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Series B Volume II

LANGUAGE SURVEY

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S.K. Ray
Series Editor
INTRODUCTION TO
SERIES B VOLUME 11

In order to determine the needs of various language groups for translation and literacy projects, it is necessary for the Summer Institute of Linguistics to carry out various types of language surveys. The three surveys reported on in this volume represent a wide spectrum of survey types.

The Western Desert Survey was an attempt to evaluate mutual or inherent intelligibility between languages or dialects spoken in the Western Desert region of Australia. That is, it was trying to answer the question of 'how well can speakers of language A understand language B because of linguistic similarity?' One complicating factor in such a survey is the question of bilingualism. How much of the intelligibility is due to linguistic similarity, and how much is due to contact between the language groups?

The Northern Territory Survey was a more general survey. It was an attempt to determine the locations and numbers of speakers of several language groups. In addition, the surveyor tried to answer some preliminary questions of language usage.

The Hopevale Survey was more of a sociolinguistic survey. It looked at a single community and tried to come to grips with the questions of language attitudes and usage: who speaks what, to whom, and in what circumstances? How do people feel about their traditional language?
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</tr>
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REPORT ON SURVEY

OF THE

CENTRAL NORTHERN TERRITORY

David Glasgow

0. INTRODUCTION

This survey was conducted between 22 April and 18 May 1982. The area in focus was the Barkly Tableland, the Sandover River and the Plenty River Areas. This report is concerned with the area between latitudes 17 degrees and 23 degrees south, and between longitudes 133 degrees and 136 degrees east, but also includes Alexandria, Alroy Downs, Napperby, Mt. Riddock, Hart's Range and Jervois/Bonya Hill. (See map.)

The objective of this survey was to determine the main languages used by the Aboriginal people of the area in their everyday communication with each other, and which languages would be important for other people to learn in order to better communicate with them.

The general procedure for each community visited was first to get acquainted with the leaders and explain the purpose of the visit, then elicit information either from them or from persons they designated.
The information asked for consisted of a list of thirty-three words in the Aboriginal languages spoken there (see Appendix II), a standard questionnaire (see Appendix III), and any other questions which appeared relevant. Whilst this information was being obtained, observations were made as to the language used by the people among themselves, paying particular attention to the different generation levels.

Stories in different vernaculars were read to people in order to test their reactions but the only language which yielded fruitful results was the Roper River dialect of Kriol (herein after referred to as Roper Kriol). Use of the Roper Kriol stories developed into a test of each community's understanding and acceptance of that Kriol. First, a couple of stories in Roper Kriol were read to the group and observation was made of the people's reaction (laughs, exclamations, etc.). Secondly, the same story was read in English and again in Roper Kriol and they were asked which they understood better. For this I used a brief story from the *Today's English version* of the New Testament and the same story translated into Roper Kriol.

After the data was collected the word lists were compared to determine the percentage of shared cognates between languages. Use was made of Menning and Nash to fill occasional gaps in the data. For the Arandic languages a similar comparison was made using the findings of Kenneth L. Hale based on a 300 word list.

Since Pidgin was not regarded as a traditional vernacular, no word list data was recorded nor were comparisons made for it.

On the average only a couple of hours could be spent at each camp. Because of this time limitation it was not always possible to check out impressions nor to resolve apparent conflicts in the information received. Since the objectives were socio-linguistic rather than linguistic the elicitation of word lists and other linguistic information received low priority.

Spellings of language and tribal names in this report are those used by the Institute for Aboriginal Development, Alice Springs. Spellings of Aboriginal names for places are usually in the orthography used by the above I.A.D. for the language of the people of that place, according to my hearing of the pronunciation, though in some cases I have adopted spellings in use by others. Where such Aboriginal names have been used, the name commonly known by Europeans for that locality is usually included in parentheses.
1. LANGUAGES

The following are the languages of the area, listed in order of importance as judged on the extent to which they are used in everyday communication by the Aborigines.

1.1 PIDGIN, OR PIDGIN ENGLISH

This should really be called Kriol as it is the first language of many people and appears to be only dialectally different from the Kriol language of the Roper and Kimberleys areas. However, as most English speakers in the area surveyed refer to it as Pidgin I follow suit in this report.

Pidgin is the main language of the northern half of the area surveyed, that is, of Elliott, Newcastle Waters, Beetaloo, Anthony's Lagoon, Brunette Downs, Alexandria, Alroy Downs and Banka Banka, and of Ali-Curung (Warrabri) and Tennant Creek, except for the Alyawarra people, and of the younger people at Rockhampton Downs.

I estimate that at least 2,000 Aborigines in the area surveyed communicate as well or better in Pidgin than they can in any other language.

There are probably local variations or dialectal differences within this area. No attempt was made to determine whether this was so, nor to what extent. However, it was observed that Roper Kriol had some words or expressions that were not natural to the people of this area, though they were mostly understood. When the Roper Kriol story was read to people at Tennant Creek, they commented that it was from the north and slightly different from their way of speaking. Differences noted were:

At Alexandria:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mandiji</th>
<th>Roper Kriol</th>
<th>munanga</th>
<th>'European'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bobaga</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>bobala</td>
<td>'expression of empathy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>melot</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>melabat</td>
<td>'we,us,our'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gowin kil</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>go kilim</td>
<td>'to go to hit, kill'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skinimbat</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>skinim</td>
<td>'to skin'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At Alroy:

| bapalanji  | "           | munanga   | 'European'               |


116
At Ali-Curung:

wailbali = munanga 'European'
bobaga = bobala 'expression of empathy'
warda = gajinga 'Good grief!

