

This subsection describes quantifiers (see section 4.4), both numerals and other quantifiers, which pre-modify nouns within NPs. Thus, in examples (5-20) and (5-21), the quantifier *ebri* 'every' and the numeral *siks* 'six' precede nouns *mōning* 'morning' and *pikinini* 'child', respectively.

(5-20) **Ebri** mōning ōl fīd-i det frog wif insekt-s.
every morning 3PL feed-TRS DEM frog PREP insect-PL
'Every morning they fed insects to that frog.'

(5-21) Yū gad **siks** pikinini.
2SG have six child
'You have six children.'

If present, determiners precede quantifiers within NPs. In examples (5-22) and (5-23), the quantifier *plenti* 'plenty' and the numeral *fō* 'four' follow the definite plural article *dem*.

(5-22) Den   mīpla   ken   loud-im   <u>dem</u>   **plenti**   <u>krofish</u>.

then   1PL.EXCL   can   load-TRS   DET   plenty   crayfish

'Then we could load lots of crayfish.'

(5-23) Em   spīk   fō   <u>dem</u>   **fō**   pikinini   blong   im</u>.

3SG   speak   PREP   DET   four   child   POSS   3SG

'He talked to the four children of his.'

5.1.3.1 Nouns of Quantity

Some of LRC quantifiers (see subsection 4.4.2), which constitute nouns of quantity, function as NP heads. They do not take prenominal modifiers. Table 5.1 lists LRC nouns of quantity.

Table 5.1 Nouns of Quantity

Noun of Quantity	Gloss
āf	'half'
inaf	'enough'
litilbit	'a little bit/a few/a couple'
ōl	'all'
ōlgeda	'all of them'
plenti	'plenty/many/much/a lot/lots'
sam	'some/a few'
tūmach/tūmas/tūmani	'too much/too many/many/much/a lot/lots'

In examples (5-24) – (5-27), the quantifiers *litilbit* 'a little bit', *plenti* 'lots', *sam* 'some', and *tūmach* 'lots', respectively, function as nouns of quantity.

(5-24) Show-i   mī   **litilbit**!

show-TRS   me   a little bit

'Show me a little bit!'

(5-25) Yūmī   ebriwan   gad   **plenti**!

1NSG.INCL   INDF.PRN   have   lots

'We have lots!'

(5-26) Mama go   boil-i   **sam**   en   roust-i   **sam**   waya   faya.

       mum   FUT   boil-TRS   some   CONN   roast-TRS   some   PREP   fire

       'Mum will boil some and roast some in the fire.'

(5-27) Em   bin   ab-i   **tūmach**.

       3SG   PST   have-TRS   lots

       'He had lots.'

5.1.4 Adjectival Phrases (AdjPs)

AdjPs that function as pre-modifiers of head nouns within NPs are described below and adjectives functioning predicatively are discussed in Chapter 7.

The internal structure of AdjPs can be written as follows:

AdjP → (ADV) **ADJ**

Adjectives, therefore, constitute the only obligatory elements of AdjPs, which function as pre-modifiers of head nouns within NPs. In example (5-28), the NP *big aligida* 'big crocodile' consists of the head noun *aligida* 'crocodile' that is pre-modified by the AdjP *big* 'big'.

(5-28) Im   spot-i   **big**   aligida.

       3SG   spot-TRS   big   crocodile

       'He spotted a big crocodile.'

Similarly, in example (5-29), the NP *gud trak* 'good truck' comprises the head noun *trak* 'truck', which is pre-modified by the AdjP *gud* 'good'.

(5-29) Im   gad   **gud**   trak.

       3SG   have   good   truck

       'He has a good truck.'

If present, determiners precede AdjPs. Thus, in example (5-30), the definite plural article *dem* precedes the AdjP *grīn* 'green'. They are part of the NP *dem grīn trī sneik* 'the green tree snakes.'

(5-30) Nai-taim <u>dem **grīn** trī sneik</u> i glou.

      night-time DET   green tree snake PM   glow

      'At night, the green tree snakes glow.'

An analogous situation occurs in (5-31), where the demonstrative *dis* 'this' precedes the AdjP *drai* 'dry'. They are a part of the NP *dis drai lend* 'this dry land.'

(5-31) No   mayi waya <u>dis **drai** lend</u>.

      NEG food PREP   DEM dry   land

      'There is no food in this desert.'

If present, quantifiers also precede AdjPs. Thus, in example (5-32), the cardinal numeral *faib* 'five' appears in front of the AdjP *smōl* 'small'. They are a part of the NP *faib smōl pikinini* 'five small children.'

(5-32) Dis   gēl   gad <u>faib **smōl** pikinini</u>.

      DEM   girl   have five   small   child

      'This girl has five small children.'

Pre-modification of adjectives by adverbs may occur both when adjectives function attributively and also predicatively (see Chapter 6). Thus, in example (5-33), the adjective *streinj* 'strange' is pre-modified by the adverb *prapa* 'very'. They are part of the NP *prapa streinj nois* 'very strange noise'.

(5-33) Mīpla   lisin   na   <u>**prapa streinj** nois</u>.

      1PL.EXCL hear   EMP   very   strange   noise

      'We heard a very strange noise.'

5.1.4.1 Adjective Modifiers

As the diagram of the AdjP internal structure provided in subsection 5.1.4 shows, adjectives may optionally be pre-modified by adverbs. In their attributive function, adjectives may never be followed but instead are always preceded and, therefore, pre-modified by adverbs. *Litilbit* 'rather', *nadakain/nadakan* 'extremely/unusually', *prapa* 'very', *rili* 'really', *so/sou* 'so', *tū* 'too', and *veri* 'very' constitute the most common intensifying adverbs that possess the ability to appear in front of adjectives. Their function is to gradate the degree of the properties, features, and qualities

expressed by adjectives. In example (5-34), the NP *litilbit smōl kā* 'rather small car' consists of the AdjP *litilbit smōl* 'rather small', where the adverb *litilbit* 'rather' pre-modifies the adjective *smōl* 'small'.

(5-34) Dis   kā   im   **litilbit**   **smōl**   kā.

       DEM   car   3SG   rather   small   car

       'This car is a rather small car.'

Similarly, in example (5-35), the NP *nadakain big boks* 'unusually big box' comprises the AdjP *nadakain big* 'unsually big', where the adverb *nadakain* 'unusually' precedes the adjective *big* 'big'.

(5-35) Diswan   **nadakain**   **big** boks.

       DEM.PRN   unusually   big   box

       'This is an unusually big box.'

An analogous situation occurs in (5-36), where the NP *veri kleve wich dokte* 'very clever witch doctor' involves not only the presence of the pre-modifying noun *wich* 'witch' (see subsection 5.1.5), but also consists of the AdjP *veri kleve* 'very clever', where *veri* 'very' pre-modifies the adjective *kleve* 'clever'.

(5-36) **Veri**   **kleve** wich   dokte.

       very   clever witch doctor

       'A very clever witch doctor.'

5.1.4.2 Multiple Adjectives

NPs may contain not one but multiple adnominal adjectives that appear in a string and may be separated by coordinators. It should be stressed that they are multiple AdjPs, and not a single AdjP with multiple heads. In examples (5-37) and (5-38), the AdjPs *big blaik* 'big black' and *big ōl* 'big old' are not connected by coordinators but are juxtaposed instead. On the other hand, in (5-39), the AdjPs *strong* 'strong' and *helfi* 'healthy' are connected with the use of the coordinator *en* 'and'.

(5-37) **Big**   **blaik**   awu   ran   lo   sanbīs.

       big   black   evil.spirit   run   PREP beach

       'A big, black evil spirit ran along the beach.'

(5-38) Im   bi   go   lo   de   chīp, <u>det **big ōl man**</u>.

3SG   PST   go   PREP   DET   leader DET   big   old   man

'He went to the leader, that big old man.'

(5-39) **Strong** en   **helfi**   pikinini   blo   mīpla.

strong CONN   healthy   child   POSS   1PL.EXCL

'Strong and healthy children of ours.'

It is not uncommon for more than two adjectives to appear in a string when they function attributively. There are three adjectives in examples (5-40) and (5-41). Four adjectives in a string-like fashion appear in example (5-42).

(5-40) <u>**Prapa   nais**, </u> <u>**klīn**, </u> <u>**klie** </u> <u>wata</u>.

very   nice   clean   clear   water

'Very nice, clean, clear water.'

(5-41) Im   luk   <u>**big**, </u> <u>**long**, </u> <u>**grīn** </u> <u>sneik</u>.

3SG   see   big   long   green   snake

'He saw a big, long, green snake.'

(5-42) <u>**Prapa**   **nais**, </u> <u>**klie**, </u> <u>**crisp**, </u> <u>**klīn** </u> <u>wata</u>.

very   nice   clear   crisp   clean

'Very nice, clear, crisp, clean water.'

As examples (5-40) and (5-42) above show, the intensifying adverb *prapa* 'very' appears only before the very first adjective of the AdjPs and such is the tendency regarding all other intensifying adverbs. However, when the adjectives are separated by coordinators, the intensifying adverbs may appear before every adjective. Thus, in example (5-43), the adverb *prapa* 'very' occurs not only in front of the adjective *gud* 'good', but it also precedes the adjective *best* 'best', as the two adjectives are separated by the coordinator *en* 'and'.

(5-43) Mai   dadi   sabi   **prapa   gud** en   **prapa best** spot

POSS.PRN dad   know   very   good CONN   very   best spot

fō   set-i   krab pot en   kech-i   dem krab en   kreifish.

COMP set-TRS crab pot CONN catch-TRS DET crab CONN crayfish

'My dad knew a very good and a very best spot for setting crab pots and

catching crabs and crayfish.'

5.1.4.3 Multiple Adjective Order

It is difficult to state with certainty if the multiple adjective order within NPs could actually be established in relation to LRC adjectives, as the available data set is quite limited and many adjectives have not been observed to occur in the company of other adjectives. Notwithstanding this obvious drawback and by analysing examples (5-40) through (5-43) above, it is, however, possible to deduce that adjectives denoting dimensions (*big* 'big', *long* 'long') precede those of age (*ōl* 'old') and colour (*blaik* 'black', *grin* 'green). Adjectives expressing value (*nais* 'nice') occur before those expressing physical properties (*klīn* 'clean', *klie* 'clear'), which in turn precede those denoting human propensity (*helfi* 'healthy'). It should be noted that the collected data does not contain examples of LRC adjectives of speed and difficulty appearing next to adjectives belonging to the remaining groups. Thus, the tentative order of LRC multiple adjectives is proposed to be as follows:

Dimension, Age, Value, Colour, Physical Property, Human Propensity

5.1.4.4 Compound Adjectives Formed with Noun *kain*

The formation of compound adjectives that indicate the type or class of an NP occurs when the noun *kain* 'kind, sort, type' is attached to demonstrative determiners (see subsection 4.3.2), adjectives (see section 4.5), some quantifiers (see subsection 4.4.2), and the numeral *wan* 'one' (see subsection 4.4.1), with the exclusion of both proper nouns and pronouns that are never accompanied by such complements. Table 5.2 provides a summary of LRC compound adjectives formed with the noun *kain.*

Table 5.2 Compound Adjectives Formed with the Noun *kain*

Compound Adjective	Gloss
adakain/adekain	'other kind of'
datkain/detkain	'that kind of'
damkain/demkain	'these/those kinds of'
ebrikain/evrikain	'every kind of'
enikain	'any kind of'
nadakain/nadekain	'another/other kind of'
ōlkain	'all kinds of'
samkain	'some kind of'
seimkain	'same kind of'
wankain	'one kind of'

In examples (5-44) - (5-46), the compound adjectives *ōlkain* 'all kinds of', *demkain* 'those kinds of', and *seimkain* 'same kinds of' precede head nouns *fish* 'fish' and *fing/ting* 'thing', respectively. In example (5-46), *seimkain* 'same kinds of' follows the definite article *de* 'the'.

(5-44) **Ōl-kain** fish mīpla loud-im-ap.

all-kind.of fish 1PL.EXCL load-TRS-up

'We loaded all kinds of fish.'

(5-45) Dem ōl pīpul ōl bi dū **dem-kain** ting

DET old people 3PL PST do those-kind.of thing

ōlden dei-s-taim long-taim gou.

old day-PL-time long-time ago

'The old people did those kinds of things in the old days long time ago.'

(5-46) Mīpla gad-im <u>de</u> **seim-kain** ting.

1PL.EXCL have-TRS DET same-kind.of thing

'We have the same kinds of things.'

5.1.4.5 Comparison of Adjectives

Adjectives are gradable, as they refer to properties or states that can be possessed in varying degrees. A three-term system, namely, absolute, comparative, and superlative is used to express those degrees. As the base adjectival form constitutes the absolute degree, the following discussion concentrates on the comparative and superlative degrees.

5.1.4.5.1 Comparative Degree of Adjectives

Although the majority of comparative constructions occur in the predicate and, as a result, are discussed in Chapter 7, they do sometimes occur in NPs. The comparative degree of adjectives is achieved by placing *mō* 'more' in front of the adjective in the absolute degree. Thus, in examples (5-47) and (5-48), *mō* 'more' precedes adjectives *big* 'big', and *strong* 'strong', respectively.

(5-47) **Mō** **big** boi   bi   win   de   geim.

more   big   boy   PST   win   DET   game

'The bigger boy won.'

(5-48) **Mō** **strong** man   bi   kam   de   bos.

more   strong   man   PST   become   DET   leader

'The stronger man became the leader.'

5.1.4.5.2 Superlative Degree of Adjectives

The superlative degree of LRC adjectives is achieved with the use of the equivalents of the English superlative adjectival forms, which are suffixed with -*est*, or function in their irregular forms. Thus, in examples (5-49) – (5-51), the superlative adjectival forms *ōldest*, 'oldest', *best* 'best', and *smōlest* 'smallest' occur, respectively.

(5-49) De   **ōld-est** man   waya   Lokāt   stap   we   dis   aus.

DET   old-est   man   in   Lockhart   live   PREP   DEM   house

'The oldest man in Lockhart lives in this house.'

(5-50) Mīpla   gada   weit   fō   de   **best** taim.

1PL.EXCL   gotta   wait   PREP   DET   best   time

'We have to wait for the best time.'

(5-51) <u>De</u> **smōl-est** <u>boi</u> im bi get bit sik, laka, na, kruk.

      DET small-est boy 3SG PST get a.bit sick DISC EMP crook

      'The smallest boy then got a bit sick, crook.'

5.1.5 Modifying Nouns

This subsection discusses modifying nouns, which comprise nouns that possess the ability to take on a modifying function when they precede head nouns. In that role, they act as "the attributive noun modifiers" (Beimers, 2008, p. 153). When combined with head nouns, they do not form compounds, as those noun combinations do not represent semantic entities, for example, the head noun *neim* 'name' in examples (5-53) and (5-56) below does not form compounds with *sosayeti* 'society' and *langgus* 'traditional language', respectively, but is simply modified by them. However, a prosodic argument is much stronger than the semantic argument, as both the modifying nouns and head nouns maintain their own stress when they occur next to each other in a sentence. By comparison, compounds such as those described in section 4.1.2.1, for example, *sugabaig* 'honeycomb/bee's nest', *edsō* 'headache', and *bunarou* 'bow and arrow' do not only constitute semantic entities but are also characterised by stress placed on the initial syllable only. In example (5-52), the head noun *tōk* 'talk' is pre-modified by the noun *lengwij* 'language'.

(5-52) Yūmī   kōl-im   kūku,   **<u>lengwij</u>**   **<u>tōk</u>**.

      1NSG.INCL   call-TRS   language   language   talk

      'We call it *kuuku*, language talk.'

Similarly, in example (5-53), the head noun *neim* 'name' is pre-modified by the noun *sosayeti* 'society'.

(5-53) Klen   grup-s   andenīt <u>de</u>   **sosayeti**   **neim**.

      clan   group-PL under   DET   society   name

      'Clan groups under the society names.'

An analogous situation occurs in example (5-54), where *pīpul* 'people' is the head noun and the noun *sīzin* 'season' functions as a pre-modifier.

(5-54) Yūmī　　　**ōl**　**sīzin**　**pīpul**　　ya.
　　　 1NSG.INCL all　　season　　people　　here
　　　 'We are all seasonal people here.'

In example (5-55), the head noun *wei* 'way' is pre-modified by the noun *waitmen* 'white men'.

(5-55) Fō　 mītū　　 prapa　andestand　**wait-men**　　 **wei**,
　　　 PREP 1DU.EXCL really　understand　white-men　　　 way
　　　 ai　　bi　 āftū　　 go tū　 dei　　　 lō.
　　　 1SG　 PST　have.to　go PREP POSS.PRN　 law
　　　 'For us to really understand the way of the white men, I had to follow
　　　　their law.'

In example (5-56), there are actually two attributive noun modifiers in the NP *klen steit ouneship* 'clan state ownership', namely, *klen* 'clan' and *steit* 'state', where *steit* 'state' modifies the head noun *ouneship* 'ownership' and *klen* 'clan' modifies *steit* 'state'.

(5-56) Insaid　 dat　 **langgus**　　　　　 **neim** yū　 gad
　　　 inside　 DEM　traditional.language　 name　2SG　 have
　　　 ōl dem　 **klen**　　 **steit**　　　 **ouneship**.
　　　 all DET　 clan　　　 state　　　　 ownership
　　　 'Inside that traditional language name, you have all the clan state
　　　　ownership.'

Head nouns remain in a much closer relationship with attributive noun modifiers than with any modifying adjectives, as modifying adjectives cannot be inserted between attributive noun modifiers and head nouns, but they have to precede the attributive noun modifiers instead. Thus, example (5-57), where the adjective *gud* 'good' precedes the attributive noun modifier *gavement* 'government', is acceptable. On the other hand, example (5-58) is not acceptable, as the adjective *gud* 'good' is inserted between the attributive noun modifier *gavement* 'government' and the head noun *wōke* 'worker'.

(5-57) **gud**   gavement   wōke

       good   government   worker

       'good government worker'

(5-58)* gavement   gud   wōke

       government   good   worker

5.1.6 Additional Postnominal Markers

There are two additional post-head markers in LRC, namely, *tū* 'too/also' and *mō* 'more' that, in addition to their primary additive meaning, are used to add emphasis and draw attention to head nouns/NPs. Example (5-59) contains *tū*, which follows the head noun *brade* 'brother' that is pre-modified by the possessive pronoun *mai* 'my'. The placement of *tū* 'too/also' after the NP *mai brade* 'my brother' not only draws attention to it, but it also expresses the additive meaning 'too' that the translation into English could prompt. That would not be able to be achieved if *tū* were to be placed, for example, after the verb *sī* 'see'.

(5-59) Ye,   <u>mai   brade   **tū**</u>   ken   sī

       yeah POSS.PRN brother   too   can   see

       bat   im   gad   straip de   paitan.

       CONN   3SG   have   stripe DET   python

       'Yeah, my brother too could see, but it had the stripes of the python.'

A similar situation occurs in example (5-60), where *tū* functions postnominally when it follows the head noun *fishnet* 'fishing net' that is preceded by the definite singular article *de* 'the'.

(5-60) Im   tēn-i   dembla lūs   from   <u>de   fishnet   **tū**</u>.

       3SG turn-TRS 3PL   loose PREP DET   fishing.net too

       'He turned them loose from the fishing net too.'

Mō 'more' is the second additional post-head marker that is commonly used in LRC. In examples (5-61) and (5-62), *mō* follows the head nouns *dei* 'day' and *mant* 'month', respectively, that are pre-modified by the numerals w*an* 'one' and *tū* 'two'.

The occurrence of *mō* 'more' after the NPs *wan dei* 'one day' in (5-61) and *tū mant* 'two months' in (5-62) not only draws attention to the time specified by those NPs, but it also expresses the meaning 'additional, more'. The occurrence of *mō* in a different place in each sentence would render ungrammatical results.

(5-61) <u>Wan   dei   **mō**</u>   fõ   kam   ai   go   go   Kyens.
        one   day   more   COMP   come   1SG   FUT   go   Cairns

'In one more day I will go to Cairns.'

(5-62) <u>Tū   mant   **mō**</u>   ai   go   go.
        two   month   more   1SG   FUT   go

'I will go in two more months.'

5.2 Complex NPs

Complex NPs containing post-head PPs, including those involving quantification of nouns, are described in this section. RCs functioning as NP modifiers is presented in this section.

The difference between simple and complex NPs lies in the fact that complex NPs contain one or more phrases that act as constituents within those NPs. The following diagram outlines the structure of LRC complex NPs.

NP → (DET) (Q) (AdjP) (N) **N** (PN) (PP) (RC)

In LRC, some NPs involve the presence of determiners and/or quantifiers, while some NPs are devoid of those constituents. NPs contain either a bare noun or a head noun modified by optional attributive pre- and post-modifiers, where post-modifiers may be in the form of PPs and RCs.

In example (5-63), the first NP *mai brade* 'my brother' is a simple NP that comprises the possessive pronoun *mai* 'my' and the noun *brade* 'brother'. However, in the second NP *kā blong im* 'his car', the head noun *kā* 'car' is followed by the possessive PP *blong im* 'belonging to him/his'.

(5-63) <u>Mai</u>   <u>brade</u>   em draib-i   <u>kā</u>   <u>blong</u> <u>im</u>.
      POSS.PRN brother   3SG drive-TRS car   POSS   3SG
      'My brother drove his car.'

In example (5-64), both the emphatic marker *na* and the RC *kam antap* '(that) came to the top' modify the entire NP *kā blo mai ya'athu* 'my younger brother's car' and not just the head noun *kā* 'car', as that NP constitutes a semantic entity and, as a result, it is subject to pre- and post-modification. If the emphatic marker *na* is seen as indicating an NP boundary, then the RC *kam antap* '(that) came to the top' could still be analysed as an RC modifying *kā* 'car', which is, however, extraposed, as RCs often are (Andrews, 2007, p. 214). The RC is not introduced by a relative pronoun, the omission of which appears to be very common in LRC.

(5-64) Mīpla   kech-i   <u>kā blo   mai   ya'athu</u>   **<u>na</u>**
      1PL.EXCL   catch-TRS car POSS POSS.PRN younger.brother EMP
      <u>kam   antap</u>.
      come   to.the.top
      'It was my younger brother's car that came to the top that we caught.'

Similarly, in example (5-65), the NP *ed blo de tētul* 'head of the turtle', and not just the noun *tētul* 'turtle, is post-modified by the emphatic marker **na**.

(5-65) Mai   brade   im i   it-i
      POSS.PRN brother   3SG PM   hit-TRS
      <u>ed   blo   de   tētul **na**</u> wif   de   tamyok.
      head POSS   DET   turtle EMP   PREP DET   axe
      'It was the turtle's head that my brother hit with the axe.'

(5-66) is an example of nested modification, where the PP *daun lo sanbīs* 'down on the beach' modifies the head noun *traik* 'tracks', while the RC *we de riba* 'where the river is' modifies the noun *sanbīs* 'beach'.

(5-66) Yū   luk   <u>traik   daun   lo   sanbīs   we   de   riba</u>.
      2SG   see   tracks   down   PREP   beach   REL   DET   river
      'You could see tracks down on the beach where the river is.'

Example (5-67) involves two NPs, where the first one *mai kazin* 'my cousin' involves the head noun *kazin* 'cousin'. The second NP *mai ankel en anti* 'my uncle and auntie' involves a complex and coordinated head noun *ankel en anti* 'uncle and auntie' that is post-modified by the RC *we oum* 'who were at home'.

(5-67) <u>Mai</u> <u>kazin</u> im krai fõ <u>mai</u> <u>ankel</u>
    POSS.PRN cousin 3SG cry PREP POSS.PRN uncle
    <u>en</u>   <u>anti</u> <u>we</u> <u>oum</u>.
    CONN auntie REL home
    'My cousin cried for my uncle and auntie who were at home.'

Example (5-68) contains two NPs. The first NP *ōl pikinini* 'the children' involves the head noun *pikinini* 'child'. The second NP is the entire complex NP *stōri ankel bi teli dembla* 'story (that) uncle told them'.

(5-68) <u>Ōl</u> <u>pikinini</u> lisin fõ <u>stōri</u> <u>ankel</u> <u>bi</u> <u>teli</u> <u>dembla</u>.
    DET child   listen PREP story uncle PST tell-TRS 3PL
    'The children listened to the story uncle told them.'

The final example (5-69) involves the NP *dem frut* 'the fruit', which consists of the head noun *frut* 'fruit' preceded by the definite plural article *dem* 'the' that is post-modified by the emphatic marker *na*, and the PP *we dem trī* 'on the trees'.

(5-69) Ōl kaikai <u>dem</u> <u>frūt</u> <u>na</u> <u>we</u> <u>dem</u> <u>trī</u>.
    3PL eat DET fruit EMP PREP DET tree
    'It was the fruit on the trees that they ate.'

5.2.1 Post-Head Prepositional Phrase

This subsection presents the description of PPs (see section 5.4) the internal, structure of which is captured by the following diagram:

PP → **PREP NP**

PPs constitute constituents that can frequently be encountered in the post-head modifying function. Out of those, the possessive and locational PPs are definitely the

most commonly used. Examples (5-70) and (5-71) contain the respective post-head possessive PPs introduced by the preposition *blo* 'belonging to/of', namely, *blo ebriting* 'of everything' and *blo mai ya'athu* 'belonging to my younger brother', which follow the head nouns *bos* 'leader' and *trak* 'truck'.

(5-70) Im   <u>prapa   big   bos   **blo**   **ebriting**</u>.

       3SG   very   big   owner   POSS   INDF.PRN

       'He is a very important owner of everything.'

(5-71) Mīpla   weit   fō   <u>de   trak   **blo**   **mai**   **ya'athu**</u>   kam.

       1PL.EXCL wait   PREP   DET   truck   POSS   POSS.PRN   younger.brother come

       'We waited for my younger brother's truck to come.'

In addition to using the possessive pronouns, he LRC speakers have two other options to express the notion of possession. Both of those possibilities involve the use of the possessive construction with the preposition *blong/blo* (see subsection 4.6.1.1) followed by an obligatory overt object NP. However, the position of the possessed NP, i.e. *buk* 'book' differs in examples (5-72) and (5-73) in that in (5-72) it precedes *blo* and in (5-73) it follows the object personal pronoun, i.e. the possessive pronoun functioning as the possessor NP. Not only the three ways are equally common and interchangeable, but also no difference in meaning is displayed. The *blo yu buk* type of construction does occasionally occur in Bislama, however, it is quite uncommon and not interchangeable with the other patterns expessing possession (Crowley, 2004, p. 68). In fact, the pattern *blo yu buk* is regarded as a "sign of unsophistication" (Crowley, 2004, p. 68) in Bislama.

(5-72) <u>Dasan   buk   **blo**   yū</u>.

       DEM   book   POSS   2SG

       'This is your book.'

(5-73) <u>Dasan   **blo**   yū   buk</u>.

       DEM   POSS   POSS.PRN   book

       'This is your book.'

In example (5-74), the locational PP *antap waya det il* 'on top of that hill' is introduced by the complex preposition *antap waya* 'on top of'.

(5-74) Em   stap waya <u>prapa dāk wata   ōl</u>   **antap waya det   il**.

      3SG   live   PREP   very   dark   water   hole   on.top   PREP   DEM   hill

      'He lived in a very dark water hole on top of that hill.'

Example (5-75) contains the PP *laik de aus blo mīpla* 'like our house' that is introduced by the preposition *laik* 'like/as' that denotes comparison.

(5-75) Mīpla   go   bild   <u>dem aus</u>   **laik det aus   blo   mīpla**.

      1PL.EXCL FUT build DET house like DET house POSS 1PL.EXCL

      'We will build the houses like that house of ours.'

NPs may consist of more than just one PP. For example, (5-76) is an example of nested modification, where the possessive PP *blo det gēl* 'belonging to that girl' modifies the NP *trī pikinini* 'three children', while the PP indicating source/origin *from Kyēns* 'from Cairns' modifies the NP *det gēl* 'that girl'.

(5-76) Im   luk   <u>trī   pikinini   blo   det   gēl   from   Kyēns</u>.

      3SG   see   three   child   POSS   DEM   girl   PREP   Cairns

      'He saw this girl's three children from Cairns.'

5.2.2 Post-Head Prepositional Phrases Involving Quantification of Nouns

The next group of complex NPs involves those post-head prepositional phrases that are characterised by the quantification of nouns.

5.2.2.1 Quantification of Nouns

Quantification of nouns may be expressed by means of quantifying nouns that are outlined in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3 Quantifying Nouns

Subtype	Quantifying Noun	Gloss
container		
	baig	'bag/sack'
	bāsket	'basket'

	biliken	'billycan'
	boks	'box'
	botl	'bottle'
	dram	'drum'
	kap	'cup'
	ken	'can'
	konteina/konteine	'container'
	punya	'dillybag'
unit		
	āf	'half/part'
	kapul	'couple'
	pīs	'piece'
measurement		
	fut	'foot'
	inch	'inch'
	kīlo/kīlogram	'kilogram'
	kīlomīta/kīlomīte	'kilometre'
	līta/līte	'litre'
	mīta/mīte	'metre'

Quantifying nouns fulfil a task of head nouns in NPs containing quantified nouns. The NP that is quantified becomes the NP complement of a possessive PP with *of* as its head. In example (5-77), the NP *kap of milk* 'cup of milk' consists of the quantifying noun *kap* 'cup' and the quantified noun *milk* 'milk' that are separated by the preposition *of* 'of'.

(5-77) Im   bi   gib-im   **kap**   of   milk.

3SG   PST   give-TRS   cup   PREP   milk

'She gave him a cup of milk.'

Similarly, in example (5-78), the NP *pīs of olou bambū* 'piece of hollow bamboo' comprises the quantifying noun *pīs* 'piece' followed by the preposition *of* 'of' and the quantified noun *bambū* 'bamboo', which is pre-modified by the adjective *olou* 'hollow'.

(5-78) Wen ōl bi rīch-i det dāk ribebaink

COMP 3PL PST reach-TRS DEM dark riverbank

de ōl man bin kat-im **pīs** of olou bambū.

DET old man PST cut-TRS piece PREP hollow bamboo

'When they reached that dark riverbank, the old man cut a piece of

hollow bamboo.'

Example (5-79) shows that the quantifying noun can be itself quantified by another
noun. Thus, the NP *flawa dram of ani* 'flower drum of honey' consists of the
quantifying noun *dram* 'drum', which is pre-modified by the attributive noun *flawa*
'flower' and the quantified noun *ani* 'honey' that are separated by the preposition *of*
'of'.

(5-79) Im bi abi flawa **dram** of ani.

3SG PST have flower drum PREP honey

'He had a flower drum of honey.'

As noted above, quantifying and quantified nouns are almost always separated by
the preposition *of* 'of'. However, it does happen that the preposition *of* is omitted,
and quantifying and quantified nouns are simply juxtaposed. In that case, whole NPs
may be substituted by quantifying nouns but not by quantified nouns. Thus, in
example (5-80), the NP *biliken tī* may be substituted by *biliken* but not by *tī* and, as a
result, *biliken* should be considered the head noun.

(5-80) Im finis kuk-i tū jonikeik

3SG CESS cook-TRS two johnnycake

en boili **biliken** tī.

CONN boil-TRS billycan tea

'She finished cooking two johnnycakes and boiling a billycan of tea.'

In example (5-81), *biliken* functions as the head noun preceding PP *of ti*. It should be
noted that although the meaning of *biliken tī* and *biliken of tī* is synonymous, as they
both mean 'a billycan of tea', their structures differ, as in (5-80), *tī* 'tea' functions as
the post-head NP and in (5-81), it is a part of PP introduced by the preposition *of*
'of'.

(5-81) Ōl   man   meik-i   mō   tī,   **biliken**   **of**   **tī**.

old   man   make-TRS   more   tea   billycan   PREP   tea

'The old man made more tea, a billycan of tea.'

Example (5-82a) contains the NP *baig putita* 'bag of potatoes' and (5-82b) involves the NP *trī baig of putita* 'three bags of potatoes' that consists of the post head PP *of putita* 'of potatoes'.

(5-82)

(a) baig   putita

bag   potato

'a bag of potatoes'

(b) trī   baig   of   putita

three   bag   PREP   potato

'three bags of potatoes'

Thus, in examples (5-77) – (5-82) above, nouns appear either as post-head complement NPs or as the members of post-head PPs.

5.2.3 Relative Clauses as Head Noun Modifiers

In LRC, relative clauses (RC) modify head nouns. Although a detailed presentation of RCs is provided in Chapter 8, examples (5-83) and (5-84) demonstrate that the head nouns *stōri* 'story' and *eg* 'egg' are modified by RCs *ankel bi teli dembla* '(that) uncle told them' and *wī kaikai* '(that) we ate', respectively.

(5-83) Ōl   pikinini   lisin   fõ   <u>stōri</u>   **ankel**   **bi**   **tel-i**   **dembla**.

DET   child   listen   PREP   strory   uncle   PST   tell-TRS   3PL

'The children listened to a story (that) uncle told them.'

(5-84) Mīpla   bi   teik-i   nest   <u>eg</u>   **wī**   **kaikai**.

1PL.EXCL   PST   take-TRS   nest   egg   1NSG   eat

'We took from the nests the eggs (that) we ate.'

5.3 Pronominal NPs

This section describes various types of pronominal NPs, which are headed by pronouns and constitute a subgroup of NPs, as their syntactic functions resemble those of NPs headed by nouns. As noted in the opening paragraph of this chapter, pronominal NPs may be divided into two subtypes, where the first subtype involves pronominal NPs that comprise only bare pronouns. Their internal structure may be represented as follows:

NP → **PRN**

The second subtype comprises complex pronominal NPs the internal, structure of which could be summarised in the following way, where PRONOM refers to a pronominal that consists of a bare pronoun that is post-modified either by a PP or a numeral.

NP → **PRONOM** (PN) (RC)

$$\text{PRONOM} \rightarrow \textbf{PRN} \begin{Bmatrix} \textbf{PP} \\ \textbf{Q} \end{Bmatrix}$$

Unlike NPs headed by nouns, pronominal NPs are characterised by the fact that head pronouns are never pre-modified. Similarly to nominal NPs, the additional post-head markers *tū* 'too' and *mō* 'more', post-head discourse markers *nau/na* and *ya*, and relative clauses take the whole NP within its scope, rather than modifying any of its internal constituents.

5.3.1 Bare Pronouns as NPs

A bare pronoun can function as an NP. Thus, in examples (5-85) – (5-87), the bare pronouns *demtū* '3DU', *yūpla* '2PL', and *yūmī* '1NSG.INCL', respectively, constitute NPs.

(5-85) **Demtū**   spīye   faib   krab   en   tū   tingri.

      3DU   spear   five   crab   CONN   two   stingray

      'The two of them speared five crabs and two stingrays.'

(5-86) **Yūpla**   go   luk-ran   fō   thampu   en   ka'ata.

      2PL   FUT   look-around   PREP   yam   CONN   karo

      'You will look for yams and karos.'

(5-87) Ei,   **yūmī**   no   gad   mayi.

      hey   1NSG.INCL   NEG   have   food

      'Hey, we have no food.'

Bare pronouns may function as appositions (see subsection 5.1.2.1) when head pronouns are followed by the post-modifying NPs. Both the post-modifying NPs and head pronouns are co-referential and have the same function in a sentence, for example, in (5-88) they both function as an object and in (5-89) their role is that of a subject. Structurally, however, they represent two separate NPs and, for that reason, they are underlined separately.

(5-88) I   mait   grab-i   **yūpla**   **smōl**   **pikinini**.

      3SG   might   grab-TRS   2PL   small   child

      'It (evil spirit) might grab you small children.'

(5-89) **Yūpla**   **pikinini**   ran   go   kemp!

      2PL   child   ran   SV.GO   campsite

      'You children run to the campsite!'

Bare personal pronouns possess the ability to function as heads of inclusory constructions and the preceding or following proper nouns constitute their subsets. In those constructions, pronouns function as heads and the lexical NPs as their modifiers, as they do not specify referents and that that information is provided solely by inclusory pronouns. As examples (5-90) and (5-91) demonstrate, the lexical NPs may either follow or precede bare pronouns.

(5-90) **<u>Dembla</u>**   **<u>Josiah</u>**   de   standap.

      3PL   Josiah   there   stand.up

      'Josiah and his friends stand there.'

(5-91) **<u>Josiah</u>**   **<u>dembla</u>**   de   standap.

      Josiah   3PL   there   stand.up

      'Josiah and his friends stand there.'

5.3.2 Pronominal

Both a bare pronoun and a head pronoun followed by a PP can form a pronominal NP. In examples (5-92) and (5-93), the head pronouns *im* '3SG' and *sam* 'some' are followed by possessive PPs introduced by the preposition *blo* 'belonging to'.

(5-92) **<u>Im</u>**   **<u>blo</u>**   **<u>ya</u>**   bi   fota   damblat.

      3SG   POSS   here   PST   photograph   3PL

      'He who is from here took pictures of them.'

(5-93) **<u>Sam</u>**   **<u>blo</u>**   **<u>ya</u>**   ōl   sabi   dat   stōri.

      some   POSS   here   3PL   know   DEM   story

      'Some from here know that story.'

All types of head pronouns can also be followed by locational PPs. Thus, in examples (5-94) and (5-95), the indefinite pronouns *ebribodi* 'everybody' and *sam* 'some' are followed by the respective locational PPs *we Lokāt* 'at Lockhart" and *we skūl* 'at school' introduced by the preposition *we* 'in/on/at'.

(5-94) **<u>Ebribodi</u>**   **<u>we</u>**   **<u>Lokāt</u>**   sabi

      everybody   PREP   Lockhart   know

      dem   tradishinal   dāns.

      DET   traditional   dance

      'Everybody at Lockhart knows the traditional dances.'

(5-95) **Sam** **we** **skūl** wani kīp-i de sneik.

some PREP school want keep-TRS DET snake

'Some at the school want to keep the snake.'

Pronominal NPs may also comprise head pronouns and numerals. Thus, in examples (5-96) and (5-97), the personal pronouns *yūpla* '2PL' and *mīpla* '1PL.EXCL' are followed by numerals *fō* 'four' and *trī* 'three', respectively.

(5-96) **Yūpla** **fō** go en aid byain dem big ilka.

2PL four go CONN hide behind DET big hill

'The four of you go and hide behind the big hills.'

(5-97) **Mīpla** **trī** fraitini dembla.

1PL.EXCL three frighten.TRS 3PL

'The three of us frightened them.'

5.4 Prepositional Phrases (PPs)

As noted in subsection 5.2.2, PPs fulfil a post-head modifying function within NPs headed by both nouns and pronouns. They may also form verbal and adverbial constituents within predicates and sentences, which are discussed in Chapters 7 and 8, respectively.

Subsection 5.2.2 provides a brief presentation of post-head possessive and locative PPs as well as those that denote comparison and source/origin. This section concentrates on a more detailed description of PPs, the nature of which depends on the preposition type. Thus, as noted in section 4.6, LRC prepositions can be divided into three types, namely, simple prepositions, adverbs acting as prepositions, and complex prepositions. All of them require the obligatory presence of the prepositional objects. As a result, the following subsections examine simple PPs, PPs with adverbs functioning as prepositions, and complex PPs.

5.4.1 Simple Prepositional Phrases

Table 4.13 lists eighteen simple prepositions that function as heads of simple PPs that denote a variety of meanings. Thus, in example (5-98), the preposition *blo* 'belonging to' introduces a possessive PP.

(5-98) Im   prapa   big   bos   **blo**   **ebriting**.
      3SG   really   big   owner   POSS   INDF.PRN
      'He is a really big owner of everything.'

Object personal pronouns frequently appear in PPs denoting possession. The third-person pronoun *im* follows the preposition *blong* 'belonging to, of', as it begins with a vowel and all of the remaining object personal pronouns, which begin with a consonant, appear after the short form of *blong*, namely, *blo*. In fact, this is a language-general rule and also a constraint, which indicates that consonants cannot appear after [ŋ], as examples (5-99) and (5-101) demonstrate. Example (5-100) shows that vowels occur after [ŋ].

(5-99) Yū gada strein-i   <u>ai **blo** yū</u> fɔ̃   luk   fɔ̃   dem thing.
      2SG must strain-TRS eye POSS 2SG COMP look PREP DET thing
      'You must strain your eyes to look for those things.'

(5-100) Im   kil-i   <u>fɔ̃   pikinini   **blong** im</u>,   laka.
      3SG   kill-TRS four   child   POSS   3SG   DISC
      'He killed his four children, poor things.'

(5-101) Dei   she   wif   <u>det   femli **blo**   wī</u>.
      3PL   share   PREP   DEM   family POSS   1NSG
      'They share with that family of ours.'

In example (5-102), the preposition *we* and its variants *weya/waya* introduce locative PPs.

(5-102) Da   buk   **we**   **teibul** i   prapa   gud-wan.
      DET   book   PREP   table   PM   very   good-NMLZ
      'The book on the table is a very good one.'

From 'from' in example (5-103) introduces a PP that denotes origin/source.

(5-103) Det   man   **from**   **Lokāt**   i   prapa strong man.

        DEM   man   PREP   Lockhart   PM   very   strong   man

        'That man from Lockhart is a very strong man.'

5.4.2 PPs with Adverbs Used as Prepositions

It is possible for some of those LRC adverbs that express temporal and locative meanings to be used as prepositions. Similarly to simple prepositions (see subsection 4.6.1), adverbs in the role of prepositions also constitute heads of PPs and require obligatory overt object NPs to follow them. Thirteen adverbs have been identified to act as prepositions and their summary is presented in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4 Adverbs Functioning as Prepositions

Adverb	Gloss
āfte	'after'
ande	'under/underneath'
andenīt	'underneath/under/below'
antap	'on/on top of/above'
antil/til	'until/till'
autsaid	'outside/out of'
bīfō	'before'
byain	'behind/at the back of'
insaid	'inside/in/into'
kloustū	'close to/close by/near/by'
longsaid	'alongside/beside/next to'
ouba	'over'
raun	'around'

Examples (5-104) – (5-106) demonstrate how adverbs function as prepositions. Thus, in example (5-104), the adverb *ande* 'under' functions as a preposition introducing the PP *ande de leg blo det gēl* 'under the leg of that girl' that consists also of the possessive PP *blo det gēl* 'of that girl'.

(5-104) De   dog   **ande** de leg blo   det   gēl   bin   bāk~ bāk~ bāk..

        DET dog PREP DET leg POSS DEM girl PST   bark~.ITR

        'The dog under the leg of that girl was barking and barking.'

The adverb *byain* 'behind' assumes a role of a preposition in example (5-105),
where it introduces the PP *byain de tīche* 'behind the teacher'.

(5-105) Dem tū   smōl pikinini **byain** de   tīche   sing prapa laud.

        DET   two small child   PREP DET teacher sing very loudly

        'The two small children behind the teacher sing very loudly.'

Similarly, in example (5-106), the adverb *raund* 'around' acting as a preposition
introduces the PP *raund det ōl man nau* 'around that old man'.

(5-106) Ebri   dem   flaying foks

       every   DET   flying   fox

       raun   det   ōl   man   nau   meiki   sēkel.

       PREP   DET   old   man   EMP   make-TRS   circle

       'All the flying foxes around that old man made a circle.'

Although adverbs are much more frequently used as adverbs than prepositions, they
should be regarded as prepositions when they function as heads of PPs. Beimers
(2008, p. 102) notes that those Pijin adverbs that assume a prepositional function
should, however, be treated as adverbs and not as prepositions, as their primary role
in sentences is that of adverbials of time and space. However, Lee (1996, p. 384)
believes that adverbs acting as prepositions should be considered "nominal
prepositions" or "locational prepositions", as the majority of them are locational in
nature. Lee postulates that adverbs acting as prepositions possess the ability to
function on their own or be preceded and/or followed by *long*. Lee (1996, p. 389)
does, however, concede that those locational adverbs could possibly be regarded as a
subclass of nouns or adverbials.