Pidgin appeared to carry a social stigma in two ways:

a. There was indication that some vernacular speakers, mainly older people, resented it being used by the younger people instead of their vernacular.

b. There were some who referred to it as 'rubbish English' or 'bastard English'. These names were used often by Europeans encountered but also by Aborigines who had been closely connected with schools and who wanted to be seen as speaking only 'proper English'. It appeared to me that these Aborigines were copying this attitude from Europeans and possibly expected me to approve of such an attitude.

However, the vast majority of the Aboriginal people in the above locations were very interested in the Roper Kriol stories that I read to them, and their reactions showed that they understood them well. Some who were literate in English found that they could read Roper Kriol after minimal instruction and encouragement. Many expressed a desire to have Pidgin literacy taught in their school, and a few asked that booklets and/or tapes of Roper Kriol material be sent to them. The following anecdote is worthy of being recorded:

At Brunette Downs I read selections from Roper Kriol publications to test the people's understanding of it. Three days later I had just arrived at Tennant Creek when an Aboriginal man greeted me in the street with, 'You saw me at Brunette, didn't you? You speak our language, don't you? You looked at book there and spoke our language real good!'

1.2 ANMAJIRRA

This is the first language of all the people at Napperby, Ti-Tree and Woola, and of the majority of the people at Utopia/Three Bore and its outstation Nara (Soakage Bore), and at Wilora (Stirling). Speakers were also reported to be at Anningie, Coniston and Yuendumu.

I estimate the number of Aborigines who use Anmajirra for their everyday communication among themselves to be 1,000. Most of the children included in this figure are monolingual until they start their schooling.
Some dialectal variation was indicated by the Anmaiirra word lists taken at four locations: Larramba (Napperby), Wilora (Stirling), Three Bore and Ti-Tree. I noted too that Anmaiirra people at Wilora said that those at Ti-Tree were not Anmaiirra but 'Ndelbra'. The degree of dialectal variation is indicated by the percentage of common Anmaiirra that each list contained. (I determined common Anmaiirra by noting each word that was used at the majority of places.) These percentages are: Larramba 85%, Wilora 95%, Three Bore 90%, and Ti-Tree 90%.

The following chart gives the percentage of cognates between Anmaiirra and the other languages of the Aranda group in the area, based on my thirty-three word list (see Appendix II) and Hale's three hundred word list, (see 4. below).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>With Western Aranda</th>
<th>My List</th>
<th>Hale's List</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Eastern (Sta Theresa) Aranda</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Aranda Akerre</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Kaytej</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Alyawarra</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.3 ALYAWARRA

The area surveyed did not include all the known locations of Alyawarra speakers, Lake Nash in particular being outside it.

Alyawarra was found to be the first language of the Aboriginal people at Epenarra, Murray Downs, Mbulatwat (Honeymoon Bore on Amaroo), Derry Downs, Urrultya, Ngkwulaya (Kurrajong Bore on Utopia), the Ngurratityi community, the Kargura School camp at Tennant Creek and the Alyawarra camp at Ali-Curung (Warrabri). In most of these communities the pre-school children were monolingual. Alyawarra was also found at Engawala (Alcoota), Utopia/Three Bore, Nara (Soakage Bore on Utopia) and at Tara (Neutral Junction).

I estimate the number of people in the area surveyed who use Alyawarra in their everyday communication among themselves to be 800.

The following chart gives the percentage of cognates between Alyawarra and the other languages of the Aranda group in the area surveyed, based on my word list and Hale's more extensive list:
1.4 ARANDA AKERRE

This is the dialect of Aranda spoken at Mt. Riddock, Hart's Range and Bonya Hill (Jervois). It is the name that the people at Hart's Range applied to themselves, and means 'Eastern Aranda'. But they said that it was different from the dialect at Santa Theresa, which other linguists have called Eastern Aranda. Hale's word list shows 'Aranda (Akar—Akiytjar; Plenty River)'. His 'Akar' is this dialect name by different spelling conventions. I was told at Bonya Hill that the Kityerre or Akityerre (= Hale's Akiytjar) had all moved away. I did not locate any in this survey, except to be told of a few at Utopia, (see 2.20). It is possible however that there are more speakers of the Akerre dialect or of a dialect very close to it at other locations in the Plenty River area.

Aranda Akerre was found to be the first language of the Aboriginal people living at the above locations, whom I estimate to number 150. They used it in their everyday communication with each other and their knowledge of English or Pidgin was fairly limited. The children seemed to be almost monolingual. For these reasons I strongly recommend that bilingual education be used when schools are started at these places.

The following chart gives the percentage of cognates between Aranda Akerre and other languages of the Aranda group, based on my word list and Hale's list.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>With Aranda Akerre</th>
<th>My List</th>
<th>Hale's List</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Anmajirra</td>
<td>94%</td>
<td>92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Kaytej</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Eastern (Sta. Theresa) Aranda</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Western Aranda</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.5 WARUMUNGU

This is the main language spoken at Rockhampton Downs, is one of the main vernaculars at Banka Banka and is also spoken by some people at Alroy Downs, Tennant Creek and Ali-Curung (Warrabri).
It appears that the use of Warumungu is decreasing as many children and young adults in these communities are using Pidgin instead for everyday communication. This is more the case at Tennant Creek and Ali-Curung (Warrabri), though even at Banka Banka and Rockhampton Downs I observed children using Pidgin among themselves. I was told at Rockhampton Downs that the children 'hear' Warumungu but mostly use 'English' (i.e. Pidgin).

I estimate that about 200 Aborigines still have a sound knowledge of Warumungu. Most of these would be equally fluent in Pidgin and about 30 would also know Warlmanpa.

The place where Warumungu is most in use today is Rockhampton Downs. Here I got the impression that every Aborigine over ten years old has at least a passive knowledge of it, and those from about 25 and older use it a lot in everyday communication.

At Tennant Creek a course was being conducted through Adult Education to teach Europeans Warumungu. This course used several relatively sophisticated native speakers and materials from the Institute for Aboriginal Development.

The following chart gives the percentage of cognates between Warumungu and the other languages I found in the Barkly Tableland, based on my 33 word list supplemented by Menning and Nash:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Warlmanpa</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Warlpiri</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Mudbura</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Kutanji</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Wampaya</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Jingulu</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Garawa</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.6 WARLPIRI (ALI-CURUNG DIALECT)

The area of this survey may not have included all the speakers of this dialect of Warlpiri. I did not visit Willowra, Yuendumu or Narwietooma, nor stations and Aboriginal communities in the area between these places, which are reported to have Warlpiri people. No attempt was made to establish the geographical limits of this dialect nor its relationship with other Warlpiri dialects. I did note, however, that Warlpiri speakers interviewed claimed their language to be a 'bit different' from that spoken at Yuendumu.
In the area surveyed, speakers of this dialect were found at Ali-Curung (Warrabri), Tennant Creek (at the 'Village', the 'Longhouse' and nearby camps, and at the 'Dump Camp') and a few at Utopia and its outstation Nara (Soakage Bore). Some Warlmanpa speakers at Tennant Creek and Banka Banka, and some Warumungu speakers at Ali-Curung also claimed to know Warlpiri.

However, in the area surveyed, this dialect of Warlpiri seems to be falling into disuse. Children and young adults in the above communities were observed to speak Pidgin among themselves and, when addressed in Warlpiri by older people, responded in Pidgin.

I estimate the number of Aborigines in the area surveyed who are fluent in this dialect of Warlpiri to be about 170, of whom very few would be under 20 years old.

The following chart gives the percentage of cognates between this dialect of Warlpiri and the other relevant languages found on the survey, based on my word list supplemented by Menning and Nash:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Cognates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>With Warlmanpa</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Mudbra</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Warumungu</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Jingulu</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Kutanji</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Wampaya</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Anmajirra, at Napperby</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Anmajirra, elsewhere</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.7 KAYTEJ

This language is spoken by the majority of the Aborigines at Tara (Neutral Junction) and a significant number of those at Wilora (Stirling). Speakers were also found at Ali-Curung (Warrabri) and one at Napperby.

There has been considerable mixing of Kaytej people with other language speakers over the last few decades. This was said to have begun with the Barrow Creek massacre of the 1930's, the survivors of which fled in several directions and intermingled with the tribes where they went. This mixing resulted in many cases of intermarriage. Now the strongest centre for the language is at Tara, but even there a European school teacher with linguistic qualifications reported that the children speak a creole that is a mixture of Kaytej and Pidgin. At Wilora I got the impression that Kaytej speakers were close to 50% of the community, but that they had come there as small infusions into the Anmajirra community.
over a period of time, and hence deferred to the latter and accepted Anmajirra as the language of the community.

For these reasons, therefore, I consider that the future of Kaytej as a language for everyday communication is in doubt beyond another 20 years or so.

I estimate the number of fluent Kaytej speakers to be approximately 60.

The following chart gives the percentage of cognates between Kaytej and other languages of the Aranda group, based on my word list and Hale's list:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>My List</th>
<th>Hale's List</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>With Alyawarra</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Aranda Akerre</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Eastern (Sta. Theresa) Aranda</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Western Aranda</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Anmajirra</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.8 MUDBURA

The area of this survey did not include Wave Hill, Willeroo, Montejinnie, Matarranka or Katherine, all of which are reported to have Mudbura speakers. My opinion is that information from these places would not significantly alter the picture outlined below.

Mudbura speakers were found at Elliott and Newcastle Waters, and a few were reported to be at Beetaloo.

Mudbura appears to be falling into disuse, and dying out with the older generation. I was not able even to elicit vernacular words from young adults at Elliott but was referred to the old men. Children were not observed to use any vernacular but only Pidgin, though one man claimed that they use some vernacular words. Some adults claimed that their children could speak English well.

I estimate the number of fluent speakers of this language to be approximately 50, most of whom live at Elliott. All of these would be over 30 and the majority over 50 years of age.