To contrast the prepositional and adverbial use of some of those adverbs, in examples (5-107) and (5-109), adverbs assume the role of prepositions, and in examples (5-108) and (5-110), they function as adverbs.

(5-107) Dem dog kīp go **andenīt** fut blo dem bois.

DET dog ITR go underneath foot POSS DET boys

'The dogs kept on going underneath the feet of the boys.'

(5-108) Aligida bi grab-im en drag-im **andenīt**.

crocodile PST grab-TRS CONN drag-TRS underneath

'The crocodile grabbed him and dragged him underneath.'

(5-109) Yūpla fō go en aid **byain** dem big ilka.

2PL four go CONN hide behind DET big hill

'The four of you go and hide behind the big hills.'

(5-110) Ōl līb-i sam **byain**.

3PL leave-TRS some behind

'I did not go in the dinghy.'

Adverbs functioning as prepositions are also able to form complex prepositions (see subsection 5.4.3). However, while this possibility is shared by the locational adverbs *ande* 'under, underneath', *andenīt* 'underneath, under, below', *antap* 'on, on top of, above', *autsaid* 'outside, out of', *byain* 'behind, at the back of', *insaid* 'inside, in, into', *kloustū* 'close to, close by, near, by', *longsaid* 'alongside, beside, next to', and *ouba* 'over', it is not shared by the temporal adverbs *āfte* 'after', *bīfō* 'before', and *antil/til* 'until/till' as well as by the locational adverb *raun* 'around'.

5.4.3 Complex Prepositional Phrases

As noted in subsection 5.4.2, some of LRC adverbs functioning as prepositions are able to form complex prepositions that consist of some of the temporal and locational adverbs followed by the simple prepositions *we/waya/weya* 'with/in/on/at' and, to a much lesser degree, by the simple preposition *long/lo* 'along'. The presence of the locational adverb next to the simple prepositions renders a meaning that is

much more specific than when locational and temporal adverbs appear on their own in the prepositional function. Thus, the only difference between complex PPs and PPs with adverbs used as prepositions lies in the degree of the specificity of meaning. Similarly to adverbs functioning as prepositions, complex prepositions also function as heads of PPs.

As it is shown in Table 5.5, there exist eleven complex prepositions in LRC. All of them consist of locational, and not temporal, adverbs followed by the simple preposition *waya/weya/we*. By comparison, *lo* has only been encountered to follow the adverb *daun/dan* 'down/downstairs', which does not function as a preposition in LRC. Subsection 5.4.2 demonstrates that some locational adverbs function as freestanding prepositions that do not need to be accompanied by *waya/weya/we* or *lo*.

Table 5.5 Complex Prepositions

Complex Preposition	Gloss
ande waya/weya/we	'under/underneath'
andenīt waya/weya/we	'underneath/under/below'
antap waya/weya/we	'on/on top of/above'
autsaid waya/weya/we	'outside/out of'
byain waya/weya.we	'behind/at the back of'
daun/dan lo/waya/weya/we	'down/below/under/at the bottom of'
insaid waya/weya/we	'inside/in/into'
kloustū waya/weya/we	'close to/close by/near/by'
longsaid waya/weya/we	'alongside/beside/next to'
ouba waya/weya/we	'over'
raun waya/weya/we	'around'

Examples (5-111) – (5-114) illustrate the functioning of complex prepositions. In example (5-111), the complex preposition *antap we* 'on top of', which consists of the adverb *antap* 'on top' and the simple preposition *we*, introduces the PP *antap we ilsaid* 'at the top of the side of the hill'.

(5-111) Det aus **antap we** il-said i prapa ōl.

DEM house on.top PREP hill-side PM very old

'That house at the top of the side of the hill is very old.'

Kloustū waya 'next to' is the complex preposition in example (5-112), where it introduces the PP *kloustū waya det roud* 'next to that road'. This complex preposition comprises the adverb *kloustū* 'close to' and the simple preposition *waya*.

(5-112) De bush **kloustū waya** det roud i veri skeri.

DET bush next.to PREP DEM road PM very scary

'The bush next to that road is very scary.'

In example (5-113), the complex preposition *insaid waya* 'inside', which introduces the PP *insaid waya fishing net* 'inside the fishing net', consists of the adverb *insaid* 'inside' and the simple preposition *waya*.

(5-113) Ai go kuki fō dine

1SG FUT cook-TRS PREP dinner

dem fish **insaid waya** fishing net.

DET fish inside PREP fishing net

'I will cook for dinner the fish inside the fishing net.'

Similarly, in example (5-114), the complex preposition *dan lo* 'down at', which consists of the adverb *dan* 'down' followed by the simple preposition *lo*, introduces the PP *dan lo sanbīs* 'down at the beach'.

(5-114) Dem shel **dan lo** sanbīs i prapa nais.

DET shell down PREP beach PREP very nice

'The shells down at the beach are very nice.'

The complex prepositions in examples (5-111) – (5-114) above can be analysed in two ways. Firstly, they can be analysed as single lexical units. As a result, the complex lexical preposition PREP requires a single PREP terminal node of the PP, as the tree diagrams (5-111a) – (5-114a) demonstrate. However, the drawback of this approach pertains to the fact that although treated as single lexical units, the nature

of the adverbs functioning as prepositions followed by the prepositions *we/waya/weya* and *lo/long* is in fact complex.

(5-111a) **antap we** ilsaid 'at the top of the side of the hill'

```
            PP
          /    \
       PREP    NP
       /\        |
   antap we      N
                 |
               ilsaid
```

(5-112a) **kloustū waya** det roud 'next to the road'

```
               PP
            /      \
         PREP       NP
        /__\       /  \
   kloustū waya  DET    N
                  |     |
                 det   roud
```

(5-113a) **insaid waya** fishing net 'inside the fishing net'
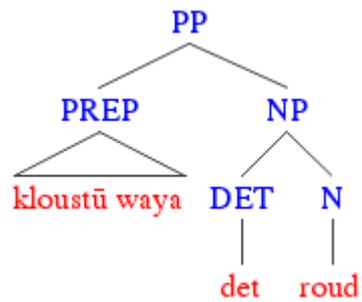
```
               PP
            /      \
         PREP       NP
        /__\       /  \
   insaid waya   N₁    N₂
                  |     |
               fishing  net
```
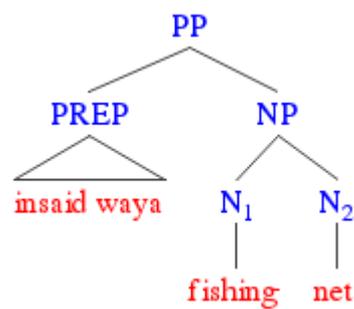
(5-114a) **dan lo** sanbīs 'down at the beach'

```
            PP
          /    \
       PREP    NP
       /\       |
    dan lo      N
                |
             sanbīs
```
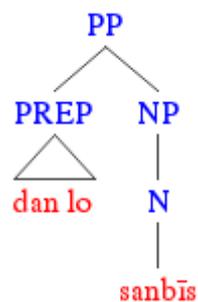
The second approach shows that the internal structure of complex PPs can be deemed multi-layered. It involves a separate treatment of both the adverb and the simple preposition that form the complex preposition. The tree diagrams (5-111b) - (5-114b) show that the adverbs functioning as prepositions are associated with a single PREP terminal node of the PP and the prepositions *we/waya/weya* and *lo/long* head the PPs that comprise the NPs. However, there are no complex prepositions in this approach, as the adverbs in the preposition role combine with the PP objects introduced by the prepositions *we/waya/weya* and *lo/long*.

(5-111b) **antap we** ilsaid 'at the top of the side of the hill'
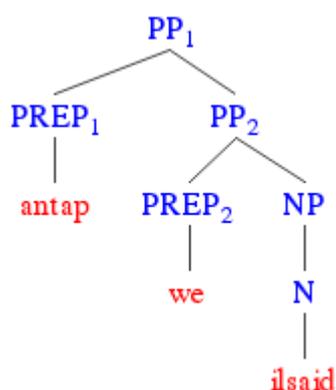
(5-112b) **kloustū waya** det roud 'next to the road'
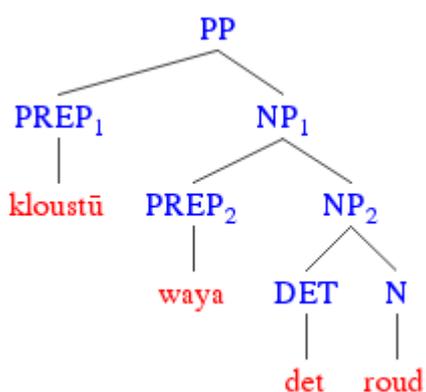
(5-113b) **insaid waya** fishing net 'inside the fishing net'
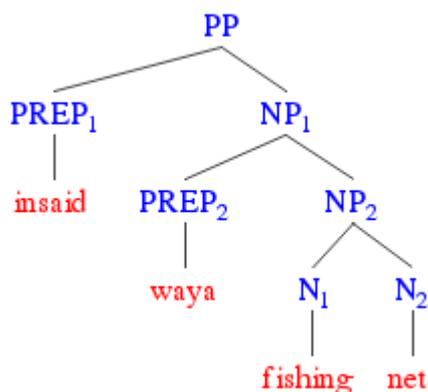
(5-114b) **dan lo** sanbīs 'down at the beach'
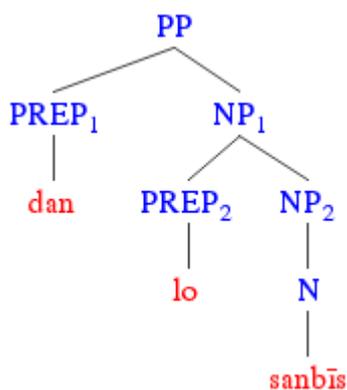
To conclude, the multi-layer approach containing two or three PP layers appears to be more reasonable and practicable in comparison with the first approach that treats the complex prepositions as single lexical units. The multi-layer approach allows for greater specificity to be taken into account when analysing such complex structures, as locative and temporal adverbs combine in the majority of cases with an object PP involving the semantically bleached prepositions *we/waya/weya* and *lo/long*. The multi-layer approach does explicitly show the internal structure of complex prepositions, which are formed indeed by adverbs functioning as prepositions, and not prepositions, that combine with simple prepositions.

5.5 Word and Phrase Coordination

As stated in section 4.9.1, there exist three coordinators in LRC, namely, *en* 'and', *bat* 'but', and *ō* 'or', which indicate addition, contrast, and alternation, respectively.

Although all of them are able to participate in sentential coordination, which is described in Chapter 8, *en* and *ō* primarily link constituents belonging to the same category and, as a result, are frequently encountered in word and phrase coordination. On the other hand, *bat* can usually be found in sentential coordination.

5.5.1 Noun Coordination

Examples (5-115) – (5-116) demonstrate the noun coordination by means of the coordinator *en*. The coordinated nouns build complex NPs (see section 5.2) that in turn function as the heads of NPs. In examples below, NPs include not only coordinated nouns, but also determiners that precede them and refer not just to one but to both components of NPs. In the following examples coordinated nouns are written in bold and NPs are underlined.

(5-115) <u>Mai   **mama en   anti**</u>   kin   tīch-im   dem   lengwich.
POSS.PRN   mum   CONN   auntie   can   teach-TRS   3PL   language
'My mum and auntie can teach them language.'

(5-116) Ōl   loud-i   <u>plenti   **ka'ata   en   thampu**</u>.
3PL   load-TRS   plenty   karo   CONN   yam
'They loaded plenty karos and yams.'

5.5.2 Numeral Coordination

Similarly to noun coordination, numeral coordination may also be achieved using the coordinators *en* and *ō*. In examples (5-117) – (5-118) below, the coordinated numerals (written in bold) function as quantifiers within NPs (underlined).

(5-117) I   bi   abi   trī   pikinini ōl <u>greid **siks   en   seven**</u>.
PM   PST have three child   all grade six   CONN   seven
'There were three children, all grade six and seven.'

(5-118) Yūpla   pikinini ran go   kemp   en   ged-i

         2PL   child   run SV.GO campsite CONN get-TRS

         wan   **ō**   **tū** baket.

         one   CONN two bucket

         'You, children, run to the campsite and get one or two buckets.'

5.5.3 Adjectival Coordination

Section 5.1.4.2 indicates that multiple adjectives within LRC NPs may be either juxtaposed or separated by coordinators. It should, however, be noted that juxtaposition prevails in the speech of the LR residents. In the following examples of the adjectival coordination, the coordinated adjectives are written in bold and NPs are underlined.

(5-119) I   prapa **nais** **en**   **klīn** **en**   **kristl** **klie**   wata.

         PM   very   nice CONN clean CONN crystal clear   water

         'It is a very nice and clean and crystal clear water.'

(5-120) Dat   gēl   im   gad   dem   **grīn**   **ō**   **blū**   ai.

         DET   girl   3SG   have.TRS DET   green   CONN blue   eye

         'That girl has green or blue eyes.'

5.5.4 NP Coordination

Two or more NPs may also be coordinated by means of the coordinators *en* and *ō*. The coordinated NPs in examples (5-121) and (5-122) are written in bold and the entire coordinated NPs are underlined.

(5-121) Mīpla   drop-im   **tū**   **gwana** en   **wan**   **pōkyupain**.

         1PL.EXCL drop-TRS two   goanna CONN one   porcupine

         'We dropped two goannas and one porcupine.'

(5-122) I   meik   yū   laik   **kid**   **blong**   **im**

       3SG   make 2SG   PREP   kid   POSS   3SG

       ō   **boifren**   **blong** **im**   **ō**   **gēlfren**   **blong** **im** na.

       CONN boyfriend POSS 3SG   CONN girlfriend POSS 3SG EMP

       'He then makes you like his kid or his boyfriend or his girlfriend.'

5.5.5 Coordination of PPs

PPs are also subject to coordination, which may occur with the use of the coordinators *en* and *ō*. In examples (5-123) and (5-124), the coordinated PPs are written in bold and the entire coordinated PPs are underlined.

(5-123) Ōl kaikai dem frut **we   dem trī**   en   **we   dem   bus**.

       3PL eat   DET   fruit PREP DET tree   CONN PREP DET   bush

       'They ate the flowers on the trees and on the bushes.'

(5-124) Mīpla   drink-im   kōjel **waya lemen ō   waya   wata**.

       1PL.EXCL drink-TRS cordial PREP   lemon   CONN PREP   water

       'We drank cordial with lemon or with water.'

5.6 Brief Comparison with Other Creoles

As Table 5.6 below demonstrates, LRC shares the majority of creole NP features with other creole languages, thus providing evidence that LRC is a creole. A + indicates that the feature is characteristic of the creole, a blank indicates it is not.

Table 5.6 Comparison of Some of LRC Creole NP Features with Other Creoles

Feature	LRC	TSC	Kriol	Pijin	Bislama	Tok Pisin
Pronouns Precede Nouns in Inclusory Constructions	+	+	+	+		
Pronouns Follow Nouns in Inclusory Constructions	+		+			
Pronoun Appositions	+			+		

Feature	LRC	TSC	Kriol	Pijin	Bislama	Tok Pisin
Co-occurrence of Determiners Within a Single NP				+		
Compound Adjectives with *kain* (noun or suffix)	+	+		+		+
PPs as Post-modifiers of Head Nouns	+	+	+	+	+	+
Prepositional Use of Some Temporal and Locational Adverbs when Followed by *we* or *long*	+	+	+	+	+	+
Complex Prepositions with *lo* (TSC), *long/lo* (LRC), *long* (Pijin, Bislama, and Tok Pisin), and *langa* (Kriol)	+	+	+	+	+	+
Complex Prepositions with *we/waya/weya*	+					
Long/lo/langa Follow Adverbs in Complex Prepositions	+	+	+	+	+	+
Long Precedes Adverbs in Complex Prepositions				+		
Long in a Circumjacent Relationship with Adverbs				+		
Verbal Prepositions				+	+	

Table 5.7 outlines the comparison of some of LRC English-derived features with the remaining five creoles. A + indicates that the feature is characteristic of the creole, a blank indicates it is not. While four of those features are also present in the other creoles, one exist only in LRC, and is shared by both LRC and Kriol. Yet another feature is present in all of the creoles, with the exception of Kriol. A detailed presentation of the comparison of features outlined in Tables 5.6 and 5.7 follows.

Table 5.7 Comparison of Some of LRC English-derived NP Features with Other Creoles

Feature	LRC	TSC	Kriol	Pijin	Bislama	Tok Pisin
Pre-modification of Adjectives by Adverbs	+	+	+	+	+	+
Multiple Adjectives Pre-modifying Head Nouns	+	+	+	+	+	+

Postnominal Modifiers	+	+	+	+	+	+
Quantifying Nouns Separated from Nouns by *of*	+					
Presence of Preposition *of* (*av* in Kriol)	+		+			
Prepositional Use of Some Temporal and Locational Adverbs when Not Followed by *we* or *long*	+	+	+	+	+	+
Post-modification of Adjectives by a Small Set of Adverbs	+	+		+	+	+

Similarly to LRC, NP determiners in their grammatical function are able to express a variety of semantic meanings such as e.g. deixis, quantity, plurality, definiteness, indefinitess, and possession in Pijin (Beimers, 2008, p. 140). Similarly to LRC, both Pijin and TSC pronouns possess the ability to precede nouns when they do not function as determiners but express the notion of inclusivity instead (Beimers, 2008; Shnukal, 1988). However, unlike in LRC, pronouns never follow nouns in inclusory constructions in Pijin and TSC. Inclusory constructions, where pronouns appear in front of nouns are also characteristic for Kriol, as example (5-125) from Singer (2001, p. 9) demonstrates.

(5-125) <u>Minbala</u>   <u>Michelle</u>   bin   go.

       1DU   Michelle   PST   go

      'Me and Michelle went.'

Similarly to LRC, in Kriol, pronouns may also follow nouns in inclusory constructions, as example (5-126) from Nicholls (2009, p. 82) shows.

(5-126) Dis   <u>Boni</u>   <u>dubala</u>.

       DEM   Boni   3DU

      'These two (including Boni).'

Lichtenberk (2000, pp. 1-32) states that the two orders with pronouns in both pre-nominal and post-nominal positions, with no change in meaning, exist in a

variety of Austronesian languages, one of them being Toqabaqita, a language spoken in the Solomon Islands.

Similarly to LRC, it is possible to encounter in Pijin pronoun appositions, however, those occurrences are infrequent. While in LRC *ōl* '3PL' appears post-pronominally in constructions involving pronoun appositions, in Pijin, the third person plural pronoun *olketa* assumes that role. Beimers (2008, p. 143) argues that in Pijin, if there is a determiner in the NP following the pronoun, then it is in apposition to the pronoun. Similarly to LRC, NPs in Pijin are supplemental, especially if intonational separation occurs between the supplemental NP and the pronoun. If intonational separation does not take place, then *olketa* could be omitted with no change in meaning. This then gives rise to pronouns acting as determiners that express both the person deixis and the plurality of the NPs.

Unlike in LRC, where co-occurrence of determiners within a single NP is not possible, in Pijin, only *olketa* 'the (plural)' and *nara/narafala* 'other' possess the ability to appear in the company of some other determiners, noting that *nara/narafala* may function both as a determiner when it precedes numerals and as an adjective when it follows numerals, as numerals precede adjectives (Beimers, 2008, p. 144-145). Similarly, in Kriol, only one determiner may occur in a sentence (Nicholls, 2009, p. 44). Kriol also possesses forms that constitute compounds of *naja* 'other' with members of other word classes, e.g. *najan/najawan* 'other, another' and *najalot/najamob* 'others', which Sandefur (1979, p. 100) classifies as indefinite pronouns.

In comparison with LRC, where a number of adverbs may pre-modify adjectives, in Pijin, only two adverbs, namely, *barava* 'really' and *lelebet* 'a little' are able to precede adjectives and there exist ten adverbs that may occur post-adjectivally (Beimers, 2008, pp. 201-202). Mihalic (1971, pp. 37-38) lists six adverbs that follow adjectives in Tok Pisin. While *mo* 'more' in Bislama (Crowley, 2004, p. 105) is able to occur both pre- and post-adjectivally within AdjPs, *moa* 'more' can only function post-adjectivally in Pijin (Beimers, 2008, pp. 201-202). By contrast, in LRC, *mō*

'more' always precedes adjectives. The position of LRC adverbs is consistent with the placement of adverbs in TSC, where there are eight adverbs that act always as pre-modifiers of adjectives (Shnukal, 1988, pp. 52-53, 55). Similarly to LRC, TSC possesses four adverbs, which are able to occur post-adjectivally and which constitute the exact equivalents of their LRC counterparts. Nicholls (2009, p. 44) points out that in Kriol, intensifiers occupy a fixed position and, as a result, *brabli* 'very, really' and *rili* 'really' appear pre-adjectivally.

Unlike in LRC, where multiple adjectives may pre-modify a head noun, Beimers (2008, pp. 150-151) states that data collected by him shows that only two pre-head adjectives are able to appear in Pijin NPs. However, elicitation provided examples of strings that comprise three and four adjectives functioning as the head noun modifiers. Pijin multiple adjective order is congruent with that in LRC, with the exception of the groups of dimension and age, the order of which in Pijin is reversed, i.e. adjectives of age precede those of dimension. Beimers, however, did not observe adjectives of human propensity to co-occur with adjectives of the other groups. Sandefur (1979, p. 104) states that in Kriol, the occurrences of NPs comprising more than two adjectives are quite sporadic.

As far as compound adjectives formed with the noun *kain* 'kind, sort, type' are concerned, Shnukal (1988, p. 141) states that the use of the suffix *-kain* results in the formation of new adjectives of approximation in TSC. Beimers (2008, p. 171) concludes that in Pijin, *kaen* is the subclassifying noun that precedes a post-head complement nominal containing a noun that refers to a prototypical thing. In TSC, *-kain* functions solely as a suffix and never as a noun, and in that it differs in comparison with *kaen* in Bislama (Crowley, 2003, p. 119), *kaen* in Pijin, *kain* in Tok Pisin (Mihalic, 1971, p. 102), and *kain* in LRC. In LRC, Pijin, and Tok Pisin, those compound adjectives constitute single lexical items, as they represent single phonological units marked by one primary stress. LRC quantifier *plenti* 'plenty/many/much/a lot/lots' and its Tok Pisin counterpart *planti*, however, are never compounded with *kain*, but both *plenti/planti* and *kain* constitute single lexical items, e.g. *plenti kain* 'many kinds of/plenty of kinds of/lots of kinds of/a lot of kinds of'; *planti kain* 'plenty of kinds/many kinds of'. In Bislama, *kaen* does not

function as a suffix, but as a noun that constitutes a single lexical item, e.g. *Yu luk ol turis oli kam so, **eni kaen** klos nomo* 'When you see tourists come ashore, it's any kind of clothes' (Crowley, 2003, p. 119). A similar situation occurs in Kriol, where *ol kain* 'all kinds' function as two separate lexical items (Nicholls, 2009, p. 254). Similarly to LRC, subclassifiers suffixed with *-kain* possess the ability to appear without the presence of the post-head complement nominal in Pijin (see section 5.3) when they anaphorically refer to their previous occurrence in a sentence.

In comparison with Pijin (Beimers, 2008, pp. 155-163) and particularly with Tok Pisin (Verhaar, 1995, pp. 188-189), the number of LRC postnominal modifiers is rather limited. For example, while in Pijin (Beimers, 2008, pp. 155-156) *nating* 'nothing/insignificant/lacking something', *nating nomoa* 'insignificant', and *nogud* 'bad' function as postnominal attributive modifiers, their LRC counterparts do not possess that ability. Thus, in LRC, *nogud* 'bad' always precedes the head noun when used attributively, *nating* 'nothing' functions as an indefinite pronoun, and the sole function of *nomō* 'no more/not any more/no longer' is that of a cessative aspect marker (see Chapter 6). All of them are also negative markers. Their functioning in LRC is in unison with that of their TSC equivalents *nogud*, *nating,* and *nomo* (Shnukal, 1988, pp. 169, 171). Both Bislama *nogud* (Crowley, 2004, p. 64) and Tok Pisin *nogut* (Verhaar, 1995, p. 189) do fulfil a task of postnominal attributive modifiers. Similarly to Pijin (Beimers, 2008, pp. 156-157) and TSC (Shnukal, 1988, pp. 166, 217), LRC adverbs *tū* 'too/also' and *mō* 'more' are able to function as the additional post-head markers.

Similarly to LRC, PPs in Pijin, Bislama, Kriol, TSC, and Tok Pisin constitute constituents that can frequently be encountered performing the post-head modifying function (Beimers, 2008; Crowley, 2004; Nicholls, 2009; Shnukal, 1988; Verhaar, 1995). Pijin NPs may consist of more than just one PP. Another similarity with Pijin pertains to the fact that LRC post-head discourse marker *nau/na* takes the whole NP within its scope, rather than modifying any of its internal constituents. This opinion resonates in Nicholls (2009, p. 151) who posits that in Kriol, *na* when it has a secondary stress and takes the final position at the end of the intonation unit emphasises the whole clause or phrase that precedes it.

Unlike in LRC, where the quantifying nouns are almost always separated from nouns by means of a preposition *of* introducing possessive PPs, in Pijin, they are placed next to the quantified nouns (Beimers, 2008, p. 167). Beimers concludes that quantifying nouns occur as head nouns in NPs containing quantified non-count nouns. In his reasoning, Beimers proposes that whole NPs may be substituted by quantifying nouns but not by quantified nouns. This is definitely in agreement with LRC, where NPs may be substituted by quantifying nouns but not by quantified nouns. Beimers notes that quantifying nouns may assume a role of NP heads when post-head PPs are involved. This is also in agreement with LRC.

In comparison with Pijin, where non-count nouns are found to function much more frequently as post-head complement NPs than as members of post-head PPs, in LRC the situation is reversed. However, similarly to Pijin, it is not only LRC nouns that may appear either as post-head complement NPs or as members of post-head PPs. It should be noted that in Bislama, TSC, and Tok Pisin (Crowley, 2004; Shnukal, 1988; Verhaar, 1995), the use of the preposition *of* is unknown, and both quantifying nouns and quantified nouns are either juxtaposed as in Pijin or separated by the preposition *blong* in Bislama. Grimes and Lecompte (2014) list Kriol preposition *av* 'of', however, they note that *blanga* is the primary preposition denoting a variety of meanings, including 'of'. Sandefur (1979, p. 156) notes that *av* is the light Kriol form that occasionally replaces *blanga* in those PPs that follow nouns.

The prepositional use of some of the temporal and locational adverbs when they are not followed by *waya/weya/we* or *lo/long* is characteristic for both LRC and Pijin (Beimers, 2008, p. 204). However, the adverbs of the remaining two varieties of Melanesian Pidgin, namely, Bislama and Tok Pisin are devoid of it (Beimers, 2008; Verhaar, 1995), with the exception of two Bislama examples involving *aninit* 'under' and *bifo* 'before' provided by Crowley (1990; 1995). Beimers who attributes this phenomenon to the decreolisation of Pijin in relation to prepositions postulates that the use of adverbs as prepositions stems from the influence of English, as other researchers who dealt with Pijin prior to Beimers did not make a note of it. As far as TSC is concerned, adverbs with temporal and locative meanings used as prepositions are able to either appear on their own or are followed by the preposition *lo* 'along'

(Shnukal, 1988, p. 56). A similar pattern is encountered in LRC, which is not surprising taking into account the historical ties between TSC and LRC. Sandefur (1979, pp. 145-146) lists only three complex prepositions in Kriol, namely, *rait langa* 'right to', *nomo gadim* 'without', and *onli fo* 'full of, covered with, surrounded by', where *rait langa* 'right to' consists of the simple preposition *langa*, which denotes location or direction 'to'. It should, however, be noted that some Kriol varieties also have other complex preposition, for example, *ontop langa* 'on top of' (Eva Schultze-Berndt, personal communication, 2017). Thus, further research in this area is needed to ascertain the exact number of complex prepositions in Kriol.

However, in Pijin, Bislama, and Tok Pisin, *long* is the only preposition that participates in the formation of complex prepositions. In TSC, *lo*, which is the variant of *long* assumes that function. As Beimers (2008, p. 102) points out, the appearance of the locational adverb next to the simple preposition renders complex prepositions to possess quite a specific meaning. This is in agreement with Shnukal (1988, p. 57) who notes that TSC eleven complex prepositions denote specific location. In Bislama, however, when following an NP, the preposition *long* must occur between the adverb and the noun. Thus, in order to say 'The bird is flying above the house', in Bislama, the correct utterance is "*Pijin i flae **antap long** haos*" (Crowley, 2004, p. 27) and in LRC, both *Pijin i flai **antap** aus* and *Pijin i flai **antap waya** aus* are correct. The difference between those two LRC sentences lies in the fact that the meaning expressed by the complex preposition in the second utterance (***antap waya***) is more specific in comparison with the meaning of the adverb functioning as a preposition (*antap*) in the first sentence. A similar situation holds in TSC.

It should be noted that in contrast to Pijin, where *long* may either follow or on rare occasions even precede an adverb (Beimers, 2008, pp. 206-207), in LRC, *waya/weya/we* and *long/lo* always follow an adverb. This is in congruence with Bislama, Tok Pisin, and TSC (Crowley, 2004; Verhaar, 1995; Shnukal, 1988). Another interesting Pijin feature, namely, *long* being in a circumjacent relationship with an adverb, i.e. appearing both before and after an adverb, e.g. *Baero i stap **long***

antap long <u>*tebol*</u> ' The pen is on the table' (Beimers, 2008, p. 206) is absent not only from LRC, but also from Bislama, Tok Pisin, and TSC.

In contrast to Bislama and Pijin, where there exist seven and eight verbal prepositions, respectively (Crowley, 2004; Beimers, 2008), no verbal prepositions appear to exist in LRC.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the noun phrase, including both simple and complex NPs, as well as pronominal NPs, and prepositional phrases. The word and phrase coordination has also been presented. Thirteen creole features have been examined, and out of them four features are present in LRC and the remaining five creoles:

1. PPs post-modify head nouns
2. the prepositional use of some temporal and locative adverbs when followed by *we* or *long/lo*
3. complex prepositions with *long/lo* (*langa* in Kriol)
4. *long/lo* (*langa* in Kriol) follow adverbs.

Additionally, in inclusory constructions, pronouns may both precede and follow nouns in LRC and Kriol, while in TSC and Pijin, they may only precede nouns. Pronoun appositions are a feature characteristic of LRC and Pijin. Compound adjectives with *kain* (noun or suffix) occur in LRC, TSC, Pijin, and Tok Pisin. It has also been established that while the third person object ellipsis following the transitive verbs affixed with the transitive suffix is characteristic for Pijin, Bislama, Kriol, Tok Pisin (Beimers, 2008; Crowley, 2004; Nicholls, 2009; Sankoff, 1993), and LRC, such ellipsis does not occur in TSC (Shnukal, 1988, p. 37).

Seven English-derived features have been examined and four of them are present in LRC and the remaining five creoles:

1. pre-modification of adjectives by adverbs
2. multiple adjectives premodify head nouns

3. postnominal modifiers

4. prepositional use of some temporal and locative adverbs not followed by *we* or *long/lo* (*langa* in Kriol).

In addition, *of* and *av* are present in both in LRC and Kriol, respectively. The post-modification of adjectives of by a small set of adverbs takes place in all of the creole languages, with the exception of Kriol.

Chapter 6 The Verb Phrase (VP), and the Coordination of Verbs and VPs

This chapter undertakes the presentation of LRC verb phrase, together with its constituents. Coordination of verbs and VPs is also outlined in this chapter.

6.1 Verb Phrases

LRC verb phrases function as the main predicate constituents except in verbless sentences (see Chapter 7). Verbs are the heads and the most important elements of LRC VPs. If present, serial verbs and adverbs occur post-verbally. If the head verb is transitive, then a direct object NP may follow it. However, the latter may be either preceded or followed by a serial directional verb and/or an adverb. If a PP is present, then an adverb may occur either before or after that PP. As predicate markers, subject referencing pronouns as well as tense, modality, and aspect indicators are a part of a predicate and not the VP, they are discussed in Chapter 7. Taking into account the above, the internal structure of LRC VPs may be summarised as follows:

VP → **V** (SV) (AdvP) (NP) (PP)

Examples (6-1) – (6-4) illustrate the use of LRC VPs, which are underlined.

(6-1) De   beibi   i   <u>krai</u>.

DET   baby   PM   cry

'The baby cries.'

(6-2) Kutini   <u>luk-i   nhampi</u>.

cassowary   look-TRS   emu

'The cassowary looked at the emu.'

(6-3) Kutini   <u>spīk   fõ   dembla</u>.

cassowary   talk   PREP   3PL

'The cassowary talked to them.'

(6-4) Smōl   brade   im   <u>ran   go   streitewe</u>.

small   brother   3SG   run   SV.GO   straightaway

'The younger brother ran there straightaway.'

6.1.1 Head Verbs and Direct Objects

The transitivity of the head verb is signalled syntactically by the presence or absence of the direct object and/or morphologically by the transitive suffix *-im/-i* (see subsection 4.7.1.1). The following subsections discuss the different types of LRC head verbs.

6.1.1.1 Bare Head Verbs

Both intransitive and transitive head verbs may function on their own within the VP. In examples (6-5) – (6-6), the intransitive verbs *aryap* 'to hurry up' and *ranewei* 'to run away' function as the bare head verbs. In example (6-7), that role is assumed by the transitive verb *laik-im* 'to like' that is characterised by the presence of the transitive suffix.

(6-5) <u>Ary-ap</u>!

hurry-up

'Hurry up!'

(6-6) Dem   pig   bin   <u>ran-ewei</u>.

DET   pig   PST   run-away

'The pigs ran away.'

(6-7) Demtū   ōl   no   bin   <u>laik-im</u>.

3DU   3PL   NEG   PST   like-TRS

'They did not like it.'

6.1.1.2 Intransitive Head Verbs

Intransitive head verbs have an invariant form, and are never followed by direct object NPs. This is demonstrated by examples (6-8) – (6-10), where the respective intransitive verbs *gedap* 'to get up', *jampat* 'to jump out', and *klaimap* 'to climb up' are not followed by the direct objects.

(6-8) Ai **ged-ap** <u>fɔ̄</u> <u>toilet</u>.

    1SG   get-up   PREP   toilet

    'I got up to the toilet.'

(6-9) Mīpla   **jamp-at**   <u>from</u>   <u>de</u>   <u>kā</u>.

    1PL.EXCL   jump-out   from   DET   car

    'We jumped out from the car.'

(6-10) Em   bin   **klaim-ap**   <u>lo</u>   <u>trī</u>.

    3SG   PST   climb-up   PREP   tree

    'He climbed up the tree.'

6.1.1.3 Transitive Head Verbs

As noted in section 4.7.1, LRC transitive verbs, the form of which is not subject to change, are usually characterised by the presence of the transitive suffix *-im/-i*. Thus, there exist unmarked transitive verbs that are not affixed with the transitive suffix (see subsection 4.7.1.2). Not all transitive verbs suffixed with *-im/-i* are derived from intransitive verbs and, as a result, they do not possess suffixless intransitive equivalents, e.g. the verb *abim/abi* 'to have' represents such an example, as it does not have an intransitive equivalent and never occurs in the form **ab*. Transitive head verbs are characterised by the fact that they may require either the presence or absence of the overt direct object NPs. In examples (6-11) – (6-13), the transitive verbs *gaidi* 'to guide', *faini* 'to find', and *grauli* 'to scold' are followed by the overt direct object NPs *fren blo demblat* 'their friends', *oun wei blo yū* 'your own way', and *de bat* 'the bat', respectively.

(6-11) De beibi flaying foks bin **gaid-i** <u>fren</u> <u>blo</u> <u>demblat</u>.

    DET baby flying fox PST guide-TRS friend POSS 3PL

    'The baby flying foxes guided their friends.'

(6-12) Yū   go   **fain-i**   <u>oun</u>   <u>wei</u>   <u>blo</u>   <u>yū</u>.

    2SG   FUT   find-TRS   own   way   POSS   2SG

    'You will find your own way.'

(6-13) De   toudfish   im   **graul-i**   <u>de</u>   <u>bat</u>.

       DET   toadfish   3SG   scold-TRS   DET   bat

       'The toadfish scolded the bat.'

Examples (6-14) – (6-16) show the use of the morphologically transitive verbs that are affixed with the transitive suffix *-im/-i* and devoid of the overt direct object NPs following the transitive head verbs *katim* 'to cut', *libim* 'to leave', and *elpim* 'to help'. The absence of an object NP does not make those verbs intransitive and, in fact, they are transitive with a zero/implied direct object (see subsection 6.1.1.3.1).

(6-14) Ōl   man   **kat-im**   ebri   dei.

       old   man   cut-TRS   every   day

       'The old man cut them everyday.'

(6-15) De   we   de   roud   ōl   bi   **lib-im**.

       there   on   DET   road   3PL   PST   leave-TRS

       'There on the road they left it.'

(6-16) Mīpla   **elp-im**.

       1PL.EXCL   help-TRS

       'We helped him.'

There exist verbs that share the same intransitive and transitive form, where the latter is not affixed with the transitive suffix *-im/-i*. Thus, they are syntactically transitive when they are followed by the overt direct object NPs. Examples (6-17) and (6-19) demonstrate the use of the verbs *sabi* 'to know' and *praktis* 'to practise' in their transitive form and examples (6-18) and (6-20) show their intransitive use.

(6-17) Im   **sabi**   ebriting.

       3SG   know.TRS   everything

       'He knows everything.'

(6-18) Ai   **sabi**.

       1SG   understand.INTRS

       'I understand.'

(6-19) Ai   go   **praktis**   lengwich.

      1SG   FUT   practise.TRS   traditional.language

      'I will practise the traditional language.

(6-20) Ai   go   **praktis**.

      1SG   FUT   exercise.INTRS

      'I will exercise.'

An interesting issue involves some of LRC transitive verbs that generally are affixed with the transitive suffix, however, on some, rather random, occasions are devoid of it with no change to the meaning. Thus, examples (6-21), (6-23), and (6-25) contain the verbs *tīchi* 'to teach', *puti* 'to put', and *gadi* 'to have', which are affixed with the transitive suffix, and examples (6-22), (6-24), and (6-26) illustrate the transitive use of those verbs when they are devoid of the transitive suffix. It should, however, be mentioned that the transitive form without the transitive suffix *gad* in example (6-26) is an exception, as it is much more frequently used than the suffixed form *gadim/gadi* present in (6-25).

(6-21) **Tīch-i**   mī!

      teach-TRS   1SG

      'Teach me!'

(6-22) Ai   go   **tīch**   yū.

      1SG   FUT   teach.TRS   2SG

      'I will teach you.'

(6-23) De ōl man **put-i**   tang   blong   im   autsaid   na   en   smail.

      DET old man put-TRS tongue POSS   3SG   out   EMP CONN smile

      'The old man put his tongue out then and smiled.'

(6-24) Dei   **put**   det   bāk   ouba.

      3PL   put.TRS   DEM   bark   over

      'They put that bark over.'

(6-25) Tīche **gad-i** big chukpen.

teacher have-TRS big chicken.pen

'The teacher had a big chicken pen.'

(6-26) Im **gad** gud trak.

3SG have.TRS good truck

'He had a good truck.'

6.1.1.4 Ditransitive Head Verbs

There exists in LRC a group of ditransitive verbs that possess the ability to take two object NPs, namely, a direct object and an indirect object[6], where the latter, which assumes a role of a beneficiary, recipient or experiencer, always precedes the former. On average, indirect object arguments that comprise a single word prevail. It is, however, possible to encounter longer ones as well. Examples (6-27) – (6-29) demonstrate the use of LRC ditransitive head verbs, such as *gibim/gibi* 'to give', *yānim/yāni* 'to tell', and *telim/teli* 'to tell' (VPs are underlined and the indirect object NPs are written in bold).

(6-27) De ōl man im bi gib-i **de flaying foks** lesin.

DET old man 3SG PST give-TRS DET flying fox lesson

'The old man taught the flying fox a lesson.'

(6-28) Demtū bi yān-i **demblat** stōri.

3DU PST yarn-TRS 3PL story

'The two of them told them a story.'

(6-29) Ōl bi tel-i **demtū** de stōri.

3PL PST tell-TRS 3DU DET story

'They told the two of them the story.'

In comparison with constructions using a direct object NP and an indirect object NP, those constructions that consist of a direct object NP followed by an indirect object

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[6] The term 'indirect object' is used in a heuristic, semantically-based sense.

PP are equally common. In examples (6-30) – (6-32), direct object NPs are written in bold and indirect object PPs are underlined.

(6-30) Ai   yān-i   **stōri**   <u>fõ</u>   <u>dem</u>   <u>pikinini</u>.

     1SG   yarn-TRS   story   PREP   DET   child

     'I yarned a story to the children.'

(6-31) Im   bi   send-i   **prezent**   <u>fõ</u>   <u>gēl</u>   <u>blong</u>   <u>im</u>.

     3SG   PST   send-TRS   gift   PREP   daughter   POSS   3SG

     'He sent a gift to his daughter.'

(6-32) Ai   gib-i   **disen**   **panisment**   <u>fõ</u>   <u>dem</u>   <u>boi</u>.

     1SG   give-TRS   DEM.PRN   punishment   PREP   DET   boy

     'I give punishment to the boys.'

6.1.1.5 Complex Head Verbs

Complex head verbs consist of verbs *kam* 'come' and *go* 'go' followed by a main verb. Their meaning indicates the sequence of actions by denoting first the incipient stages of the directional movement and then overlapping with the action expressed by the succeeding verb (Beimers, 2008, p. 182). In examples (6-35),   (6-36), and (6-38) below, where *go* 'go' constitutes the first verb, *go* does not function as the future tense marker (see subsection 7.2.3.1.2), as in (6-35) it follows *fõ*, which introduces adverbial clauses of purpose (see subsection 8.3.3), in (6-36), it follows the past tense marker *bi*, and in (6-38), it is preceded by the modal verb *mas* 'must'. Future tense marker *go* can only follow resumprive pronouns and/or the predicate marker (see subsection 7.2.3.1.2).

Examples (6-33) – (6-36) demonstrate the use of LRC complex head verbs.

(6-33) Yūpla   **kam**   **stap**   lo   wikend!

     2PL   come   stay   PREP   weekend

     'Come and stay during weekends!

(6-34) De   brade   bi   **kam pik-im-ap**   damblat   we   dingi.

     DET   brother   PST   come pick-TRS-up   3PL   PREP   dinghy

     'The brother came and picked them up in the dinghy.'

(6-35) Spring-taim im prapa gud taim na fõ **go ged-im** dem eig.

spring-time 3SG really good time EMP PREP go get-TRS DET egg

'Springtime is a really good time to go and get the eggs.'

(6-36) Sou mīpla bi **go put-im** insaid dingi.

so 1PL.EXCL PST go put-TRS into dinghy

'So we went and put them into the dinghy.'

Although Keesing (1991, pp. 331-333) regards *kam* and *go* in such sequences as auxiliaries that are not verbs in their own right when they precede verbs in VPs, examples (6-33) – (6-36) do clearly show complex constituents comprising two coordinated verbs, i.e. *kam* and *go* followed by verbs in VPs. This observation is in agreement with that of Beimers (2008, p. 182) who postulates that they actually could be considered verbs and not auxiliaries or grammatical particles, because, together with the following verbs, they form complex constituents that signal the occurrence of two coordinated verbs. Beimers posits that the VPs, which follow *kam* and *go*, cannot be regarded as their clausal complements or adverbial subordinate clauses and, as a result, *kam* and *go* cannot be thought of as VP heads.