The following chart shows the percentage of cognates between Mudbura and other relevant Barkly languages, based on my word list supplemented from Menning and Nash.
1.9 WARLMANPA

Speakers of this language can be found mostly at Banka Banka, (these would also know Warumungu), and also at the Blueberry Hill camp at Tennant Creek.

Warlmanpa appeared to be falling into disuse. I estimate the number of people who had a good working knowledge of it to be about 45, the majority of whom are aged over 30.

All Warlmanpa speakers encountered used Pidgin freely, even when talking to other Warlmanpa people. Some stated that their children only knew Pidgin, and my observations confirmed this. There was not much evidence of Warlmanpa people using Warlpiri, in spite of its close relationship and their close proximity to it at Tennant Creek. The preference seemed to be Pidgin.

The following chart gives the percentage of cognates between Warlmanpa and other languages of the Barkly Tableland, based on my word list supplemented by Menning and Nash:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Warlpiri</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mudbura</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warumungu</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jingulu</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kutanji</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wampaya</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.10 JINGULU

The majority of speakers of this language live at Elliott, with some also at Newcastle Waters and a few reported to be at Beetaloo.
Jingulu appears to be falling into disuse, and dying out with the older generation. However, some work is being done on it at the School of Australian Linguistics at Batchelor.

I estimate the number of fluent speakers of Jingulu to be 35, the majority of whom would be over 50 years of age. When I was eliciting a word list, some young adults were unable to supply some common words, and the children appeared to not be using the vernacular at all, though one man claimed they use a few words. I observed that Pidgin was used freely by Jingulu people; and some young adults and children could use fairly standard English.

The following chart shows the percentage of cognates between Jingulu and other relevant Barkly languages, based on my word list supplemented from Menning and Nash:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wampaya</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mudbara</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kutanji</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garawa</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yanyuwa</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warlpiri</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warlnampa</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warumungu</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.11 WAMPAYA

There are only a few speakers of this language left. It was reported by an Aboriginal leader at Brunette Downs that there were only three fluent speakers there. At Anthony's Lagoon a man about 60 gave me a word list. (Like other Aborigines originally from that area he now has his permanent residence at Elliott and is recruited to work at Anthony's Lagoon for the muster.) He said that older Wampaya people, presumably now at Elliott, know the language, and that other adults working with him at Anthony's Lagoon spoke a mixture of Wampaya and Pidgin. Some adults at Brunette Downs were observed to use snippets of vernacular along with Pidgin, some claimed to be able to speak a little Wampaya, while one claimed that the children know some words of it.

I hesitate to estimate the number of fluent Wampaya speakers but expect it to be in the range of 10 to 20. I got the general impression that Pidgin has taken over as the original Wampaya speaking people have mixed with other tribal groups of the Barkly Tableland and more recently at Elliott.
The following chart shows the percentage of cognates between Wampaya and other relevant Barkly languages, based on my word list supplemented from Menning and Nash:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>My Supplemented List</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>With Kutanji</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Jingulu</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Garawa</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Mudbura</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Warumungu</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Yanyuwa</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Warlpiri</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Warlmanpa</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.12 KUTANJI

Although this survey did not include the Borroloola area, which may have a few Kutanji speakers, it was apparent that there were not many Kutanji left in existence. I found only four speakers, these being at Brunnette Downs, and they were not always confident of words being elicited. One was a visitor from Borroloola, who claimed that his children could speak it a bit. It was reported also that some elderly people at Elliott could speak it, though a Wampaya man from Elliott had earlier told us that Kutanji was 'all finished'.

It appears that Kutanji has been replaced by Pidgin for almost all communication.

The following chart shows the percentage of cognates between Kutanji and other relevant Barkly languages, based on my word list supplemented from Menning and Nash:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>My Supplemented List</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>With Wampaya</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Jingulu</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Garawa</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Mudbura</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Warumungu</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Warlpiri</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Warlmanpa</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Yanyuwa</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.13 WAGAYA

This language appears to be almost extinct. Some middle-aged women at Anthony's Lagoon for seasonal work, and another at Alroy Downs, were reported to be Wagaya, but they said they could not speak the language.
It was observed that everything they said was in Pidgin. A Wampaya man also reported that there were Wagaya people at Brunnette Downs and Alexandria, but that no one speaks it any more. At Alexandria this same man's brother reported that there were Wagaya people at Mt. Isa and Lake Nash, and that I could get some Wagaya language from some old men at Tennant Creek, namely Butcher Mick, Frank Wiggis and old Roy, or at Camoweal from Cyril. I did not locate any of these men. Nowhere did I find anyone who could give me even a few Wagaya words. The Wagaya woman at Alroy said that her father (now deceased) used to speak it but no one now speaks it. She said, 'We used to tease (the older people when they used vernacular), now people only speak Pidgin.'

2. PLACES

In this section a brief summary is given of the language situation among the Aborigines at each location visited, along with observations on the number of people living there, their response to a sample read to them of Roper Kriol, the education facility there, and any other details deemed relevant. The order of presentation is roughly north to south.

2.1 NEWCASTLE WATERS

Approximately 25 Aborigines were living in the village at Newcastle Waters and three at the station, about 2 km away. There is a school at the village.