To substantiate the claim of Beimers, consider LRC examples (6-37) and (6-38), where the conjunction *en* 'and' separates the verbs *kam* and *go* and the verbs that follow in VPs. The insertion of the conjunction indicates that the verbs *kam* and *go* and the following verbs in VPs represent two coordinated verbs, where the former marks the sequential notion by denoting the beginning of the directional movement and the overlapping with the action expressed by the following verbs in VPs. Although the presence of the conjunction *en* could most likely be attributed to English, as 'and' is present in the English constructions of this type, it nonetheless demonstrates that two separate main verbs partake in this process, and the omission of *en* would not affect the meaning of either of those two examples.

(6-37) Dei lisin dei femli **kam** en **tōk** we demblat.

3PL listen POSS.PRN family come CONN talk PREP 3PL

'They listen to their family come and talk to them.'

(6-38) Yūpla   mas   **go**   en   **stap**   de   autsaid.

2PL   must   go   CONN   stay   there   out

'You must go and stay out there.'

The above train of thought resonates in Shnukal (1988) who refers to this phenomenon in TSC by means of a term 'verb chaining', which is characterised by "a sequence of two or more conjoined main verbs [where] the first verb belongs to a restricted set of movement or stance verbs" (p. 81). Shnukal (1988) states that the sentences of this type mean "'to come/go in order to do something'" (p. 82); that proposed meaning demonstrates the use of two separate main verbs. Shnukal (p. 81) notes that in TSC, the sentences marked by verb chaining never contain any coordinating or subordinating conjunctions. As examples (6-37) and (6-38) demonstrate, the use of conjunctions is, however, possible in LRC, as it is in Pijin (Beimers, 2008, p. 182). On the other hand, the phenomenon of verb chaining does not exist in Kriol (Schultze-Berndt & Angelo, 2013).

It should be noted that Crowley (2002) does not believe that such verb – verb constructions in Bislama could be regarded as serial verb constructions, but

> [they] can instead be treated simply as reduced forms of either coordinate or subordinate constructions in which an inter-clause marker has been optionally deleted. (p. 220)

Dutton and Thomas (1985, p. 304) note the presence of constructions of this type in Tok Pisin referring to them by means of the term 'verb grouping'. They state that such constructions are characterised by the fact that "many actions that physically may consist of two or more parts are often focused on or are seen as a closeknit unit" (Dutton & Thomas, 1985, p. 304). Thus, it seems reasonable to treat such constructions, where *kam* and *go* precede other verbs, regardless if overt coordinators are used or not, as complex constituents that constitute entities acting as the heads of VPs.

6.1.2 Head Verbs and Oblique Constituents

Oblique constituents in the VP can be expressed through one or more PPs that are known to denote a variety of meanings. Although examples provided below do not cover the entire range of meanings that oblique PPs are able to express, they illustrate the diversity of the semantic roles the PP possesses within the VP.

a. *stimulus/cause*

(6-39) Ai   frait   <u>from   frog</u>.

    1SG   fear   PREP   frog

    'I fear frogs.'

b. *location*

(6-40) Kutini   im   stap   <u>antap   det   il</u>.

    cassowary   3SG   live   PREP   DEM   hill

    'The cassowary lives on top of that hill.'

c. *goal*

(6-41) Yūmītū   go   go   <u>tū   de   mangru</u>.

    1DU.INCL   FUT   go   PREP   DET   mangrove

    'The two of us will go to the mangrove.'

d. *source*

(6-42) De   smok   kam-at   <u>from   de   bus</u>.

    DET   smoke   come-out   PREP   DET   bush

    'The smoke came out from the bush.'

e. *recipient/beneficiary*

(6-43) Ai   go   kuk-im   <u>fõ   yūmītū</u>.

    1SG   FUT   cook-TRS   PREP   1DU.INCL

    'I will cook it for the two of us.'

(6-44) Dat   gēl   meik-im   <u>fõ   mama   blong   im</u>.

       DEM   girl   make-TRS PREP mum   POSS   3SG

       'That girl made it for her mother.'

f. *manner*

(6-45) Mai   siste   roust-im   <u>ōlsem mai   mama</u>.

       POSS.PRN sister roast-TRS PREP   POSS.PRN mum

       'My sister roasted them the same way as my mum.'

g. *time*

(6-46) Dembla   wani   kip-im   <u>antil   tūmora</u>.

       3PL   want   keep-TRS PREP   tomorrow

       'They want to keep them until tomorrow.'

h. *instrument*

(6-47) Im   kat-im~katim~katim   <u>we   naif</u>.

       3SG   cut-TRS~.ITR   PREP knife

       'He was cutting and cutting it with a knife.'

i. *material*

(6-48) Mai   mama bi   wiv-im   <u>from loyakein</u>.

       POSS.PRN mum   PST weave-TRS PREP lawyer.cane

       'My mum weaved it from lawyer cane.'

j. *reason*

(6-49) Det krokodail i   kam autsaid <u>fõ   det smel blo de tētil</u>.

       DEM crocodile PM come outside PREP DET smell POSS DET turtle

       'That crocodile came outside because of that smell of the turtle.'

k. *accompaniment*

(6-50) Mīpla   yūstū   kemp   <u>waya</u>   <u>femli</u>   <u>blo</u>   <u>mī</u>.

1PL.EXCL   HAB   camp   PREP   family   POSS   1SG

'We used to camp with my family.'

6.1.3 Serial Verb Constructions

Serial Verb Constructions (SVCs), which can quite commonly be encountered in LRC, refer to verb linking, where the grouped verbs refer to a single event (Crowley, 2004, p. 166). As a result, the verbs of the SVCs, which constitute a single predicate, not only share the subject, but also other arguments as well as the negative particle and TMA markers, which appear always before the initial verb of the SVCs (Aikhenvald, 2006, pp. 4-23). While Shnukal includes the SVCs in the same category as the constructions involving the verbs *kam* and *go* followed by the verbs in VPs (see subsection 6.1.1.5), Crowley (2002, 2004) is of the opinion that the SVCs differ from constructions, where *kam* and *go* precede the verbs in VPs, in that the SVCs pertain to actions, which occur simultaneously as a single action. In the constructions with *kam* and *go* preceding the verbs in VPs, the verbs *kam* and *go* signal first the beginning of the directional movement and then overlapping with the action expressed by the following verb (Beimers, 2008, p. 182). Thus, the constructions marked by *kam* and *go* preceding the verbs in VPs refer not to a single action but to separate overlapping actions. As a result, it appears reasonable to follow Crowley's (2004, p. 166) analysis and treat those two types of constructions separately and not include them within the same category.

Two subtypes of SVCs can be distinguished, namely, SVCs, where the second verb is one of the motion verbs denoting direction i.e. *kam* and *go*, and SVCs, where the second verb is non-directional. Both SVC subtypes represent single intonation units and, as a result, they possess intonational properties of monoverbal clauses, where SVC components are not separated by intonation breaks or pauses (Aikhenvald, 2006, pp. 1,7).

6.1.3.1 SVCs with the Directional Motion Verbs

The first subtype of the SVCs involves those, where the directional motion verbs *kam* and *go*, which belong to a restricted class (Aikhenvald, 2006, p. 22), function as the first post-head constituents in VPs. Thus, *kam* and *go* follow the initial core verb, which is relatively unrestricted, is also a motion verb in the majority of cases, and denotes a certain degree of directionality in the action (Crowley, 2004, p. 166). The directional motion verb *kam* signals the direction towards the speaker and *go* - away from the speaker. In examples (6-51) – (6-53), the motion verbs *kam* and *go* follow the intransitive verbs *draib* 'to drive', *krōl* 'to crawl', and *wagabat* 'to walk', respectively.

(6-51) Ōl   **draib**   **kam**.

     3PL   drive   SV.COME

     'They drove here.'

(6-52) I   **krōl**   **kam**.

     3SG   crawl   SV.COME

     'It crawled here.'

(6-53) Ōl **wag-abat**   **go**   antap   en   jamp   insaid   de   kā.

     3PL   walk-PROG   SV.GO   to.the.top   CONN   jump   PREP   DET   car

     'They were walking (there) to the top and jumped into the car.'

In addition to following the motion verbs, the directional motion verbs possess the ability to appear after verbs that can be thought of as expressing the notion of directionality (Beimers, 2008, p. 190). Thus, in examples (6-54) – (6-56), the respective transitive verbs *karim* 'to carry', *chaki* 'to throw', and *cheisi* 'to chase' function as core verbs that denote directionality. It should also be noted that examples (6-55) and (6-56) demonstrate that serial verbs do not necessarily need to follow core verbs, as other constituents, e.g. *lain* 'fishing line' and *demblat* '3PL', may be inserted between them.

(6-54) Mīpla   go   **kar-im**   **go**   skūl   tūmora.

     1PL.EXCL   FUT   carry-TRS   SV.GO   school   tomorrow

     fõ   show-i   dem   kid-s   blo   mīpla.

     PREP   show-TRS   DET   kid-PL   POSS   1PL.EXCL

     'We will carry it (there) to school tomorrow to show it to our kids.'

(6-55) Mīpla   **chak-i**   lain   **go**.

     1PL.EXCL   throw-TRS   fishing.line   SV.GO

     'We threw the fishing lines in there.'

(6-56) I   **cheis-i**   demblat   **kam**.

     3SG   chase-TRS   3PL   SV.COME

     'It chased them here.'

The verbs *kam* and *go* are not the only directional motion verbs that may appear in the SVCs. Other verbs, which are derived from the primary motion verbs *kam* and *go*, can also be used in the SVCs and they include among others *gobaik/gobek* 'to go back', *kambaik/kambek* 'to come back', *godan* 'to go down', and *kamdan* 'to come down', as examples (6-57) – (6-59) show.

(6-57) Mīpla   **chak-im**   **go-dan**.

     1PL.EXCL   throw-TRS   SV.GO-DOWN

     'We threw it down.'

(6-58) Ōl   **fol-im**   de   seim   traik   **go-baik**   gen

     3PL   follow-TRS   DET   same   tracks   SV.GO-BACK   again

     fõ   pik-im-ap   dem   tū   gwana   we   ōl   bi   drop-im   de.

     PREP   pick-TRS-up   DET   two   goanna   REL   3PL   PST   drop-TRS   there

     'They followed the same tracks returning again to pick up the two goannas

     they   dropped there.'

(6-59) Mīpla   **ran**   **kam-bek**   oum.

     1PL.EXCL   run   SV.COME-BACK   home

     'We ran returning home.'

After analysing the examples provided in this subsection and all of the SVC examples collected throughout this project, it is natural to wonder if perhaps the directional motion verbs in the SVCs have undergone the process of grammaticalisation. However, contrary to the claim of Aikhenvald (2006, p. 30), which states that motion verbs in asymmetrical SVCs have a tendency to undergo grammaticalisation and become directional markers denoting path, source, and trajectory of motion, it seems reasonable to conclude that LRC directional motion verbs in the SVCs have not grammaticalised. Firstly, it is necessary to clarify that LRC SVCs involving the directional motion verbs are in fact asymmetrical, as the initial core verb belongs to a relatively unrestricted class and the following directional motion verb is a member of a restricted class. Secondly, all the directional motion verbs in LRC can function as free standing verbs and not just as parts of the SVCs. The collected data show that the directional motion verbs do not follow those core SVC verbs that do not express motion. As examples (6-57) – (6-59) above demonstrate, the directional motion verbs derived from the verbs *kam* and *go* can appear in the SVCs after the core verbs. Although there exists a tendency for contiguous SVCs to occur in LRC, other constituents such as NPs, PPs, some adverbs, and discourse markers may be inserted between the two SVC verbs. All of the above strongly suggests that the directional motion verbs in the SVCs have not undergone grammaticalisation. Beimers (2008, pp. 193-195) has reached a similar conclusion in relation to Pijin, although there exist instances, where Pijin directional motion verbs do follow those core SVC verbs, the meaning of which does not involve that of motion.

However, *kam* and *go* as well as their derivatives are not the only motion verbs that occur in SVCs, as the transitive directional verb *raunim* 'to encircle, go around, run around' also possesses that ability, as example (6-60) demonstrates.

(6-60) Dem   tū   shāk   <u>sēkel</u>   **raun-im**   de   <u>dingi.</u>

DET   two   shark   circle   around-TRS   DET   dinghy

'The two sharks circled around the dinghy.'

6.1.3.2 SVCs with Non-Directional Verbs

The second subtype of SVCs involves those constructions, where the second verb is non-directional and, therefore, those constructions do not indicate the direction of the action. In SVCs in examples (6-61) – (6-62), the initial verb is intransitive and the next is transitive. Example (6-63) demonstrates that other elements may be inserted between the two verbs, for example, the adverb *fās* 'fast' appears between *ran* 'to run' and *kechi* 'to catch'. As stated in subsection 6.1.3, SVCs of this subtype represent single intonation units and, as a result, they possess intonational properties of monoverbal clauses, where SVC components are not separated by intonation breaks or pauses (Aikhenvald, 2006, pp. 1,7).

(6-61) Mīpla **siden kaikai** dem eg.

1PL.EXCL sit eat.TRS.SV DET egg

'We sat eating eggs.'

(6-62) Mai tū brade **ran cheis-i** dem tū gwana.

POSS.PRN two brother run chase.TRS.SV DET two goanna

'My two brothers ran chasing the two goannas.'

(6-63) Ōl **ran** fās **kech-i** de smel blo de smōl boi.

3PL run fast catch-TRS.SV DET smell POSS DET little boy

'They ran fast catching the smell of the little boy.'

Examples (6-64) and (6-65) demonstrate that SVCs with non-motion verbs may also consist of a combination, where both the first and the second verbs are transitive.

(6-64) Mīpla **loud-i uk-i** tūmach ōl fish.

1PL.EXCL load-TRS unhook-TRS.SV many DET fish

'We loaded unhooking many of the fishes.'

(6-65) Mīpla **grab-im breik-i** ōl an.

1PL.EXCL grab-TRS break-TRS.SV DET arm

'We grabbed them breaking their arms.'

Another combination involves the scenario where the two verbs of the SVC are intransitive. Examples (6-67) and (6-68) show that other constituents may occur between the two verbs.

(6-66) Mīpla **siden** **weit** fõ twenti, tēti minit-s.
1PL.EXCL sit wait.SV PREP twenty thirty minute-PL
'We sat waiting twenty, thirty minutes.'

(6-67) Dei **krōl** ebriwe **luk-ran** fõ kaikai.
3PL crawl everywhere look-around.SV PREP food
'They crawled everywhere looking for food.'

(6-68) Kam, yūmītū go ya na **siden** antap **aid** byain
come 1DU.INCL FUT here EMP sit on.top hide.SV behind
det big bush kloustū we de kokonat trī.
DET big bush close.to PREP DET coconut tree
'Come, we will now sit here on top hiding behind that big bush close to
the coconut tree.'

In the last possible combination, an intransitive verb follows a transitive one, including its object, as example (6-69) demonstrates.

(6-69) Im **cheis-i** demtū **ran** byain.
3SG chase-TRS 3DU run.SV behind
'He chased the two of them while running behind.'

However, objects, adverbs, and PPs are not the only constituents that may appear between the verbs that form SVCs. The insertion of the directional motion verbs *kam* and *go* between the two verbs of the SVC not only shows that SVCs may consist of more than just two verbs, but it also constitutes an interesting feature that is not reflected in the existing literature on Bislama, Pijin, Tok Pisin, and TSC. It appears that the directional motion verb is placed there to distinctly specify and emphasise the directionality of the action denoted by the initial verb. As examples (6-70) and (6-72) demonstrate, the inserted directional motion verbs may follow both the intransitive and transitive verbs as well as precede them.

(6-70) Dem tū gwana ōl **ran go klaim-ap** antap waya trī.

DET two goanna 3PL run SV.GO climb-up.SV on.top PREP tree

'The two goannas ran there climbing to the top of the tree.'

(6-71) Mīpla teik-im-bad ōl ting-s en

1PL.EXCL take-TRS-PROG DET thing-PL CONN

kar-im go put-im insaid we dingi.

carry-TRS SV.GO put-TRS.SV into PREP dinghy

'We were taking all the things and carried them there putting them into

the dinghy.'

(6-72) Sou ōl **ran kam folo** dem dog we wata.

so 3PL run SV.COME follow.TRS.SV DET dog PREP water

'So they ran here following the dogs in the water.'

The directional motion verbs may also appear after the last verb of the SVC and they clearly signal the direction of the verb, which they follow, as example (6-73) shows.

(6-73) Mīpla chak-im ōl gīs insaid **kar-im kam-bek**

1PL.EXCL throw-TRS DET goose inside carry-TRS.SV SV.COME-BACK

oum na.

home EMP

'We threw the geese inside carrying them back (here) home.'

However, the directional motion verbs are not the only verbs that possess the ability to form the multi-verb SVCs. Example (6-74) demonstrates that non-directional verbs participate in the formation of the multi-verb SVCs as well.

(6-74) Mai brade **kat-im~katim put-im** insaid baket

POSS.PRN brother cut-TRS~.ITR put-TRS into bucket

fil-im-ap de tū baket.

fill-TRS-up DET two bucket

'My brother was cutting it and cutting it putting it into the bucket filling

the bucket up.'

6.1.3.3 SVCs and the Predicate Marker

Although the predicate marker is described in Chapter 7, it should be mentioned that it may introduce the predicate, in which the VP with the SVC occurs (although this occurs only three times in the data). However, the predicate marker never occurs between the two verbs forming SVCs; this strengthens the argument that those constructions are indeed SVCs.

(6-75) De   bout   **i**   **ran** **kam**   dis-wei   na.
DET   boat   PM   run SV.COME DEM-way EMP
'The boat went here this way.'

(6-76) Mai   brade   im **i**   **it-i**   ed   blo   de   tētil
POSS.PRN brother 3SG PM   hit-TRS head POSS DET turtle
wif   de   tamyok   **nok-im-at**   de   tētil.
PREP DET   axe   knock-TRS-out.SV DET   turtle
'My brother hit the turtle's head with an axe knocking the turtle out.'

(6-77) Det   krokodail **i**   **folou** de   said   **kam**   na
DEM   crocodile PM   follow DET side   SV.COME EMP
fõ   det   smel   blo   de   tētil.
PREP DEM   smell   POSS DET turtle
'That crocodile then followed the side here for that smell of the turtle.'

If the predicate marker is present, then it appears always before the initial verb of the SVC. This is consistent with the location of the predicate marker in TSC constructions of this type (Shnukal, 1988, pp. 81-82). In Bislama, the predicate marker appears before each of the SVC verbs, however, it is customary for some speakers to omit it before the second verb (Crowley, 2004, pp. 166, 169). Examples of Pijin SVCs provided by Beimers (2008, pp. 189-196) indicate that the predicate marker does not appear in front of either of the SVC verbs. In Tok Pisin, however, the predicate marker may appear either in front of both the SVCs verbs or just in front of the initial verb (Dutton & Thomas, 1985, p. 305).

6.1.3.4 SVCs and Verb Reduplication

As examples (6-78) – (6-80) demonstrate, verb reduplication is possible to occur within the SVCs. In (6-78) and (6-79), it is the first verb that is reduplicated and in example (6-80), the second verb undergoes reduplication. In (6-80), the first verb and the reduplicated verb constitute the same lexical verbs. Although this is an unusual occurrence, this in an example of a SVC, as it represents a single intonation unit, where the SVC components are not separated by intonation breaks or pauses (Aikhenvald, 2006, pp. 1,7).

(6-78) Mai   tū   brade   **ran~ran~ran cheis-i**   dem   tū   gwana.

POSS.PRN two   brother   ran~.ITR   chase-TRS.SV   DET   two   goanna

'My two brothers were running and running chasing the two goannas.'

(6-79) Mīpla   **loud-im~loudim~loudim~loudim~loudim~loudim**

1PL.EXCL   load-TRS~.ITR

put-im   insaid   we   baig.

put-TRS.SV   into   PREP   bag

'We were loading and loading them putting them into the bag.'

(6-80) Im   **kat-i**   de   said blo   tētil   **kat-im~katim~katim**   we   naif.

3SG   cut-TRS DET   side POSS   turtle   cut-TRS.SV~.ITR   PREP   knife

'He cut the side of the turtle cutting and cutting it with a knife.'

6.1.4 PPs within VPs

A number of examples of PPs functioning within VPs are presented in subsection 6.1.2. One of the most frequent uses of PPs in VPs is adverbial, as examples (6-81) and (6-83) demonstrate. Thus, in (6-81), the PP *fõ mī* 'to me' denotes a beneficiary and in (6-82), the PP *we de dāk lagūn pon* 'in the dark lagoon pond' expresses location.

(6-81) Yū   mas   lisin   <u>fõ</u>   mī.

2SG   must   listen   PREP   1SG

'You must listen to me.'

(6-82) Em   standap   de   <u>we</u>   <u>de</u>   <u>dāk</u>   <u>lagūn</u>   <u>pon</u>.

      3SG   stand   there   PREP   DET   dark   lagoon   pond

      'He stood there in the dark lagoon pond.'

(6-83) Ai   go   go   sanbīs   <u>āfte</u>   <u>dine</u>.

      1SG   FUT   FUT   beach   PREP   dinner

      'I will go to the beach after dinner.'

6.1.5 Adverbs within VPs

Adverbs, together with their comparison and morphology, are described in section 4.8, and this section deals specifically with the behaviour of adverbs within VPs. A considerable number of adverbs are able to appear within LRC VPs and only a handful possess the ability to precede the core predicate constituent.

As example (6-100) below demonstrates, LRC allows more than just one adverb to appear within VPs. Adverbial phrases (AdvPs) consist of the obligatory head adverb that may be pre-modified by another adverb or adverbs if more than two adverbs form AdvPs. Head adverbs may also be post-modified by adverbs. Thus, the internal structure of AdvPs may be represented as follows:

AdvP → (ADV) **ADV** (ADV)

6.1.5.1 Position of Adverbs within VPs

Overall, the position of adverbs within VPs is not fixed but is characterised by a relatively high degree of free placement instead. Generally, within VPs adverbs take a position between the head verb and the object NP, as examples (6-84) – (6-86) demonstrate. Examples provided in subsection 6.1.5 involve AdvPs with a bare adverb.

(6-84) Mīpla   chak-im   **gen**   ainka.

      1PL.EXCL   throw.in-TRS   again   anchor

      'We threw the anchor in again.'

(6-85) Mīpla   chak-i   **insaid**   swaig   blo   mīpla.

1PL.EXCL   throw-TRS   inside   swag   POSS 1PL.EXCL

'We threw our swags inside.'

(6-86) Mīpla   put-i   **autsaid**   ōl   ting-s   blo   mīpla.

1PL.EXCL   put-TRS   outside   all   thing-PL POSS 1PL.EXCL

'We put all our things outside.'

While examples (6-84) – (6-86) above demonstrate that adverbs precede the object NPs, examples (6-87) – (6-89) show that it is also possible for adverbs to follow the object NPs.

(6-87) Dei pul-im-at   da   bāk   peipe **īzi**   from   de   kapmari.

3PL pull-TRS-out DET bark paper easily PREP DET   sand oven

'They pulled out the bark easily from the sand oven.'

(6-88) Ōl   bait-i   de   lain   **kwik**.

3PL   bite-TRS DET fishing.line   quickly

'They were biting the fishing line quickly.'

(6-89) De   ōl   man   pus-i   demblat **tait**.

DET   old   man   push-TRS 3PL   tightly

'The old man pushed them tightly.'

There exists a group of adverbs that possess the ability to appear either before or after the object NPs, as examples (6-90) – (6-95) show.

(6-90) Det   gēl   kis-i   **tūmach** det   boi.

DEM   girl kiss-TRS a.lot   DEM   boy

'That girl kisses that boy a lot.'

(6-91) Det   man   it-i   det   dog   **tūmach**.

DEM   man   beat-TRS DEM dog   a.lot

'That man beats that dog a lot.'

(6-92) Demblat   ab-im   **tū**   ōl   stōri.

        3PL   have-TRS   too   DET   story

        'We have also the stories.'

(6-93) Mīpla   roust-i   ōl   fish   **tū**.

        1PL.EXCL   roast-TRS   DET   fish   too

        'We roasted the fishes too.'

(6-94) De   tētil   muv   **litilbit**   bodi   blong   im.

        DET   turtle   move   little.bit   body   POSS   3SG

        'The turtle moved a little its body.'

(6-95) De   tētil   muv   bodi   blong   im   **litilbit**.

        DET   turtle   move   body   POSS   3SG   little.bit

        'The turtle moved (its) body a little.'

The following examples demonstrate that adverbs may both precede and follow the head verb, as examples (6-96) – (6-99) demonstrate.

(6-96) Krab   **nī-li**   snap-i   finga blong im.

        crab   near-ly   snap-TRS   finger POSS 3SG

        'A crab nearly snapped his finger.'

(6-97) Ōl   **ya**   kam.

        3PL   here   come

        'Here they come.'

(6-98) Bat   en   fren   blong   im   ōl   bi   go   **long-wei.**

        bat   CONN   friend   POSS   3SG   3PL   PST   go   long-way

        'Bat and its friend went far.'

(6-99) Yūpla   spīk   mīpla   smel   **ōful**.

        2PL   say   1PL.EXCL   smell   awfully

        'You said that we smelled awfully.'

In examples (6-100) and (6-101), the respective PPs *insaid de kā* 'into the car' and *byain det big ilka* 'behind that big hill' function adverbially in the VPs. They are also

followed by adverbs. However, in comparison with *prapa kwik* in (6-100), which is not a part of the NP *de kā* 'the car', *de* in (6-101) functions as a post-modifying adverb in the same NP as the head noun *ilka* 'hill.'

(6-100) Ōl   jamp   <u>insaid   de   kā</u>   **prapa   kwik**.

3PL   jump   inside   DET   car   very   quickly

'They jumped into the car very quickly.'

(6-101) Go   aid   <u>byain   det   big   ilka   **de**</u>!

go   hide   behind   DEM   big   hill   there

'Go and hide behind that big hill there!'

Adverbs are also known to be inserted between the core verb and the non-directional verb of the SVCs. As far as the SVCs that comprise the core verb and the directional motion verb are concerned, only some adverbs may be inserted between them. In examples (6-102) – (6-104), adverbs appear between the two verbs of the SVCs.

(6-102) Ōl   ken   krōl   **insaid**   kam   antap   waya   det   krey   pot.

3PL   can   crawl   inside   SV.COME   on top   PREP   DET   crayfish   pot

'They can crawl inside (here) at the top of that crayfish pot.'

(6-103) Ōl   ran   **fās**   kech-i   de   smel   blo   de   smōl   boi.

3PL   run   fast   catch-TRS.SV   DET   smell   POSS   DET   little   boy

'They ran fast catching the smell of the little boy.'

(6-104) Dei   krōl   **ebriwe**   luk-ran   fō   kaikai.

3PL   crawl   everywhere   look-around   PREP   food

'They crawled everywhere looking around for food.'

6.1.5.2 Multiple Adverbs within VPs

As example (6-100) above demonstrates, LRC allows more than just one adverb to appear within VPs. Within AdvPs head adverbs constitute the only obligatory constituents that may be pre-modified by another adverb or adverbs if more than two adverbs form AdvPs. Head adverbs may also be post-modified by adverbs.

The presence of multiple adverbs within AdvPs is demonstrated by examples (6-105) and (6-107). As noted in section 4.8, adverbs that precede the main adverbs fulfil an intensifying function. Adverbs that possess that ability are *litilbit* 'rather', *nadakain* 'extremely', *prapa* 'very/really', *rili* 'really/very', *so/sou* 'so', *tū* 'too', and *veri* 'very'.

(6-105) Dem   boi   ōl   ran   **nada-kain**   <u>fas</u>.
        DET   boy   3PL   run   other-kind   fast
        'The boys run extremely fast.'

(6-106) Yū   gada   luk   **prapa**   <u>kloustū</u>.
        2SG   have.to   look   very   closely
        'You have to look very closely.'

(6-107) Dei   swim   kam   **rili**   <u>kwik</u>.
        3PL   swim   SV.COME   really   quickly
        'They swim really quickly.'

The adverbs of manner *rait* 'right' and *streit* 'straight' may appear in front of those adverbs of place that denote direction, movement, and location, as examples (6-108) and (6-109) show.

(6-108) I   kar-im   go   **rait**   <u>insaid</u>.
        3SG   carry-TRS   SV.GO   right   inside
        'He carried it right inside.'

(6-109) Im   chak-i   da   spīye   **streit**   <u>antap</u>.
        3SG   throw-TRS   DET   spear   straight   on.top
        'He threw the spear straight up.'

Similarly, the adverbs of place *de* 'there' and *ya/iya* 'here' are also known to precede those adverbs of place that denote direction, movement, and location, as examples (6-110) and (6-111) demonstrate.

(6-110) Ōl   bi   līb-i   de   tētil   shel   **de**   <u>daun</u>.

       3PL   PST   leave-TRS   DET   turtle   shell   there   down

       'They left the turtle shell down there.'

(6-111) Yūmītū   go   go   **ya**   <u>antap</u>.

       1DU.EXCL   FUT   go   here   on.top

       'The two of us will go up here.'

However, when the AdvPs consist of three adverbs, where one of them is the adverb of place *de* 'there' or *ya/iya* 'here', then the main adverb appears in the middle, while the adverbs *de* and *ya* occupy the phrase final position and the adverbs of manner the phrase initial position, as examples (6-112) and (6-113) show.

(6-112) De   roud   kam   **streit**   <u>daun</u>   **de**.

       DET   road   come   straight   down   there

       'The road comes straight down there.'

(6-113) Im   stap   **rait**   <u>antap</u>   **de**.

       3SG   live   right   on.top   there

       'He lives right up there.'

6.2 Word and Phrase Coordination

In subsection 6.1.1.5, which is devoted to the description of the complex verbs, it is shown that the verbs *kam* and *go* may be either juxtaposed with the verbs in VPs or they may be coordinated with them with the use of the coordinator *en*. The resulting complex constituents fulfil a role of the heads of VPs, as examples (6-114) and (6-115) demonstrate.

(6-114) Yūtū   **go**   **en**   **loud-im**   fayawud.

       2DU   go   CONN   load-TRS   firewood

       'The two of you go and load the firewood.'

(6-115) Mai   siste   bi   **kam**   **en**   **kar-i**   dembla   kam

POSS.PRN sister PST come   CONN   carry-TRS 3PL   SV.COME

rait   antap   waya   raun   il.

right   on.top   PREP   round   hill

'My sister came and carried them right to the top of the round hill.'

Verb coordination in LRC is not, however, limited only to the verbs *kam* and *go* followed by other verbs, but it also involves other verbs. As examples (6-116) and (6-117) demonstrate, both coordinators *en* and *ō* may be used.

(6-116) Mīpla   **kat-im**   **en**   **miks-im-ap-im**   de   gat-s

1PL.EXCL cut-TRS CONN   miks-TRS-up-TRS   DET   gut-PL

insaid   we   det   mīt.

inside   PREP   DET   meat

'We cut and mixed the guts inside with that meat.'

(6-117) Mīpla   **boil-im**   **ō**   **roust-im**   fō   kaikai.

1PL.EXCL boil-TRS   CONN   roast-TRS PREP   eat

'We boil them or roast them to eat.'

It is not unusual for the predicates that involve single head verbs to be coordinated with those predicates that involve the complex verbs *kam* and *go* (see subsection 6.1.1.5), as examples (6-118) and (6-119) show.

(6-118) Dembla <u>ged-i   trī   krab   en   trī   kreifish   from   insaid</u>

<u>3PL   get-TRS three crab CONN three crayfish   from   inside</u>

<u>dis   baket   ya   **en**   go   en   kuk-im   fō   dine</u>.

DEM bucket EMP   CONN   go   CONN   cook-TRS PREP dinner

'They got three crabs and three crayfish from inside the bucket and went and cooked them for dinner.'

(6-119) Mīpla   <u>kech-i   grīn   trī   sneik   **en**   go   en   put-im</u>

1PL.EXCL catch-TRS green tree snake CONN go   CONN   put-TRS

<u>insaid   dingi</u>.

inside   dinghy

'We caught a green tree snake and went and put it in the dinghy.'

It is also possible for two or more predicates that involve complex verbs to be coordinated as well, as examples (6-120) and (6-121) demonstrate.

(6-120) Ai   <u>wag-abat</u>   en   <u>ran</u>   <u>go</u>   de
      1SG   walk-PROG   CONN   run   SV.GO   there
      en   <u>go</u>   en   <u>luk</u>   fõ   de   trap.
      CONN   go   CONN   look   PREP   DET   trap
      'I walked and ran there and went and looked for the trap.'

(6-121) Im   <u>ran</u>   <u>go</u>   en   <u>put-i</u>   det   shel   byain   we   bek
      3SG   ran   SV.GO   CONN   put-TRS   DEM   shell   behind   PREP   back
      blong   im   **en**   <u>kar-im</u>   en   <u>go</u>   aus.
      POSS   3SG   CONN   carry-TRS   CONN   go   house
      'He ran and put that shell behind on his back and carried it and went home.'

However, not only verbs, but also VPs may be coordinated. In example (6-122), the VP *saki demblat kam insaid* 'threw them inside' is coordinated with the VP *draigi demblat rait daun dīp andenīt we det riba* 'dragged them right deeply down to the bottom of that river' by means of the conjunctive coordinator *en* 'and'.

(6-122) Im   <u>sak-i</u>   <u>demblat</u>   <u>kam</u>   <u>insaid</u>   **en**
      3SG   throw-TRS   3PL   SV.COME   inside   CONN
      <u>draigi</u>   <u>demblat</u> <u>rait</u>   <u>daun</u>   <u>dīp</u>   <u>andenīt</u>   <u>we</u>   <u>det</u>   <u>riba</u>.
      drag-TRS   3PL   right   down   deeply   underneath   PREP   DEM   river
      'He threw them inside and dragged them right down deeply to the bottom of that river.'

The alternative coordinator *ō* 'or' is also known to participate in VP coordination. In example (6-123), the VP *meiki fō ausis* 'made four houses' is coordinated with the VP *bildi wan donga fēs* 'built a donga first' with the coordinator *ō*.

(6-123) Ōl   <u>meik-i</u>   <u>fō</u>   <u>aus-is</u>   **ō**   <u>bild-i</u>   <u>wan</u>   <u>donga</u>   <u>fēs</u>.
      3PL   make-TRS   four   house-PL   CONN   build-TRS   DET   donga   first
      'They made four houses or built a donga first.'

The adversative coordinator *bat* 'but' also possesses the ability to coordinate VPs. In example (6-124), the VP *folou dem dog* 'followed the dogs' is coordinated with the VP *kan faindi sain blo dembla pig* 'could not find the signs of their pigs' with the coordinator *bat*.

(6-124) Ōl <u>folou dem dog</u> **bat** <u>kan faind-i sain blo dembla pig</u>.

 3PL follow DET dog CONN cannot find-TRS sign POSS 3PL pig

 'They followed the dogs but could not find the signs of their pigs.'

6.3   Brief Comparison with Other Creoles

As Table 6.1 below demonstrates, out of the four creole VP features discussed in this chapter, LRC shares three of them with the other creoles. This provides evidence that LRC is indeed a creole. A + indicates that the feature is characteristic of the creole, a blank indicates it is not. A detailed presentation of the comparison of the features outlined in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1 Comparison of Some of LRC Creole VP Features with Other Creoles

Feature	LRC	TSC	Kriol	Pijin	Bislama	Tok Pisin
Ellipsis of the Third Person Object NPs After Transitive Verbs Affixed with the Transitive Suffix	+		+	+	+	+
Marked Transitive Verbs	+	+	+	+	+	+
Pseudo-Transitive				+	+	+
***Long/lo/langa* Introduces Oblique Constituents in the VPs**	+	+	+	+	+	+

The ellipsis of the third person object NP following transitive verbs affixed with the transitive suffix is not characteristic only for LRC, but it does also occur in Kriol (Nicholls, 2009; Sandefur, 1979). Thus, Sandefur notes that

> unlike English, Kriol has the ability to delete the object from most transitive sentences. This is normally restricted, however, to sentences that have marked verbs and is possible because the -im suffix, in essence carries the 'weight' of the

object much like a pronoun. The specification of the object would be understood from the context in which the sentence was used. (p.177)

As Nicholls (2009, p. 36) rightfully observes, the third person object ellipsis following the transitive verbs affixed with the transitive suffix is subject to a pragmatic constraint, as it only occurs when the omitted object NP is known from the discourse. In addition to LRC and Kriol, the omission of the third person object NP occurs also in Pijin, Bislama, and Tok Pisin (Beimers, 2008; Crowley, 2004; Sankoff, 1993). However, in TSC, such ellipsis does not appear to take place, as example (6-125) from Shnukal (1988, p. 37) demonstrates.

(6-125) Demtu   i   ran-e   em   diskain.

       3DU   PM   run-TRS 3SG   DEM-kind

       'They both chased him like this.'

Similarly to LRC, there exist TSC verbs such as, for example, *sabe* 'know, know how to, be able to, understand', *sore* 'be sorry, feel sorry, pity', and *prait* 'be frightened, be afraid, be scared, fear' that do not take the transitive suffix and, as a result, the transitive and intransitive forms of those verbs are exactly the same (Shnukal, 1988, pp. 185, 191, 203). The same takes place in Pijin, Bislama, Tok Pisin, and Kriol (Beimers, 2008; Crowley, 2004; Mihalic, 1971; Sandefur, 1979).

Unlike in LRC, there are no TSC transitive verbs that possess two forms, namely, they are able to occur both with and without the transitive suffix (Shnukal, 1988). This phenomenon is a characteristic feature of some Bislama transitive verbs, e.g. *luk* and *lukim* 'to look, see, regard' (Crowley, 2003, p. 156). Sandefur (1979, p. 114) notes that in Kriol, there exist verbs that occur both with and without the transitive suffix *-im/-i*, however, when devoid of that suffix, they usually function intransitively, although some of them may function transitively as well.

There exists an interesting difference between LRC/TSC and the three Melanesian Pidgin dialects. It involves the phenomenon of the pseudo-transitive as described by Crowley (1990, pp. 295-297), which does not exist in LRC and TSC, but is present in Bislama, Pijin, and Tok Pisin (Beimers, 2008; Dutton & Thomas, 1985). The

pseudo-transitive pertains to the VPs that comprise PPs, which are headed by the preposition *long* and indicate semantic functions characteristic for NPs. Crowley (1990) postulates that

> the use of *long* in Bislama is consistent with the more general function of this preposition as a marker of goals and indirect objects. However, *long* is also very widely used as a pseudo-transitivizer in Bislama, allowing a noun phrase to be introduced into the pragmatically salient position immediately after the verb, though the verb remains formally intransitive. (…) Some verbs have the option of taking an object introduced by *long*, or by forming a genuinely transitive verb by adding the transitive suffix *-em*. (…) However, there are other intransitive verbs which do not have this option, and can only be 'transitivized' by means of this prepositional construction. (pp. 295-296)

To illustrate the use of the pseudo-transitiviser *long* in Bislama, consider examples (6-126) and (6-127) from Crowley (2004, p. 133) who posits that no change in meaning occurs in the case of those intransitive verbs that take an object either by means of the transitive suffix *-em* or by a pseudo-transitive construction with the preposition *long*.

(6-126) Bae   mi   **odar-em**   jips.

        FUT   1SG   order-TRS   chips

        'I will order chips.'

(6-127) Bae   mi   **oda**   **long**   jips.

        FUT   1SG   order   TRS.PREP   chips

        'I will order chips.'

A number of prepositions can occur within LRC PPs. In both Pijin and Tok Pisin, the preposition *long* is used for most of the functions of those in LRC, but there are other prepositions or complex prepositions that are able to introduce oblique constituents in the VPs (Beimers, 2008; Verhaar, 1995). Similarly, in TSC, that role is assumed chiefly not only by *long*, but also by its shorter counterpart *lo*, however, other prepositions fulfil that task as well (Shnukal, 1988, pp. 56-61, 157). In Bislama, in addition to *long,* numerous simple, verbal, and complex prepositions possess the ability to head PPs in the VPs (Crowley, 2004, pp. 127-139). In Kriol, apart from *langa*, and its reduced variant *la*, which primarily introduce oblique

constituents in the VPs, other simple and complex prepositions may also fulfil that task (Sandefur, 1979, pp. 144-153).

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the verb phrase as well as the coordination of verbs and verb phrases. Thus, the presentation of bare, intransitive, transitive, ditransitive, and complex head verbs, is followed by the examination of oblique complements, serial verb constructions, prepositional phrases and adverbs within the verb phrase. The coordination of verbs and verb phrases is outlined afterwards. It has been concluded that the directional motion verbs *kam* 'to come' and *go* 'to go' in the serial verb constructions have not undergone grammaticalisation. Four creole features have been examined and two of them are shared by LRC and the remaining five creoles, namely, *long/lo* (*langa* in Kriol) introduces oblique constituents in the VPs and marked transitive verbs. With the exception of TSC, the ellipsis of the third person object NPs after transitive verbs affixed with the transitive suffix occurs in all of the remaining creoles. It has also been established that while the pseudo-transitive is characteristic for the three Melanesian Pidgin dialects, namely, Pijin, Bislama, and Tok Pisin, this feature is absent from both TSC and LRC.

Chapter 7 Simple Sentences

The simple sentences consist of one obligatory predicate and an optional subject in the form of a noun phrase. Thus, the internal structure of a simple sentence may be written as follows:

SIMPLE SENTENCE → (NP) **PREDICATE**

7.1 The Predicate

Although VPs constitute the most common core predicate constituents, they are not the only constituents that are able to fulfil that role. AdjPs, NPs, PPs, and AdvPs also possess the ability to function that way. Thus, in LRC, there exist five types of predicates, namely, VP predicates, AdjP predicates, NP predicates, PP predicates, and AdvP predicates. All of the main constituents of a predicate may optionally be preceded by the Resumptive Pronouns (RPs), the predicate marker (PM), the negative markers (NEG), and the tense, modality, and aspect markers (TMAs). They may also be modified by adverbials and emphatic markers. AdjPs may be post-modified by PPs. The internal structure of the predicate could be written as follows:

$$\text{PREDICATE} \to \text{(RP) (PM) (NEG) (NEG) (TMA)} \begin{Bmatrix} \textbf{VP} \\ \textbf{AdjP} \\ \textbf{NP} \\ \textbf{PP} \\ \textbf{AdvP} \end{Bmatrix} \text{(EMP)} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{(ADV)} \\ \text{(PP)} \end{Bmatrix}$$

7.1.1 VP Predicates

A VP constitutes an integral part of the VP predicate. A verb and, more accurately, a string of verbs, as the predicates may comprise more than one verb, is the core predicate feature. Depending if the verb is transitive or intransitive, it may or may not be followed by object NPs and object complement NPs. Both transitive and intransitive verbs may also be subject to the adverbial modification. In examples (7-1) and (7-2), the respective predicates *spoti de aul* 'spotted the owl' and *luk det paten waya det sneik* 'saw that pattern on that snake' are headed by the transitive verbs *spoti* 'to spot' and *luk* 'to look' that are followed by the objects NPs *de aul*

'the owl' and *det patēn* 'that pattern on that snake', respectively. In example (7-2), the object is followed by the PP *waya det sneik* 'on that snake'. In example (7-3), the predicate consists of the sole constituent, i.e. the intransitive verb *fōldan* 'to fall down'.

(7-1) Im   **spot-i**   de   aul.

     3SG   spot-TRS   DET   owl

     'He spotted the owl.'

(7-2) I   **luk**   det   patēn   waya   det   sneik.

     3SG   see   DEM   pattern   PREP   DEM   snake

     'He saw that pattern on that snake.'

(7-3) Ōl   **fōl-dan**.

     3PL   fall-down

     'They fell down.'

7.1.2 AdjP Predicates

AdjPs can be the core predicate constituents primarily in equational sentences (see subsection 7.3.2.1). In example (7-4), the AdjP *big fō mīpla* 'heavy for us' consists of the head adjective *big* 'big' and the PP *fō mīpla* 'for us'. In example (7-5), the AdjP predicate consists of the sole constituent, i.e. the adjective *tayed* 'tired'. In example (7-6), the AdjP predicate comprises the AdjP *rili big* 'really big', where the head adjective *big* 'sick' is pre-modified by the intensifying adverb *rili* 'really'.

(7-4) Im   **big**   fō   mīpla.

     3SG   big   PREP   1PL.EXCL

     'It was heavy for us.'

(7-5) Im   **tayed**.

     3SG   tired

     'She is tired.'

(7-6) Dem   eg   <u>rili</u>   **big**.

      DET   egg   really   big

      'The eggs were really big.'

It should be noted that adverbs appearing post-adjectivally may only do so when adjectives assume their predicative role. In example (7-7), the adverb *na* 'now, then' follows the AdjP *prapa tayed* 'very tired', which functions predicatively.

(7-7) De   ōl   man   bin   **prapa   tayed**   **na**.

      DET   old   man   PST   really   tired   then

      'The old man was really tired then.'

The group of adverbs that post-modify head adjectives is quite small. In addition to *nau/na* 'now, then', *tū* 'too', *yet* 'yet', and *ya/iya/iye/hiye* 'hear/over here' possess the ability to function predicatively. In examples (7-8) - (7-10), the respective adverbs *tū, yet,* and *iya* follow the adjectives, which they modify.

(7-8) Laki,   de   fren   blo   de   bat   im   **gud**   **tū**,

      luckily DET   friend POSS DET bat 3SG good   too

      im   de   toudfish.

      3SG   DET   toadfish

      'Luckily, the friend of the bat is good too, he is the toadfish.'

(7-9) Ai   no   bin   **gud**   **yet**.

      1SG   NEG PST   good   yet

      'I have not been good yet.'

(7-10) Dem   pīpul   bin   **gud**   **iya**.

      DET   people PST   good   here

      'These people were good here.'

It could be argued that the post-adjectival modification by adverbs, which occurs only when adjectives function predicatively, does not involve modification of adjectives but modification of subjects instead. However, examples (7-7) – (7-10) above clearly demonstrate that the adverbs *na, tū, yet,* and *iya* modify the AdjPs and not the subjects.

In examples (7-11) - (7-13), the PPs *we spōt* 'at sport', *we de mayi* 'of the food', and *fō demblat* 'for them' follow the respective adjectives *gud* 'good', *ful* 'full', and *smāt* 'smart'.

(7-11) Im   <u>prapa</u>   **gud**   <u>we</u>   <u>spōt</u>.
    3SG   very   good   PREP   sport
    'He is very good at sport.'

(7-12) Ōl   punya   blo   dembla   <u>prapa</u>   **ful**   <u>we</u>   <u>de</u>   <u>mayi</u>.
    all   dillybag   POSS   3PL   very   full   PREP   DET   food
    'All their dillybags were full of the food.'

(7-13) Yūmītū   <u>tū</u>   **smāt**   <u>fō</u>   <u>demblat</u>.
    1DU.INCL   too   smart   PREP   3PL
    'The two of us are too smart for them.'

Compound adjectives formed with the noun *kain* (see subsection 5.1.4.4) also possess the ability to function predicatively. In that case, they can appear without the presence of a head noun when they refer anaphorically to the very same type or class of an NP mentioned previously. Thus, in example (7-14), the compound adjective *demkain* 'these/those kinds of', which functions predicatively, refers to the previously stated NP.

(7-14) Dis   stōri   i   **dem-kain**   na.
    DEM   story   PM   these-kind.of   EMP
    'This story is of this kind.'

7.1.2.1 Comparative AdjP Predicates

The majority of comparative constructions occur in the predicate. As noted in subsection 5.2.1.1.1, comparative degree of adjectives is achieved by placing *mō* 'more' in front of the adjective in the absolute degree. In order to form the comparative AdjP predicates, *mō* + adjective needs to be followed by *den* 'than' + a noun or a pronoun. Thus, in examples (7-15) – (7-17), *mō* 'more' precedes the respective adjectives *big* 'big', *strong* 'strong', and *gud* 'good', which are followed

by *den* 'than' and the relevant pronouns *im* '3SG' and *datwan* 'that one' as well as the possessive PP *boi blo yū* 'your son'.

(7-15) Em   **mō**   **big**   **den**   **im**.
　　　 3SG   more   big   than   3SG
　　　 'He is bigger than he is.'

(7-16) Im   **mō**   **strong**   **den**   **datwan**.
　　　 3SG   more   strong   than   DEM.PRN
　　　 'It is stronger than that one.'

(7-17) Mai   boi   i   **mō**   **gud**   **den**   **boi**   **blo**   **yū**.
　　　 POSS.PRN son   PM   more   good   than   son   POSS   2SG
　　　 'My son is better than your son.'

Den 'than' may be substituted by the preposition *lo/long* with no change to the meaning. Both *den* and *lo/long* are used interchangeably under the condition that *lo* occurs when the following word is consonant-initial, as example (7-19) demonstrates. *Long* is used when the next word begins with a vowel, as it is shown in example (7-18).

(7-18) Im   **mō**   **big**   **long**   **im**.
　　　 3SG more   big   than   3SG
　　　 'He is bigger than he is.'

(7-19) Im   **mō**   **strong**   **lo**   **datwan**.
　　　 3SG more   strong   than   DEM.PRN
　　　 'It is stronger than that.'

The way to express the notion that something is 'less' than something else is to use *mō* + the adjective with the opposite meaning. Thus, in example (7-20), in order to say that something is less difficult than something else, it is necessary to say that something is *mō īzi* 'easier'.

(7-20) Im   **mō**   **īzi**   den   diswan.
　　　 3SG   more   easy   than   DEM.PRN
　　　 'It is less difficult than this.' = 'It is easier than this.'

Similarly, in (7-21), *mō chip* 'cheaper' is used to denote the meaning 'less expensive'.

(7-21) Dis buk i **mō** **chīp** den datwan.

    DEM book PM more cheap than DEM.PRN

    'This book is less expensive than that.' = 'This book is cheaper than

     that.'

The growing exposure to English manifests itself also in the frequent use of the equivalents of the English comparative adjectival forms suffixed with *-er*. Thus, in examples (7-22) and (7-23), *bige* 'bigger' and *bete* 'better' appear instead of *mō big* 'bigger' and *mō gud* 'better', respectively.

(7-22) Ai bi **big-e** den mai   brade en   fren blong im.

    1SG PST bigg-er than POSS.PRN brother CONN friend POSS 3SG

    'I was bigger than my brother and his friend.'

(7-23) I bi **bete** taim fō gud lak fō   yūmītū

    PM PST better time PREP good luck PREP 1DU.INCL

    nai-taim.

    at night

    'It was a better time for us to be lucky at night.'

As examples (7-24) and (7-25) show, the equivalents of the English comparative adjectival forms may be additionally preceded by *mō* 'more' to further underline the comparison.

(7-24) Mīpla **mō**   **smāt-e** den im.

    1PL.EXCL more smart-er than 3SG

    'We are smarter than he is.'

(7-25) Im **mō** **bete**   den im.

    3SG more better   than 3SG

    'He is better than she is.'

Adjectives in the comparative degree may also participate in the inchoative constructions when they appear after the verbs *kam* 'become, get' and *get* 'get, become', as the respective examples (7-26) and (7-27) demonstrate.

(7-26) I   **kam**   **mō**   **ād**.

       PM   become   more   hard

       'It is becoming harder.'

(7-27) I   **get**   **mō**   **īzi**.

       PM   get   more   easy

       'It is getting easier.'

7.1.2.2 Superlative AdjP Predicates

As noted in subsection 5.2.1.1.2, the superlative degree of LRC adjectives is achieved with the use of the equivalents of the English superlative adjectival forms, which are suffixed with *-est*, or function in their irregular forms. Thus, in examples (7-28) and (7-29) respectively, the superlative adjectival forms *ōldest*, 'oldest' and *best* 'best' occur.

(7-28) Dadi   blo   mī   **ōld-est**   man   waya   Lokāt.

       dad   POSS   1SG   old-est   man   in   Lockhart

       'My dad is the oldest man in Lockhart.'

The equivalents of the English adjectival superlative forms may be additionally preceded by *prapa* 'very' to further stress the utmost character of a given quality or property, as example (7-29) demonstrates. *-wan*, which is the nominalising suffix, may be attached to the superlative degree of adjectives, as the use of *bestwan* 'best one' shows.

(7-29) Det   mayi   i   **prapa**   **best**,   **best-wan**.

       DEM   food   PM   very   best   best-NMLZ

       'Good food, the very best, the best one.'

7.1.3 NP Predicates

In the majority of cases, NPs functioning as the core predicate constituents take the form of the equational constructions.

(7-30) Ai **nogud meit blo yū**.
1SG bad friend POSS 2SG
'I have been a bad friend to you.'

(7-31) Im **gud anta** tū.
3SG good hunter too
'He is a good hunter too.'

(7-32) De chīp im **de big ōl man**.
DET chief 3SG DET big old man
'The chief is the big, old man.'

7.1.4 PP Predicates

PPs functioning as the core predicate constituents usually involve the possessive and locative sentences. A number of pre- and post-modifiers may occur in such PPs. Examples (7-33) and (7-34) show the use of the possessive predicates.

(7-33) Dem tū dog ya **blo mīpla**.
DEM two dog here POSS 1PL.EXCL
'Those two dogs here are ours.'

(7-34) Dis len **blo yū**, dis-wan **blo yūmītū**.
DEM land POSS 2SG DEM-one POSS 1DU.INCL
'This land is yours, this one is ours.'

Examples (7-35) and (7-36) involve locative predicates, which constitute adverbial phrases.

(7-35) Ōl ebriwe **we de riba**.
3PL everywhere PREP DET river
'They were everywhere in the river.'

(7-36) Prapa   dāk   wata   ōl   **antap**   **waya**   **det**   **il**.

       very   dark   water   hole   on.top   PREP   DEM   hill

       'A very dark water hole is on top of that hill.'

7.1.5 AdvP Predicates

It is not uncommon to encounter AdvPs functioning as the core predicate constituents primarily in equational sentences (see subsection 7.3.2.1). It is mainly the temporal and locational adverbs that appear in that role. A number of pre-head and post-head modifiers may occur in such AdvPs. As examples (7-37) – (7-39) demonstrate, the predicate marker appears to be always present if the subject is in the form of NPs. If, however, a pronoun constitutes the subject, then the presence of the predicate marker is optional, but it is always absent in case of first and second person pronouns in all three numbers, as example (7-41) demonstrates. The same rule pertains to the presence or absence of the subject referencing pronouns, as example (7-40) shows.

(7-37) De   bout   i   **insaid**.

       DET   boat   PM   inside

       'The boat is inside.'

(7-38) De   Lōra   Dāns   Festival   i   bi   **jūn**   **mant**.

       DET   Laura   Dance   Festival   PM   PST   June   month

       'The Laura Dance Festival was in June.'

(7-39) De   mīting   i   **neks**   **wīk**.

       DET   meeting   PM   next   week

       'The meeting is next week.'

(7-40) Demblat   ōl   **de**.

       3PL   3PL   there

       'They are there.'

(7-41) Yūpla   **ya**.

     2PL   here

     'You are here.'

7.2 The Constituents of the Predicate

This section describes the optional constituents as shown in the diagram of the internal structure of the predicate, with the exception of the negative markers, which are discussed in subsection 7.3.7 outlining negative sentences, as well as the emphasis markers, which are outlined in Chapter 9.

7.2.1 Resumptive Pronouns (RPs)

LRC, in addition to the predicate marker (see subsection 7.2.2), uses personal pronouns as resumptive pronouns (RPs) rather than having a set of subject referencing pronouns (SRPs) as found in the three dialects of Melanesian Pidgin, namely, Pijin, Bislama, and Tok Pisin (Beimers, 2008; Crowley, 2004; Verhaar, 1995). Siegel (2011, p. 541) notes that those three languages have either a predicate marker or SRPs but not both. The function of SRPs, which do not act as heads of NPs, is, as the term suggests, subject-referential. The function of RPs is to simply refer back to their antecedents. By comparison, the role of the predicate marker is to mark the beginning of the predicate in the clause and to indicate the boundary between the subject-related constituents and the predicate (Shnukal, 1988, p. 138). The form of the predicate marker is *i*, while the shape of RPs is the same as that of the subject personal pronouns.

As noted above, there are no SRPs in LRC, but personal pronouns are used as RPs. They do not have any special form but are the same as the subject personal pronouns; they generally do not occur with pronoun subjects; they are optional; it is highly unlikely for a language to have SRPs, RPs, and the predicate marker; it is difficult to account for both SRPs and RPs in the structure of the predicate. Thus, in LRC, *im/em* used for third person singular, *mīpla* used for first person plural exlusive, *demtū* used for third person dual, *dei* used for third person plural, and *ōl*

used for third person dual and plural. Their function is to simply refer back to their antecedents. In examples provided in the following subsections, the subjects are underlined and the RPs are written in bold.

7.2.1.1 The Description of RPs

The RP used for third person singular possesses two variants, namely, *im*, which appears most often in the speech of the LR residents, as it was uttered 106 times in my data, and *em* that was encountered only five times.

(7-42) <u>Misis blo mai yapu</u> **em** pinis meik-i tū dampa.
wife POSS POSS.PRN older.brother 3SG CESS make-TRS two damper
'My older brother's wife finished making two dampers.'

(7-43) <u>Awu</u> **im** stap insaid we bush forest tū.
evil.spirit 3SG live in PREP bush forest too
'The evil spirit also lives in the bush forest.'

Ōl, which is used for both animate and inanimate subjects, is the RP used for third person dual, as examples (7-44) and (7-45) demonstrate.

(7-44) <u>Mai mama en dadi</u> ōl slīp ya.
POSS.PRN mum CONN dad 3PL sleep here
'My mum and dad slept here.'

(7-45) <u>De tū boi</u> **ōl** ran waya sanbīs.
DET two boy 3PL run PREP beach
'The two boys run to the beach.'

As example (7-46) shows, *demtū* is able to occur after the subject in the slot that is reserved for RPs when they are present.

(7-46) <u>Kutini en nhampi</u> **demtū** bi abi siks pikinini blo demtū.
cassowary CONN emu 3DU PST have six child POSS 3DU
'A cassowary and an emu had six children belonging to them.'

To clarify the function of *demtū*, it should be mentioned that if the third person dual pronoun *demtū* constitutes the subject, then *ōl*, and not *demtū*, takes the role of the RP, as example (7-47) shows. A similar situation occurs if the determiner *dem* and the numeral *tū* form a part of the subject, as example (7-48) demonstrates.

(7-47) <u>Demtū</u>   **ōl**   no   bin   laik-im.

       3DU   3PL   NEG PST   like-TRS

       'The two of them did not like it.'

(7-48) <u>Dem   tū   dog</u>   **ōl** bin   ged-i   smel   blo   det   pig.

       DET   two   dog   3PL PST   get-TRS smell POSS DEM   pig

       'The two dogs got the smell of that pig.'

The sentence (7-49) below is an example of a rather rare occurrence, where the subject personal pronoun is followed by the RP, as the RPs do not usually occur after the pronominal subjects. If, however, they do, then, as example (7-49) demonstrates, the RP *im*, and not *em*, is used, as *em* constitutes the subject. Thus, the RP *em* cannot follow the subject personal pronoun *em* and, as a result, the RP *im* has to be used. Similarly, the RP *im* cannot follow the subject personal pronoun *im* and *em* has to be used instead.

(7-49) <u>Em</u>   **im**   ran   prapa   fãst.

       3SG   3SG   run   very   fast

       'It (water) flows very fast.'

A similar situation occurs in Pijin, the speakers of which avoid juxtaposing identical pronouns. Keesing (1988) observes that "the paired pronouns are used in direct sequence only when a pause intervenes, providing a clear punctuation and topical emphasis" (p. 155).

Ōl is the RP used for third person plural, while the third person plural pronouns *dei* and *dempla*, together with any of its variants, never occur in that role. *Ōlgeda*, which is an indefinite pronoun, sometimes occurs in the RP role. *Ōl*, however, appears to be the most frequently used RP, as it was uttered 257 times in my data, while *ōlgeda* only twice. *Ōlgeda* emphasises the fact that all the members of the plural subject

participate in a given action. It could, therefore, be argued that *ōlgeda* is more than the RP and, as a result, is part of the NP or an adverbial. While *ōl* is used for both animate and inanimate subjects, *ōlgeda* appears to function as the RP for animate subjects only, as it was encountered in the two examples, where the subjects referred to children. Example (7-50) demonstrates the use of the resumptive pronoun *dei*, and (7-51) and (7-52) show the use of the RPs *ōlgeda* and *ōl* for third person plural.

(7-50) <u>Dem pig</u> **dei** flout-ap.
   DET pig 3PL float-up
   'The pigs were floating.'

(7-51) <u>Ōl pikinini</u> **ōlgeda** roust-i libe blo tētil waya de faya
   DET child 3PL   roast-TRS liver POSS turtle PREP DET fire
   antap waya muntha wī kōl-im de ashis.
   on.top PREP ashes   1NSG call-TRS DET ashes
   'The children roasted the turtle's liver in the fire on top of the muntha,
    which we call the ashes.'

(7-52) <u>Mai   nade kazin-brade</u> **ōl** bin de tū.
   POSS.PRN other cousin-brother 3PL PST there too
   'My other male relatives were there too.'

7.2.1.2 The Optionality of RPs

Although the RPs are much more frequently used than not, it is clear that one rule regarding their presence or absence does exist, namely, that they are never used for first person singular and dual, both inclusive and exclusive as well as for second person in all three numbers. The appearance in a sentence of the RPs, which are not subject to the primary sentence stress, is not obligatory and, therefore, it is very difficult to pinpoint any specific rules governing their occurrence, or lack thereof, apart from the fact that the presence or absence of the RPs may be dictated by choice and personal preference of a given speaker. Thus, no explanation could be provided as to why speakers at times include RPs in their utterances and at times they do not, although they could do so. The subject overtness does not seem to play any role in the presence or absence of the RPs, as it is in Pijin, where the SRP is not mandatory in case of overt subjects (Beimers, 2008, p. 239). In fact, the subject overtness does

not trigger the optionality of LRC RPs, as the frequency of the presence and absence of the RPs does not depend on the subject overtness. In examples (7-53) and (7-54), the subject *dadi* 'dad' is overt, however, the RP is present in (7-53) and it is absent in (7-54).

(7-53) <u>Dadi</u> **im**   kat-im   de   tētil mīt.

       dad   3SG   cut-TRS DET   turtle meat

       'It was dad who cut the turtle meat.'

(7-54) <u>Dadi</u>   kat-im   de   pig.

       dad   cut-TRS   DET   pig

       'Dad cut the pig.'

7.2.1.3 Use Restrictions

Mīpla used for first person plural exclusive occurs in the resumptive pronoun function only when the subject consists of a number of members listed separately, with or without coordinators, in a chain-like fashion, as examples (7-55) and (7-56) demonstrate. This constraint provides evidence that the role of *mīpla* is indeed resumptive.

(7-55) Long-taim <u>mi, mai   brade, mai   siste, mai   tū</u>

       long-time 1SG POSS.PRN brother POSS.PRN sister POSS.PRN two

       <u>kazin, mai   mama, dadi, mai   granfade</u>

       cousin POSS.PRN mum   dad   POSS.PRN   grandfather

       <u>en   mai   granmade</u> **mīpla** bi   go   bus.

       CONN   POSS.PRN grandmother 1PL.EXCL PST go bush

       'A long time ago, I, my brother, my sister, my two cousins, my mum,

        dad, my grandfather and my grandmother went to the bush.'

(7-56) <u>Mī   en   mai   nade tū   brade   en   kazin   blo   mī</u>

   1SG CONN POSS.PRN other two brother CONN cousin POSS 1SG

<u>en   ōl   kazin-siste   en   siste   blo   mī</u>   **mīpla**   kar-i

CONN DET cousin-sister CONN sister POSS 1SG 1PL.EXCL carry-TRS

dembla.

3PL

'I and my other two brothers and my cousin and the female relatives and
my sister carried them.'

7.2.1.4 The RPs and Post-Modification

The RPs should not be treated as a separate subclass of pronouns but rather as a
syntactic use of an existing class. They do not undergo post-modification by the
emphatic markers *nau/na* and *ya* (see subsections 9.4.1.1 and 9.4.1.2, respectively),
the additional post-head markers *tū* and *mō* (see subsection 5.2.6.1), and relative
clauses. If those constituents follow personal pronouns occupying the post-subject
position specific for the RPs, then that suggests that those personal pronouns do not
function as the RPs in such scenarios but as personal pronouns instead. In example
(7-57), two men, i.e. *dadi* 'dad' and *nada fala* 'another fellow' caught the crayfish
and crabs. *Em* 'he', which follows the NP *nada fala*, does not function as the RP, but
as an anaphora since it refers to *dadi* and not to *nada fala*. Thus, *em* is a part of the
relative clause (underlined). *Ōl* functions as the RP that refers both to *dadi* and *nada
fala*.

(7-57) Dadi   en   <u>nada   fala   em   i   sabi</u>

   dad   CONN another fellow 3SG PM   know

ōl   kech-i   dem   tū   kreifish   en   krab.

3PL   catch-TRS   DET   two   crayfish CONN   crab

'Dad and another fellow whom he (dad) knew caught the two crayfish and
crabs.'

7.2.2 The Predicate Marker (PM)

The function of the predicate marker is to mark the beginning of the predicate of the
clause and to establish the boundary between the subject-related constituents and the

predicate. In subjectless sentences, the predicate marker constitutes an obligatory element of the predicate and always occurs sentence-initially (see subsection 7.3.1).

7.2.2.1 The Predicate Marker and the RPs

As noted in subsection 7.2.1, both the RP system and the predicate marker are present in LRC, however, the majority of utterances involve the presence of only one of those elements. Although it is not very common for the RPs to be followed by the predicate marker *i*, as the collected data indicates the presence of thirty-eight examples of this kind, those occurrences provide evidence as to the existence of both the RP system and the predicate marker. Firstly, the RPs and the predicate marker differ in their functions, as the RPs simply restate the antecedent and the predicate marker, as noted above, indexes the beginning of the predicate of the clause. Secondly, similarly to the RPs (see subsection 7.2.1.4), the predicate marker cannot be post-modified by the empathic markers *nau/na* and *ya* (see subsections 9.4.1.1 and 9.4.1.2, respectively), the additional post-head markers *tū* and *mō* (see subsection 5.2.6.1), and relative clauses. This provides evidence that the predicate marker is not a personal pronoun. In examples (7-58) and (7-59), the predicate marker follows the third person singular pronouns *em* and *im*, respectively.

(7-58) <u>Ankel</u> **em**   **i**   grab-i   ōl   dem   pikinini.
uncle   3SG   PM   grab-TRS   all   DET   child
'Uncle grabbed all the children.'

(7-59) <u>Mai</u>   <u>brade</u> **im** **i**   it-i   ed   blo   de   tētil
POSS.PRN brother 3SG PM   hit-TRS head POSS DET turtle
wif   de   tamyok   nok-im-at   de   tētil.
PREP DET axe   knock-TRS-out.SV DET turtle
'My brother hit the turtle's head with an axe knocking the turtle out.'

Further evidence is provided by Lynch (1975, p. 200) who notes the presence of similar occurrences in Bislama in the form of the following examples, where he analyses *ol* and *em* as pronouns used after the noun subjects for resumptive purposes. Crowley (2000, p. 60) also gives a number of similar examples, such as (7-60) and (7-61).

(7-60) Olketa   **ol**   **i**   slip.

       3PL   3PL   PM   sleep

      'They are all sleeping.'

(7-61) Pikinini   **em**   **i**   no   bin   kam.

       child   3SG   PM   NEG   PST   come

      'The child, he didn't come.'

Thus, the phenomenon of the co-existence of the RPs and the predicate marker is not characteristic for just LRC.

7.2.2.2 The Predicate Marker and the Predicate Types

In LRC, the predicate marker possesses the ability to precede each of the five predicate types (see section 7.1). It should be clarified that it is the predicate marker, and not the RPs, that occurs in examples (7-62) – (7-66), as in LRC, the form of the predicate marker is always *i* and the form of the RPs is that of the subject personal pronouns, with the exception of the indefinite pronoun *ōlgeta*. The form of LRC predicate marker is consistent with that of its Pijin, Bislama, Tok Pisin, and TSC counterparts, with the exception of Bislama *oli* used for plural subject NPs (Beimers, 2008; Crowley, 1990, 2004; Mihalic, 1971; Shnukal, 1988). In example (7-62), the predicate marker precedes the VP predicate.

(7-62) De   beibi   **i**   krai.

      DET   baby   PM   cry

      'You hear the baby cry.'

In example (7-63), the predicate marker occurs in front of the AdjP predicate.

(7-63) De   wata   **i**   klie.

      DET   water   PM   clear

      'The water is clear.'

Example (7-64) demonstrates the presence of the predicate marker in front of the NP predicate.

(7-64) Dat   gēl   **i**   <u>gud</u>   <u>dānsa</u>.

DEM   girl   PM   good   dancer

'That girl is a good dancer.'

Example (7-65) shows the use of the predicate marker in front of the PP predicate.

(7-65) Dis   wēk   **i**   <u>fõ</u>   <u>ōl</u>   <u>dem</u>   <u>Lokāt</u>   <u>pīpul</u>.

DEM   work PM   PREP all   DET   Lockhart   people

'This work is for all the Lockhart people.'

In example (7-66), the predicate marker precedes the AdvP predicate.

(7-66) Selebreishin   **i**   <u>de</u>   <u>autsaid</u>.

celebration   PM   there   outside

'There is a celebration outside.'

7.2.2.3 The Optionality of the Predicate Marker

Similarly to the RPs, the use of the predicate marker is also optional and there are no specific rules governing its presence or absence. The subject overtness does not play a role either, as it seems to be the case in Pijin (Beimers, 2008, p. 239), as the predicates without the predicate marker appear quite often in comparison with those with the predicate marker. The following examples involve two pairs comprising sentences with (examples (7-67) and (7-69)) and without (examples (7-68) and (7-70)) the predicate marker. Coincidentally, the only difference in the pairs of these sentences pertains to the fact that the subject NPs in examples with the predicate marker are longer than those marked by its lack.

(7-67) Det   blak,   big   blak,   **i**   <u>kam</u>   <u>tū</u>.

DEM   storm.cloud   big   storm.cloud   PM   come   too

'That storm cloud, big storm cloud, is coming too.'

(7-68) Rein   <u>kam</u>   <u>from</u>   <u>dis-wei</u>   <u>windad</u>.

rain   come   PREP   this-way   windward

'Rain comes from this way, windward.'

(7-69) Mai   brade   **i**   <u>put-i</u>   roup   raun   de   injin.

        POSS.PRN   brother   PM   put-TRS   rope   PREP   DET   engine

        'My brother put a rope around the engine.'

(7-70) Em   <u>put-i</u>   <u>gīs</u>   eg   insaid   we   <u>biliken</u>.

        3SG   put-TRS   goose   egg   into   PREP   billycan

        'He put the goose eggs into the billycan.'

However, shorter subject NPs in the sentences without the predicate marker do also occur, as examples (7-71) and (7-72) demonstrate.

(7-71) Lain   <u>i</u>   <u>stret</u>.

        fishing.line   PM   straight

        'The fishing line was straight.'

(7-72) Bat   <u>i</u>   <u>spīk</u>   <u>fō</u>   <u>demtū</u>.

        Bat   PM   speak   PREP   3DU

        'The bat spoke to them.'

By comparison, in Tok Pisin, the predicate marker always follows those subjects that are nouns (Mihalic, 1971, p. 99). In Bislama, *i* appears after singular NP subjects and *i* or *oli* occur after plural NP subjects (Crowley, 2004, p. 110). In Pijin, the use of *i* after subject NPs is optional, although the subject overtness does seem to play a role in the presence or absence of *i*, as it may be omitted after overt subjects (Beimers, 2008, p. 238). In TSC, the occurrence of the predicate marker after subject NPs is optional and depends on the speaker's choice and generational preference, as younger speakers opt for leaving the predicate marker out much more often in comparison with their parents and grandparents (Shnukal, 1988, p. 62). On the other hand, the predicate marker does not constitute a characteristic feature of Kriol (Nicholls, 2009; Sandeful 1979; Schultze-Berndt & Angelo, 2013).

7.2.2.4 The Use Restrictions of the Predicate Marker

The use of the predicate marker after pronominal subjects is quite restricted, as it never follows pronouns in first person singular, first person dual and plural inclusive

and exclusive, second person in all three numbers, and third person dual and plural. Thus, it can appear only after the third person singular pronouns.

(7-73) Im   **i**   go.

       3SG   PM   go

       'She left'.

(7-74) Em   **i**   fat.

       3SG   PM   fat

       'She is fat.'

By comparison, in TSC, the predicate marker does not appear only after the pronominal subjects involving first person singular, first person dual and plural inclusive and exclusive, and second person in all three numbers (Shnukal, 1988, p. 138). As a result, it follows the pronominal subjects in third person in all three numbers. In Pijin, *i* does not appear after first person singular *mi*, second person singular *yu*, and first person plural inclusive *yumi*, unless other constituents are inserted between those pronouns and *i*, or if *i* does not cross reference those pronouns as subjects (Beimers, 2008, pp. 241-242). Beimers suggests that the absence of *i* after *yumi* may be phonological in nature, as *i* may have merged with the final vowel of *yumi*. In Bislama, the predicate marker never follows first and second person singular pronouns *mi* and *yu*, respectively, and first person plural inclusive *yumi* and first person dual inclusive *yumitu* generally occur without the predicate marker, although there are instances when the predicate marker is present (Crowley, 2004, p. 112). Any pronoun suffixed with -*fala* is followed by *i*. In Tok Pisin, the predicate marker is always present when the pronominal subjects involve third person singular and plural (Mihalic, 1971, p. 99). Although *i* generally follows pronouns in first person plural exclusive and second person plural, it is absent in case of first and second person singular pronouns.

7.2.3 Tense, Modality, and Aspect Markers (TMA)

The tense, modality, and aspect markers (TMA) precede the core predicate constituents.

7.2.3.1 Tense Markers

Although it is not uncommon for sentences to remain unmarked for tense, as context frequently provides temporal information, there exist two tense markers in LRC, namely, *bin/bi* denoting past tense and *go* used for future tense. It should be noted that the present tense is not marked.

7.2.3.1.1 *bin/bi*

The tense marker *bin/bi* is used to denote the past tense actions, events, and states. It precedes the head of the predicate and follows the RP and/or the predicate marker if those two are present. There exist two variants of this tense marker, i.e. *bin* and its reduced form *bi.* Both of those variants are used interchangeably and the surrounding environment does not dictate any conditions or restrictions as to their appearance in a sentence. Formal and casual speech do not influence the choice of the variant either, as examples (7-75) – (7-78) demonstrate.

(7-75) De smōl boi blo mai   brade im **bin** abi ai temp.
DET small boy POSS POSS.PRN brother 3SG PST have high fever
'My brother's little boy had a high fever.'

(7-76) I **bin** de dei dem tū boi ōl **bin** go
3SG PST DET day DET two boy 3PL PST go
fishing fō malet.
fishing PREP mallet
'It was the day the two boys went fishing for mullet.'

(7-77) Im **bi** abi ed-sō.
3SG PST have head-sore
'He had a headache.'

(7-78) Mai   brade **bi** meik-i kemp de.
POSS.PRN brother PST make-TRS campsite there
'My brother made a campsite there.'

The sentences containing *bin/bi* usually indicate simple past tense (examples (7-75) and (7-78) above), as, for example, past continuous tense is expressed not only by

the presence of *bin/bi*, but also the progressive suffix *-(a)bat* attached to the head verb (see subsection 4.7.3.1), as examples (7-79) and (7-80) demonstrate.

(7-79) Dem pig ōl **bin** swim-**bat** we det madi pleis.
DET pig 3PL PST swim-PROG PREP DEM muddy place
'The pigs were swimming in that muddy place.'

(7-80) Dem krab en oiste **bi** sizil-**bat** ebriwe.
DET crab CONN oyster PST sizzle-PROG everywhere
'The crabs and oysters were sizzling everywhere.'

7.2.3.1.2 *go*

The tense marker *go* denotes the future tense actions, events, and states. Similarly to the past tense marker *bin/bi, go* precedes the core predicate constituent and follows the RP and/or the predicate marker if those two are present, as examples (7-81) - (7-83) demonstrate.

(7-81) Ai **go** weit antil demtū **go** loud-i dem fish.
1SG FUT wait COMP 3DU FUT load-TRS DET fish
'I will wait until the two of them load the fish.'

(7-82) Ai **go** chak-i ainka ya daun ai?
1SG FUT throw-TRS anchor here down huh
'I will throw the anchor down here, huh?'

(7-83) I **go** bi prapa gud.
PM FUT be very good
'It will be very good.'

7.2.3.2 Modality Markers

There exist nine modality markers, namely, *ken/kin* 'can', *kan/kant/kent* 'cannot', *mait* 'might', *āftū/heftū* 'to have to', *blo* 'to have to', *gada/gadi* 'to have to', *mas* 'must', *sepoustū* 'to be supposed to', and *sud/shud* 'should. All the modality markers in the following examples are written in bold.

7.2.3.2.1 *ken/kin*

Ken/kin 'can, to be able to' denotes the notion of possibility, ability, and opportunity to do something that may result from the acquired permission. In a sentence, *ken/kin* precedes the core predicate constituent and does not appear in a combination with any other pre-head markers, i.e. the RPs, the predicate marker, and the negative markers. There exist two variants of this modality marker, namely, *ken* and *kin* that are used interchangeably, although the collected data show that the use of *ken* prevails, as *kin* was used only fourteen times and *ken* was uttered 87 times. In examples (7-84) and (7-85), *ken/kin* denotes the abilitative meaning, and in (7-86) and (7-87), its use is permissive.

(7-84) Yūpla   **ken**   flai   eni-we.
      2PL   can   fly   any-where
      'You can fly anywhere.'

(7-85) Nomō   meik-i   nois   so   im   **ken**   slīp!
      CESS   make-TRS   noise   COMP   3SG   can   sleep
      'Stop making noise so that she can sleep!'

(7-86) Yūtū   **ken**   go   wiken   kemping.
      2DU   can   go   weekend   camping
      'The two of you can go camping on the weekend.'

(7-87) Dadi   blong   im   gib-im   dem   kī
      dad   POSS   3SG   give-TRS   DET   key
      so   im   **ken**   draib-i   de   kā.
      COMP   3SG   can   drive-TRS   DET   car
      'His dad gave him the keys so that he can drive the car.'

7.2.3.2.2 *kan/kant/kent*

Kan/kant/kent 'cannot, to be unable to' constitutes the negative counterpart of *ken/kin* (see subsection 7.2.3.2.1). It denotes a lack of ability as well as impossibility and inability caused by a lack of opportunity or permission to undertake a given action. In a sentence, *kan/kant/kent* precedes the core predicate constituent and is

characterised by the fact that, similarly to *ken/kin*, it does not occur in the company of any other pre-head markers either. Out of the three variants that are used interchangeably, *kan*, which was uttered 56 times, is the most frequently used. The collected data show that *kant* was used three times and *kent* only once. In examples (7-88) and (7-89), *kan* and *kant* denote a lack of ability, and in (7-90) and (7-91), *kent* and *kan* express a lack of permission.

(7-88) Ōl   **kan**   faind-i   sain   blo   dembla   pig.

3PL   cannot   find-TRS   sign   POSS   POSS.PRN   pig

'They cannot find a sign of their pig.'

(7-89) Yū   **kant**   fīl   eniting.

2SG   cannot   feel   INDF.PRN

'You cannot feel anything.'

(7-90) Yūpla   **kent**   stap   ōl   dei   wit   mī.

2PL   cannot   stay   whole   day   PREP   1SG

'You cannot stay the whole day with me.'

(7-91) Yūpla   **kan**   kīp-i   de   sneik,   yūpla   mas   let-im   go.

2PL   can   keep-TRS   DET   snake   2PL   must   let-TRS   go

'You cannot keep the snake, you must let it go.'

7.2.3.2.3 *mait*

The speakers use *mait* 'might, may' when there is a possibility to do something, however, there is a degree of uncertainty if a given action is going to be able to be performed. In a sentence, it precedes the core predicate constituent, however, adverbs can also be inserted between *mait* and the verb, as example (7-93) demonstrates.

(7-92) Im   **mait**   ran   go   fō   bait-i   demblat.

3SG   might   run   SV.GO   COMP   bite-TRS   3PL

'It might run to bite them.'

(7-93) Mīpla **mait** wan-dei wani taim tū kam.

      1PL.EXCL might one-day want time COMP come

      'We might one day want time to come.'

7.2.3.2.4 *āftū/heftū*

This modality marker possesses two articulatory variants, namely, *āftū* and *heftū*, both meaning 'to have to, must'. In comparison with *mas* 'must', which is described in subsection 7.2.3.2.7, necessity expressed by *āftū/heftū* is not as strong as the one denoted by *mas.* If the RPs, the predicate, and negative markers are present in a sentence, then *āftū/heftū* always follows them, as examples (7-94) - (7-96) demonstrate.

(7-94) Dem boi ōl **āftū** digin-im de graun fõ kuk-im de pig.

      DET boy 3PL have.to dig-TRS DET ground COMP cook-TRS DET pig

      'The boys had to dig the ground to cook the pig.'

(7-95) Dem Lokāt pīpul i **heftū** weit fõ de rait sīzin.

      DET Lockhart people PM have.to wait PREP DET right season

      'The Lockhart people have to wait for the right season.'

(7-96) Wī no **āftū** weit.

      1NSG NEG have.to wait

      'We do not have to wait.'

7.2.3.2.5 *blo*

The role *blo* plays in LRC is twofold. In addition to acting as a preposition denoting possession, *blo* functions as a modality marker with a meaning 'to have to, to have got to, to be supposed to, to be obliged to' when it precedes the verb. Thus, *blo* expresses an obligation of the subject to fulfil an undertaken, intended, and promised commitment, and to bring to fruition the action expressed by the verb. LRC speakers "express the commitment as 'belonging to' the verb" (Shnukal, 1988, p. 47), which could be translated into English by means of the expression 'to be bound to'. The structure *blo* + verb is used when the speakers intend to implement their plans. It should be noted that the obligation denoted by *blo* + verb is not as strong or urgent as the one expressed by *mas* 'must' (see subsection 7.2.3.2.7) or *sud* 'should' (see

subsection 7.2.3.2.9). As both *blo* + verb and *āftū/heftū* (see subsection 7.2.3.2.4) express a very similar degree of urgency and strength of obligation, it could very well be that *blo* + verb constitutes an older form and *āftū/heftū* a more recent borrowing from English. If *blo* + verb co-occur in a sentence with the RPs, the predicate, and negative markers, then it always follows them, as examples (7-97) and (7-99) demonstrate.

(7-97) | Mai | siste | im | **blo** | go | na. |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| POSS.PRN | sister | 3SG | have.to | go | now |

'My sister has to go now.'

(7-98) | Dem | pikinini | i | **blo** | stap | ya | we | Lokāt. |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| DET | child | PM | have.to | stay | DEM | PREP | Lockhart |

'The children have to stay here in Lockhart.'

(7-99) | Im | no | **blo** | go | eni-wei. |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 3SG | NEG | have.to | go | any-way |

'He does not have to go anywhere.'

7.2.3.2.6 *gada/gadi*

Similarly to *āftū/heftū* discussed in subsection 7.2.3.2.4, this is yet another modality marker that possesses more than one variant, namely, *gada,* and *gadi*, both denoting the meaning 'to have got to, to have to'. The obligation denoted by those two variants is not as strong as the one expressed by *mas* 'must' (see subsection 7.2.3.2.7) or *sud/shud* 'should' (see subsection 7.2.3.2.9). *Gada* appears to be much more frequently used than *gadi*. In comparison with *āftū/heftū*, which was uttered 69 times in my recordings, *gada/gadi* occurs more frequently in the speech of LRC speakers, as it was used 137 times. However, both *āftū/heftū* and *gada/gadi* are used interchangeably without the change to the meaning and the strength of obligation denoted by them is the same. The shape of *gada* and *gadi* results from English 'got to, gotta'. *Gada/gadi* always follows the RPs, the predicate and negative markers if those are present in a sentence, as examples (7-100) – (7-102) demonstrate.

(7-100) Ōl   dem   pīpul   ōl   **gada**   strein-i   ai   blo   dembla

       all   DET   people   3PL   have.to   strain-TRS   eye   POSS   3PL

       fō   luk   fō   dem   ting.

       COMP   look   PREP   DET   thing

       'All the people had to strain their eyes to look for those things.'

(7-101) Wen   i   mōning-taim   nau   dem   pikinini   i   **gadi**   bī   de.

       COMP   PM   morning-time   EMP   DET   child   PM   have.to   be   there

       'When it is morning, everybody has to be there.'

(7-102) Ai   no   **gadi**   go   de.

       1SG   NEG   have.to   go   there

       'I do not have to go there.'

7.2.3.2.7 *mas*

Mas 'must, to have to, to have got to', which comes from English 'must', is yet another modality marker that is frequently used by LRC speakers. In comparison with the other modality markers, which always follow the negative markers, *mas* always appears before them. As a result, the collected data does not contain any examples of the negative marker preceding *mas*. Necessity and obligation expressed by *mas* are by far stronger than those denoted by *āftū/heftū* (see subsection 7.2.3.2.4), *blo* (see subsection 7.2.3.2.5), and *gada/gadi* (see subsection 7.2.3.2.6). The meaning of *mas* when not followed by a negative marker is always deontic and expresses a considerable degree of obligation to perform the action specified by the verb (Shnukal, 1988, p. 44), as examples (7-103) - (7-105) demonstrate.

(7-103) Yūmī   **mas**   kīp-im   ōlgeda   pigipigi.

       1NSG.INCL   must   keep-TRS   all.of.the   piggy

       'We must keep all of the piggies.'

(7-104) Yū   **mas**   lisin   fō   mī.

       2SG   must   listen   PREP   1SG

       'You must listen to me.'

(7-105) Yūmī   **mas**   go   na.

       1NSG.INCL   must   go   EMP

       'We must go.'

However, when *mas* is followed by the negative marker, it is then always epistemic, i.e. it conveys a meaning that the speaker believes what they are saying is true, as examples (7-106) – (7-108) show.

(7-106) Im   **mas**   no   bi   sow-im   prapa.

       3SG   must   NEG   PST   sew-TRS   properly

       'She must not have sewed it properly.'

(7-107) Det   gēl   **mas**   no   bi   duw-im.

       DEM   girl   must   NEG   PST   do-TRS

       'That girl must not have done that.'

(7-108) De   tīche   **mas**   no   bi   spīk   fõ   dem   kid.

       DET   teacher   must   NEG   PST   speak   PREP   DET   kid

       'The teacher must not have talked to the kids.'

If the deontic meaning is to be conveyed, it is necessary to use either the negated verb *lau* 'to allow, to permit' or the negated structure *blo* + verb, as xamples (7-109) and (7-111) demonstrate.

(7-109) Yūpla   **no**   **lau**   fõ   meik-i   nois.

       2PL   NEG   allow   COMP   make-TRS   noise

       'You are not allowed to make noise.'

(7-110) Yūpla   **no**   **lau**   fõ   plei   we   det   sneik.

       2PL   NEG   allow   COMP   play   PREP   DEM   snake

       'You are not allowed to play with that snake.'

(7-111) Dem   pikinini   **no**   **blo**   plei   de.

       DET   child   NEG   have.to   play   there

       'The children do not have to play there.'

7.2.3.2.8 *sepoustū*

Sepoustū 'to be supposed to, to be ought to, should' pertains to the actions specified by the verb that were not performed in spite of an undertaken, intended, and promised obligation or commitment to do them. When negated, *sepoustū*, which is always preceded by the negative marker, denotes prohibition, as example (7-113) demonstrates.