The vernaculars spoken were Jingulu and Mudbura, mainly by the older people.

English was used extensively, with some Pidgin influence in the case of the older people. Roper Kriol was not tested.

Of the three questionnaire respondents, two young men said they would like to see Jingulu and Mudbura used in the school, probably from a desire to see their language 'roots' preserved rather than to meet a communication need. Their father said only English should be used.

2.2 ELLIOTT

Approximately 230 Aborigines were living in the two camps at Elliott, the larger one at the northern end of the town and the other, 'Anthony's Camp', about 1 km to the south of the town.

The vernaculars spoken were Mudbura and Jingulu by many of the older people, and Wampaya by a few older people at Anthony's Camp. Younger people, who have had some school education, seemed to use Pidgin or English, or a mixture of both, rather than a vernacular. It was claimed, however, that they 'hear' the language.
The lingua franca and the language most commonly observed was Pidgin. Roper Kriol was not tested.

Adults responding to the questionnaire expressed the desire to see both Mudbura and Jingulu taught in the school, which again I suspect indicates a desire to see their language 'roots' preserved, rather than to meet a communication need.

2.3 ANTHONY'S LAGOON

Few, if any, Aborigines were living at Anthony's lagoon permanently. The original people of this area were living at the Anthony's Camp at Elliott. I visited people who had been recruited from Elliott for the mustering.

The vernacular of the area was said to be Wampaya, but I found only one man, about 60 years old, who could give me a sample of this language. He said that other adults spoke a mixture of Wampaya and Pidgin.

Pidgin was observed to be the language used almost entirely among them. Roper Kriol was well understood. One young man, apparently literate in English, read some Roper Kriol after minimal tuition and encouragement.

The one questionnaire respondent expressed the desire to have Wampaya taught in Elliott school, again probably to see his language 'roots' preserved.

2.4 BRUNETTE DOWNS

Approximately 200 Aborigines were living on what appeared to be an excision (an area of land formally excised from a pastoral lease and given to an Aboriginal community for their habitation) 2 km south of the homestead at Brunette Downs. There was a one-teacher school near their camp.

It appeared to be quite a mixed community, having a few speakers each of Wampaya, Kutanji, Garawa, Yanyuwa and Mara. The young people were using only Pidgin.

The language most commonly observed was Pidgin; in fact, nothing else was heard in use by Aborigines with each other. Some young people and one middle aged man could use fairly standard English with me, but apparently didn't with other Aborigines.

Roper Kriol was well understood, and, in fact, later referred to as 'our language' by one man. All except one man understood Roper Kriol better than standard English.
Some questionnaire respondents expressed the desire to have Wampaya and/or Kutanji taught in the school, probably, as in other cases, to see their language 'roots' preserved. One leader stated that the parents should have taught their children their language, but they didn't, so there would be no point now in having any vernacular in the school. He said they could possibly have Kriol.

2.5 ALEXANDRIA

Approximately 20 Aborigines were living at Alexandria permanently and on the average about an equal number of temporary or semi-permanent people stay there. They are free to live on the station when not employed.

There is a school (19 children enrolled, multi-racial, one teacher plus aides) and a Post Office at the homestead.

No vernacular was claimed to be spoken by the Aborigines, though they said it was Wagaya country. However, one of the European station staff claimed he often heard Aborigines using vernacular when they wanted to conceal their conversation from Europeans. I suspect they used a 'heavy' Pidgin, with perhaps a few vernacular words thrown in, on such occasions.

The language most commonly observed was Pidgin, with variation toward standard English among the younger people and those who had come from Queensland.

Roper Kriol was fairly well understood. One young woman, who claimed she could read English 'a little bit', read Roper Kriol after less than a minute of tuition. She could also point out vocabulary differences between Roper Kriol and the local Pidgin.

2.6 ALROY DOWNS

Approximately 35 Aborigines were living at a camp about a kilometre or two south of Alroy Downs homestead. A few were originally from that country, most were from Warumungu country and a few were from Camoweal and Tennant Creek.

The only vernacular found was Warumungu, which seemed to be fairly well known by adults. The children were observed to speak Pidgin with possibly a few vernacular words thrown in.

The language observed to be the most used was Pidgin. Roper Kriol was fairly well understood.
2.7 ROCKHAMPTON DOWNS

Approximately 100 Aborigines were living in the two camps, each about 1 km from the homestead. There is a two-teacher school at the homestead.

The vernacular spoken was Warumungu, and all adults had at least a passive knowledge of it. Adults were observed to speak mostly the vernacular among themselves, while children and teenagers were observed to use mostly Pidgin. It was reported that some children knew only a few words of the vernacular, while others knew more. A few were said to be able to read and write Warumungu. One young Warumungu woman, Doreen Noonan, has compiled a Warumungu dictionary in spelling devised by a teacher who was there in 1974.

Pidgin was observed to be used about as much as Warumungu, but by younger people or by older people talking to younger people. One old man explained that the parents speak Pidgin to the children until they get 'a bit grown up' in order to help them get on in the European's world, and that later on they learn the vernacular.

Roper Kriol was well understood.