(7-112) Yū   bin   **sepoustū**   luk   dat   mūvi

       2SG   PST   supposed.to   see   DEM   movie

       bat   yū   bin   stap   we   aus.

       CONN   2SG   PST   stay   PREP   home

       'You were supposed to see that movie, but you stayed home.'

(7-113) Yū   no   **sepoustū**   spīk   dem-kain.

       2PL   NEG   supposed.to   speak   DET-kind

       'You are not supposed to speak this way.'

7.2.3.2.9 *sud/shud*

Sud/shud 'should, to ought to' is used when there exists necessity to perform the action specified by the verb. It is, however, not as strong as *mas* (see subsection 7.2.3.2.7). This modality marker, as its form suggests, comes from English 'should'. There exist two pronunciations, where the first, *sud*, is articulated with the initial alveolar fricative [s] and the second, *shud*, with the initial palato-alveolar fricative [ʃ]. Similarly to *mas,* when negated, *sud/shud* always precedes the negative marker, as example (7-115) demonstrates. The collected data does not contain any examples of the negative marker preceding *sud/shud*.

(7-114) Im   **sud**   rispekt   yūpla.

       3SG   should   respect   2PL

       'He should respect you.'

(7-115) Yū   **shud**   no   go   de.

       2SG   should   NEG   go   there

       'You should not go there.'

7.2.3.3 Aspect Markers

There exist seven aspect markers, namely, *finis/pinis* for completive aspect, *go fō/go pō* and *stāt* denoting inceptive aspect, *kīp* for iterative aspect, *nomō* for cessative aspect, *stil* for continuative aspect, and *yūstū* used for past habitual aspect. They precede the core predicate constituents and follow any tense, negative, and modality markers as well as any subject referencing pronouns and the predicate marker if any of those are present. It is possible for adverbs to be inserted between the aspect markers and the core predicate constituent. In examples provided below all the aspect markers are written in bold.

7.2.3.3.1 *finis/pinis*

When *finis/pinis* precedes the core predicate constituent, it depicts the completive aspect. The completive aspect marker possesses two variants *finis* and *pinis* that are used interchangeably, although *finis* slightly prevails in the speech of the LR residents. Examples (7-116) – (7-118) demonstrate the use of *finis/pinis* in its completive aspect function.

(7-116) Em   i   **finis**   ley-i   eg   na,   tūmas   eg,   plenti.

       3SG   PM   COMPL   lay-TRS   egg   EMP   lots   egg   plenty

       'It's the eggs that it finished laying, lots of eggs, plenty.'

(7-117) Misis   blo   mai   yapu

       wife   POSS   POSS.PRN   older.brother

       em   **pinis**   meik-i   tū   dampa.

       3SG   COMPL   make-TRS   two   damper

       'The wife of my older brother finished making two dampers.'

(7-118) Ōl   no   bi   **finis**   kaikai   de   ebri   mayi.

       3PL   NEG   PST   COMPL   eat   DET   every   food

       'They did not finish eating all the food.'

In Pijin, Bislama, and Tok Pisin, the completive aspect marker *finis/pinis* follows the verb and in TSC, similarly to LRC, *pinis* precedes it (Beimers, 2008; Crowley, 2004; Dutton & Thomas, 1985; Shnukal, 1988).

7.2.3.3.2 *go fō/go pō*

The verbal construction *go fõ/go pō* 'to be about to, to be almost, to getting on for', is used to denote the unrealised inceptive aspect i.e. the stage that immediately precedes and leads to the beginning of a given action, event, and state. Examples (7-119) and (7-120) show the use of this aspect marker.

(7-119) Dadi   en   ankel   ōl   bin   **go fō**   kat-im   fayawud
dad   CONN   uncle   3PL   PST   INCP   cut-TRS   firewood
en   ged-i   antbed   nest.
CONN   get-TRS   ant   nest
'Dad and uncle were about to cut firewood and get the ant nest.'

(7-120) Gwana en   dem send krab ōl   **go fō**   kaikai   det   nest.
goanna CONN DET sand   crab 3PL INCP   eat   DEM   nest
'Goanna and the sand crabs were about to eat that nest.'

7.2.3.3.3 *stāt*

Stāt constitutes yet another inceptive aspect marker that denotes the actual incipient stage of a given action, event, and state, as examples (7-121) and (7-122) demonstrate.

(7-121) Ōl   dem   dog   **stāt**   cheis-i   dem   pig.
all   DET   dog   INCP   chase-TRS   DET   pig
'All the dogs started to chase the pigs.'

(7-122) Ōl man **stāt** digin-im   dīp   ōl   in   de   graun.
old man INCP dig-TRS   deep hole PREP DET ground
'The old man started to dig a deep hole in the ground.'

In TSC, both *stat* and *go po* function as the inceptive aspect markers (Shnukal, 1988, pp. 49, 51).

7.2.3.3.4 *kīp/kīp on*

Kīp/kīp on is used to denote the iterative aspect of regularly recurring actions, events, and states. It may also depict the meaning of those actions, events, and states

that occur over and over again. The two variants of the iterative aspect marker, namely, *kīp* and *kīp on* are used interchangeably. Examples (7-123) and (7-124) demonstrate the use of this aspect marker.

(7-123) Dem   dog   **kīp**   go   andenīt   fut   blo   dem   boi-s.

        DET   dog   ITR   go   under   foot   POSS   DET   boy-PL

        'The dogs kept on going under the feet of the boys.'

(7-124) Dem   dog   **kīp on**   go   andenīt   det   fut.

        DET   dog   ITR   go   under   DEM   foot

        'The dogs kept on going under that foot.'

7.2.3.3.5 *stil*

Stil denotes the continuative aspect of those actions, events, and states that occur and continue over a particular time, as examples (7-125) – (7-127) show.

(7-125) Ei,   yūmītū   ya   **stil**   wag-abat   we   seim   pleis.

        hey   1DU.INCL   here   CONT   walk-PROG   PREP   same   place

        'Hey, the two of us are still walking here in the same place.'

(7-126) Wī   **stil**   kam   bek   ya   we   de   seim   pleis.

        1NSG   CONT   come   back   here   PREP   DET   same   place

        'We are still coming back here to the same place.'

(7-127) Ōl   **stil**   de   fishing   fishing   fishing.

        3PL   CONT   there   fishing   fishing   fishing

        'They are still there fishing and fishing and fishing.'

Similarly to TSC (Shnukal, 1988, pp. 207-208), *stil* functions in LRC solely as a continuative aspect marker and not as an adverb. In Kriol, *stil* also expresses continuation (Sandefur, 1979, p. 134).

7.2.3.3.6 *nomō*

Nomō functions both as the negative marker and as the negative cessative aspect marker. The context provides insight into the relevant and appropriate role *nomō* fulfils in a given conversation. As the negative cessative aspect marker, *nomō*

indicates the completion of a given action, event, and state, as examples (7-128) and (7-129) indicate.

(7-128) Yūpla   **nomō**   meik-i   tūmach   nois!

       2PL   CESS   make-TRS   a.lot   noise

       'Stop making a lot of noise!'

(7-129) **Nomō**   plei   waya   demblat!

       CESS   play   PREP   3PL

       'Stop playing with them!'

7.2.3.3.7 *yūstū*

Yūstū functions as the past habitual aspect marker that refers to the actions, events, and states that used to constitute a habit, as examples (7-130) and (7-131) demonstrate.

(7-130) Dem   ōl   pīpul   **yūstū**   meiki   det   ani.

       DET   old   people   HAB   make-TRS DEM   honey

       'The old people used to make that honey.'

(7-131) Dei   **yūstū**   ant   dem   en   sel   dem   fō   skin.

       3PL   HAB   hunt   3PL   CONN   sell   3PL   PREP   skin

       'They used to hunt them and sell them because of their skins.'

In the identical role *yusdu/yustu* appears in Kriol (Schultze-Berndt & Angelo, 2013). Sharpe and Sandefur (1976, p. 68) note the existence of the form *yusda* in the creole spoken in the 1960s and the 1970s in the Katherine and Roper River areas.

7.2.3.3.8 *no sabi*

Sabi, which ultimately comes from Portuguese *saber* 'to know', acts not only as the verb 'to know, to know how to, to understand, to realise', but also as the habitual modality marker when it is negated with the use of the negative marker *no* 'no, not, never' (see subsection 7.3.2.1.1.1), as examples (7-132) and (7-133) show.

(7-132) Im **no** **sabi** smouk.

      3SG   NEG   know   smoke

      'She does not smoke (it is not a habit of hers to smoke).'

(7-133) Dadi blo mī **no** **sabi** drink.

      dad   POSS 1SG   NEG know drink

      'My dad does not drink (it is not a habit of his to drink).'

7.3 Simple Sentences

As noted in the introductory remarks to this chapter, the internal structure of a simple sentence, which comprises one obligatory predicate and an optional subject in the form of a noun, a pronoun or a noun phrase, may be represented by the following diagram:

SIMPLE SENTENCE → (NP) **PREDICATE**

Simple sentences may be divided into subjectless sentences, which comprise impersonal and existential sentences, and into sentences with the subject present that can be verbless and verbal. Within verbless sentences, it is possible to distinguish equational, i.e. possessing a NP predicate, and descriptive, i.e. those with AdjP, AdvP or PP predicates. Verbal sentences involve the presence of a VP predicate. Imperatives and hortatives are special types of verbal sentences. All sentence types can then be either declarative, i.e. indicative or interrogative in one classification, and affirmative or interrogative in another classification. The predicates are underlined in all examples provided below.

7.3.1 Sentences with and without a Subject

7.3.1.1 Subjectless Sentences

Subjectless sentences, which are characterised by a lack of a subject, must begin with the predicate marker. As a result, the predicate marker is an obligatory element of the predicate. Subjectless sentences may be further divided into impersonal and existential sentences. The AdjP, PP, and AdvP predicates may appear in subjectless

sentences. It should also be noted that although imperative sentences are frequently devoid of a subject, the collected data provides a number of examples, where the subject is overt.

7.3.1.1.1 Impersonal Sentences

Impersonal sentences do not provide information about people, places, things, events or relations but indicate the existence of a particular state instead. Impersonal sentences are formed by means of the predicate marker that precedes a verb or a predicative adjective, as example (7-134) shows. Pre-head and post-head modifiers are also able to occur in impersonal sentences, as example (7-135) indicates. It is possible for past and future tense markers, *bin* and *go*, respectively, to appear in impersonal sentences, as examples (7-136) and (7-137) demonstrate.

(7-134) <u>I</u>   leit.

PM   late

'It's late.'

(7-135) <u>I   kwait   na</u>   bikos   dem   ribe   ōl   no   ran   fāst.

PM   quiet   now   COMP   DET   river   3PL   NEG   run   fast

'It's quiet now, because the rivers do not flow fast.'

(7-136) <u>I</u>   bin   go.pō   dāk.

PM   PST   INCP   dark

'It was about to get dark.'

(7-137) <u>I</u>   go   bi   prapa   gud.

PM   FUT   be   very   good

'It will be very good.'

By comparison, impersonal sentences in Pijin are formed using the third person singular subject referencing pronoun *hemi*, which is preceded by *baebae* to denote the future tense, i.e. *baebae hemi* 'it will be', or followed by the past tense marker *bin* to express the past tense, i.e. *hemi bin* 'it was/it were' (Beimers, 2008, p. 244). A similar situation takes place in Tok Pisin, where the predicate marker *i* is preceded by *bai* to form the future tense, i.e. *bai i* 'it will be', and followed by the past tense

marker *bin* to express the past tense, i.e. *i bin* 'it was/it were' (Dutton & Thomas, 1985, p. 213). Bislama also forms impersonal sentences by using the predicate marker *i* that is followed by the past tense marker *bin* to denote the past tense, i.e. *i bin* 'it was/it were', and preceded by *bae* or *bambae* to express the future tense, i.e. *bae i* 'it will be' (Crowley, 2004, p. 118). TSC impersonal sentences as well as their past and future variants are formed the same way as in LRC. In Kriol, the third person singular pronoun *im* occurs at the beginning of impersonal sentences (Sandefur, 1979, p. 168).

7.3.1.1.2 Existential Sentences

The function of existential sentences is to indicate whether or not something exists and, for that reason, their role is to denote the presence or absence of a particular state. Existential sentences are formed by means of the expression *i gad*, translated into English 'there is/there are', which is followed by an NP. The negative markers (see subsection 7.3.2.1.1) are able to occur in existential sentences, as example (7-138) demonstrates.

(7-138) No,   <u>i   no   gad   bait</u>,   laka.

         NEG   PM   NEG   have   bait   DISC

         'No, there was no bait.'

(7-139) <u>I   gad   mai   mama,   mai   dadi,</u>

         PM   have   POSS.PRN   mum   POSS.PRN   dad

         <u>ōl   brade   en   siste   blo   mī</u>.

         all   brother   CONN   sister   POSS   1SG

         'There was my mum, my dad, all my brothers and sisters.'

The past tense of the existential sentences is formed by means of the predicate marker followed by the reduced form of the past tense marker *bi* and the transitive verb *abi* 'to have', as examples (7-140) and (7-141) demonstrate.

(7-140) Insaid   waya   de   trap   <u>i   bi   abi   wan   bandikūt</u>,   laka.

         inside   PREP   DET   trap   PM   PST   have   DET   bandicoot   DISC

         'In the trap, there was a bandicoot.'

(7-141) Laki, <u>i bi abi nade traib, nade femli kemp de</u>.

luckily PM PST have another tribe another family campsite there.

'Luckily, there was another tribe, another family campsite there.'

Similarly, as examples (7-142) and (7-143) show, future states are expressed by using the predicate marker followed by the future tense marker *go* and the transitive verb *abi* 'to have'. Modifiers may also appear in existential sentences, as example (7-140) demonstrates.

(7-142) <u>I go abi plenti ōl eg</u>.

PM FUT have plenty DET egg

'There will be plenty of the eggs.'

(7-143) Mai brade go kech-i dem tētil na krōl kam

POSS.PRN brother FUT catch-TRS DET turtle EMP crawl SV.COME

bikos <u>i go abi tētil sīzin na blo mīpla</u>.

COMP PM FUT have turtle season EMP POSS 1PL.EXCL

'It's the crawling turtles that my brother will catch, because it'll be [lit. there'll be] our turtle season.'

In TSC, the past and future tense can be expressed in existential sentences by means of the predicate marker followed by the past or future tense marker *bi* or *go*, respectively, and *gad*, i.e. *i bi gad* (past tense) or *i go gad* (future tense) (Shnukal, 1988, p. 64). In Tok Pisin, the past tense in existential sentences is formed by inserting the past tense marker *bin* between the predicate marker and *gat*, thus producing *i bin gat* and the future tense is expressed by the future tense marker *bai* preceding the expression *i gat*, i.e. *bai i gat* (Dutton & Thomas, 1985, p. 213). A similar situation occurs in Bislama, where the past tense marker *bin* forms the past tense in existential sentences, i.e. *i bin gat*, and *bae* or less frequently *bambae* are used to form the future tense, i.e. *bae i gat* (Crowley, 2004, p. 93). Sandefur (1979, pp. 184-185) posits that in Kriol, existential sentences may be expressed in a few ways, where the simplest method involves verbless sentences. Other methods utilise verbal sentences with the verbs *abum* or *gadim* 'to have', *jidan* 'to exist, to be', and *jandap* 'to exist' as well as the *deibin* construction, which represents a contraction of

the third person plural pronoun *dei* and the past tense marker *bin* followed by an NP. In LRC, there exists a verb *abim/abi* 'to have', the form of which resembles that of its Kriol counterpart *abum*, as *ab* constitutes the root of both verbs that is affixed with the transitive suffix *-im/-i* in LRC and *-um* in Kriol. Both of those verbs participate in the formation of existential sentences in LRC and Kriol, however, although in Kriol, *abum* appears in verbal existential sentences, in LRC, *abi/abim* is only used to express the past and future existential meanings, as examples (7-139) and (7-142) demonstrate. Neither *abim/abi* nor *abum* are present in Pijin, Bislama, Tok Pisin, and TSC.

7.3.1.2 Sentences with a Subject

Sentences with a subject can further be divided into verbless and verbal sentences. Verbless sentences include equational and descriptive sentences. In those sentences, the presence of the predicate marker is optional. If the RPs are in place, then they precede the predicate marker or if the latter is absent, then the RPs appear immediately before the obligatory constituent of the predicate, i.e. a NP predicate in case of equational sentences, and an AdjP, AdvP or PP predicates in case of descriptive sentences. AdjPs and NPs may be followed by the optional NPs or pronouns. The optional adverbs or AdvPs may either precede or follow the core predicate constituents. Generally, the optional PPs occupy the sentence-final position.

7.3.1.2.1 Verbless Sentences

As noted in section 7.3 above, verbless sentences include equational and descriptive sentences.

- **Equational Sentences**

As equational sentences are characterised by a lack of a verb, they constitute the most basic sentences. Their primary function is to describe relationships between people or things by indicating if those relations are of an equal value. Examples provided in subsection 7.1.3, which discusses NPs functioning as the core predicate constituents, demonstrate the use of the equational sentences. As example (7-145) demonstrates, it is possible for tense markers to occur in equational sentences.

(7-144) Mīpla   <u>big   mob   famli</u>.

       1PL.EXCL   big   group   family

       'We are a big family group.'

(7-145) Im   <u>bi   gud   sneik</u>.

       3SG   PST   good   snake

       'It was a good snake.'

In Bislama, equational sentences may be formed in a twofold manner. The first pattern is congruent with that used in LRC, i.e. "the two noun phrases simply (…) follow each other with a change of intonation marking the two noun phrases as being separate" (Crowley, 2004, p. 115). However, the second possibility, which does not exist in LRC, employs the use of the form *se*, which separates the two NPs. The past tense utilises the past tense marker *bin* and the future tense is formed with *bae* or *bambae* used sentence-initially. The first of Bislama patterns noted above does also occur in Tok Pisin, where the two NPs are juxtaposed (Dutton & Thomas, 1985, p. 41). TSC equational sentences as well as their past and future tense variants are formed in exactly the same way as in LRC. The structure of Kriol equational sentences resembles that of its LRC counterparts (Sandefur, 1979, p. 167).

- **Descriptive Sentences**

The function of the descriptive sentences is congruent with that of the equational sentences presented in subsection 7.3.1.2.1.1 above, i.e. their role is to also describe relations. The predicate provides descriptive information about the subject indicating, for example, its location, time reference, appearance, possession, properties, etc. The type of the core predicate constituent constitutes the difference between those two sentence types. Namely, NPs function as the core predicate constituents in equational sentences, and AdjPs and PPs assume that role in descriptive sentences. The examples of the descriptive sentences with AdjPs, and PPs functioning as the core predicate constituents are provided in subsections 7.1.2 and 7.1.4, respectively. Example (7-146) further exemplifies the presence of AdjPs in the function of the core predicate constituent in a descriptive sentence. Examples (7-147) and (7-148) involve the locational and possessive PPs fulfilling that very same role.

(7-146) De   wata   <u>i   klie</u>.

       DET   water   PM   clear

       'The water is clear.'

(7-147) Famli   blo   mīpla   <u>de   dan   lo   sanbīs</u>.

       family   POSS   1PL.EXCL   there   down   PREP   beach

       'Our family is there on the beach.'

(7-148) Dat   sugabaig   <u>blong   im</u>.

       DEM   honeycomb   POSS   3SG

       'That honeycomb is hers.'

Subsection 7.1.5 indicates that AdvPs may also function as the core predicate constituents in descriptive sentences. The time and location adverbs usually occur in that role. Thus, the relations described by descriptive sentences of this type are of both temporal and locational nature. It appears that the predicate marker is always present if the subject is in the form of NPs, as example (7-149) demonstrates. However, if a pronoun constitutes the subject, then the predicate marker is optional and if present, it never accompanies first and second person pronouns in all three numbers, as example (7-150) shows. The same rule pertains to the presence or absence of the subject referencing pronouns, which is illustrated by example (7-151). Tense markers are able to occur in descriptive sentences, as example (7-152) shows.

(7-149) Dine   <u>i   de   autsaid</u>.

       dinner   PM   there   outside

       'There is dinner outside.'

(7-150) Mīpla   <u>**ya**</u>.

       1PL.EXCL   here

       'We are here.'

(7-151) Demtū   <u>ōl   **autsaid**</u>.

       3DU   3PL   outside

       'The two of them are outside.'

(7-152) Det   pāti   <u>i   go   tūmora</u>.

        DEM   party   PM   FUT   tomorrow

        'That party will be tomorrow.'

The descriptive sentences in Bislama, Tok Pisin, Kriol, and TSC are governed by the same rules as those pertinent to the formation of equational sentences.

7.3.1.2.2 Verbal Sentences

Within a group of verbal sentences, it is possible to distinguish imperative and hortative sentences.

- **Imperative Sentences**

The function of the imperative sentences is to influence behaviour by conveying commands, directives, and instructions. Structurally, they consist of an optional second person pronoun in all of the three numbers and an obligatory VP. As example (7-155) demonstrates, it is possible for the indefinite pronouns to occur in imperative sentences. However, the predicate marker as well as the tense and modality markers are never present in this sentence type. The addressee in the form of a NP is also able to appear in imperative sentences and, if present, it either precedes or follows the verb, as examples (7-154) and (7-156) show. It is not necessary for the second person pronoun in the appropriate number to be present in such imperative sentences. It is, however, not uncommon for the addressee to precede the verb and in that case, the second person pronoun in the relevant number must be included, as example (7-157) indicates.

(7-153) <u>Kwik   ran   go</u>!

        quickly   ran   SV.GO

        'Run there quickly!'

(7-154) Yūpla   <u>go</u>!

        2PL   go

        'Go!'

(7-155) Ebribodi   <u>go-baik</u>!

       INDF.PRN   go-back

       'Everybody go back!'

(7-156) <u>Kam</u>   pikinini,   <u>kam</u>!

       come   child   come

       'Come, children, come!'

(7-157) Boi,   yū   <u>go aks-im   ankel   if   im   ken   draib-i</u>

       boy   2SG   go   ask-TRS   uncle   COMP   3SG   can   drive-TRS

       <u>yūmī   ebriwan   insaid   kā   blong   im   tūmora</u>.

       1NSG.INCL   INDF.PRN   PREP   car   POSS   3SG   tomorrow

       'Son, go and ask uncle if he can drive all of us in his car tomorrow.'

Yet another way to express the directive meaning involves what could be considered a kind of mitigated imperative, i.e. the use of a modal particle *mōbeta* 'should, to ought to', which is primarily used sentence-initially. The sentences with *mōbeta* may denote either suggestions or directives depending on the context and the relationship between the speaker and the hearer. The subject in the form of the second person pronouns in all three numbers is always overt, as examples (7-158) and (7-159) demonstrate.

(7-158) Mōbeta   yū   <u>lib   nai-taim</u>.

       should   2SG   live   night-time

       'You should live at night.'

(7-159) Mōbeta   yūtū   <u>stap   aus</u>.

       should   2DU   stay   house

       'The two of you should stay home.'

The imperatives presented above appear to be quite brusque in nature. It is possible to soften them and make them polite, especially when addressing people known less well, by using the construction *trai* 'to try to' followed by a verb. Thus, similarly to *mōbeta*, the use of *trai* results in a kind of mitigated imperative. The subject in the form of the second person pronoun in all of the three numbers is optional. The

constructions of this kind are translated into English by means of such formulaic expressions as 'Could you, please, …' or 'Would you, please, …'.

(7-160) <u>Trai   meik-im   gen</u>!

try   make-TRS   again

'Could you, please, make it again!'

(7-161) Yū   <u>trai   roust-i   dem   krab   en   fish</u>!

2SG   try   roast-TRS   DET   crab   CONN   fish

'Would you, please, roast the crabs and fish!'

Different softening strategies involve the use of either *plīs*, which is the equivalent of the English 'please', or *laka*, the function of which is twofold, i.e. a discourse marker (see subsection 9.4.3.2) and a question tag. As a discourse marker, *laka* may denote the meaning 'please', as example (7-162) shows. As example (7-164) demonstrates, both *laka* and *plīs* may occur in the same sentence, which makes the imperative even more polite.

(7-162) <u>Gib-im   medisin   laka</u>!

give-TRS   medicine   DISC

'Give him medicine, please!'

(7-163) Yūpla   <u>stap   kwait   plīs</u>!

2PL   be   quiet   please

'Be quiet, please!'

(7-164) Yūpla   <u>ged-i   ōl   biliken   blo   yūpla   laka   plīs</u>!

2PL   get-TRS   DET   billycan   POSS   2PL   QTAG   please

'Get your billycans, won't you, please!'

By comparison, in Bislama, imperative sentences generally consist of either modified or bare verbs, which could be preceded by the optional second person pronouns (Crowley, 2004, p. 89). However, similarly to LRC, such constructions are abrupt and, therefore, there exist numerous ways to make them more polite. Namely, it is possible to use the future tense marker *bae* or the verb *traem* 'to try' in front of

the main verb, with or without the second person pronoun (Crowley, 2004, p. 90). The adverb *fastaem* 'first' following the main verb or the English influenced sentence-initial *plis* 'please', with or without the second person pronoun, are also used to soften directives. Some or all of them may appear in one sentence to make extremely polite. As far as hortative constructions are concerned, it is not uncommon for the verb to be completely omitted, provided the relevant information is known from the context (Crowley, 2004, p. 92).

The formation of TSC imperative sentences resembles the one used in LRC. One notable difference involves the fact that the second person pronouns never appear in those constructions that employ the use of *trai* followed by a verb (Shnukal, 1988, p. 71). In Tok Pisin, the hortative constructions are expressed either by *yumi* alone or by *yumi laik* (Mihalic, 1971, p. 30).

- **Hortative Sentences**

Hortative sentences pertain to the subjects expressed by the first person inclusive pronouns in dual and plural numbers. The subject is obligatory in hortative sentences, as examples (7-165) – (7-167) demonstrate.

(7-165) Yūmītū   <u>go</u>!
       1DU.INCL   go
       'Let's go!'

(7-166) Yūmītū   teik-im-at   det   pig!
       1DU.INCL   take-TRS-out   DET   pig
       'Let's take that pig out!'

(7-167) Yūmī   ebriwan   <u>go</u>   <u>oum</u>!
       1NSG.INCL   INDF.PRN   go   home
       'Let's go home!'

7.3.2 Declarative and Interrogative Sentences

Declarative sentences, which are also called indicative sentences, express activities as facts and are used for ordinary objective statements. Interrogative sentences involve 'yes-no' questions and information questions. Both declarative and interrogative sentences include affirmative and negative sentences.

7.3.2.1 Declarative Sentences

The discussion in this subsection concentrates on negative sentences, as many examples of affirmative sentences are provided in this thesis. Negative sentences are characterised by the presence of the negative markers *no* 'no, not', *neve* 'never', and *nomō* 'no more, not any more, no longer'. Their function is to negate actions, events, and states denoted by the predicate. The negative markers usually precede the first element of the predicate, as examples (7-168) and (7-169) demonstrate.

(7-168) De   injin   i   **no**   bi   wēk.

        DET   engine   PM   NEG   PST   work

        'The engine did not work.'

(7-169) I   **neve**   let-im   go.

        3SG   NEG   let-TRS   go

        'It (crocodile) never let him go.'

7.3.2.1.1 Negative Markers

- *no*

No 'no, not, never' is the most frequently used negative marker that is used to negate sentences with or without a subject. Similarly to *neve* (see subsection 7.3.2.1.1.2), *no* follows the RPs or the predicate marker if those are present, as examples (7-170) and (7-172) show.

(7-170) De   pig   im   **no**   bin   ded.

        DET   pig   3SG   NEG   PST   dead

        'The pig was not dead.'

(7-171) Im **no** bi lisin fɔ̃ de ōl man stōri.

       3SG NEG PST listen PREP DET old man story

       'He did not listen to the old man's story.'

(7-172) I **no** gad noubadi fɔ̃ tel-i stōri.

       PM NEG have INDF.PRN COMP tell-TRS story

       'There is nobody to tell a story.'

No can also mean 'never', as examples (7-173) and (7-174) demonstrate. The conversation context informs the interlocutors if *no* should be understood as 'not' or as 'never'. It is possible to use the construction *no sabi* 'to know' followed by a verb to express the meaning 'never' when something is not somebody's habit, as example (7-175) shows.

(7-173) Ai **no** go mūvi.

       1SG NEG go movies

       'I never go to the movies.'

(7-174) Im **no** smouk.

       3SG NEG smoke

       'She never smokes.'

(7-175) Im **no** sabi smouk.

       3SG NEG know smoke

       'She never smokes.'

In imperative sentences negated with the use of *no*, personal pronouns are always present, as examples (7-176) and (7-177) demonstrate. Example (7-177) shows that hortative sentences may also be negated.

(7-176) Yū **no** spīk diswei!

       2SG NEG speak DEM-way

       'Don't speak this way!'

(7-177) Yūmītū   **no**   plei   we   im!

        1DU.INCL   NEG   play   PREP   3SG

        'Let the two of us not play with him!'

Interrogative sentences (see subsection 7.3.2.2) are usually negated by means of *no*, as examples (7-178) – (7-180) show.

(7-178) Dembla   **no**   lisin   kēfuli   fō   de   ōl   man?

        3PL   NEG   listen   carefully   PREP   DET   old   man

        'Don't they listen carefully to the old man?'

(7-179) Yūpla   **no**   bi   faind-i   eniting?

        2PL   NEG   PST   find-TRS   INDF.PRN

        'Didn't you find anything?'

(7-180) Wasmada   yū   **no**   bi   go   fishing   lās   wīkend?

        why   2SG   NEG   PST   go   fishing   last   weekend

        'Why didn't you go fishing last weekend?'

- ***neve***

Neve 'never' is yet another negative marker that can frequently be encountered in the speech of the LR residents. Similarly to *no* (see subsection 7.3.2.1.1.1), *neve* follows the RPs or the predicate marker if they are present in a sentence. *Neve* has the ability to refer to the present and future events, as examples (7-181) and (7-182), respectively, demonstrate. Example (7-183) shows that *neve* can also be used in imperative sentences and the presence of personal pronouns is not required, as is the case with *no*.

(7-181) De   wota   aut   de   **neve**   go   drai,   i   ōl   ye   raun,

        DET   water   out   there   NEG   go   dry   3SG   all   year   round

        i   ran-bat   prapa   gud.

        3SG   run-PROG   very   good

        'The water out there never dries out, it is all year round, it is flowing

         very well.'

(7-182) Ai **neve** go līb-i Lokāt.

    1SG NEG FUT leave-TRS Lockhart

    'I will never leave Lockhart.'

(7-183) **Neve** līb-i Lokāt!

    NEG   leave-TRS Lockart

    'Never leave Lockhart!'

- ***nomō***

Nomō 'no more, not any more, not again, no longer, not now', which, similarly to *no* (see subsection 7.3.2.1.1.1), may negate sentences with or without a subject, functions both as the negative marker and as the negative cessative aspect marker (see subsection 7.2.3.3.6). The contextual information provides clues regarding the appropriate interpretation of the role *nomō* fulfils in a given sentence. Thus, the meaning of examples (7-184) and (7-185) is twofold, i.e. it can mean either 'Don't play with them!' when *nomō* acts as the negative marker in (7-184) or 'Stop playing with them!' when *nomō* fulfils a role of the negative cessative aspect marker in (7-185).

(7-184) **Nomō** plei waya demblat!

    NEG   play PREP 3PL

    'Don't play with them!'

(7-185) **Nomō** plei waya demblat!

    CESS   play PREP 3PL

    'Stop playing with them!'

- **Negative Indefinite Pronouns**

When negative indefinite pronouns appear in negative sentences, they may be accompanied by the negative marker *no*, as examples (7-186) – (7-188) demonstrate for those in object NPs and (7-189) and (7-190) for those with subject NPs.

(7-186) Mīpla **no** kaikai **nating**.

    1PL.EXCL NEG eat   INDF.PRN

    'We have not eaten anything.'

(7-187) I   **no**   gad   **noubadi**   iya.

       PM   NEG   have   INDF.PRN   here

       'There is nobody here.'

(7-188) Ai   **no**   gad   **nowei**   fõ   go.

       1SG   NEG   have   INDF.PRN   COMP   go

       'I have nowhere to go.'

(7-189) **Noubadi**   **no**   go   kam.

       INDF.PRN   NEG   FUT   come

       'Nobody will come.'

(7-190) **Nating**   **no**   go   apen.

       INDF.PRN   NEG   FUT   happen

       'Nothing will happen.'

However, there are instances when the negative indefinite pronouns such as *nating* 'nothing', *noubadi/noubodi* 'nobody', *nowan* 'non-one', and *nowe/nowei* 'nowhere' are not accompanied by the negative marker. Those constructions are not rare and could most likely be attributed to the increasing exposure to English, where negative indefinite pronouns do not appear in the company of negative markers. As examples (7-191) and (7-192) show, the negative markers may occur as either subject or object NPs.

(7-191) Em   bin   lēn-i   **nating**.

       3SG   PST   learn-TRS   NEG

       'He learned nothing.'

(7-192) **Noubadi**   go   kam.

       NEG   FUT   come

       'Nobody will come.'

- **Negation and Modality Markers**

Negated modality markers express prohibition. The negative marker always follows *mas* 'must, to have to, to have got to' and *sud/shud* 'should, to ought to' and it always precedes the remaining modality markers (see subsection 7.2.3.2).

7.3.2.2 Interrogative Sentences

There exist two types of interrogative sentences in LRC, namely, 'yes-no' questions and information questions.

7.3.2.2.1 'Yes-No' Questions

The structure of the 'yes-no' questions mirrors that of the sentences with or without a subject, with the exception of the rising intonation on the final syllable of the utterance, which is a characteristic feature of both 'yes-no' and information interrogative sentences. Examples (7-193) – (7-196) demonstrate the use of 'yes-no' questions.

(7-193) Yūpla   ken   sī   eniting?

     2PL   can   see   anything

     'Can you see anything?'

(7-194) Yū   kil-i   fō   pikinini   blo   yū?

     2SG   kill-TRS   four   child   POSS   2SG

     'Have you killed four of your children?'

(7-195) I   gud   stōri?

     PM   good   story

     'Is it a good story?'

(7-196) I   gad   plenti   mayi   we   aus?

     PM   have   plenty   food   PREP   house

     'Is there plenty of food at the house?'

The negative interrogative sentences, which are usually negated by means of the negative marker *no* 'no, not, never' (see subsection 7.3.2.1.1.1), are always

answered 'no' if the answer confirms the questions, as examples (7-197) and (7-198) demonstrate.

(7-197) Yū <u>no   bi   kaikai   yet</u>? – **No**.

       2SG   NEG   PST   eat   yet   no

       'Haven't you eaten yet? No (I haven't).'

(7-198) Ōl <u>no   bi   sel-i   de   kā</u>? – **No**.

       3PL   NEG   PST   sell-TRS   DET   car   no

       'Did they sell the car? No (they didn't).'

The use of the question tag *ai* 'well, isn't it so, that's so isn't it, don't you agree, eh, right', which is always pronounced with rising intonation, signals the presence of the 'yes-no' interrogative sentences and is a very common way to phrase them. *Ai* is used when the speaker seeks confirmation of the statement expressed by the question. Examples (7-199) – (7-201) show the use of the question tag *ai*.

(7-199) Ai <u>go   meik-i   trap   fō   kech-i   dis   bandikūt</u>, **ai**?

       1SG FUT make-TRS trap   COMP catch-TRS DEM bandicoot QTAG

       'I will make a trap to catch this bandicoot, won't I?'

(7-200) Disen <u>mas   bi   big   log</u>, **ai**?

       DEM.PRN must   be   big   log   QTAG

       'This must be a big log, right?'

(7-201) Yūpla <u>go   go   fō   ged-i   kaikai   fō   yūmītū</u>, **ai**?

       2PL   FUT   go   COMP get-TRS food   PREP 1DU.INCL QTAG

       'You will go to get food for the two of us, won't you?'

As noted in subsection 7.3.1.2.2.1, in addition to being a discourse marker (see subsection 9.4.2.2), *laka* also functions as a question tag, as examples (7-202) and (7-203) demonstrate.

(7-202) <u>Pāsi   det   pan   kam</u>   **laka**?

       pass-TRS DEM pan SV.COME QTAG

       'Pass that pan, won't you?'

(7-203) Yū   <u>tel-i</u>   <u>det</u>   <u>stōri</u> **laka**?

2SG   tell-TRS DEM story QTAG

'You tell that story, won't you?'

7.3.2.2.2 Information Questions

Information questions usually involve the *wh*-movement, it is, however, not uncommon to encounter information questions, where the *wh*-movement does not occur. Thus, although the interrogative pronouns (see subsection 4.2.2.3), which replace the constituents in question, usually appear sentence-initially, they may also occur sentence-finally when the *wh*-movement does not take place. The emphatic markers (see subsection 9.4.1) do not seem to appear in interrogative sentences of this type. Intonation in interrogative sentences with *wh*-movement is always rising, with the highest most pitch placed on the final syllable of the sentence.

As examples (7-204) and (7-205) below demonstrate, *uda* is also used in those interrogative sentences that express the possessive meaning 'whose'. It is, however, affixed with the suffix *-ku*, which means 'to, belonging to' and comes from the traditional languages spoken in the LR area, namely, Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila (Hill & Thompson, 2011, Book 1, p. 13). Thompson (1988, p. 21) notes that in these languages *-ku*, in addition to other functions, marks the possessor in the genitive possessive constructions that are used to denote not only both alienable and inalienable possessions, but also kinship relationships. Although Mufwene (1996, p. 113) states that bound morphemes found in the agglunative substrate languages do not usually transfer to contact varieties, he does provide an example of Berbice Dutch that has been influenced by its substrates in the form of the transfer of grammatical morphemes, such as tense suffixes, sentence-final negative markers, and postpositions. Similarly, the suffix *-ku* in LRC constitutes an example of direct morphological transfer (Siegel, 2015, p. 168), a quite rare process that involves a fusion of a grammatical marker existing in a substrate language with a form in the lexifier (Kihm, 1989).

(7-204) **Uda-ku**   buk   yū   <u>rīd-im</u>?

         who-POSS   buk   2SG   read-TRS

         'Whose book are you reading?'

(7-205) **Uda-ku**   dres   yū   <u>wer-im</u>?

         who-POSS   dress   2SG   wear-TRS

         'Whose dress are you wearing?'

In examples (7-204) and (7-205) above, the verbs *rīd* 'to read' and *we* 'to wear' are affixed with the transitive suffix. The same occurs in examples (7-206) and (7-207) below, where the verbs *luk* 'to look at' and *rīd* 'to read' are affixed with the transitive suffix, the form of which clearly includes the object, both overt and non-overt. If the object is present in a given sentence, then it is redundant. In interrogative sentences asking about the object, the object is replaced by the interrogative pronouns that are moved to the beginning of the sentence when the *wh*-movement takes place.

(7-206) **Wanim**   yūpla   <u>luk-im</u>?

         what   2PL   look.at-TRS

         'What do you look at?'

(7-207) **Wanim**   yū   <u>rīd-im</u>?

         what   2SG   read-TRS

         'What do you read?'

An analogous situation occurs in example (7-208), where the *wh*-interrogative *haumach* 'how much, how many' occupies the sentence-initial position and is followed by its constituents. The verb *kech* 'to catch' is affixed with the transitive suffix that clearly includes the object. It is necessary not only for the *wh*-interrogatives to move, but their constituents are subject to movement as well.

(7-208) **Haumach**   fish,   krab,   lobste   en   kreifish

how.many   fish   crab   lobster   CONN   crayfish

mipla   <u>kech-im   insaid   waya   dem   net</u>?

1PL.EXCL   catch-TRS   inside   PREP   DET   net

'How many fish, crabs, lobsters, and crayfish did we catch inside the nets?'

However, as mentioned above, it is possible for information questions to occur without the *wh*-movement taking place. In that case, interrogative pronouns appear sentence-finally, as the eamples (7-209) and (7-210) demonstrate. This is in accordance with LRC grammar that requires pronouns to occupy the slot previously taken by the object NP.

(7-209) Yūpla   <u>luk-i</u>   **wani**?

2PL   look.at-TRS   what

'You look at what?'

(7-210) Yū   <u>rīd-i</u>   **wanim**?

2SG   read-TRS   what

'You read what?'

In TSC, when interrogative sentences contain the negative markers *no* 'not, never', *nomo* 'not', and *neba* 'never, not', the answers must involve the word *wa* 'yes'. *No* 'no' is used when a negative reply is given to positive questions (Shnukal, 1988, p. 65). In LRC, the suffix -*ku* is attached to the interrogative pronoun *uda* 'who' to denote the meaning 'whose', while that meaning is expressed in TSC by using *uda blo* (Shnukal, 1988, p. 66). TSC possesses three question tags, namely, *a, au*, and *ei*, while only one question tag has been noted to occur in LRC. In Kriol, the meaning 'whose' is expressed in a threefold manner, i.e. by *blau*, which represents a contraction between the possessive pronoun *blanga* and the interrogative pronoun *hu* 'who', by *blanga hu*, and by its counterpart with the reversed order, namely, *hu blanga* (Sandefur, 1979, p. 98).

Similarly to LRC, information questions without *wh*-movement also exist in Pijin (Beimers, 2008, p. 253). The sentence-initial interrogative pro-form *waswe* occurs in 'yes-no' questions, which frequently end with the question particle *ya* (Beimers, 2008, p. 251). The potential negative response *o nomoa* 'or not' may be appended to the clause, though not in combination with the sentence final particle *ya* (Beimers, 2008, p. 253). The focus particle *nao* frequently appears in interrogative sentences, where its function is to make the sentence-initial interrogatives the focal points of the questions, in a similar fashion it focuses NPs in affirmative sentences (Beimers, 2008, pp. 255,257). Similarly to Pijin, not all Kriol interrogative pronouns occupy the sentence-initial position in interrogative sentences, as in some information questions *wh*-movement does not take place (Schultze-Berndt & Angelo, 2013).

Tok Pisin possesses three question tags, namely, *a* (or *laka*), *o nogat* (or simply *o*), and *o wanem*, where *a/laka* require the affirmative answer 'yes' and the answer 'yes' or 'no' is prompted by the *o nogat/o* question tag (Dutton & Thomas, 1985, p. 64). Verhaar (1995) states that Tok Pisin "*laka?*, which has originated from Islands in the East, (…) seems to express agreement with the bias for the quality (i.e. affirmative or negative) of the question" (p. 55). Tok Pisin *husat, bilong husat*, and *bilong wanem* constitute the counterparts of LRC *uda* 'who', *udaku* 'whose, and *wanim/wani fō* 'why', respectively.

Bislama frequently utilises the sentence-final question tags *no* or *o*, which could be followed by statements expressing "the opposite possibility" (Crowley, 2004, p. 148). The question tag *a* both signals the 'yes-no' questions and also prompts the affirmative answer 'yes'. *Waswe* is used sentence-initially denoting the meaning 'why', although *wanem* is used in that function much more often (Crowley, 2004, p. 154). The interrogative pronoun *we* 'where' denotes not only location, but also direction and *wehem* 'where' is only used for location (Crowley, 2004, p. 156). The preposition *from*, which is frequently followed by *wanem*, may express the meaning 'why', as it "marks (…) something that causes something to happen" (Crowley, 2004, p. 157). *Olsem wanem* is known to act as a question tag (Crowley, 2004, p. 158).

7.4 Brief Comparison with Other Creoles

As Table 7.1 below demonstrates, LRC shares the majority of the creole predicate features with other creole languages, thus substantiating a claim that it is a creole. A + indicates that the feature is characteristic of the creole, a blank indicates it is not.