Two Questionnaire respondents expressed the desire for Warumungu to be taught in the school, while a third wanted just English.

2.8 BANKA BANKA

Approximately 50 Aborigines were living on what appeared to be an excision, about 2 km south of the station homestead at Banka Banka. There is a school at the homestead.

The vernaculars spoken were Warumungu, and to a lesser extent Warlmanpa. It appears that these two groups are well mixed, as many adults can speak both languages.

They also spoke Pidgin, and used it more in communication with each other than either vernacular. They said that they used both Pidgin and vernacular in speaking to their children, that pre-school children know only the vernacular and learn English as they progress at school, and that school age children use both Pidgin and the vernacular. I was not always able to establish which vernacular was referred to in the above statements. I only observed children using Pidgin with each other, and a more standard form of English in responding to Europeans.

Roper Kriol was well understood by adult men and moderately understood by more sophisticated young women, (assistant school teachers and a health worker).
2.9 TENTANT CREEK

Several hundred Aborigines were living around Tennant Creek, at various locations, divided primarily according to tribal affiliation, although there was interaction amongst all the groups to various degrees. All children appeared to be attending school.

In the street I observed that they used mostly Pidgin with each other, though vernacular was also heard. Younger Aborigines seemed to respond to Europeans in fairly standard English.

Each respondent to the questionnaire indicated the desire to see his own language taught in the school.

Details of the individual camps are as follows:

2.9.1 MULGA CAMP

Approximately 70 Warumunga people were living at Mulga camp on the northern edge of the town. Some had lived at the Philip Creek settlement in the 1940's and were moved to Ali-Curung (Warrabri) when it was established, but have since returned to Tennant Creek.

The Warumunga vernacular was claimed, by a woman who was obviously keen for its survival, to be understood by all. She said that the adults speak it and that children speak it 'a bit'. I observed that she used English and Pidgin in speaking to children and young adults. I heard some vernacular and some Pidgin in conversations between adults, and mostly Pidgin used by the children. Their pronunciation of English/Pidgin words, however, was usually a long way removed from the standard English pronunciations.

Roper Kriol was well understood.

2.9.2 BLUEBERRY HILL CAMP

Approximately 15 Aborigines, predominately Warlmanpa, were living in scattered huts near Blueberry Hill on the western side of the town.

The main vernacular represented was Warlmanpa, but Warlpiri, Warumungu and Garawa were also found there. A few other Barkly languages were also claimed to be spoken as second languages. Almost all conversation observed, however, was in Pidgin.

Roper Kriol was fairly well understood, and one man wanted to tape my reading of it to play later to his friends.
2.9.3 THE VILLAGE, LONGHOUSE AND NEARBY CAMPS

Approximately 40 Warlpiri people were living in a circle of houses on a street at the southern end of the town, known as the 'village', or in a nearby long shed without walls, known as the 'longhouse', or in nearby camps to the south of this, extending eastwards to the Stuart Highway.

They said that their vernacular was the Warrabri dialect of Warlpiri, though other Warlpiri people from Yuendumu or Lajamanu (Hooker Creek) camp in that area when they visit Tennant Creek. People in their 50's or older used vernacular among themselves, and a mixture of vernacular and English when talking to young men in their 20's. The latter responded in Pidgin, which was understood by the older people. They said that those who had been to school, including those still at school, understand some Warlpiri but mainly speak 'European' (i.e. Pidgin). Children who have recently come from Ali-Curung (Warrabri) speak some Warlpiri words.

Roper Kriol was fairly well understood.

2.9.4 DUMP CAMP

Approximately 20 Warlpiri people were living in scattered huts near the rubbish dump at the southwest corner of the town.

They said their vernacular was the Warrabri dialect of Warlpiri and indicated this was different from that of Yuendumu or Lajamanu (Hooker Creek). They said their children do not speak Warlpiri, or at best a few words only, but rather speak Pidgin. I observed the adults using mostly Pidgin but also some vernacular among themselves. (The children of the camp were apparently away at school as none were to be seen at the time of my visit.)

Roper Kriol was fairly well understood.

2.9.5 KARGURA SCHOOL CAMP

Approximately 100 Alyawarra people were living in a couple of groups of huts at the southeast corner of the town, near the Kargura school.

The vernacular spoken was Alyawarra, which, in contrast to the other camps in Tennant Creek, was used for almost 100% of communication among themselves. I observed that even the children spoke mostly vernacular and only a small amount of Pidgin. However, some older people said that the children and young people use a lot of 'English', while understanding Alyawarra. I suspect their assessment is in comparison to themselves.

Roper Kriol was only partially understood.
2.9.6 STREET RESIDENCES IN TENNANT CREEK

I did not get an estimate of the number of Aborigines living at normal street addresses in the town. An officer of the Department of Community Development put it at about 112.

I visited one home in Hollis Street and spoke to several other Aborigines living at other street addresses. In general they had a better understanding of standard English than those living in the camps.

The vernaculars claimed to be spoken by these people were Warumungu and to a lesser extent Warlpiri. Intermarriage across language boundaries was evident. One young woman seemed to know Warumungu well and had been used as a language resource person for the Warumungu class mentioned above. They said their children 'heard' their parents' language but spoke only a few words. I observed them to use only English and Pidgin in speaking to their children.