Table 7.1 Comparison of Some of LRC Creole Predicate Features with Other Creoles

Feature	LRC	TSC	Kriol	Pijin	Bislama	Tok Pisin
Subject Referencing Pronouns				+		
Resumptive Pronouns	+					
Predicate Marker	+	+			+	+
Past Tense Marker	+	+	+	+		+
Future Tense Marker (*go* in LRC and TSC, and *gada/gona* in Kriol)	+	+	+			
Future Tense Marker (*bae/baebae* in Pijin, *bae/bambae* in Bislama, and *bai* in Tok Pisin)				+	+	+
Completive Aspect Marker Precedes the Verb	+	+	+			
Completive Aspect Marker Follows the Verb				+	+	+
Impersonal Sentences Formed with the Use of Predicate Marker	+	+			+	+
Existential Sentences Formed with *got* 'to have'	+	+			+	+
Verb *abim/abi* in LRC and *abum* in Kriol Used in Existential Sentences (in LRC in Past and Future Meanings Only)	+		+			
Juxtaposition in Equational and Descriptive Sentences	+	+	+	+	+	+
No Must Appear with Negative Indefinite Pronouns		+			+	

Table 7.2 shows the comparison of two LRC English-derived predicate features with other creoles, where the use of the habitual aspect marker is shared by LRC and Kriol and the optional use of second preson pronouns in imperative sentences exists in all creoles. A + indicates that the feature is characteristic of the creole, a blank indicates it is not. A detailed outline of the comparison of the predicate features presented in Tables 7.1 and 7.2 follows.

Table 7.2 Comparison of Some of LRC English-derived Predicate Features with Other Creoles

Feature	LRC	TSC	Kriol	Pijin	Bislama	Tok Pisin
Habitual Aspect Marker *yūstū* in LRC and *yustu/yusdu/yusda* in Kriol	+	+				
Optional Use of Second Person Pronouns in Imperative Sentences	+	+	+	+	+	+

The comparison of the RP system in LRC with its Pijin counterpart shows that in Pijin, the SRPs are used for all persons of the singular, dual, trial, and plural numbers (Beimers, 2008, pp. 236-237). TSC is characterised by a lack of any SRP system and there only appears to exist the predicate marker *i* (Shnukal, 1988, p. 138). In Bislama, there are two predicate markers, namely, *i* and *oli*, which have SRP functions to some extent, as they reference singular and plural subjects, respectively (Crowley, 2004, p. 109). In Tok Pisin, *i* fulfils the function of the predicate marker (Verhaar, 1995, p. 70). Kriol does not appear to have SRPs (Sandefur, 1979; Schultze-Berndt & Angelo; 2013).

Shnukal (1988, pp. 41-42) states that although present tense remains unmarked, there exist two tense markers in TSC, namely, *bi/bin* denoting past tense and *go* used for future tense actions, states, and events. *Kasa* is frequently used to express the meaning of immediate past in TSC (Shnukal, 1988, p. 45).

Beimers (2008, pp. 222-223) notes that *jes* (immediate past) and *bin* (past) constitute the two Pijin tense markers. *Bae/baebae* function as future tense markers (Beimers,

2008, p. 243). In Bislama, the sentences are frequently devoid of any tense markers simply because it is customary for the contextual information to be provided in different ways (Crowley, 2004, p. 92). If need arises, a clause containing a verb and a pronoun, and no tense marker, e.g. *mi go*, may be used to denote the present, past or future tense actions, states, and events. *Bin* frequently marks the past tense, *jas* denotes the recent past, and *bae* and *bambae* are used for the future tense (Crowley, 2004, pp. 92-94). Similarly to Bislama, Pijin, TSC, and LRC, the present tense is unmarked in Tok Pisin and *bin* denotes past tense (Dutton & Thomas, 1985, p. 118). *Bai* is used to express the future (Dutton & Thomas, 1985, p. 87). In Kriol, there are two tense markers, namely, *bin* and *gada* used for the past and future tense actions, respectively (Nicholls, 2009, p. 76). Sandefur (1979, p. 128) also list *gona* as the future tense marker. *Gonna* also exists in Woorie Talk (Mushin & Watts, 2016, p. 72).

In TSC, there exist eight modality markers: *mas* 'must, to have to, to have got to', *blo* + verb 'to be to, to be going to, to have to', *spostu* 'ought to, ought to have, should, should have', *sud* 'should, ought to, *kasa* 'just, with no purpose', *kin/ken* 'can', *kan* 'can't', and *mait* 'may, might, could', where *kin/ken* and *kan* cannot be used when there is no question of ability or permission (Shnukal, 1988, pp. 43-47). TSC *mas* and *sud* are followed by the negative markers. In Pijin, *kan* 'can't', *kanduit* 'cannot', and *kanot* 'cannot' function as modality markers; they do not appear in the company of any other pre-head markers (Beimers, 2008, p. 226). Pijin *mas* 'must' and *sud* 'should' always precede the negative marker and follow the SRPs (Beimers, 2008, pp. 220-221). Simons and Young (1978, p. 75) also list the sentence-initial *maet* 'might' as Pijin modality marker. In Bislama, *save* is used to express the meaning of both 'can, to be able to' and 'may' and *kanduit* denotes the meaning 'to be unable to' (Crowley, 2003, pp. 123, 233). *Mas* 'must, to have to, to have got to', *sud* 'to ought to' as well as the adjective *sapos* 'supposed, intended' are also used in Bislama (Crowley, 2003, 2004). The meaning of 'to ought to, to be supposed to' can be expressed in Bislama by the construction *blong* + verb (Crowley, 2004, pp. 116-117), which is the equivalent of LRC and TSC combination *blo* + verb. In Tok Pisin, *ken* expresses 'may, might' and *save* is used to denote the meaning 'know how to' (Dutton & Thomas, 1985, p. 376). Dutton and Thomas (1981, p. 117) note that

the construction *inap* + verb is used to express ability and *no inap* + verb is used for inability. In Tok Pisin, *sapos* functions as a complementiser 'if' and the construction *bilong* + verb is used for the meaning 'in order to' and *mas* 'must, to have to, to have got to' denotes the notion of obligation (Dutton & Thomas, 1985, pp. 19, 238, 375). Sandefur (1979, pp. 129-132) divides Kriol modality markers into four categories: intention-desire (*andi* and its variants, *gona*, and *gada*), ability permission (*gin* and *gan*), necessity-advisability (*gada, labda, mas, ada, judbi,* and *juda*), and potential-possibility (*mat, judbi, gulijap, nili*, and *trai*). They always precede the main verb; however, not all of them follow the negative and tense markers. For example, *mas, gin*, and *judbi* cannot be negated by the negative marker and cannot be used with the past tense marker (Sandefur, 1979, pp. 129-131).

In TSC, there exist six primary aspect markers, namely, *kip* (iterative), *nomo* (cessative), *oltaim* (habitual), *pinis* (completive), *stat* (inceptive), and *stil* (continuative) (Shnukal, 1988, p. 48). Reduplicated verbs express the iterative aspect. The negated habitual aspect may be formed by means of *no sabe* + verb, however, this construction is only used in eastern TSC dialect (Shnukal, 1988, p. 51). Beimers (2008, pp. 224-226) lists only one modality marker in Pijin, namely, *save*, the aspectual function of which is threefold, i.e. abilitative, habitual, and permissive. The continuous aspect may be expressed by verb reduplication (Beimers, 2008, p. 120). In Bislama, the habitual, abilitative, and permissive functions are expressed by means of *save*, however, some speakers only use *stap*, and not *save*, for the habitual aspect (Crowley, 2004, pp. 98-99). *Stap* is also used for the progressive aspect (Crowley, 2004, p. 98). As far as Tok Pisin is concerned, Mihalic (1971, pp. 32) states that the iterative aspect is primarily expressed by means of the adverbial reduplication and the habitual aspect is achieved by the use of the auxiliary verb *save* meaning 'to be accustomed to'. According to Sandefur's (1979, pp. 133-136) classification, Kriol aspect markers may be divided into three categories, namely, factual (*stat, go, kip, stil,* and *stap*), limitation-intensity (*onli, jis, lilbit,* and *rili*), and habitual (*oldei, olweis, yusda, neba*, and *gan*). Although all of them can be negated by the negative marker, *gan* cannot co-occur with the past tense marker.

Beimers (2008, p. 221) lists only two negative markers in Pijin, namely, *no* 'not' and *nating* 'never'. Dutton and Thomas (1985, p. 37) state that *no* 'no' and *nogat* 'no, nothing' constitute negative markers used in Tok Pisin. In Bislama, *no* 'no, not', *nomo* 'no longer, not any more', *neva* 'never, not ever', and *no yet* 'not yet' appear pre-verbally, and *nating* 'nothing' can be used in conjunction with *no, nomo,* and *neva* (Crowley, 2004, pp. 95-96). In Kriol, *nomo* and *no*, both meaning 'no' function as simple negative markers, and *nat* 'not' and *neba* 'never' are used as emphatic negative markers (Sandefur, 1979, p. 126).

An interesting difference between LRC *neve* 'never' and its TSC equivalent *neba* pertains to the fact that LRC *neve* can refer to both the present and future events, while TSC *neba* can only be used in sentences with past time meaning and it never appears in utterances with present and future time meaning (Shnukal, 1988, p. 73). For that reason, TSC *neba* is unable to be used in the imperative sentences, which always refer both to the present and to the future (Shnukal, 1988, p. 74). On the other hand, LRC *neve* is able to be used in the imperative sentences, as example (7-183) above demonstrates. In Kriol, the primary function of *neba* 'never' is to denote negative habitual meaning, however, it is sometimes used to express negative emphatic meaning (Sandefur, 1979, p. 127). Schultze-Berndt and Angelo (2013) indicate that *neba* is used in habitual past contexts when it does occur in constructions, in which tense markers are absent.

Yet another difference between LRC and TSC pertains to the fact that in TSC, *no* 'not' must appear in the sentences, which involve the use of the negative indefinite pronouns (Shnukal, 1988, p. 72). The same appears to be the rule in Bislama (Crowley, 2004, p. 96). By contrast, in LRC, negative indefinite pronouns may appear in sentences without the company of negative markers (see subsection 7.3.4.4).

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter has investigated simple sentences. The examination of the five types of the LRC predicates, namely, VP, AdjP, NP, PP, and Adv predicates, is followed by

the discussion of the constituents of the predicate, i.e. the resumptive pronouns, the predicate marker, and the tense, mood, and aspect markers. Sentences with and without the subject, as well as declarative sentences, including negative markers, and interrogative sentences, both 'yes-no' and information questions, are also presented in this chapter. It has been established that the Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila suffix *-ku*, which is affixed to the interrogative pronoun *uda* 'who' and marks the possessor in the genitive possessive constructions that are used to denote not only both alienable and inalienable possessions, but also kinship relationships (Thompson, 1988, p. 21), is an example of a direct morphological transfer, a very rare phenomenon that involves a fusion of a grammatical marker present in a substrate language with a form in the lexifier (Kihm, 1989; Siegel, 2015).

Thirteen creole features have been examined and out of them, nine are present in LRC. One feature, namely, juxtaposition in equational and descriptive sentences occurs not only in LRC, but also in the remaining five creoles. The predicate marker exists in LRC, TSC, Bislama, and Tok Pisin. With the exception of Bislama, the past tense marker is a feature characteristic of LRC, TSC, Kriol, Pijin, and Tok Pisin. The future tense marker *go* is used in LRC and TSC, and *gona* in Kriol. The completive aspect marker always precedes the verb in LRC, TSC, and Kriol, while in follows the verb in Pijin, Bislama, and Tok Pisin. Impersonal sentences are formed with the use of the predicate marker in LRC, TSC, Bislama, and Tok Pisin. Existential sentences are formed with *got* 'to have' in LRC, TSC, Bislama, and Tok Pisin. LRC verb *abim/abi* appears in existential sentences expressing past and future meanings; Kriol verb *abum* can be found in existential sentences.

Two English-derived features have been examined, where optional use of second person pronouns occurs in LRC and the remaining five creoles. The habitual aspect marker *yūstū* and *yustu/yusdu/yusda* is a characteristic feature of LRC and Kriol, respectively.

Chapter 8 Complex Sentences

In contrast to simple sentences, which contain only one clause and, as a result, only one predicate and optionally a subject, complex sentences comprise more than one clause, where each of them consists of an optional subject and a predicate. Complex sentences result from either coordination or subordination, and in some instances from both of them. There are three types of subordinate clauses, namely, complement clauses, adverbial clauses, and relative clauses. Before those are discussed in the later sections, section 8.1 focuses on the presentation of the coordination of simple sentences. The mechanism of both coordination and subordination then follows.

8.1 Coordination of Simple Sentences

As stated in subsection 4.9.1, LRC possesses three coordinators, namely, *en* 'and', *bat* 'but', and *ō* 'or', which indicate addition, contrast, and alternation, respectively, and all of them can be encountered in sentential coordination. Taking into consideration both formal and semantic criteria, it is possible to distinguish three types of coordination, i.e. conjunctive, adversative, and alternative (Crowley, Lynch, Siegel & Piau, 1995, p. 363).

8.1.1 Conjunctive Coordination

Conjunctive coordination is achieved with the use of the coordinator *en* 'and'. In example (8-1), two separate clauses, namely, *im dropi mīpla waya aus blo mīpla* 'he dropped us off at our house' and *im draib go aus blong im* 'he drove to his house' are connected with the coordinator *en* 'and'.

(8-1) Im	drop-i	mīpla	waya	aus	blo	mīpla
3SG	drop.off-TRS	1PL.EXCL	PREP	house	POSS	1PL.EXCL
en	im	draib	go	aus	blong	im.
CONN	3SG	drive	SV.GO	house	POSS	3SG

'He dropped us off at our house and he drove to his house.'

8.1.2 Adversative Coordination

Adversative coordination takes place when clauses are connected with the coordination *bat* 'but'. Thus, in example (8-2), the two separate clauses, i.e. *mīpla lukran* 'we looked around' and *det pōkyupain en dem tū gwana ōl stil de* 'that porcupine and the two goannas were still there' are combined into a complex sentence by means of the coordinator *bat* 'but'.

(8-2) Mīpla   luk-raun   **bat**   det   pōkyupain   en   dem   tū

      1PL.EXCL   look-around   CONN   DEM   porcupine   CONN   DET   two

      gwana   ōl   stil   de.

      goanna   3PL   CONT   there

    'We looked around, but that porcupine and the two goannas were still

      there.'

8.1.3 Alternative Coordination

The third coordination type involves alternative coordination, where clauses are combined with the coordinator *ō* 'or'. Thus, in example (8-3), the two clauses, namely, *det heri men bi teikim de* 'that hairy man took him there' and *awu mas bi teikim longwei* 'the evil spirit must have taken him far' are connected with the coordinator *ō* 'or'.

(8-3) Det   heri   men   bi   teik-im   de

      DEM   hairy   man   PST   take-TRS   there

      ō   awu   mas   bi   teik-im   long-wei.

      CONN   evil.spirit   must   PST   take-TRS   long-way

    'That hairy man took him there or the evil spirit must have taken him far.'

8.1.4 Subject in the Coordinated Clauses

Each of the combined clauses does not have to possess an overt subject NP, but the occurrence of the resumptive pronoun coupled with the sequence of events represented by the coordinated clauses implies that the subject NP present in the first

clause pertains to every clause in the sentence. Thus, in example (8-4), the presence of the resumptive pronoun *demtū* '3DU' illustrates full clause coordination, as *demtū* used in the second and third coordinated clauses refers back to the subject NP in the first clause. The coordinated clauses represent a chain of events.

(8-4)
Mai	tū	nefyū	demtū	ged-i	spīye	**en**	demtū
POSS.PRN	two	nephew	3DU	get-TRS	spear	CONN	3DU

wag-abat	long-wei	waya	sanbīs	said	fõ	stingrei	en
walk-PROG	long-way	PREP	beach	side	PREP	stingray	CONN

krab	**en**	demtū	spīye	faib	krab	en	tū	tingri.
crab	CONN	3DU	spear	five	crab	CONN	two	stingray

'My two nephews got spears and walked far on the side of the beach for stingrays and crabs and speared five crabs and two stingrays.'

A similar situation occurs in example (8-5), where the resumptive pronoun *im* '3SG' not only introduces each of the coordinated clauses but is also co-referential with the subject NP in the first clause. The coordinated clauses represent the sequence of events in this complex sentence.

(8-5)
Det	toudfish	im	pul-im-at	da	spiya	**en**	im
DET	toadfish	3SG	pull-TRS-out	DET	spear	CONN	3SG

teik-im	da	spiya	kam-at	na	from	bodi	blong	im,
take-TRS	DET	spear	come-out	EMP	PREP	body	POSS	3SG

laka,	**en**	im	lift-im-ap	**en**	im	put-im
DISC	CONN	3SG	lift-TRS-up	CONN	3SG	put-TRS

we	shōlde	blong	im
PREP	sholder	POSS	3SG

en	im	kar-i	bat	waya	sōlde	blong	im.
CONN	3SG	carry	bat	PREP	sholder	POSS	3SG

'That toadfish took the spear out from his body, poor thing, and pulled the spear out and carried the bat on his shoulder and lifted him up and put him on his shoulder.'

A question could arise whether (8-5) is an example of predicate rather than clause coordination. Example (8-6) provides clarification, as it represents predicate coordination, where both coordinated predicates begin with the predicate marker *i* and not with the resumptive pronouns, as is the case with examples (8-4) and (8-5). The predicate marker is also present in the first clause, where it follows the subject NP and precedes the VP, thus indicating, where the subject ends and the predicate begins.

(8-6) De ōl man i meik-i āc ouba ed blong im **en** i

 DET old man PM make-TRS arch PREP head POSS 3SG CONN PM

 meik-im we de sheip blong im **en** i meik-i reinbou.

 make-TRS PREP DET shape POSS 3SG CONN PM make-TRS rainbow

 'The old man made an arch over his head and made it in his shape and
 made a rainbow.'

8.2 Complex Sentences

As stated in the introductory comments to this chapter, complex sentences comprise more than one clause, each of them having an optional subject and a predicate. In addition to coordination, complex sentences may be formed by subordination. There exist three types of subordinate clauses, i.e. complement clauses, adverbial clauses, and relative clauses.

8.2.1 Complement Clauses within Complex Sentences

It is a common practice for many VPs, the heads of which belong to a small group of verbs, to have constituents in the form of complement clauses that function as clausal objects. Those complement clauses may be marked by the complementiser *fō* (or in some cases, *tū*). Although they may or may not be preceded by the resumptive pronouns, the TMA markers do not usually occur within them.

As noted above, the heads of VPs that take complement clauses belong to a small group of verbs that exhibit some modality and aspectual traits, such as, for example, permission and inception. Table 8.1 below outlines such verbs indicating whether the presence of the complementisers is required or not. If it is not obligatory, the complementiser appears in brackets. The discussion of each of the verbs, together with the verbal complements they take, follows after.

Table 8.1 Verbs that Take Complement Clauses

Verb	Gloss	Complementiser
laik	'to like'	*(fõ)*
lau	'to allow, to permit'	*fõ*
let/leti/letim	'to let'	-
meik/meiki/meikim	'to make, to cause'	-
stāt	'to start/begin'	*fõ*
trai	'to try'	*fõ, tū*
wandi/wani	'to want'	*(fõ)*

8.2.1.1 *laik* and *wandi/wani* + Complement Clauses

Both *laik* 'to like' and *wandi/wani* 'to want' are desiderative verbs that express desires and wants. They appear in constructions that take both NP (see Chapter 5) and clausal objects. When *laik* and *wandi/wani* fulfil a role of the verb in the main clause, the subject of the main clause and the subject of the complement clause may be coreferential. In that case, the clausal objects are not marked by the complementiser *fõ*, as examples (8-7) and (8-8) demonstrate.

(8-7) De   dak   im   **wani** <u>protekt det eg nest blo demblat en</u>

     DET duck 3SG want protect DEM egg nest POSS 3PL   CONN

     <u>de   eg</u>.

     DET egg

     'The ducks want to protect their egg nest and the eggs.'

(8-8) Im   no   **laik**   <u>join-i</u>   <u>dem</u>   <u>fren</u>   <u>blong</u>   <u>im</u>,

      3SG   NEG   like   join-TRS   DET   friend   POSS   3SG

      im   **laik**   <u>kaikai</u>   <u>flawa</u>.

      3SG   like   eat   flower

      'It (flying fox) does not like to join its friends, it likes to eat flowers.'

If, however, the subject of the main clause and the subject of the complement clause differ, the complementiser *fõ* marks the predicate of the complement. Thus, in examples (8-9) and (8-10), *im kam* 'she comes' and *dem pikinini fait* 'the children fight', respectively, are the subordinated sentences.

(8-9) Dembla   no   **wandi**   <u>im</u>   <u>fõ</u>   <u>kam</u>.

      3PL   NEG   want   3SG   COMP   come

      'They do not want her to come.'

(8-10) De   ōl   pīpul   no   **laik**   <u>dem</u>   <u>pikinini</u>   <u>fõ</u>   <u>fait</u>.

      DET   old   people   NEG   like   DET   child   COMP   fight

      'The old people do not like the children to fight.'

8.2.1.2 *lau* + Complement Clauses

Similarly to *laik* and *wandi/wani* (see subsection 8.2.1.2), *lau* 'to allow, to permit', which takes both NP and clausal object, makes use of the complementiser *fõ* that precedes the verb of the clausal object and follows its subject NP. When *lau* is the verb in the main clause, the subject of the main clause and the subject of the object complement always pertain to different entities. As a result, the subject of the object complement is always overt, as examples (8-11) and (8-12) show.

(8-11) Dembla   **lau**   <u>dem</u>   <u>dog</u>   <u>fõ</u>   <u>kaikai</u>.

      3PL   allow   DET   dog   COMP   eat

      'They allowed the dogs to eat.'

(8-12) Det   man   bi   **lau**   <u>de</u>   <u>gēl</u>   <u>blong</u>   <u>im</u>   <u>fõ</u>   <u>go</u>   <u>pāti</u>.

      DEM   man   PST   allow   DET   daughter   POSS   3SG   COMP   go   party

      'That man allowed his daughter to go to the party.'

8.2.1.3 *let/leti/letim* + Complement Clauses

Let/leti/letim 'to let', which, similarly to *lau* (see subsection 8.2.1.2), denotes permission, takes object complements that are never marked by the complementiser *fō*. When *let/leti/letim* is the main verb, the subject of the main clause and the subject of the object complement are never coreferential. As a result, the subject of the object complement is always overt, as examples (8-13) and (8-14) show.

(8-13) De ōl man **let-im** <u>mō</u> <u>en</u> <u>mō</u> <u>flaying</u> <u>foks</u> <u>go</u>
    DET old man let-TRS more CONN more flying fox go
    <u>from</u> <u>fishing</u> <u>net</u> <u>blong</u> <u>im</u>.
    PREP fishing net POSS 3SG
    'The old man let more and more flying foxes go from his fishing net.'

(8-14) Dem dog bin bāk-bat en **let** <u>dem</u> <u>pīpul</u> <u>sabi</u>
    <u>DET</u> <u>dog</u> <u>PST</u> <u>bark-PROG</u> <u>CONN</u> let <u>DET</u> <u>people</u> <u>know</u>
    <u>ōl</u> <u>bi</u> <u>fain-i</u> <u>dem</u> <u>boi</u>.
    3PL PST find-TRS DET boys
    'The dogs were barking and let the people know that they found the boys.'

As the two examples above demonstrate, *let*, although transitive, may or may not be affixed with the transitive suffix *-im/-i* (see subsection 4.7.1.1). If it is suffixed with *-im* and if the subject of the object complement is in the form of the third person singular or plural pronouns, the subject of the object complement is omitted, as example (8-15) demonstrates.

(8-15) Ai go neve **let-im** go.
    1SG FUT never let-TRS go
    'I will never him go.'

If, however, *let* is not suffixed with *-im/-i*, then the subject of the object complement in the third person singular or plural pronouns appears in the form of those pronouns and follows *let*, as example (8-16) shows.

(8-16) Ai   go   **let**   <u>dembla   go</u>.

      1SG   FUT   let   3PL   go

      'I will let them go.'

8.2.1.4 *meik/meiki/meikim* + Complement Clauses

When *meik/meiki/meikim* 'to make, to cause' takes object complements, which are never marked by the complementiser *fõ*, it participates in the formation of causative constructions. When *meik/meiki/meikim* is the main verb, the subject of the main clause and the subject of the object complement never refer to the same entity. As a result, the subject of the object complement is always overt, as examples (8-17) and (8-18) demonstrate.

(8-17) De   toudfish **meik-i**   <u>gil blong im   kam   nadakan   big</u>.

      DET toadfish make-TRS gill POSS   3SG   become   unusually   big

      'The toadfish made its gills become unusually big.'

(8-18) De   awu   ken   **meik**   <u>pīpul   kam   sik</u>.

      DET   evil.spirit   can   make   people   become   sick

      'The evil spirit can make people become sick.'

Similarly to *let/leti/leti* (see subsection 8.2.1.3), *meik/meiki/meikim* functions both with and without the transitive suffix *-im/-i* (see subsection 4.7.1.1) when it denotes transitivity, as examples (8-17) and (8-18) above show. When it is suffixed with *-im/-i* and when the subject of the object complement is in the form of the third person singular or plural pronouns, the subject of the object complement is omitted, as example (8-19) demonstrates.

(8-19) Im   kar-im   go   put-im   de   andenīt,

      3SG   carry-TRS SV.GO   put-TRS   there   underneath

      laka,   we   det   sheidi   trī   de,   **meik-im**   ledan.

      DISC   PREP   DET   shady   tree   there   make-TRS   lay.down

      'He carried him, put him under, poor thing, that shady tree there, making him lay down.'

If, however, *meik* is not suffixed with *-im/-i* and if the subject of the object complement is in the form of the third person singular or plural pronouns, then the subject of the object complement occurs in the form of those personal pronouns, as example (8-20) shows.

(8-20) Ōl   chak-i   wata   antap   dembla   na
       3PL   throw-TRS   water   on.top   3PL   EMP

       meik   dembla   siden,   laka.
       make-TRS   3PL   sit   DISC

       'It's on top of them that they threw water causing them to sit down.'

8.2.1.5 *stāt* + Complement Clauses

Besides being the inceptive aspect marker (see subsection 7.2.3.3.3), *stāt* 'to start' is also known to take both NP and object complements, where the latter are always marked by the complementiser *fõ*, as examples (8-21) and (8-22), demonstrate. When *stāt* is the main verb, its subject and the subject of the object complement are identical.

(8-21) Ōl   bi   **stāt**   fõ   get   sheik   en   shive,   laka.
       3PL   PST   start   COMP   get   shake   CONN   shiver   DISC
       'They started to shake and shiver, poor things.'

(8-22) Wī   mait   **stāt**   fõ   meik-im   traik   tū   de   plei
       1NSG   might   start   COMP   make-TRS   tracks   PREP   DET   place
       we   wī   gona   bild   houmsted   blo   wī   aut   de.
       REL   1NSG   FUT   build   homestead   POSS   1NSG   out   there
       'We might start to make tracks to the place, where we gonna build our
        homestead out there.'

8.2.1.6 *trai* + Complement Clauses

In addition to taking NP complements, *trai* 'to try' also acts as a conative verb that is able to take object complements, which are always marked by the complementisers *fõ* or *tū*. When *trai* is the main verb, its subject and the subject of the object complement are always coreferential, as examples (8-23) – (8-25) show.

(8-23) De   aligida   **trai**   <u>tū   kech   de   prei</u>.

     DET   crocodile   try   COMP   catch   DET   prey

     'The crocodile tried to catch the prey.'

(8-24) I   **trai**   <u>tū   faind   de   spot   iye</u>.

     3SG   try   COMP   find   DET   spot   here

     'He tried to find the spot here.'

(8-25) Im   mait   **trai**   <u>fō   bait-i   demblat</u>.

     3SG   might   try   COMP   bite-TRS   3PL

     'It (crocodile) might try to bite them.'

8.2.1.7 Other Verbs + Complement Clauses

The ability to take object complements is not, however, reserved for the group of
verbs outlined above. In fact, many verbs are able to take object complements, as
examples (8-26) and (8-27) demonstrate.

(8-26) Yūpla   go   **go**   <u>fō   ged-i   kaikai   fō   yūmītū</u>.

     2PL   FUT   go   COMP   get-TRS   food   PREP   1DU.INCL

     'You will go to get food for the two of us.'

(8-27) Im   **ran**,   laka,   streit   go   <u>fō   pik-im-ap   bat</u>

     3SG   run   DISC   straight   SV.GO   COMP   pick-TRS-up   bat

     <u>from   det   graun,   laka</u>.

     PREP   DEM   ground   DISC

     'It (toadfish) ran, poor thing, strait to pick the bat up from that ground.'

8.2.1.8 Multiple Verb Predicates

Examples provided in the subsections above involve the predicates that involve the
presence of one verb and one object complement. However, it is not unusual for the
predicates to comprise multiple verbs, where one of them is frequently *trai* 'to try'
and object complements. This can be achieved when one object complement is
embedded in another one, which results in concatenation, the characteristic feature
of which is recursion (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002, p. 1176-1178). Each of the

following examples contains one recursion, where one object complement is embedded in another one resulting in each predicate having three verbs.

(8-28) Mīpla   stap   en   **wani** <u>trai</u> <u>fõ</u> <u>kech-i</u> <u>demtū</u>

1PL.EXCL stop CONN want try COMP catch-TRS 3DU

bat   demtū   ran   go   andenīt   we   olo   log.

CONN 3DU run go underneath PREP hollow log

'We stopped and wanted to try to catch the two of them, but the two of them ran under the hollow log.'

(8-29) Kutini   **stāt**   <u>fõ</u>   <u>trai</u>   <u>fõ</u>   <u>meik-i</u>   <u>plan</u>.

cassowary start COMP try COMP make-TRS plan

'The cassowary started to try to make plans.'

(8-30) Mai   brade   i   **trai** <u>tū</u> <u>meik-im</u> <u>go</u> <u>stāt</u>

POSS.PRN brother PM try COMP make-TRS SV.GO start

bat   i   no   bi   wēk.

CONN 3SG NEG PST work

'My brother tried to make it (the engine) start, but it did not work.'

8.2.1.9 *WH-* Complementisers

Some interrogative determiners (see subsection 4.3.3) also possess the ability to introduce complement clauses that act as clausal objects, as examples (8-31) and (8-33) indicate.

(8-31) Dei luk **<u>au</u>**   mīpla   duw-im ting-s blo mīpla   de

3PL look COMP 1PL.EXCL do-TRS thing-PL POSS 1PL.EXCL there

<u>autsaid</u>.

outside

'They look how we do our things our there.'

(8-32) Im show-i   dembla **<u>wichkain</u>** ōl meik-i   nest blo

3SG show-TRS 3PL   COMP   3PL make-TRS nest POSS

<u>damblat</u>.

3PL

'He showed them how they make their nests.'

(8-33) Mīpla   sabi   **wanim**   yū   meik-im   fõ.

       1PL.EXCL   know   COMP   2SG   make-TRS-3SG   for

       'We know what you are making it for.'

8.2.2 Complements of Communication and Thought

Depending on the nature of the core predicate constituents, complements of verbs of communication and thought may be divided into three subgroups. Thus, the main clause may involve either the perception verbs, the speech act verbs or the verbs of mental processes.

8.2.2.1 Perception Verbs

With the aid of perception verbs, it is possible to express those experiences of the world, which are made through the senses. Such verbs include among others *luk/luki/lukim* 'to look, to see', *sī* 'to see', *lisin* 'to listen, to hear', *smeli/smelim* 'to smell', *tachi/tachim* 'to touch', *teisti/teistim* 'to taste', and *wochi/wochim* 'to watch'. Perception verbs cannot be preceded by the verb *sabi* 'to know how to do something', as its use is solely reserved for those actions that have to be learned. Such modality markers as *ken/kin* and *kan/kant/kent* may be used instead. It should be noted that complements of perception verbs are never introduced by complementisers, as examples (8-34) – (8-37) demonstrate.

(8-34) Yū   **lisin**   de   beibi   i   krai.

       2SG   hear   DET   baby   PM   cry

       'You hear the baby cry.'

(8-35) Ōl   ken   **luk**   det   big   awu   de   ran   kam   ran.

       3PL   can   see   DET   big   evil.spirit   there   run   SV.COME   run

       'They could see that big evil spirit running there.'

(8-36) Ai   **woch-i**   demblat   ya   wag-bat   kam.

       1SG   watch-TRS   3PL   EMP   walk-PROG   SV.COME

       'I watched them coming.'

(8-37) Ōl   **luk-im**   swim.

      3PL   look-TRS   swim

      'They saw it (crocodile) swim.'

As examples (8-35) and (8-37) show, certain transitive perception verbs, such as, for example, *luk/luki/lukim* function both with and without the transitive suffix *-im/-i*. Similarly to the verbs *let/leti/letim* and *meik/meiki/meikim* described in subsections 8.2.1.3 and 8.2.1.4, respectively, if the unsuffixed forms are used and if the subjects of object complements appear in the form of the third person singular or plural pronouns, then the object forms of those pronouns are used, as example (8-38) shows.

(8-38) Yu   **luk**   <u>dembla</u>   <u>grou</u>.

      2SG   see   3PL   grow

      'You see them grow.'

If, however, the suffixed forms of perception verbs are used, then the subjects of the object complements, which occur in the form of the third person singular or plural pronouns, are omitted. This is shown by example (8-37) above.

As noted above, perception verbs never take complements that are introduced by complementisers. However, there appears to be an exception to that rule that involves the presence of *ōlsem* following the verb *luk*. The combination *luk ōlsem* denotes the meaning 'to seem, to appear, to look like, to look as though, to look as if'. As examples (8-39) – (8-42) demonstrate, the subject of the main clause and the subject of the complement are coreferential. However, complements introduced by *ōlsem* should most likely be analysed as adverbial clauses and not as object complements, as *ōlsem* is a subordinator, which differs from *fō*.

(8-39) Im   **luk**   <u>ōlsem</u> <u>im</u>   <u>redi</u>   <u>fō</u>   <u>go</u>   <u>fō</u>   <u>pāti</u>.

      3SG   look   COMP   3SG   ready   COMP   go   PREP   party

      'She looks as if she is ready to go to a party.'

(8-40) Im **luk** <u>ōlsem slīpi</u>.

      3SG   look   COMP   sleepy

      'She seems very sleepy.'

(8-41) Demblat **luk** <u>ōlsem demblat wandi slīp</u>.

      3PL   look   COMP   3PL   want   sleep

      'They look as though they want to sleep.'

(8-42) I   **luk** <u>ōlsem i   go   rein</u>.

      PM   look   COMP   PM   FUT   rain

      'It looks as if it is going to rain.'

8.2.2.2 Speech Act Verbs

Such verbs as, for example, *ala* 'to call out, to shout', *singat* 'to sing out, to scream', *spīk* 'to speak, to say, to tell', *tel/teli/telim* 'to tell, to say, to speak', and *aksi/aksim* 'to ask' belong to speech act verbs. They can be divided into three groups, namely, those that take clausal objects that are always introduced by a complementiser, those that are never followed by a complementiser, and those for which the use of complementiser is optional. Thus, *tel/teli/telim* and *aksi/askim* belong to the first group that requires the use of the complementiser *fõ*, as examples (8-43) and (8-44) show. Although both of those verbs are transitive, *tel/teli/telim* functions both with and without the transitive suffix *-im/-i*, and *aksi/aksim* is always affixed with the transitive suffix.

(8-43) Ai   bi   **aks-<u>im</u>** <u>fõ   go   stō</u>.

      1SG   PST   ask-TRS   COMP   go   store

      'I asked her to go to the store.'

(8-44) Yū   bin   trik-i   mīpla,   yū   **tel-i** <u>mī fõ   kil-i</u>

      2SG   PST   trick-TRS   1PL.EXCL   2SG   tell-TRS   1SG   COMP   kill-TRS

      <u>mai   fõ   pikinini</u>   en   yū   gad   siks   pikinini.

      POSS.PRN   four   child   CONN   2SG   have   six   child

      'You tricked us, you told me to kill my four children and you have six children.'

The remaining speech act verbs, such as, for example, *ala* 'to call out, to shout' and *spīk* 'to speak, to say, to tell' are never followed by a complementiser, as examples (8-45) and (8-46) demonstrate.

(8-45) Im **ala** <u>yū</u> <u>kam</u> <u>kloustū</u>.

3SG call.out 2SG come close

'He calls out to you to come close.'

(8-46) Ai bi **spīk** <u>im</u> <u>duw-im</u>.

1SG PST speak 3SG do-TRS

'I told him to do it.'

The verb *singat* may or may not be followed by the complentiser *fõ*, as examples (8-47) - (8-49) show.

(8-47) Ai bi **sing-at** <u>det</u> <u>smōl</u> <u>boi</u> <u>fõ</u> <u>kam</u>.

1SG PST sing-out DEM small boy COMP come

'I sang out to that little boy to come.'

(8-48) Yūtū **sing-at** <u>ōl</u> <u>dem</u> <u>ade</u> <u>flaying</u> <u>foks</u> <u>kam</u> <u>en</u> <u>ged-im</u>

2DU sing-out all DET other flying fox come CONN get-TRS

<u>bat</u>.

bat

'The two of you, sing out to all the other flying foxes to come and get the bat.'

(8-49) Dadi **sing-at** <u>fõ</u> <u>kam</u>.

dad sing-out COMP come

'Dad sang out to come.'

8.2.2.3 Verbs of Mental Processes

Such verbs as, for example, *tink* 'to think', *tinkbat* 'to think, to think about, to remember', *sabi* 'to know', *bilib/biliv* 'to believe', *faindi/faini* 'to find, to find out', and *fōget* 'to forget' belong to this subgroup, as they denote a number of mental processes. The majority of those verbs, for example, *tink* 'to think', *tinkbat* 'to think, to think about, to remember', *sabi* 'to know', *bilib/biliv* 'to believe', and *fōget* 'to

forget', are never marked with the transitive suffix, which could potentially indicate that they are in fact semi-transitive verbs. Generally, complements are not introduced by complementisers for verbs of mental processes. *Tink* is, however, an exception, as it may either occur without a complementiser or be followed by *we*, as examples (8-50) and (8-51), respectively, demonstrate. It should be clarified that the primary function of *we* is that of a relativiser (see subsection 8.4.1), however, when it follows *tink*, it is known to introduce complements.

(8-50) Ai **tink** <u>im pouk dem ai ō de nous</u>.

 1SG think 3SG poke DET eye CONN DET nose

 'I think he poked the eyes or the nose.'

(8-51) Ai **tink** <u>we de awu trik-i yūmītū</u>.

 1SG think COMP DET evil.spirit trick-TRS 1DU.INCL

 'I think that the evil spirit tricked the two of us.'

In examples (8-52) – (8-55), where the subject of the main clause and the subject of the complement refer to different entities complements, are not introduced by a complementiser. *Faindi/faini* is the only verb affixed with the transitive suffix *-im/-i*.

(8-52) Im **tink-bat** <u>im bin spīye de pig waya drīm</u>

 3SG think-PROG 3SG PST spear DET pig PREP dream

 <u>blong im</u>.

 POSS 3SG

 'He remembered that he speared the pig in his dream.'

(8-53) Wī **biliv** <u>im ken meik pīpul sik</u>.

 1NSG believe 3SG can make people sick

 'We believe that he can make people sick.'

(8-54) Demtū bi **faind-i** <u>dadi blo demtū bi slīp long-said</u>

 3DU PST find.out-TRS dad POSS 3DU PST sleep along-side

 <u>waya det rivebenk</u>.

 PREP DEM riverbank

 'The two of them found out that their dad was sleeping alongside that riverbank.'

(8-55) Wī   no   bi   **sabi**   <u>im   bi   kam</u>.

1NSG   NEG   PST   know   3SG   PST   come

'We did not know she was coming.'

If, however, the subject of the main clause and the subject of the complement are coreferential, then the complementiser *fõ* is obligatory in the case of the verb *fõget* 'to forget', as example (8-56) demonstrates. Note the omission of complimentiser in example (8-57) in view of the fact that the subject of the predicate and the subject of the complement refer to different entities.

(8-56) Ai   bi   **fõget**   <u>fõ   gib-im   fõ   yū</u>.

1SG   PST   forget   COMP   give-TRS   PREP   2SG

'I forgot to give it to you.'

(8-57) Ōl   go   **fõget**   <u>yū   bi   visit   damblat</u>.

3PL   FUT   forget   2SG   PST   visit   3PL

'They will forget that you visited them.'

8.2.2.4 Direct Speech Complements

Complements in the form of direct speech and thought may be introduced in a threefold fashion, where each of the possibilities is unmarked by the presence of a complementiser. Firstly, direct speech complements may follow *i sei* 'says/say, thus, quote', i.e. the verb *sei* 'says/say, thus, quote' which is preceded by the predicate marker, as examples (8-58) and (8-59) show.

(8-58) Im   **i**   **sei**:   "<u>Stap   kwait!</u>"

3SG   PM   say   be   quiet

'She said: "Be quiet!"'

(8-59) Grani   **i**   **sei**:   "<u>Yūpla   prapa   gud   pikinini,   kam   na!</u>"

granny   PM   say   2PL   very   good   child   come   EMP

'Granny said: "You are very good children, come!"'

The second option, which prevails in narratives, involves the presence of the speech verb *spīk* 'to speak, to say, to tell' that is immediately followed by the direct speech complement, as examples (8-60) and (8-61) demonstrate.

(8-60) Mai   mama   **spīk**:   "<u>Ai   wandi   kaikai   fresh   fish</u>."

        POSS.PRN mum   speak   1SG   want   eat   fresh   fish

        'My mum said: "I want to eat fresh fish."

(8-61) Demtū   **spīk**:   "<u>Kam,   yūmītū   go   go   join-i   im</u>."

        3DU   speak   come   1DU.INCL   FUT   go   join-TRS   3SG

        'The two of them said: "Come, the two of us will go and join him."

The third way to introduce direct speech complements utilises the speech verb *tel/teli/telim* "to tell, to say, to speak", which requires the presence of the direct object. The omission of the complementiser indicates direct speech, as the complementiser *fõ* is present in the indirect speech constructions (see subsection 8.2.2.2). In example (8-61), direct speech is signalled by the presence of the second person plural pronoun *yūpla*, which would be absent if that sentence represented an example of indirect speech.

(8-62) Ōl   pikinini   **tel-i**   mīpla: "<u>Yūpla   slip   na</u>!"

        DET   child   tell-TRS   1PL.EXCL   2PL   sleep   EMP

        'The children told us: "Sleep!"

(8-63) Yū bi **tel-i**   mī: "<u>Kil-i   dem   fõ   pikinini   blo   yū</u>!"

        2SG PST tell-TRS 1SG   kill-TRS DET   four   child   POSS 2SG

        'You told me: "Kill the four children of yours!"

8.3 Adverbial Clauses within Complex Sentences

Within adverbial clauses, which constitute a group of subordinate clauses, it is possible to distinguish adverbial clauses of:

1. time, introduced by *āfte* 'after', *antil/til* 'until, till', *bifõ* 'before', *es long es* 'as long as', *es sūn es* 'as soon as', *wail* 'while', and *wen* 'when'
2. cause, introduced by *bikos/kos* 'because', *from* 'from, because of', and *so/sou* 'so, therefore'
3. purpose, introduced by *fõ* 'to, in order to'
4. result, introduced by *fõ* 'as a result' and *so/sou* 'so, therefore'
5. condition, introduced by *if* 'if, whether'

6. comparison and manner, introduced by *laik* and *ōlsem*, both denoting the meaning 'as, like, similar to'

7. complement clauses functioning as AdvPs, introduced by *we/waya/weya* 'where'.

Syntactically, the sentential location of adverbial clauses introduced by *āfte, bifō, es long es, es sūn es* 'as soon as', *if, wail,* and *wen* may be both sentence-initial and sentence-final. Adverbial clauses introduced by *antil/til, bikos, fō, from, laik, ōlsem, so/sou,* and *we/waya/weya* have a tendency to only occur sentence-finally. Subordinating conjunctions may be grouped in accordance with the meaning they express, as Table 8.2 demonstrates.

Table 8.2 Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial Clauses	Subordinating Conjunction	Gloss
time	*āfte*	'after'
time	*antil/til*	'until/till'
time	*bifō*	'before'
cause	*bikos*	'because'
time	*es long es*	'as long as'
time	*es sūn es*	'as soon as'
purpose	*fō*	'to, in order to'
result	*fō*	'as a result'
cause	*from*	'from, because of'
condition	*if*	'if, whether'
comparison/manner	*laik*	'as, like, similar to'
comparison/manner	*ōlsem*	'as, like, similar to'
cause/result	*so/sou*	'so, so that, therefore'
time	*wail*	'while'
place	*we/waya/weya*	'where'
time	*wen*	'when'

8.3.1 Adverbial Clauses of Time

As noted in section 8.3, adverbial clauses of time are introduced by *āfte* 'after', *antil/til* 'until, till', *bifō* 'before', *es long es* 'as long as', *es sūn es* 'as soon as', *wail*

'while', and *wen* 'when'. With the exception of *antil/til*, which introduces sentence-final adverbial clauses, as shown by example (8-69), all of the remaining time adverbial clauses possess the ability to occupy both the sentence-initial and sentence-final positions, as (8-64) – (8-69) demonstrate.

(8-64) **Āfte** dembla bin fait, ōl meik-i big sēkel raund det
COMP 3PL PST fight 3PL make-TRS big circle PREP DEM

ōl man.
old man

'After they fought, they made a big circle around that old man.'

(8-65) Mīpla spīk fō mai dadi na en mama
1PL.EXCL speak PREP POSS.PRN dad EMP CONN mum

āfte mīpla bi kaikai brekfest.
COMP 1PL.EXCL PST eat breakfast

'It's to my dad and mum that we spoke after we ate breakfast.'

(8-66) **Bifō** dem tū gwana klaim-ap antap det trī,
COMP DET two goanna climb-up PREP DEM tree

mai kazin chak-i stik go.
POSS.PRN cousin threw-TRS stick SV.GO

'Before the two goannas climbed to the top of that tree, my cousin threw a stick.'

(8-67) Ōl luk pās **bifō** ōl go kloustū waya dem tū
3PL look first COMP 3PL go close.to PREP DET two

gwana.
goanna

'They looked first before they got close to the two goannas.'

(8-68) **Es long es** mīpla gad haus-is, wī mait stāt meik-im
COMP 1PL.EXCL have house-PL 1NSG might INCP make-TRS

traik tū de houmsted blo wī.
tracks PREP DET homestead POSS 1NSG

'As long as we have houses, we might start making tracks to our homestead.'

(8-69) Yū   ken   sing   **es long es**   yū   laik.

       2SG   can   sing   COMP   2SG   like

       'You can sing as long as you like.'

8.3.2 Adverbial Clauses of Cause

Adverbial clauses of cause, which are introduced by *bikos/kos* 'because', *from* 'from, because of', and *so/sou* 'so, therefore', always occupy the sentence-final position, as examples (8-70) – (8-72) show.

(8-70) Ai   no   bi   wandi   go   **bikos**   i   bi   tū   dāk.

      1SG   NEG   PST   want   go   COMP   PM   PST   too   dark

      'I did not want to go, because it was too dark.'

(8-71) Talinga   blo   mīpla   sō   na   **from**   kam-dan.

      ear   POSS   1PL.EXCL   sore   EMP   COMP   come-down

      'Our ears are sore from descending (in the plane).'

(8-72) Ai   go   let   yūpla   go

      1SG   FUT   let   2PL   go

      sou   yūpla   ken   kaikai   dem   flawa   ebri   dei.

      COMP   2PL   can   eat   DET   flower   every   day

      'I will let you go so you can eat the flowers every day.'

8.3.3 Adverbial Clauses of Purpose

Adverbial clauses of purpose, which constitute clausal objects and are introduced by *fõ* 'to, in order to', always occupy the sentence-final position, as examples (8-73) and (8-75) show.

(8-73) Kutini   bin   meik-i   big   faya   **fõ**   kuk-i   mayi,

      cassowary   PST   make-TRS   big   fire   PREP   cook-TRS   food

      yam   en   wail   putita.

      yam   CONN   wild   potato

      'The cassowary made a big fire for cooking the food, yams, and wild

       potatoes.'

(8-74) Kam, yūpla go ged-im ōl pol wud **fō** meik-i kemp.

come 2PL FUT get-TRS DET pole wood PREP make-TRS campsite

'Come, you will get the logs of wood for making a campsite.'

(8-75) Gib-i mī det naif **fō** kat-i de mīt!

give-TRS 1SG DEM knife PREP cut-TRS DET meat

'Give me that knife for cutting the meat!'

8.3.4 Adverbial Clauses of Result

Adverbial clauses of result, which are introduced by *fõ* 'as a result' and *so/sou* 'so, therefore', always occur sentence-finally, as examples (8-76) and (8-77) demonstrate.

(8-76) Ōl bi lisin fõ de ōl man **fō** ōl bi kam beta.

3PL PST listen PREP DET old man COMP 3PL PST become better

'They listened to the old man and, as a result, they became better.'

(8-77) Em bin kolekt-i ani in flawa dram

3SG PST collect-TRS honey PREP flower drum

sou im bin drīm-i im bi flawa dram ful of ani.

COMP 3SG PST dream-TRS 3SG PST flower drum full PREP honey

'He collected honey into the flower drum and, as a result, he dreamt that he had a flower drum full of honey.'

8.3.5. Adverbial Clauses of Condition

Adverbial clauses of condition, which are introduced by the subordinating conjunction *if* 'if', occur both sentence-initially and sentence-finally, as examples (8-78) and (8-79) show. (8-80) is an example of a counterfactual that not only makes use of *if*, but also requires the presence of the verb *wudef* 'would have'.

(8-78) **If** yūmītū kech-i tūmach gwana en pōkyupain, yūmītū

COMP 1DU.INCL catch-TRS many goanna CONN porcupine 1DU.INCL

ken meik-i big faya en kuk-im fo dine blo yūmītū.

can make-TRS big fire CONN cook-TRS PREP dinner POSS 1DU.INCL

'If the two of us catch many goannas and porcupines, the two of us can

make a big fire and cook them for our dinner.'

(8-79) Ōl chek-im na **if** dem eg ōl fresh.

3PL check-TRS EMP COMP DET egg all fresh

'They checked them, if the eggs were all fresh.'

(8-80) **If** ai bin win milien dolar,

COMP 1SG PST win million dollar

ai wudef doneit litilbit mani fō build-i nyū chēch.

1SG would.have donate some money COMP build-TRS new church

'If I had won a million dollars, I would have donated a little bit of money

to build a new church.'

8.3.6 Adverbial Clauses of Comparison and Manner

Adverbial clauses of comparison and manner are introduced by *laik* and *ōlsem*, both denoting the meaning 'as, like, similar to'. Both of those subordinating conjunctions possess the ability to only introduce adverbial clauses that occur sentence-finally, as examples (8-81) and (8-82) indicate.

(8-81) Dembla meik-i dampa seim-kain **ōlsem** wī meik-im.

3PL make-TRS damper same-kind PREP 1NSG make-TRS

'They make damper the same way we make it.'

(8-82) Mīpla kuk-i yam seim-kain **laik** yūpla kuk-im.

1PL.EXCL cook-TRS yam same-kind PREP 2PL cook-TRS

'We cook yams the same way you cook them.'

8.3.7 Complement Clauses Functioning as AdvPs

Complement clauses functioning as AdvPs, which are introduced by *we/waya/weya* 'where', always sentence-finally, as examples (8-83) and (8-84) demonstrate.

(8-83) Mīpla   luk   go   **we**   de   riba   i   ran   kam   de.

      1PL.EXCL look SV.GO COMP DET river PM run   SV.COME   there

      'We looked there, where the river ran.'

(8-84) Mīpla   luk   rait   daun   **waya**   de   wata   i   klie.

      1PL.EXCL   look   right   down   COMP   DET water PM   clear

      'We looked straight down, where the water was clear.'

8.3.8 Unmarked Adverbial Clauses

It is a common practice for the adverbial clauses not to be introduced by subordinating conjunctions but for the main and subordinate clauses to be juxtaposed instead, as examples (8-85) and (8-86) show. It is the intonation that provides information whether the speaker utters two separate sentences or one sentence that comprises two parts.

(8-85) Bambai   im   grou   big,   im   ād-ed   na.

      later   3SG   grow   big   3SG hard-head   EMP

      'After she grows up, she is going to be pig-headed.'

(8-86) Yū   go   chak-i   det   stoun,   i   go   it-i   mī.

      2SG   FUT   throw-TRS DEM   stone   3SG FUT   hit-TRS 1SG

      'If you throw that stone, it will hit me.'

8.4 Relative Clauses (RC)

Relative clauses form another group of subordinate clauses. RCs occur within NPs, where they modify the head nouns. In LRC, RCs exhibit two characteristic features. Firstly, they may or may not be introduced by the relative marker *we/waya/weya*, as it is demonstrated in subsection 8.4.1 below. Secondly, the relativised NP always precedes RCs, as it occurs externally in relation to RCs. As a result, LRC RCs, which are postnominal, possess external heads.

8.4.1 RCs with the Relative Marker *we/waya/weya*

The relative marker *we/waya/weya* originates from English 'where'. It is used for both human beings and things. As LRC equivalent of the English 'where' possesses three variants, namely, *we, waya*, and *weya*, all of them could be encountered in the speech of the LR residents in the role of the relative marker. The preposition *we/waya/weya* (see subsection 4.6.1), the interrogative pronouns and determiners *we/waya/weya* (see subsections 4.2.2.4 and 4.3.3, respectively) as well as the relative marker are all homophonous.

The function of the relative marker is that of the head N in the RC. If present, the position of the relative marker within RCs is always leftmost (Song, 2001, pp. 219-220), i.e. it appears at the beginning of RCs, as examples (8-87) – (8-90) demonstrate.

(8-87) Dem basket <u>waya dem Ōl Gēl wīv-im</u> ōl prapa priti.

DET basket REL DET old girl weave-TRS 3PL very pretty

'The baskets, which the Old Girls weave, are very pretty.'

(8-88) Ai go kuk-i dampa en dem brīm

1SG FUT cook-TRS damper CONN DET bream

<u>we ai bi kech-im</u>.

REL 1SG PST catch-TRS

'I will cook dampers and breams, which I caught.'

(8-89) Mīpla ken sel-i kā blo mīpla fō eniting

1PL.EXCL can sell-TRS car POSS 1PL.EXCL PREP INDF.PRN

<u>we mīpla wand-im</u>.

REL 1PL.EXCL want-TRS

'We can sell our car for anything that we want.'

(8-90) I no bin de seim man <u>we im bi kar-im</u>

PM NEG PST DET same man REL 3SG PST carry-TRS

<u>waya bak blong im fō raid</u>.

REL back POSS 3SG PREP ride

'It was not the same man who carried him on his back for a ride.'

The resumptive pronoun, which is coreferential with the relativised NP, appears in the RC when the subject of the NP is coreferential with the subject of the RC, as examples (8-91) – (8-92) show.

(8-91) **De ōl man** <u>we</u> **im** <u>sidan kloustū waya de ōl oman</u>.
DET old man REL 3SG sit close PREP DET old woman
'The old man who was sitting next to the old woman.'

(8-92) **Det gēl** <u>weya</u> **im** <u>plei weya det big blaik dog</u>.
DEM girl REL 3SG play PREP DEM big black dog
'That girl who is playing with that big, black dog.'

The relativised NP may be coreferential with the object of a possessive PP in the RC. In that case, the possessive PP contains a pronoun that is coreferential with the relativised NP, as examples (8-93) and (8-94) demonstrate.

(8-93) Wī bi luk-i **da man** <u>waya gēl blong</u> **im** <u>i prapa</u>
1NSG PST look-TRS DET man REL girl POSS 3SG PM very
<u>nais</u>.
nice
'We saw the man whose daughter is very nice.'

(8-94) Dembla bi bring-i **de sneik** <u>weya badi blong</u> **im** <u>i</u>
3PL PST bring-TRS DET snake REL body POSS 3SG PM
<u>glou</u>.
glow
'They brought the snake, the body of which glows.'

A similar situation occurs when the relativised NP is coreferential with the object of a PP in the RC. In that case, the object of a PP is represented by a pronoun, which is coreferential with the relativised NP. (8-96) is an example of RC being embedded in the main clause.

(8-95) Dem pikinini bi faind-i **dat aus** <u>we noubadi stap we</u> **im**.
DET child PST find-TRS DEM house REL nobody live PREP 3SG
'The children found that house, where nobody lives in.'

(8-96) **De smōl boi** <u>we dem pikinini no plei   weya</u> **im** i   krai.

　　　 DET small boy REL DET child   NEG play   PREP 3SG PM cry

　　　 'The little boy with whom the children do not play cries.'

There exist four relativisation strategies, namely, gapping, pronoun-retention, relative-pronoun, and non-reduction (Song, 2001, pp. 216-220). All examples provided in this subsection demonstrate that LRC RCs are characterised by pronoun-retention strategy, which is not used together with relative-pronoun strategy (Song, 2001, p. 221). The pronoun-retention strategy manifests itself in the fact that the relativised NPs, which are coreferential with the subjects of the RCs, are referred to in the RCs by the resumptive pronouns. If the relativised NPs are coreferential with the direct and indirect objects of the RCs, then they are omitted in the RCs. If the relativised NPs are coreferential with the objects of the PPs in the RCs, then they are referred to in the RCs by a resumptive pronoun. As the pronoun-retention strategy involves relativised subjects, objects, and complements, it can be concluded that they share a "pronominal trace" (Crowley, 1998, pp. 275-278), in spite of the fact that the realisation of pronouns varies in each case.

As far as relative-pronoun strategy is concerned, *we/waya/weya* appears to function as a relativiser and not a relative pronoun. This conclusion coincides with that of Beimers (2008, p. 282) in relation to Pijin relative marker, as it takes into account not only the unchangeable form of *we/waya/weya*, which does not denote the grammatical relations, but also the above-stated pronominal trace pertinent to the relativised NPs. This could most likely also explain why RCs are able to function without the presence of the relative marker, as it is shown in subsection 8.4.2.

8.4.2 RCs without the Relative Marker

As stated in section 8.4 above, the presence of the relative marker is not obligatory, as it is quite common for it to be omitted. As a result, so-called free relatives (Bresnan & Grimshaw, 1978; Ojea, 2011; van Riemsdijk, 2006) are formed, where the main clauses and RCs are simply juxtaposed, as examples (8-97) and (8-99) demonstrate. It should be noted that free relatives constitute examples of the gapping

strategy, which is one of the four relativisation strategies mentioned in subsection 8.4.1 above.

(8-96) Ōl pikinini bi lisin fō stori <u>ankel bi tel-i dembla</u>.
   3PL child PST listen PREP story uncle PST tell-TRS 3PL
   'The children listed to the story that uncle told them.'

(8-97) De tīche i luk waya det seim spot <u>em luk</u>.
   DET teacher PM look PREP DEM same spot 3SG look
   'The teacher looked at the same spot at which she looked.'

(8-98) Disen gud spot blo mai dadi <u>em bin sow-i mīpla</u>.
   DEM.PRN good spot POSS POSS.PRN dad 3SG PST show-TRS 1PL.EXCL
   'This is my dad's good spot, which he showed us.'

However, juxtaposition is not the only way unmarked RCs manifest themselves. Namely, RCs may also be embedded in the main clauses, as examples (8-99) and (8-100) show. The presence of the predicate marker in those two examples signals not only the end of the RCs, but also the beginning of the main clause predicate.

(8-99) Dat stōri <u>de ōl man bi spīk</u> i prapa trū-wan.
   DEM story DET old man PST speak PM very true-NMLZ
   'That story (that) the old man told is very true.'

(8-100) Dem big~big oiste <u>mīpla bi kaikai</u> i bi prapa nais
   DET big~ oyster 1PL.EXCL PST eat PM PST very nice
   en jūsi.
   CONN juicy
   'The very big oysters (that) we ate were very nice and juicy.'

Resumptive pronouns may precede the unmarked RCs and, as a result, function as relativisers substituting for the relative marker *we/waya/weya*. In example (8-101), RC *ōl snif* 'that sniff' relativises the main clause object *dem dog* 'the dogs'. It could also be said that the pronoun-retention strategy pertains not only to the marked RCs, but also to the unmarked ones.

(8-101) Ōl   gad   tū   dem   dog   <u>ōl   snif</u>.

3PL   have   too   DET   dog   3PL   sniff

'They had also the dogs that sniffed.'

As with the unmarked adverbial clauses (see subsection 8.3.8), intonation constitutes a critical factor that enables distinguishing unmarked RCs from other syntactic structures. The last word of the unmarked RC is characterised by a rising intonation and a pause is made before the main clause predicate begins. Thus, in example (8-102), it is on the verb *loudim* 'to load', which is the last word in the RC, that the intonation rises. Similarly, in example (8-103), intonation rises on the last word in the RC, i.e. on the verb *abim* 'to have'.

(8-102) De   wata   karent   i   teik-i   mīpla   slou~slou   go

DET   water   current   PM   take-TRS   1PL.EXCL   slow~   SV.GO

wit   tūmach   eg   <u>mīpla   bin   loud-im</u>.

PREP   many   egg   1PL.EXCL   PST   load-TRS

'The water current took us very slowly with many eggs (that) we

loaded.'

(8-103) Laki,   dem   dog   <u>dembla   bi   ab-im</u>,   i   snif.

luckily   DET   dog   3PL   PST   have-TRS   PM   sniff

'Luckily, the dog (that) they had sniffed.'

8.4.3 Verbless RCs

Example (8-92) above demonstrates that it is possible for RCs to be devoid of verbs. When that occurs, the RC does not have to be a clause in which the predicate is a VP, but can also contain other predicate types (see section 7.1). In examples (8-104) and (8-105), the RCs possess AdvP predicates (see subsection 7.1.5), as the noun is one of location.

(8-104) Kazin   blo   mī   im   krai   fō   mai   ankel   en   anti

cousin   POSS   1SG   3SG   cry   PREP   POSS.PRN   uncle   CONN   auntie

<u>we   oum</u>.

REL   home

'My cousin cried for my uncle and auntie who were at home'.

(8-105) Dat tīche <u>we skūl lās wīk</u> i prapa priti-wan.

DEM teacher REL school last week PM very pretty-NMLZ

'That teacher who was at school last week is very pretty.'

The AdjP predicate is involved in example (8-106) and the AdvP predicate is present in (8-107).

(8-106) Dat smōl gēl <u>we prapa sik</u> i bi go ospitl lās nait.

DEM small girl REL very sick PM PST go hospital last night

'That little girl who is sick went to the hospital last night.'

(8-107) De ōl man <u>we insaid</u> i gud anta.

DET old man REL inside PM good hunter

'The man who is inside is a good hunter.'

8.4.4 Multiple RCs

A quite rare occurrence involves the presence of multiple RCs modifying the same NP. In example (8-108), there are two marked RCs, i.e. *waya de awu bi stap* 'where the evil spirit lived' and *waya mipla wandi katim* 'which we wanted to cut', which modify the main clause object NP *det bigbig trī* 'that very big tree'.

(8-108) Mīpla bi luk-im det big~big trī <u>waya de awu</u>

1PL.EXCL PS look-TRS DEM big~.INT tree REL DET evil.spirit

<u>bi stap waya mīpla bi wandi kat-im</u>.

PST live REL 1PL.EXCL PST want cut-TRS

'We looked at that very big tree, where the evil spirit lived, which we wanted to cut.'

8.4.5 Relativised Nouns Denoting Time

Although quite sporadically, nouns denoting time are known to be able to undergo relativisation. In examples (8-109) and (8-110), *ōlden deistaim* 'at the time of the old days' and *bifōdeis* 'at the time' refer to the time specified by the respective RCs *we de wēld bin stil yang* 'that the world was still young' and *we Misin bin waya Ōl Sait* 'that the Mission was at the Old Site'.

(8-109) Ōlden dei-s-taim <u>we de wēld bin stil yang</u>

old day-PL-time REL DET world PST CONT young

de flaying foks im tink im bin bēd.

DET flying fox 3SG think 3SG PST bird

'At the time of the old days that the world was still young, the flying

fox thought he was a bird.'

(8-110) Bifō-dei-s <u>we Misin bin waya Ōl Sait</u>,

before-day-PL REL mission PST PREP old site

ōl pīpul dei yūstū go de.

old people 3PL HAB go there

'At the time that the Mission was at the Old Site, the old people used to

go there.'

8.5 Left Dislocation

Left dislocation is also one of the discourse strategies (see Chapter 9) used by LRC
speakers during storytelling. It occurs when, for example, the object is placed at the
beginning of a sentence instead of following a verb, which in example (8-111)
occupies the sentence-final position.

(8-111) <u>De tū flaying foks</u>, dadi blo dembla spīk.

DET two flying fox dad POSS 3PL speak

'To the two flying foxes, their dad talked.'

In example (8-112), it is the PP that undergoes left dislocation.

(8-112) <u>Blo yū</u> da kā?

POSS 2SG DET car

'Is the car yours?'

However, it is also possible to encounter instances of a somewhat partial left
dislocation when the object follows the subject but precedes the verb, as examples
(8-113) and (8-114) demonstrate. In regular sentences, the NPs *de tū pikinini* 'the
two children' and *de tū flaying fox* 'the two flying foxes' would always follow the

verb *spīk* 'to speak' and be preceded by the preposition *fō* 'to', as example (8-115) shows. It should be noted that the verb *spīk* 'to speak' is always followed by the preposition *fō* 'to' when it introduces a PP.

(8-113) Mai dadi en mama, <u>de tū pikinini</u> spīk.
POSS.PRN dad CONN mum DET two child   speak
'My dad and mum talked to the two children.'

(8-114) Dadi blo dembla <u>de tū flaying foks</u> spīk.
dad POSS 3PL   DET two flying fox speak
'Their dad spoke to the two flying foxes.'

(8-115) Mīpla spīk **fō** dem smōl brade en siste blo mīpla.
1PL.EXCL speak PREP DET small brother CONN sister POSS 1PL.EXCL
'We spoke to our little brothers and sisters.'

8.6 Coordination and Subordination

Both coordination and subordination characterise complex sentences. Example (8-116) below begins with an adverbial time clause (*wen im bi tōchim tōchim tōchim tōchim go autsaid de roud* 'when he was shining and shining the light off the road') that is followed by the subject NP, which contains an RC (*we badi blong im i shain* 'the body of which shone') that is then followed by a coordinated clause (*en im kēli badi blong im* 'and it curled its body').

(8-116) Wen im bi tōch-im~tōchim~tōchim~tōchim
COMP 3SG PST torch-TRS~.CONT
go autsaid de roud, im luk big long grīn sneik
SV.GO out   DET road 3SG see big long green snake
we badi blong im i shain en im kēl-i badi blong im .
REL body POSS 3SG PM shine CONN 3SG curl-TRS body POSS 3SG
'When he was shining and shining the light off the road, he saw a big, long, green snake, the body of which shone and it curled its body.'

A similar situation takes place in example (8-117), where an adverbial time clause (*wail ōl dem pikinini meiki big pigpen aus, laka, fō dem pigipigi* 'while all the

children made a big pigpen for the piggies') is followed by the subject NP, which contains an RC (*we ōl bildim waya dem stik* 'which they built with sticks') that in turn is followed by a coordinated clause (*en ōl taimap det pigpen waya bain* 'and they tied that pigpen with veins').

(8-117) Wail   ōl   dem   pikinini   meik-i   big   pigpen   aus,   laka,
        COMP   all   DET   child   make-TRS   big   pigpen   house   DISC

        fō   dem   pigipigi,   ōl   meik-i   aus   blo   det   pig
        PREP   DET   piggy   3PL   make-TRS house   POSS   DET   pig

        we   ōl   bild-im   waya   dem   stik   en   ōl   ta-im-ap
        REL   3PL   build-TRS   PREP   DET   stick   CONN   3PL   tie-TRS-up

        det   pigpen   waya   bain.
        DET   pigpen   PREP   vine

        'While all the children made a big pigpen for the piggies, they made a
         house for that pig, which they built with sticks, and they tied that
         pigpen with veins.'

Complex sentences may also be coordinated without the presence of overt conjunctions, as example (8-118) demonstrates.

(8-118) Āfte   kaikai,   mīpla   evribodiwan   beli-ful   na,   rest,
        PREP   eat   1PL.EXCL   INDF.PRN   belly-full   EMP   rest

        ledan   andenīt   det   big   ouk   trī,   go   slīp.
        lay   PREP   DEM   big   oak   tree   go   sleep

        'After eating, all of us were full, rested, laid under that big oak tree, fell
         asleep.'

8.6.1 Coordination of Subordinate Clauses

In example (8-119), the subordinate clause consists of a clause with two coordinated VP predicates (*bi gedap na en bi paikap* 'got up and packed up') that form a complex sentence within a subordinate clause (*āfte ōl bi gedap na en bi paikap* 'after they got up and packed up').

(8-119) Āfte ōl <u>bi gedap</u> na **en** bi paikap,
COMP 3PL PST get.up EMP CONN PST pack.up

i bin go fō āftenūn-taim nau.
PM PST INCP afternoon-time EMP

'After they got up and packed up, it was almost afternoon.'

In example (8-120), the subordinate clause consists of two coordinated purposive adverbial clauses (*fō go anting en fō kechim kreyfish en krab* 'to go hunting and to catch crayfish and crabs'), where the second adverbial clause is also a subject to word coordination (*kreyfish en krab* 'crayfish and crabs') (see subsection 5.6.1).

(8-120) Mīpla gada weit fō de best taim
1PL.EXCL have.to wait PREP DET best time

bikos i bi gud taim <u>fō go anting</u>
COMP PM PST good time PREP go hunting

en <u>fō kech-im kreifish en krab</u>.
CONN PREP catch-TRS crayfish CONN crab

'We had to wait for the best time, because it was a good time to go hunting and to catch crayfish and crabs.'

Example (8-121) shows coordination of three coordinated VPs that make up the predicate after the modal verb *kan* 'cannot'.

(8-121) Bikos i bi prapa leit, mīpla **kan** <u>kat-i de wud</u>
COMP PM PST very late 1PL.EXCL cannot cut-TRS DET wood

en <u>meik-i de kemp blo mīpla</u> na
CONN make-TRS DET campsite POSS 1PL.EXCL EMP

en <u>put-i tent antap</u>.
CONN put-TRS tent on.top

'Because it was very late, we could not cut the wood and make our campsite and put the tent up.'

In example (8-122), the first of the two coordinated complex clauses consists of two RCs, namely, *we dem boi bi kechim insaid waya dem kreifish pot* 'which the boys had caught into the crayfish pots' and *we dem gēl bi meikim* 'which the girls had

made'. The second complex clause also consists of an RC (*we im draibim go oum* 'which he drove home').

(8-122) Mīpla loud-i ōl dem kreyfish we dem boi bi kech-im
1PL.EXCL load-TRS all DET crayfish REL DET boy PST catch-TRS

insaid waya dem kreifish pot we dem gēl bi meik-im
inside PREP DET crayfish pot REL DET girl PST make-TRS

en mīpla kech-i de kā blo mai ya'athu
CONN 1PL.EXCL catch-TRS DET car POSS POSS.PRN younger brother

we im draib-im go oum.
REL 3SG drive-TRS SV.GO home

'We loaded all the crayfish, which the boys had caught into the crayfish pots, which the girls had made, and we caught my younger brother's car, which he drove home.'

8.7 Brief Comparison with Other Creoles

As Table 8.3 demonstrates, juxtaposition used as a mode of clause coordination is present in all of the creoles. A + indicates that the feature is characteristic of the creole.

Table 8.3 Comparison of LRC Creole Feature Found in Complex Sentences with Other Creoles

Feature	LRC	TSC	Kriol	Pijin	Bislama	Tok Pisin
Juxtaposition as Clause Coordination	+	+	+	+	+	+

Table 8.4 presents a comparison of four LRC English-derived features found in complex sentences with other creoles. A + indicates that the feature is characteristic of the creole, a blank indicates it is not. The use of complementisers after the verbs 'to like' and 'to want' exists in both LRC and Pijin. Complementisers are also used after the verb 'to try' in LRC, TSC, and Pijin. The feature of relative clauses introduced by relative pronouns is present in all of the creole languages. Relative clauses not introduced by relative pronouns can be found in LRC, TSC, Pijin, and Bislama. A detailed presentation of the comparison of features outlined in Tables 8.3 and 8.4 follows.

Table 8.4 Comparison of Some of LRC English-derived Features Found in Complex Sentences with Other Creoles

Feature	LRC	TSC	Kriol	Pijin	Bislama	Tok Pisin
Use of Complementisers After the Verbs 'to like' and 'to want'	+			+		
Use of Complementisers After the Verb 'to try'	+	+		+		
Relative Clauses Introduced by Relative Pronouns	+	+	+	+	+	+
Relative Clauses Not Introduced by Relative Pronouns	+	+		+	+	

Shnukal (1988, p. 76) states that TSC possesses four clausal coordinators, namely, *ane/an/ene* 'and', *bat* 'but', *o* 'or', and *insted* 'instead of, but … instead'. In LRC, *insted* is used as an adverb and not as a coordinator. Crowley (2004, pp. 172-174) notes that in Bislama, simple sentences may be conjoined by means of three coordinators, namely, *mo* 'and', *be* 'but', and *no/o* 'or'. *Sapos no* 'if not' is used "when there is an assumption that the option mentioned first represents the preferred option on the part of the speaker" (Crowley, 2004, p. 175). It is possible to juxtapose two simple sentences, each of which is introduced by the predicate marker, however, the coordinator *mo* 'and' is absent (Crowley, 2004, p. 173). As far as Pijin is concerned, Beimers (2008, p. 259) indicates that there exist three coordinators that are used to combine simple sentences, i.e. *an* 'and', *bat* 'but', and *o* 'or'. Mihalic (1971, pp. 40-41), however, lists seven coordinators in Tok Pisin. In addition to *en* 'and' and *no/o* 'or', other conjunctions include *olsem bambai* 'so as to, in order to', *na* 'nor, and', *tasol* 'but, however', *olsem* 'as, and', *tupela* 'and', and *wantaim (long)* 'and'.

In Kriol, the conjunctive coordinator *en* 'and' usually occurs between nouns and sentences (Nicholls, 2009, p. 89). While both Malcolm (2008, p. 425) and Steffensen (1977, p. S7) agree that in Kriol, simple sentences are coordinated by means of *en*, Steffensen postulates that *en* is also used in subordination. While Sharpe and Sandefur (1977, p. 57) and Sandefur (1979, pp. 107-108) indicate that in Kriol, juxtaposition is used as a method of clause coordination, Nicholls (2009, p. 89)

states that her data is devoid of such examples. Grimes & Lecompte (2014) indicate that, in addition to *en*, the alternative coordinator *o* 'or' and the adversative conjunction *bat* 'but' participate in coordination in Kriol.

Beimers (2008, pp. 262) states that in Pijin, *gohed* 'to continue', *laek* 'to like', *laekem* 'to like it', *mekem* 'to cause it', *stap* 'to stay', *stat* 'to start', *trae* 'to try', *traehad* 'to really try', *traem* 'to try it', *wande* 'to want', and *wandem* 'to want it' constitute verbs that possess the ability to take object complements. In Tok Pisin, *mekim* 'to make' is used to form causative constructions and *larim* is used to denote the meanings 'to let, to allow, to permit' (Dutton & Thomas, 1985, p. 264). *Laikim* and *traim* express the meanings 'to like, to want' and 'to try', respectively. All of those verbs take object complements. Shnukal (1988, p. 79) classifies both TSC *lete* 'to let' and *meke* 'to make, to cause' as causative verbs that take object complements. *Trai* 'to try' is a conative verb in TSC that introduces object complements with the use of the complementiser *po* 'to' (Shnukal, 1988, p. 216). Similarly to LRC, both *wande* 'to want' and *laik* 'to like' are categorised as desiderative verbs that possess the ability to take object complements (Shnukal, 1988, p. 80). However, although in TSC those two verbs are never followed by subordinating conjunctions (Shnukal, 1988, p. 79), in LRC, both *laik* and *wandi/wani* frequently appear in the company of *fō*. In Bislama, the verb *wantem* 'to want' takes object complements that do not need to be introduced by complementisers (Crowley, 2004, p. 100). Similarly to TSC, Crowley (2004, p. 171) classifies both *letem* 'to let, to permit' and *mekem* 'to make, to cause' as causative verbs that take object complements. *Traem* 'to try' in Bislama takes object complements that are not introduced by complementisers (Crowley, 2004, p. 180).

TSC perception verbs, speech act verbs, and verbs of mental processes are never introduced by complementisers and the expression *i spik sei* is used for direct speech complements (Shnukal, 1988, pp. 79, 195). In Pijin, complements of communication and thought may be marked by the complementisers *wea* and *dat*, although *olsem* is known to be used not only with direct speech and thought complements, but also with those complements of verbs that denote visual and aural perception (Beimers, 2008, pp. 272-274). In Bislama, *se* and *we* function as the complementisers preceding complements of speech act verbs and verbs of mental processes, and

olsem denotes the meaning 'like, as' (Crowley, 2004, pp. 182-187). In both TSC and LRC *ōlsem* functions as a preposition with the meaning 'like, as'. In Tok Pisin, *olsem* expresses the meaning 'that' when it introduces complements of perception verbs, speech act verbs and verbs of mental processes (Dutton & Thomas, 1985, p. 241). *Olsem* corresponds to the English meaning 'as, just like, as if, as though' (Dutton & Thomas, 1985, p. 242).

In TSC, *slong* 'so that, in order that' is a purpose complementiser that is used only when the subject of the main clause and the subject of the subordinate clause constitute different entities (Shnukal, 1988, p. 78). In LRC, *es long es* 'as long es' denotes temporal relations and it may be used when the subject of the main clause and the subject of the subordinate clause are coreferential.

In Tok Pisin, *bambai/olsem bambai/bai* 'in order to' function as subordinating conjunctions introducing adverbial clauses of purpose (Mihalic, 1971, p. 48), while in LRC, *bambai* is an adverb that also possesses the ability to denote distant future. Tok Pisin *tasol* 'nevertheless' is a concession subordinating conjunction, while in LRC *datsol/detsol* is a discourse marker. In Tok Pisin, *olsem* 'as' introduces both the sentence-initial and sentence-final adverbial clauses of manner, while in LRC, Pijin, and Bislama, the occurrence of *olsem* is restricted to the sentence-final position (Beimers, 2008; Crowley, 2004). Bislama *from* (Crowley, 2004, p. 187) and Pijin *bikos* and *from* occur both in the sentence-initial and sentence-final clauses (Beimers, 2008, p. 276), while their LRC counterparts are only able to introduce the sentence-final clauses.

Jourdan (1985, pp. 162-163) posits that in Pijin, the SRPs mark RCs, which relativise the subject NPs of the main clause. In LRC, it is the main clause object that could be relativised by RCs. In Bislama, NPs in RCs are marked by a relevant pronoun, however, marking is absent for non-human animate subject and object NPs (Crowley, 2004, p. 66). In TSC, it is quite common to encounter RCs without the presence of the relative pronoun *we*, where the clauses are simply juxtaposed (Shnukal, 1988, p. 81). However, most commonly, RCs are introduced by the relative pronoun *we*, the form of which is never subject to change. Thus, both in

LRC and TSC, possessive RCs are introduced by *we/weya/waya* and *we*, respectively, and not with the use of the interrogative pronoun denoting the meaning 'whose', i.e. *udaku* in LRC and *uda blo* in TSC, as it is done in English. It appears that in Kriol, similarly to LRC and TSC, possessive RCs are formed by means of the relative pronoun *we/weiya/wen/wan* and not with the interrogative pronouns *hu blanga, blanga hu*, and *blau* (Grimes & Lecompte, 2014; Schultze-Berndt & Angelo, 2013). A similar situation occurs in Bislama, where the relative pronoun *we* introduces all types of RCs, including possessive ones (Crowley, 2004, p. 66). In Pijin, *wea* is used for inanimate things and *hu* always introduces not only those RCs that pertain to animate things, but also those that denote the meaning 'whose' (Beimers, 2008, pp. 280-281). Verhaar (1995, pp. 230-231) indicates that in Tok Pisin, *husat* introduces RCs involving animate things, including possessive RCs, and w*e* is used for inanimate things. Tok Pisin is characterised by a threefold manner, in which RC can be introduced. Firstly, the pronominal forms *em* and *ol* may be used for singular and plural numbers, respectively (Dutton & Thomas, 1985, p. 140). Secondly, the relative marker *we*, which may be used for both animate and inanimate things may introduce RCs (Dutton & Thomas, 1985, p. 141). Thirdly, *ya* when placed before and after RCs functions as an RC indicator, however, it is not uncommon for the final *ya* to be omitted (Dutton & Thomas, 1985, p. 142). Although Mihalic (1971, p. 15) posits that there is no relative marker in Tok Pisin, he does state that although RCs may be introduced by *em* and *em ol* for singular and plural numbers, juxtaposition is the most popular way of making RCs. Finally, Malcolm (2008, p. 426) notes the existence of various methods of marking RCs in Kriol. Thus, while Sandefur (1979, pp. 107, 172) states that RCs may be formed with the use of PPs and by incorporating one clause into another, Steffensen (1977, p. S8) proposes that yet another method involves *wan*. The latter observation by Steffensen resonates in Schultze-Berndt and Angelo (2013) who indicate that in Kriol, the subordinator *we/weiya/wen/wan* participates in the formation of RCs. However, it is also possible to encounter RCs without a subordinator and in that case, they follow head nouns.

8.8 Conclusion

The presentation of complex sentences begins with the outline of the coordination of simple sentences, which is then followed by the examination of the different types of both complement and adverbial clauses within complex sentences. This chapter has also discussed relative clauses, both with and without the relative marker, verbless relative clauses, as well as complex sentences involving the presence of multiple relative clauses. The presentation of left dislocation, and the coordination and subordination of complex sentences constitute the final sections of this chapter. Many similarities and differences between LRC, and Kriol, TSC, Pijin, Bislama, and Tok Pisin have also been established. One creole feature has been examined, namely, juxtaposition as a method of clause coordination, and it is present in LRC and the remaining five creoles.

Four English-derived features have been investigated, where only one of them, i.e. relative clauses introduced by relative pronouns, is present in LRC and the other five creole languages. Complementisers after the verbs 'to like' and 'to want' are a characteristic feature of both LRC and Piijin. Complementisers after the verb 'to try' occur in LRC, TSC, and Pijin. Relative clauses not introduced by relative pronouns exist in LRC, TSC, Pijin, and Bislama.

Chapter 9 Vocabulary, Emphasis and Discourse Markers

Although the majority of the lexical items stem from English, it is possible to also encounter words that have been borrowed from a number of different languages, namely, Japanese, Malay-Indonesian, Pacific languages, and TSC. Expressions and words from the two traditional languages of the LR, Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila, also constitute an integral and characteristic feature of LRC and its lexical shape. Following the presentation of words borrowed from those languages, this chapter also describes the emphatic and discourse markers.

9.1 Lexical Items of TSC, Japanese, Malay-Indonesian, and Pacific Origin

There exist lexical items from TSC, Japanese, Malay-Indonesian, and Pacific languages, the presence of which could most likely be attributed to the so-called lugger-time (Chase, 1981, p. 10) (see Chapter 2).

Only one word of Japanese origin is still in use in LR, namely, *namas* 'raw fish'. It is also present in TSC (Shnukal, 1988, pp. 88, 169).

- *namas*   'raw fish' - *Namas* comes from the Japanese word な ます*namasu* used for a dish made of *kintoki ninjin* 'Kyoto carrot', daikon, persimmons, and yuzu prepared in a vinegar sauce (Sakamoto & Sakamoto, 2016).

The following three words come from Malay-Indonesian:

- *blachan*   'hot, spicy paste, blachan' - *Blachan* comes from the Malaysian word *blacan* used for a shrimp paste (Malay Cube, 2015).
- *seimseim*   'equal, tied, even'- Shnukal (1988, p. 193) proposes that TSC *samasama* comes from the Malay-Indonesian word *sama-sama* meaning 'equally' (Malay Cube, 2015). The word *sama-sama* means

'equally' in Indonesian (IndoTranslate, 2016). However, it could very well be that LRC word *seimseim* derives from English 'same-same'. The forms are clearly English, but the construction is definitely not English - it is either or both of a Southeast Asian areal feature and/or a widespread creole feature. Thus, *seimseim* could have migrated into LRC either from TSC or English.

- *sambal* 'sambal' - *Sambal* comes from the Malaysian word *sambal* used for a spicy sauce made with chili peppers, a chili paste, a chili sauce or a condiment containing chili peppers (Malay Cube, 2015). The word *sambal* denotes 'chili sauce' in Indonesian (IndoTranslate, 2016).

The following examples are of lexical items that originated from Pacific languages. All of them came into LRC via Melanesian Pidgin and continue to be widely used in LR.

- *kaikai* 'food, to eat' – *Kaikai* comes either from Marquesan, which is the Polynesian language spoken in the Marquesas Islands, or from another Polynesian language; related to the Hawaiian & Samoan *'ai* 'food' and to the Maori and Tongan *kai* (Merriam-Webster, 2016).
- *kumala* 'sweet potato' – *Kumala*, which is primarily used by LR residents from the Torres Strait and those LR people who spent time in the Strait, comes from the Māori word *kumara* used for the "convolvulaceous twinning plant, *Ipomoea batatas*, of tropical America, cultivated in the tropics for its edible fleshy yellow root" (Dictionary.com, 2016). A more common LRC term is *swīt putita* 'sweet potato'.
- *labalaba/lavalava* 'lavalava, sarong' – This word comes from the Samoan *lavalava* that denotes "a rectangular cloth of cotton print worn like a kilt or skirt in Polynesia and especially in Samoa" (Merriam-Webster, 2016).
- *susu* 'breast' – *Susu* comes from the Samoan word *susu* 'milk' (Wiktionary, 2016).
- *talinga* 'ear' – *Talinga* comes from Proto-Malayic *taliŋa(?)*, Proto-Malayo-Polynesian *taliŋa*, and from Proto-Austronesian *Caliŋa*; the meaning in all those languages is 'ear'. *Talinga* is present in Alangan (Mindoro, Philippines), Banjarese (South Kalimantan, Indonesia), and

Central Bikol (Luzon, Philippines) (Wikipedia, 2016a, 2016b, 2016c; Wiktionary, 2016). *Talinga* is also used in TSC (Shnukal, 1988, p. 212).

- *tawi/tawiyan* 'brother-in-law (sister's partner)' – This word takes its origin in Vanuatu *tawean* 'brother-in-law'. It is present in Bislama (*tawi/tawian* 'in-law', especially same generation, 'brother-in-law, sister-in-law') and TSC (*tawi/tawiyan* 'brother-in-law, son-in-law') (Crowley, 2003; Shnukal, 1988).

As far as the three words that stem from Malay-Indonesian are concerned, Shnukal (1988, p. 88,117) notes the presence of *blasan* in TSC, stating that blachan was brought to the Torres Strait by Indonesian divers. Similarly, *samasama* and *sambal* are also in use in TSC (Shnukal, 1988, pp. 88,193). All of those lexical items, and including the words of Japanese origin, could have migrated into LRC in a twofold manner. Firstly, via TSC in view of the close-knit geographical, historical, and social relationships the Torres Strait and Lockhart River regions share. Luggers used to expand down the east coast of Cape York Peninsula (Chase, 1981; Loos, 1982), thus transporting TSC to the Aboriginal communities residing therein. Secondly, those lexical items could have been acquired directly from the Japanese, Malay-Indonesian, and Pacific Islanders by those LR seamen who served on luggers. The arrival in LR of *talinga* 'ear', which is in use in both Indonesia and the Philippines, could have taken place in a threefold way. Firstly, it could have migrated into LR through the ongoing ties with the Torres Strait Aboriginal people. Secondly, its presence in LR could have resulted from the contact with both Indonesian and Filipino seamen who worked on luggers (Perdon, 2014, Shnukal, 2011). Thirdly, LR seamen who worked on luggers could have had contact with the Filipino communities in the outer Torres Strait Horn and Hammond Islands from 1889 and 1929, respectively (Shnukal, 2011, p. 161).