Some showed an attitude toward Pidgin that I suspect reflected that of many Europeans, that it is 'rubbish English', even though they understood it and it had influenced their own English. Others were more ready to recognise its role in communication, saying that people understand it better than standard English. These latter were interested in Roper Kriol publications.

Roper Kriol was well understood.

2.10 NGURRATITYI

Approximately 25 Aborigines of this group were reported to be living about 50 to 60 km east of Tennant Creek along the Gosses River. I was not able to visit their community but spoke to a couple of their leaders in Tennant Creek, from whom the following information was obtained. I was told they had not found permanent water for their community and were therefore frequently shifting camp, so apparently they were reluctant to invite me to visit at that time.

They said that the vernacular spoken by all the community, including children, is Alyawarra. Adults use it with children and children with adults, though children also use some 'English' (which I suspect to be Pidgin) with each other. One leader I spoke with could converse with me in fairly standard English, but used Pidgin with other Aborigines who passed by in the street as we talked. He was keen to have Alyawarra literacy for his community.

Roper Kriol was not tested.
2.11 EPENARRA

About 60 Aborigines were living on an excision about 1 km from the Epenarra station homestead. I was told that there had been more when a group from Canteen Creek had moved in, but they had later moved on into Tennant Creek. There was a one-teacher school near the homestead.

The vernacular was Alyawarra, spoken at all levels in the community. Only the vernacular was observed in communication between Aborigines. I was told that children commencing school were monolingual.

Adults said they could 'hear' Anmatyirra and responded to it in Alyawarra, which the Anmatyirra people could similarly 'hear'. They also said they could 'hear' Aranda, Santa Theresa dialect, and to a lesser extent Warlpiri and Warumungu. English is used as a lingua franca with others.

Roper Kriol, though better understood than standard English, was nevertheless not completely understood.

Questionnaire respondents expressed a keen desire for vernacular literacy in the school.

2.12 ALI-CURUNG (WARRABRI)

Approximately 600 to 700 Aborigines were living on this government settlement.

One school teacher's estimation was that they were made up of about 55% Alyawarra, 40% Warlpiri, and the remaining 5% a mixture including Kaytej, a few Warumungu and others, some of whom had no tribal affiliation. He noted that there had been a population shift from east to west, and that four and a half years ago the composition was about 17% Alyawarra, 75% Warlpiri and the remaining 8% included more Warumungu than today.

There has been a lot of intermarriage between the different groups, resulting in Pidgin being used in the homes, which further resulted in the younger generation using it for normal communication rather than either parent's language. Both Kaytej and Warlpiri people mentioned this as a reason for the loss of their language.

2.12.1 THE ALYAWARRA

The vernacular most often heard at Ali-Curung was Alyawarra, as these people seemed to have retained their language more than the other groups. The reason for this is probably that the majority of them have
been more recent arrivals at the settlement and therefore have not been
affected by intermarriage to the same extent. Alyawarra children first
starting school were reported to know virtually no English, whereas
Warlpiri children of that age knew about as much English as vernacular.

Roper Kriol was not tested on Alyawarra people.

2.12.2 THE WARLPIRI

The older Warlpiri people used vernacular but the younger ones used
mostly Pidgin in their communication with each other, though they
claimed not to have forgotten the vernacular. They claimed that
although their children understood Warlpiri they did not use it, but
rather used 'English' (i.e. Pidgin). My observation concurred with
this. I also observed that a Warlpiri woman, while giving me vernacular
words, spoke to her children and to a passer-by in Pidgin.

There is a Warlpiri literacy program in the school and the Aboriginal
teacher involved in it claimed that the children learned Warlpiri words
more quickly than English. She was keen that they have that program and
also that they learn English well.

Roper Kriol was fairly well understood by this same Aboriginal teacher,
who also made the suggestion that it could be used for the first things
children learn to read, and later they could read standard English.
(This would be very similar to the ITA approach and would use vocabulary
and grammar the children already use orally.)

2.12.3 THE KAYTEJ

Kaytej was spoken by the older members of a few families, where younger
adults could give a few Kaytej words but spoke mostly Pidgin to each
other. They said that the Kaytej children knew only a few words of the
vernacular, using Pidgin instead.

Roper Kriol was moderately understood by the sample of Kaytej people
interviewed. They claimed, 'What we speak is more really English.'
They also expressed the desire for Kaytej to be used in the school.

2.12.4 THE WARUMUNGU

The Warumungu language situation at this settlement was about the same
as that of Kaytej indicated above. Circumstances prevented me getting
precise data on it.
2.13 IMANGARA (MURRAY DOWNS)

Approximately 60 Aborigines live on an excision about 1 km away from the Murray Downs homestead. There is a school near the homestead.

The vernacular was Alyawarra, which was spoken by everyone at all levels of the community. Some people said they also understood Aranda, and a few Kaytej. (A few Kaytej people have married into the community.) Some young adults, who have been to school, could speak fairly standard English, and the children currently at school less so. One of the leading men responded to me in Pidgin, but I did not hear it in use otherwise.

Roper Kriol was only partially understood.

The respondent to the questionnaire expressed the desire for literacy in Alyawarra to be taught in the school.