The following two lexical items ultimately originated from Portuguese, most likely from sailors' or maritime jargon, and are found in pidgin and creole languages all over the world (Holm, 1988, p. 271). Similarly to the lexical items that originated from Japanese, Malay-Indonesian, and Pacific languages, they also found their way to LRC via Melanesian Pidgin.

- *pikinini*   'child' – *Pikinini*, which ultimately comes from the Portuguese word *pequenino 'little'* that is a diminutive of *pequeno* 'small' (Merriam-Webster, 2016). According to Shnukal (1988, 180), *piknini* found its way to TSC from Pacific Pidgin English (Melanesian Pidgin).

- *sabi*   'to know, to be able to, to understand' – *Sabi* ultimately comes from the Portuguese word *saber* 'to know, to find out; knowledge' (Reverso Dictionary, 2016). According to Shnukal (1988, p. 191), *sabe* migrated to TSC from Pacific Pidgin English (Melanesian Pidgin).

Some of TSC lexical items, which originally come from either Kala Lagaw Ya (western and central Torres Strait language) or Meriam Mir (eastern Torres Strait language), are used by all LR residents and include:

- *akari*   'brother-in-law' – *Akari* is used to describe two men who marry sisters, i.e. they are *akari*. *Akari* comes from the Meriam Mir word *akari* having the same meaning (Shnukal, 1988, p. 105).

- *eso*   'thanks' – *Eso* comes from the Kala Lagaw Ya word *eso* denoting the same meaning (Shnukal, 1988, p. 131).

- *gai*   'sweet, young coconut' – *Gai* comes from the Meriam Mir word *gaiu* used for a variety of a smooth-skinned coconut (Shnukal, 1988, p. 133).

- *jura/zura*   'soup, fish soup' – *Zura* comes from the Meriam Mir word MM *zura* meaning 'soup' (Shnukal, 1988, p. 230).

- *mabus*   'mash, mince (stingray only)' – *Mabus* comes from the word *mabus*, which exists both in Kala Lagaw Ya and Meriam Mir, where it also refers to 'mash, mince'. However, unlike in LRC, where it only pertains to stingray mash, in TSC, it refers to any mashed vegetable food and minced meat. In TSC, it is also used for food that has been chewed but not swallowed (Shnukal, 1988, p. 159).

- *madu*   'coconut scraper' – *Madu* comes from the Meriam Mir word *madu* and the Kala Lagaw Ya word *madhu*, both denoting the meaning 'coconut scraper, coconut grater' (Shnukal, 1988, p. 159).

- *puripuri*   'sorcery, black magic, to cast an evil spell' – *Puripuri* comes from the Kala Lagaw Ya word *puripuri* denoting the very same meaning (Shnukal, 1988, p. 187). *Puripuri* is also widely used by the speakers of Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea (J. Siegel, personal communication, November 13, 2016).

- *yawo*   'good-bye, farewell' – *Yawo* comes from the Kala Lagaw Ya word *yawo* meaning 'farewell' (Shnukal, 1988, p. 228), however, it is also used in the southern Papua New Guinea (J. Siegel, personal communication, 2013).

9.1.1 Compounds

Three words represent examples of compounds formed by combining words from Kala Lagaw Ya, Japanese, and Marquesan with English words. They include:

- *kaikaitaim*   'mealtime' – *Kaikaitaim* is an example of compounding the word *kaikai* 'food', which comes either from Marquesan (Merriam-Webster, 2016) or another Polynesian language with the English word *taim* 'time'. As noted above, Marquesan is spoken in the Marquesas Islands.

- *kuksang*   'cook, chef' – *Kuksang* is an example of compounding the English word 'cook' with the Japanese word さん *san* 'Mister, Missis, Miss', which is the most common honorific title (sci.lang.japan Newsgroup, 2016). This word is also present in TSC (Shnukal, 1988, p. 88, 152).

- *puripuriman*   'sorcerer, magician' – *Puripuriman*, which is used for a sorcerer, magician, is a compound formed by combining the Kala Lagaw Ya word *puripuri* 'sorcery, black magic, to cast an evil spell' with the English word 'man' (Shnukal, 1988, p. 187). As noted above, the word *puripuri* is also used by Tok Pisin speakers in Papua New Guinea (J. Siegel, personal communication, 2013).

9.2 Lexical Items from Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila

The LR residents also incorporate into their daily speech many words from the two traditional languages of the area, namely, Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila. Although only a handful of elderly speakers of those two languages still reside in LR, everybody in the community possesses knowledge of quite a few of these. Both Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila constitute very closely related languages, as a list of 500 common words contains 87% words that are exactly the same in both those languages (D. Thompson, 1988b, 1). For that reason, examples provided below, the translations of which come from Hill & Thompson (2013, Book 10), do not include information on their origin, as they exist in both Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila.

- *awu* 'devil, bad/evil spirit'
- *ilka* 'hill'
- *iwayi* 'crocodile, crocodile ancestor'
- *kaa'i* 'baby'
- *ka'ata* 'yam type, karo'
- *katha* 'stink, bad smell of rotten meat; rotten'
- *ku'aka* 'dog'
- *kutini* 'cassowary'
- *mayi* 'food, vegetable (non-meat) food'
- *minya* 'animal, meat of animal'
- *muntha* 'ashes'
- *ngaachi* 'earth, ground, camp, place, country, world'
- *nhampi* 'emu'
- *paayamu* 'rainbow'
- *para* 'white person'
- *puchi* 'cat'
- *pulpanpuki* 'perch fish, yellowtail, banded trumpeter'
- *punya* 'dillybag'
- *puuya* 'heart'
- *taata* 'throat'
- *thampu* 'vine species (dioscorea sativa var. elongata) with long yam'
- *tuutu* 'hen, scrub-hen'

- *unchi*   'paperbark tea-tree'
- *wantantu*   'how, which way'
- *watayi*   'dugong'
- *wulumu*   'elder brother's wife'
- *ya'athu*   'younger sibling'
- *yampa*   'ear'
- *yapu*   'older brother'

9.3 Semantic Shift in Words Derived from English

The majority of LRC lexical items stem from English, which is not surprising, as the abundance of the lexis for pidgin and creole languages are provided by the lexifiers (Siegel, 2008, p. 1). Instead of listing numerous lexical items derived from English, some interesting issues regarding their meanings and use are pointed out. Thus, the meanings of some of the borrowed words differ from their English counterparts. This could most likely be explained by the fact that when the English words migrated into LRC, both with their primary and secondary meanings, LRC speakers sometimes chose the related meanings to fit the meaning classification known to them. The most striking examples of this phenomenon involve the body part and kinship terminologies. For example, although the word *fut* 'foot' is present and commonly used, some speakers, primarily those from the Torres Strait and those LR people who spent some time in the Strait, also use *traik*, which denotes not only 'tracks, prints' (e.g. footprints, car tracks), but also 'foot, the sole of the foot'. *Leg* is used for the whole leg from the hip to the ankle, however, Torres Strait Islanders residing in LR use it only in relation to the lower part between the knee and the ankle. They also use *leg* when they refer to the foot. Even though the word *ailid* 'eyelid' can be encountered in the speech of LRC speakers, *ai* is frequently used for both 'an eye' and 'an eyelid'. The word *an*, which comes from English 'hand', expresses a threefold meaning, namely, 'arm', 'wrist', and 'hand'. Similarly, the word *ed* is used not only for 'a head', but also for 'a skull'. Even though the word *lip* 'lip' is used, *maut* is often used for both 'a mouth' and 'a lip'. *Vein/bein* is used not only for 'a vein', but also for 'a tendon'. *Mustas* denotes any facial hair, be it 'a

moustache' or 'a beard', which could result from the influence of Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila, where only one word, namely, *puuchan* expresses those meanings.

Some of the English-derived words denoting kinship relations have also undergone semantic shift and acquired different meanings. Thus, *dadi* 'dad' is used not only for 'a father', but also for 'a father's brother', in spite of the fact that the word *ankel* 'uncle' does also exist in LRC. Although the word *san* 'son' is used by LRC speakers, *boi* 'boy' can be encountered much more frequently in relation to not only 'a son', but also 'a son-in-law' and 'a nephew'. Similarly, *dōte* 'daughter' is used rarely in comparison with *gēl* 'girl' that is used not only for a 'daughter', but also for 'a daughter-in-law' and 'a niece'.

9.3.1 New Words Derived from English That Possess Different Form and Meaning than Their English Equivalents

The kinship relations also involve a rule of the so-called 'name taboo', in accordance with which people do not use not only the first names of their in-laws, but also those words that resemble those names. Although it is possible for the LR residents to use the English-derived word *madelō* 'mother-in-law', they are not allowed to use the Kuuku Ya'u/Umpila equivalent *yaami*. Similarly, although the LR people are able to use the word *fadelō* 'father-in-law', they cannot utter the Kuuku Ya'u/Umpila counterpart *aampayi*. They are also not allowed to talk to their in-laws either.

The English adjective 'dead' functions in LRC as the intransitive verb *ded* with the meaning 'to die, to be dead'. Thus, its form remains unchanged, regardless if it denotes a given action or its consequence.

9.4 Discourse

The LR residents employ a variety of discourse techniques that become especially apparent in narratives.

9.4.1 Emphasis Markers

Nau/na and *ya* are two emphasis markers that are known to be frequently used during storytelling.

9.4.1.1 *nau/na*

In addition to functioning as the temporal adverb meaning 'now, then, ago', *nau* and its reduced form *na* are also able to fulfil a role of the emphasis marker when they follow an NP and when they appear in the predicate. When they follow a head noun, they draw special attention to the NPs, after which they appear by fronting them. In examples (9-1) and (9-2), *na* follows head nouns *frūt* 'fruit' and *brade* 'brother', respectively.

(9-1) Ōl   kaikai   <u>dem   frūt   **na**</u>   we   dem   trī.

　　　3PL   eat   DET   fruit   EMP   PREP   DET   tree

　　　'It is the fruit on the trees that they ate.'

(9-2) <u>Mai   　　brade   **na**</u>   im   tēn-im   oube   de   tētul.

　　　POSS.PRN   brother   EMP   3SG   turn-TRS   over   DET   turtle

　　　'It was my brother who turned the turtle over.'

When *nau/na* appear in the predicate, their function is to accentuate the actions and states expressed by the predicate. They either follows the core predicate constituent or occur predicate-finally, as examples (9-3) – (9-8) demonstrate. They may also appear sentence-finally.

(9-3) Yū   luk   **na**!

　　　2SG   look   EMP

　　　'Look!'

(9-4) Yūpla   stap   kwait   **na**!

　　　2PL   be   quiet   EMP

　　　'Be quiet!'

(9-5) Ai   go   stap   ya   **na**   we   dis   plein   kantri   ya.

1SG   FUT   live   here   EMP   PREP   DEM   plane   country   here

'I will live here, in this plane country here.'

(9-6) Bat   bi   go   **na**   breik-im-ap   ōl   dem   līf-s.

bat   PST   go   EMP   break-TRS-up   all   DET   leaf-PL

'The bat went and broke all the leaves.'

(9-7) Yūmītū   no   go   **na**!

1DU.INCL   NEG   go   EMP

'The two of us will not go!'

(9-8) Ōl   bi   stāt   **na**   fõ   get   sheik   en   shive,   laka.

3PL   PST   start   EMP   PREP   get   shake   CONN   shiver   DISC

'They started to shake and shiver, poor things.'

9.4.1.2 *ya*

The function of *ya* is threefold. In addition to serving as the locational adverb meaning 'here' and the deictic particle when it appears in front of the core predicate constituent, it also possesses the ability to assume a role of the emphatic marker when it functions as the postnominal modifier and when it occurs within the predicate. It then either follows the core predicate constituent or appears predicate-finally. It also has a tendency to occur sentence-finally. Examples (9-9) and (9-12) demonstrate the use of *ya* in its emphatic role.

(9-9) Wī   no   gad   mayi   **ya**.

1NSG   NEG   have   food   EMP

'We have no food.'

(9-10) Kam,   yūmītū   go   **ya**   long-wei   from   dem   spīya

come   1DU.INCL   go   EMP   long-way   PREP   DET   spear

ōl   kan   it-i   yūmītū!

3PL   cannot   hit-TRS   1DU.INCL

'Come, let the two of us go far from the spears so that they cannot hit the two of us!'

(9-11) Kam,   yūmītū   wani   na   **ya**   fishing   ya!

come   1DU.INCL   want   EMP   here   fishing   EMP

'Come, we want to fish here!'

(9-12) Yūmītū   go   go   **ya**   antap.

1DU.INCL   FUT   go   EMP   on.top

'The two of us will go to the top.'

A rare occurrence takes place in example (9-11) above. Namely, in addition to *na*, which functions as the emphatic marker, *ya* appears twice. *Ya*, which follows *na*, acts as the deictic particle, since it precedes *fishing* and *ya*, which follows *fishing*, has a role of the emphatic marker.

In the function of an emphatic marker, *ya/iya* does not provide any information pertaining to the deictic proximal-distal location of the NP, but it draws attention to a given head noun/NP instead. In examples (9-13) – (9-14), *ya* functions as an emphatic marker.

(9-13) Mīpla   luk   <u>ōl   korol   **ya**</u>   kam-at   ebriwe.

1PL.EXCL   see   DET   coral   EMP   come-out   everywhere

'We saw coral (in general) come out everywhere.'

(9-14) Put-i   <u>dem   mayi,   thampu   **ya**</u>   long-said   waya   faya.

put-IMP-TRS   DET   food   yam   EMP   along-side   PREP   fire

'Put the food and yams next to the fire.'

Ya/iya may appear when demonstrative determiners are part of NPs. Example (9-15) contains two occurrences of *ya*, where the first *ya*, which follows the verb *stap* 'to live', functions as an adverb 'here', as it does refer to a specific location. However, the function of the second *ya*, which is a part of the NP *dis plein kantri ya* 'this plain country', is that of an emphatic particle, as it does not denote a specific location, which is indicated by the use of the demonstrative *dis* 'this'. The use of the second *ya* as an adverb denoting location would be redundant, as that function is assumed by the first occurrence of *ya*. It could be also be argued that the deictic value of *ya/iya* has become about the discourse rather than about spatial deixis.

(9-15) Ai   go   stap   ya   na   we   <u>dis   plein   kantri   **ya**</u>.

1SG   FUT   live   here   EMP   PREP   DEM   plain   country   EMP

'I will live here in this plain country.'

Although example (9-16) contains only one *iya*, which is a part of the NP *dis kantri iya* 'this country', it functions as an emphatic marker, as it does not specify location, which is indicated by the use of the demonstrative *dis* 'this'.

(9-16) <u>Dis   kantri   **iya**</u>,   ngaachi,   dis   len   blo   yū,

DEM   country   EMP   country   DEM   land   POSS   2SG

diswan   blo   yūmītū.

DEM.PRN   POSS   1DU.INCL

'This country, this land is yours, this one is ours (belongs to the two of

us).'

Ya, which appears in the interrogative sentences, constitutes either the locational adverb or the deictic particle and not the emphatic marker, as in example (9-17), *ya* clearly refers to a specific location. Its position within that question is neither after the core predicate constituent nor at the end of the predicate.

(9-17) Ai   go   chak-i   ainka   **ya**   daun,   ai?

1SG   FUT   throw.in-TRS   anchor   here   down   huh

'I will throw the anchor in down here, huh?'

9.4.2 Discourse Markers

Connective adverbs and the word *laka* constitute the most commonly used discourse markers.

9.4.2.1 Connective Adverbs

In addition to the emphasis markers *nau/na* and *ya* described in the respective subsections 9.4.1.1 and 9.4.1.2 above, LRC speakers frequently place connective adverbs, such as *adewais* 'otherwise', *datswai/detswai* 'that's why', *den* 'then', *en* 'and', *laik* 'like', *okei* 'okay', *ōrait* 'alright', *so/sou* 'so', *yā/ye* 'yeah', and *yū no/yū nou* 'you know' in the sentence-initial position, where they function as discourse markers. Their role is not only to provide a logical connection between both the preceding and following parts of a story but to also maintain a steady flow of a narrative.

(9-18) **Detswai** de flaying foks em ebri-taim aing apsaidan
CONN DET flying fox 3SG every-time hang upside down

from de branch-is of de trī.
PREP DET branch-PL PREP DET tree

'That's why the flying foxes always hang upside down from the tree branches.'

(9-19) **Den** ōl kaikai na det mayi blo dembla.
CONN 3PL eat EMP DEM food POSS 3PL

'Then they ate that food of theirs.'

(9-20) **En** bat en fren blong im bin go na,
CONN bat CONN friend POSS 3SG PST go EMP

ōl bi go long-wei.
3PL PST go long-way

'And the bat and its friend went, they went far.'

(9-21) **Laik,** mīpla mait wan-dei wani taim tū kam.
CONN 1PL.EXCL might one-day want time COMP come

'Like, one day we might want to come.'

(9-22) **Okei**, wī gona let-im go.

       CONN 1NSG FUT let-TRS go

       'Okay, we gonna let it (snake) go.'

(9-23) **Ōrait**, i trū, laik bifō-taim.

       CONN PM true like before-time

       'Alright, it's true, like in the past.'

(9-24) **Sou** im kil-i fō pikinini blong im, laka.

       CONN 3SG kill-TRS four child POSS 3SG DISC

       'So it (emu) killed four of its children, poor things.'

(9-25) **Ye**, yū ken luk ōl plenti fish de swim andenīt.

       CONN DET can see DET plenty fish there swim underneath

       'Yeah, you could see lots of fish swimming underneath.'

(9-26) **Yū.nou**, dask i fōl-dan.

       CONN dusk PM fall-down

       'You know, it was dusk.'

It should be clarified that connective adverbs, as noted above, always appear sentence-initially. However, some of them, such as *laik* 'like', *okei* 'okay', *ōrait* 'alright', *ye* 'yeah', and *yū nou* 'you know' also function as interjections (see section 4.10) as well. In that role, while all of them, for example, *yā/ye* and *yū no/yū nou*, may occur both sentence-initially and sentence-finally, some interjections, for example, *laik*, *ōrait*, *yā/ye*, and *yū no/yū nou* are able to occur sentence-medially as well.

The end of the story may be marked by one of the following: *dasōl/datsōl* 'that's all', *dets det stōri na* 'that's that story', *dets de end* 'that's the end', and *finish na* 'finished/it's finished'. It is not unusual for *ye* 'yeah' to be placed after the above discourse markers to confirm the definite end of a story.

9.4.2.2 *laka*

As noted in subsections 7.3.3.1 and 7.3.5.1, in addition to being a question tag, *laka* may also function as a discourse marker. LRC speakers have indicated on more than one occasion that *laka* is a term specific to the LR area, as it helps distinguish their speech from that of other Aboriginal People of Cape York Peninsula. It does, therefore, appear that *laka* is region specific. Thus, it serves as a social identity indicator, as the use of *laka* provides information about the place of origin of a given speaker. As a result, *laka* not only strengthens the feeling of belonging to LR, but it also helps build solidarity among the LR inhabitants. It occurs sentence-medially and sentence-finally in affirmative and negative sentences as well as in both formal and informal settings. For that reason, *laka* is used extremely frequently by all LRC speakers, be it old, young, male or female. It emphasises a variety of meanings, including emotions of a proposition, whether positive or negative, as examples (9-27) and (9-28) below demonstrate.

(9-27) Im   meik-i   det   spīye   it-i   bat,   **laka**.

3SG   make.CAUS-TRS   DEM   spear   hit-TRS   bat   DISC

'He made that spear hit the bat.'

(9-28) Im   kil-i   fō   pikinini   blong   im,   **laka**.

3SG   kill-TRS   four   child   POSS   3SG   DISC

'He killed his four children.'

Laka may also denote the feeling of satiety, contentment, satisfaction, pleasure, and happiness, as examples (9-29) – (9-32) show.

(9-29) Ōl   bin   kaikai   til   ebriwan   bin   beli-ful,   **laka**.

3PL   PST   eat   COMP   INDF.PRN   PST   belly-full   DISC

'They ate till everyone was full.'

(9-30) Mīpla   siden   kaikai   dem   eg   en   drink   tī,   **laka**.

1PL.EXCL   sit   eat.SV   DET   egg   CONN   drink   tea   DISC

'We sat eating the eggs and drinking tea.'

(9-31) Ōl   bi   kuk-i   dem   krab   en   kreifish
3PL   PST   cook-TRS   DET   crab   CONN   crayfish

fō   dembla   fō   kaikai,   **laka**.
PREP   3PL   COMP   eat   DISC

'They cooked the crabs and crayfish for them to eat.'

(9-32) Āfte   dina,   mai   dadi   yān   stōri   fō   mīpla,   **laka**,   na.
PREP   dinner   POSS.PRN   dad   yarn   story   PREP   1PL.EXCL   DISC   EMP

'After dinner, my dad yarned a story for us.'

In examples (9-33) – (9-36), it does appear in utterances expressing unhappiness, displeasure, dissatisfaction, misfortune, pain, hunger, sadness, fear, and tiredness.

(9-33) Im   krai,   **laka**,   waya   prapa   pein.
3SG   cry   DISC   PREP   real   pain

'He cried because of a real pain.'

(9-34) Weni   de   san   bi   go-dan,   ebribodi   fīl   angri,   **laka**,   na.
COMP   DET   sun   PST   go-down   INDF.PRN   feel   hungry   DISC   EMP

'When the sun set down, everybody felt hungry.'

(9-35) Ōl   bi   fīl   sed,   **laka**.
3PL   PST   feel   sad   DISC

'They felt sad.'

(9-36) Ōl   bi   frait,   **laka**.
3PL   PST   frighten   DISC

'They were frightened.'

As noted in subsection 7.3.3.1, *laka* may also express the meaning 'please', as example (9-37) shows.

(9-37) Gīb-im   medisin   **laka**!
give-TRS   medicine   DISC

'Give him medicine, please!'

9.5 Brief Comparison with Other Creoles

As Table 9.1 demonstrates, all of the listed LRC creole lexical items and discourse markers can be found in all or some of the remaining creoles, thus providing evidence that LRC is indeed a creole. A + indicates that the feature is characteristic of the creole, a blank indicates it is not.

Table 9.1 Comparison of Some of LRC Creole Lexical Items and Discourse Markers with Other Creoles

Feature	LRC	TSC	Kriol	Pijin	Bislama	Tok Pisin
Presence of *kaikai* 'food, to eat'	+	+		+	+	+
Presence of *kumala/kumara* 'sweet potato'	+	+		+	+	
Presence of *labalaba/lavalava* 'lavalava'	+	+			+	
Presence of the Portuguese-based Word *pequenino* 'child'	+	+	+	+	+	+
Presence of the Portuguese-based Word *saber* 'to know, be able to'	+	+	+	+	+	+
Presence of *susu* 'breast, milk'	+	+		+	+	+
Presence of *talinga* (LRC and TSC) and *natalingan* (Bislama) 'ear'	+	+			+	
Presence of *tawi/tawiyan/tawian* 'brother-in-law'	+	+			+	
Discourse Marker *ya* in LRC, Pijin, and Tok Pisin, and *ia* in Bislama	+			+	+	+
Discourse Marker *laka* in LRC and *laga* in Tok Pisin	+					+

Table 9.2 demonstrates the comparison of two LRC English-derived discourse markers with other creoles. A + indicates that the feature is characteristic of the creole, a blank indicates it is not. Adverbs function as connectives in all of the

creoles. Discourse marker 'now' is present in all but one creole, namely, Tok Pisin is devoid of that feature. A detailed discussion of the comparison of the discourse markers with other creoles follows.

Table 9.2 Comparison of Some of LRC English-derived Discourse Markers with Other Creoles

Feature	LRC	TSC	Kriol	Pijin	Bislama	Tok Pisin
Connective Adverbs	+	+	+	+	+	+
Discourse Marker *nau/na* in LRC, *nau* in TSC, *nao* in Pijin and Bislama	+	+	+	+	+	

As in Pijin *nao* may also appear as the last sentential constituent and, for that reason, Jourdan (2002, p. 145) claims that its function is to mark the end of the sentence. Another approach concentrates on the fact that this marker may in fact denote the perfect aspect. However, either of those two approaches does not appear to be plausible, as far as LRC is concerned, as examples (9-1) – (9-3) above demonstrate that the perfect aspect does not apply and it is possible for *nau/na* to occupy other than just the sentence-final positions. According to yet another approach, this marker refers to events that either have been completed or are just beginning (Keesing, 1991, pp. 339-331). To substantiate that claim, it is necessary to exclude those events that have never occurred and those that are just beginning. However, in examples (9-4) – (9-6) above, *nau/na* do occur post-verbally.

By comparison, Shnukal (1988, p. 170) classifies TSC *nau* both as an adverb with a meaning 'now, then, ago' and as an emphatic particle when it follows a noun. The latter role is that of the emphasis marker that *nau/na* play in LRC (see subsection 9.4.1.1). TSC *nau* functions also as a discourse particle (i.e. emphatic marker in LRC), which

> (…) signals that the action of the verb begins immediately after the time of speaking; thus it anchors the event being narrated to the time of speaking. It may also be used to set out explicitly the order or events in a story. It is a way of making the story more vivid, as though what is being narrated is taking place at the same time as the narration. (Shnukal, 1988, p. 87)

Beimers (2008, pp. 160, 231) distinguishes two uses of *nao* in Pijin, namely, the focus marker and the emphasis marker. In Bislama, *nao* may function either as a discourse marker, which is used in narratives, when sequencing events or as a focus marker when it follows the subject (Crowley, 2004, pp. 160-165, 194). Similarly to LRC, Crowley (2004, p. 159) notes that in Bislama, to achieve the fronting of an NP effect, it is customary to place a marker *nao* or its reduced form *na* after a given NP. The same practice can be found in Pijin (Beimers, 2008, pp. 160-161) and TSC (Shnukal, 1988, p. 170). Shnukal posits that in TSC, *nau* functions as an emphatic particle when it follows a head noun. The use of the post-head emphatic marker *nau/na* is also very common in LRC. Beimers (2008, pp. 160-161) also lists *nao ya* as an emphatic marker that is commonly used in Pijin. This combination is, however, absent from LRC. In Kriol, *na* denotes focus, as it draws attention to the immediately preceding NP (Nicholls, 2009, p. 150).

Crowley (2004, p. 196) acknowledges that there exist two separate functions *ia* possesses in Bislama, where one is a demonstrative particle present in the NPs and the second is that of a discourse pragmatic particle, where

> its use is closely related to how the speaker relates to the people that he or she is speaking to, as well as what the speaker feels about what he or she is speaking about, as well as considerations of what information the speaker and the hearer already share regarding what the sentence is talking about. Because the use of *ia* is based very much on such pragmatic considerations, it should not be surprising to find that there is considerable variability in whether it appears in particular contexts or is absent. (pp. 196-197)

That categorisation coincides with the one proposed by Beimers (2008, p. 157) who indicates that Pijin *ya* functions both as an emphasis marker and a general demonstrative particle, where the latter function does not specify any deictic information. This opinion resonates in Shnukal (1988, p. 227) who posits that in TSC, *ya*, in addition to being an adverb with a meaning 'here', does function as a deictic particle, which when placed before the verb indicates that the person or thing referred to is situated close to the speaker or is moving towards the speaker. In Kriol, *iya* 'this one here' functions as an adverbial proximal demonstrative (Nicholls, 2009, p. 26). It, therefore, denotes the deictic meaning. In LRC, *ya* expresses not only the adverbial and deictic meanings, but it also serves as the emphatic marker. In Tok

Pisin, *ya* is an exclamatory particle that occurs at the end of a sentence (Mihalic, 1971, p. 206). Similarly to Pijin (Beimers, 2008, p. 157) and Bislama (Crowley, 2004, p. 65), in LRC, *ya/iya* may also appear in the company of demonstrative determiners. However, unlike in Pijin (Beimers, 2008, p. 158) and Bislama (Crowley, 2004, p. 65), where the distal meaning could be expressed by *longwe* 'there' (and additionally *nao* in Bislama) placed after Pijin *ya* and Bislama *ia* (*hemia*), it is not customary to do so in LRC. While *ya* is able to act as a post-head anaphoric demonstrative in Pijin (Beimers, 2008, pp. 158-159), it does not appear to function in that way either in TSC (Shnukal, 1988) or LRC, where it functions as the emphatic marker. A post-head recognitional demonstrative *ba*, which is characteristic for Pijin (Beimers, 2008, p. 160), does not exist either in TSC (Shnukal, 1988) or LRC. It does not appear to be present either in Bislama (Crowley, 2004) or Tok Pisin (Dutton & Thomas, 1985; Verhaar, 1995). Similarly to LRC, the frequent sentence-final occurrence of *ya* in Pijin prompts Simons (1985, p. 61) to claim that it acts as a sentence final tag word that "indicates an affirmation, a declaration, an accusation; it indicates the speaker's certainty about the statement's truth".

Tok Pisin *laga*, which is commonly used by the speakers from the New Guinea Islands, appears to have a similar function, as it also marks social identity and builds solidarity (Gure, 2010, p. 1). The difference lies in the fact that Tok Pisin *laga* is only used as a question tag (Dutton & Thomas, 1985, p. 64) and, as a result, its meaning is limited to that expressed by a given question tag. LRC *laka* functions not only as a question tag, but also as a discourse marker in both affirmative and negative sentences, where it is able to denote a variety of meanings.

9.6 Conclusion

This chapter has presented vocabulary as well as emphatic and discourse markers. It has been established that although the majority of the lexical items stem from English, the lexicon of LRC also contains words that take their origin from TSC, Japanese, Malay-Indonesian, Pacific languages, and the two traditional languages of the LR area, namely, Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila. It has been concluded that there exist

in LRC lexical items that are derived from English, however, their meaning differs from that of their English counterparts as a result of the semantic shift. This chapter has also discussed English-derived words, the form and meaning of which differ from their English equivalents as well. Finally, the outline of two emphatic markers, namely, *nau/na* and *ya*, is followed by the presentation of discourse markers, including connective adverbs and the marker *laka*, which functions as a social identity indicator specific to the LR area that helps to distinguish the speech of the LR community from that of other Aboriginal People of Cape York Peninsula.

Ten creole features have been examined, which are all present in LRC. Only two of those features are present in LRC and the remaining five creole languages, namely, the presence of the Portuguese-based words *pequenino* 'child' and *saber* 'to know, be able to'. Apart from Kriol, the word *kaikai* 'food, to eat' is present in LRC, TSC, Pijin, Bislama, and Tok Pisin. With the exception of Kriol and Tok Pisin, the word *kumala/kumara* 'sweet potato' exists in LRC, TSC, Pijin, and Bislama. *Labalaba/lavalava* 'lavalava' is used by LRC, TSC, and Bislama speakers. With the exception of Kriol, the word *susu* 'breast, milk' is present in LRC, TSC, Pijin, Bislama, and Tok Pisin. The word *tawi/tawiyan/tawian* is a part of the lexicon of LRC, TSC, and Bislama speakers. The discourse marker *ya/ia* is a feature characteristic of LRC, Pijin, Bislama, and Tok Pisin. The discourse markers *laka* and *laga* mark the speech of LRC and Tok Pisin speakers, respectively.

Two English-derived features have been examined, where one of them, namely, connective adverbs, is present in LRC and the remaining five creoles. With the exception of Tok Pisin, the discourse marker *nau/na/nao* exists in LRC, TSC, Kriol, Pijin, and Bislama.

Chapter 10 Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis was to write a linguistic description of LRC, as it has not been previously studied, analysed, and described, and, as a result, very little was known about its linguistic structure and relationship to other contact Indigenous creoles and varieties of English. All of the set goals have been achieved and all of the chapters of this thesis have contributed both original and substantial information laying foundation for further research into LRC. Thus, an orthographical system has been designed to allow for LRC to be used in the written form. The scope of the substratal influence of the two traditional languages spoken in the LR area, namely, Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila, has been established and it has been ascertained that the substratal features and/or lexical items distinguish LRC from other varieties. For example, intonation pattern of the 'yes-no' and information questions as well as affirmative sentences, including those expressing the meaning 'or', coincides with that of Kuuku Ya'u and Umpila and not with that of English. The emergence and development of LRC have been thoroughly examined utilising many examples from historical texts of first the pidgin and then the creole spoken in the LR area. The analysis of those examples helped establish, which historically attested features are no longer in use, and which continue to be used by LRC speakers. It has been concluded that, in spite of the close linguistic relationship LRC shares with TSC and the fact that the pidgin from the Torres Strait had an undeniably significant influence on the development of LRC, LRC is not a dialect of TSC but a separate language in its own right, as those two languages developed in a very different manner. The study has helped establish the status of LRC as a creole rather than a variety of Aboriginal English. The latter goal has been enabled by comparing the presence and/or absence of a number of LRC features with TSC, Kriol, Pijin, Bislama, and Tok Pisin. Each chapter contains a section outlining similarities and differences between LRC and the other creole languages.

Table 10.1 below constitutes a compilation of seventy-three creole features. Fifty-four of them are present in LRC. LRC shares forty-one features with TSC. LRC and Kriol have thirty-four features in common, LRC and Pijin share thirty-four features, LRC and Bislama have thirty-eight features in common, and LRC and Tok Pisin

share thirty-four features. A + indicates that the feature is characteristic of the creole, a blank indicates it is not; +/- indicates the feature occurs optionally or irregularly in the creole. Many of those features are not present in English, for example, unlike in LRC and TSC, not all nouns are countable in English. The English pronominal system is devoid of the inclusive-exclusive distinction and consists of only two numbers, singular and plural. LRC suffix -*pla*, which has the form -*pela* in Tok Pisin, -*fala* in both Pijin and Bislama, -*pla* in TSC, and -*bala* in Kriol, but it is not a characteristic feature of English. The transitive suffix, the progressive aspect suffix -*(a)bat*, and the nominalising suffix -*wan* are absent from the English suffixal inventory. There are no English adjectives that constitute compounds with *kain/-kain*. In English, fronting is not achieved by means of emphatic markers. English is devoid of the past tense marker, but marks the past tense morphologically instead. The future tense marker is absent from English, where future tense is achieved with the use of the auxiliary 'will'. The form of LRC modality marker *blo* + verb, which mirrors that of its TSC equivalent and is similar to Bislama *blong* + verb, is absent from English. In both LRC and TSC, the possessive relative clauses (RCs) are introduced by the relative pronoun *we/waya/weya* and *we*, respectively, and not with the use of the interrogative pronoun denoting the meaning 'whose', as it is done in English. Thus, while there are many differences between LRC and English, LRC shares numerous similarities with TSC, Kriol, Pijin, Bislama, and Tok Pisin. It is, therefore, proposed that LRC is indeed a creole.

Table 10.1 Comparison of Some LRC Creole Features with Other Creoles

Feature	LRC	TSC	Kriol	Pijin	Bislama	Tok Pisin
Countability of All Nouns	+	+				
Fully Reduplicated Nouns			+	+	+	+
Apparent Noun Reduplication	+	+	+	+	+	+
Nominalising Suffix -*wan*	+	+	+	+	+	
Three-Number Pronominal System	+	+	+			
Four-Number Pronominal System				+	+	+
Inclusive-Exclusive Distinction in the Pronominal System	+	+	+	+	+	+

Suffix *-pla* in LRC and TSC (*-bala* in Kriol, *-fala* in Pijin and Bislama, and *-pela* in Tok Pisin)	+	+	+	+	+	+
Suffixation of Some Cardinal Numerals (with *-bala* in Kriol, *-fala* in Pijin and Bislama, and with *-pela* in Tok Pisin)			+	+	+	+
Use of the Noun *namba* to Form Ordinal Numerals	+			+	+	+
Use of *wan* 'one' to Form Ordinal Numerals			+			
Suffixation of Adjectives (with *-bala* in Kriol, *-fala* in Pijin and Bislama, and *-pela* in Tok Pisin)			+	+	+	+
Both Prenominal and Postnominal Use of Adjectives				+		
Full Adjectival Reduplication	+	+	+	+	+	+
Partial Adjectival Reduplication					+	
Nominalisation of Polysyllabic and Compound Adjectives	+	+	+		+	+
Possessed NP + *blong/blo* + Possessor NP	+	+	+	+	+	+
***Blong/blo* + Possessor NP + Possessed NP**	+		+		+	
Transitive Suffix	+	+	+	+	+	+
Form of the Transitive Suffix Is Dictated by the Vowel Harmony Rule		+		+	+	
Compound Transitive Verbs	+	+	+	+	+	+
Causative Transitives Affixed with the Transitive Suffix	+	+	+	+	+	+
Intransitive Verbs Always Occur Without the Transitive Suffix	+	+	+	+	+	+
Progressive Aspect Suffix *-(a)bat*	+		+			
Full Verb Reduplication	+	+	+	+		+

Partial Verb Reduplication					+	
Verb Reduplication Expresses Repetition, Continuity, and Duration	+	+	+	+	+	+
Suffixation of Adverbs (with -*bala* in Kriol and -*pela* in Tok Pisin)			+			+
Adverbs Suffixed with -*wan*	+					
Compound Adverbs	+	+	+	+	+	+
Adverbial Reduplication	+		+		+	
***We* Introduces Relative Clauses**	+/-	+/-		+/-	+/-	
Pronouns Precede Nouns in Inclusory Constructions	+	+	+	+		
Pronouns Follow Nouns in Inclusory Constructions	+		+			
Pronoun Appositions	+			+		
Co-occurrence of Determiners Within a Single NP				+		
Compound Adjectives with *kain* (noun or suffix)	+	+		+		+
PPs as Post-modifiers of Head Nouns	+	+	+	+	+	+
Prepositional Use of Some Temporal and Locational Adverbs when Followed by *we* and/or *long*	+	+	+	+	+	+
Complex Prepositions with *lo* (TSC), *long/lo* (LRC), *long* (Pijin, Bislama, and Tok Pisin), and *langa* (Kriol)	+	+	+	+	+	+
Complex Prepositions with *we/waya/weya*	+					
***Long/lo/langa* Follow Adverbs in Complex Prepositions**	+	+	+	+	+	+
***Long* Precedes Adverbs in Complex Prepositions**				+		

Long in a Circumjacent Relationship with Adverbs				+		
Verbal Prepositions				+	+	
Ellipsis of the Third Person Object NPs After Transitive Verbs Affixed with the Transitive Suffix	+		+	+	+	+
Marked Transitive Verbs	+	+	+	+	+	+
Pseudo-Transitive				+	+	+
Long/lo/langa Introduces Oblique Constituents in the VPs	+	+	+	+	+	+
Subject Referencing Pronouns				+		
Resumptive Pronouns	+					
Predicate Marker	+	+			+	+
Past Tense Marker	+	+	+	+		+
Future Tense Marker (*go* in LRC and TSC, and *gada/gona* in Kriol)	+	+	+			
Future Tense Marker (*bae/baebae* in Pijin, *bae/bambae* in Bislama, and *bai* in Tok Pisin)				+	+	+
Completive Aspect Marker Precedes the Verb	+	+	+			
Completive Aspect Marker Follows the Verb				+	+	+
Impersonal Sentences Formed with the Use of Predicate Marker	+	+			+	+
Existential Sentences Formed with *got* 'to have'	+	+			+	+
Verb *abim/abi* in LRC and *abum* in Kriol Used in Existential Sentences (in LRC in Past and Future Meanings Only)	+		+			
Juxtaposition in Equational and Descriptive Sentences	+	+	+	+	+	+

No **Must Appear with Negative Indefinite Pronouns**		+			+	
Juxtaposition as Clause Coordination	+	+	+	+	+	+
Presence of *kaikai* 'food, to eat'	+	+		+	+	+
Presence of *kumala/kumara* 'sweet potato'	+	+		+	+	
Presence of *labalaba/lavalava* 'lavalava'	+	+			+	
Presence of the Portuguese-based Word *pequenino* 'child'	+	+	+	+	+	+
Presence of the Portuguese-based Word *saber* 'to know, be able to'	+	+	+	+	+	+
Presence of *susu* 'breast, milk'	+	+		+	+	+
Presence of *talinga* (LRC and TSC) and *natalingan* (Bislama) 'ear'	+	+			+	
Presence of *tawi/tawiyan/tawian* 'brother-in-law'	+	+			+	
Discourse Marker *ya* in LRC, Pijin, and Tok Pisin, and *ia* in Bislama	+			+	+	+
Discourse Marker *laka* in LRC and *laga* in Tok Pisin	+					+

Table 10.2 demonstrates the comparison of twenty-eight LRC English-derived features with other creoles. Twenty-seven features exist in LRC. LRC shares nineteen features with TSC, sixteen with Kriol, Pijin, and Bislama, and thirteen with Tok Pisin. A + indicates that the feature is characteristic of the creole, a blank indicates it is not; +/- indicates the feature occurs optionally or irregularly in the creole.

Table 10.2 Comparison of Some of LRC English-derived Features with Other Creoles

Feature	LRC	TSC	Kriol	Pijin	Bislama	Tok Pisin
Compounds – Direct Transfers from English	+	+	+	+	+	+
Plural Suffix -*s*	+/-		+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-
Gerundial Suffix -*ing*	+				+	+
Agentive Suffix -*a*	+				+	
Four Demonstrative Pronouns	+	+	+			
Articles	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-
Reflexive Suffix -*self* (-*selp* in TSC, -*self* and the form *mijelb* in Kriol)	+	+	+			
Reciprocal Pronouns	+	+	+			
Distributive Pronouns	+	+				
Interrogative Pronouns Used as Short Utterances	+	+	+	+	+	+
Normally Unmarked Transitive Verbs	+/-					
Adverbs Suffixed with -*li*	+					
***Hu* Introduces Relative Clauses**				+/-		
Pre-modification of Adjectives by Adverbs	+	+	+	+	+	+
Multiple Adjectives Pre-modifying Head Nouns	+	+	+	+	+	+
Postnominal Modifiers	+	+	+	+	+	+
Quantifying Nouns Separated from Nouns by *of*	+					
Presence of Preposition *of* (*av* in Kriol)	+		+			
Prepositional Use of Some Temporal and Locational Adverbs when Not Followed by *we* or *long*	+	+	+	+	+	+
Post-modification of Adjectives by a Small Set of Adverbs	+	+		+	+	+
Habitual Aspect Marker *yūstū* in LRC and *yustu/yusdu/yusda* in Kriol	+	+				

Optional Use of Second Person Pronouns in Imperative Sentences	+	+	+	+	+	+
Use of Complementisers After the Verbs 'to like' and 'to want'	+			+		
Use of Complementisers After the Verb 'to try'	+	+		+		
Relative Clauses Introduced by Relative Pronouns	+	+	+	+	+	+
Relative Clauses Not Introduced by Relative Pronouns	+	+		+	+	
Connective Adverbs	+	+	+	+	+	+
Discourse Marker *nau/na* in LRC, *nau* in TSC, *nao* in Pijin and Bislama	+	+	+	+	+	

As noted in the introductory paragraph of this chapter, the linguistic description presented in this thesis have contributed original and substantial information on the previously undescribed creole language spoken by the people of the LR community. It is hoped that this study will broaden and further the existing knowledge of Indigenous language varieties in Australia. It is also hoped that, on the basis of this study, further research will be undertaken that will result in a more detailed examination of LRC sound system, linguistic structure, discourse strategies, communication practices, and conversational style.

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