2.14 TARA (NEUTRAL JUNCTION)

Approximately 50 Aborigines were living on an excision about 2 km from the Neutral Junction homestead. There is a school at the homestead. It was not a dry camp and its population had apparently decreased in recent years through liquor-related fighting, with people moving away to dry camps to avoid it. The school's enrollment had dropped from 40 to 14 in six years.

The vernacular spoken by the majority was Kaytej, with Alyawarra being spoken by a significant minority. They said they could 'hear' Aranda. The Kaytej and Alyawarra people did not all speak each other's language. I observed that adults used vernacular with each other. I did not get an opportunity to observe the children's speech first hand, but the adults said that the children speak Kaytej among themselves and with adults, and English at school. It was reported by a European that they speak a mixture of Kaytej and Pidgin.

Roper Kriol was moderately well understood.

The questionnaire respondent was keen to have Kaytej literacy in the school.

2.15 WILORA (STIRLING)

About 100 Aborigines were living on this excision about 3 km south of the Stirling homestead. It was a dry camp. There was a school at the homestead with an enrollment of over 30 children.
Both the Anmajirra and Kaytej vernaculars were spoken, with most people understanding both. There was some evidence too of Alyawarra and Warlpiri. According to the men interviewed Anmajirra predominated. They claimed that it was dialectally different from that spoken at Ti-Tree, which they said was really 'Ndelbra'.

I observed that both adults and children used the vernacular among themselves, with only occasional English or Pidgin words. The adults said that the children mix some English in with their speech. The English used with me was not Pidgin but more standard, though a little broken.

Roper Kriol was only partially understood.

Respondents to the questionnaire wanted Anmajirra literacy taught in the school.

2.16 NTURiya (Ti-Tree Station)

Approximately 120 Aborigines were living on this Aboriginal-owned station about 20 km west of Ti-Tree township. Their children attended the school at the township.

The vernacular was Anmajirra, which was used by the whole community at all levels. They said they could 'hear' Alyawarra, and some said they could also speak Warlpiri.

The older men, those over 50, spoke to me in Pidgin, which they said they learned when they had been 'up north' droving. The younger people used more standard English for the little they said. They seemed somewhat inhibited, possibly by the limitations of their knowledge of English. They left most of the responding to the older people.

Roper Kriol was understood by the older men and only partially understood by the others.

The questionnaire respondent indicated the desire for Anmajirra literacy to be taught in the school at Ti-Tree.

2.17 Ti-Tree Six Mile Camp (Pmara Jutunta)

Approximately 120 Aborigines were living on what appeared to be a second camp on Ti-Tree station, or else an excision, about 9 km (6 miles) south along the highway from Ti-Tree township. It was a dry camp. Their children went to school in Ti-Tree township.

The vernacular was Anmajirra, which was used by the whole community at all levels. The old man interviewed said that they also knew Warlpiri
and could 'hear' Alyawarra, but there were no Alyawarra or Kaytej people there and only a few Warlpiri had married in.

Roper Kriol was not tested.

The old man interviewed was keen to have literacy in Anmajirra taught in the school at Ti-Tree. The school has an enrolment of 123 children, mostly Anmajirra-speaking children from this camp, Nturiya and Woolo Downs. A teacher said that the children in the playground use only vernacular among themselves, and that young children starting at preschool were monolingual. So it would seem most desirable to have Anmajirra in the school, particularly as a medium of instruction for the youngest Aboriginal children.

2.18 LARRAMBA (NAPPERBY)

About 200 to 300 Aborigines were living in two camps in close proximity to each other on an excision near the Napperby homestead. There was a school at one of these camps, with an enrolment of 44.

The vernacular was Anmajirra, which was used by the whole community at all levels. There were also a few Aranda and Warlpiri speakers, and one Kaytej. The teacher said that the young children starting school were monolingual, and retained their vernacular while learning English as they progressed at school. The people said they could all 'hear' Aranda.

Roper Kriol was only partially understood. The English used with me was more standard than Kriol, though somewhat broken, and having a few Pidgin words in it.

The questionnaire respondents were keen to have Anmajirra literacy taught in the school.

2.19 MBULATWATY (HONEYMOON BORE)

Approximately 100 Aborigines live on this excision, about 6 km north of the Sandover highway, or about 9 km north of Amaroo homestead. (I was also given the name 'Arunga' for this community.) There was no school in operation, though until shortly before my visit there had been a visiting teacher coming from Utopia. The people said they were trying to get a school.

The vernacular was Alyawarra, spoken by the whole community at all levels. They said they spoke no other vernacular. The children seemed to be almost monolingual. The people said they could 'hear' Aranda Akerre, Anmajirra and Kaytej. Their English showed some Pidgin influence.
Roper Kriol was only partially understood, but better understood than standard English.

The questionnaire respondents keenly wanted Alyawarra literacy to be taught in the school they were hoping to get, and said that they had already requested this.

2.20 UTOPIA/THREE-BORE

About 250 to 300 Aborigines were living in many camps around the homestead of Utopia, an Aboriginal owned station, and at Three-Bore, which is about 6 km from the homestead, where the office and clinic were situated. There is a school at the homestead.

The main vernacular was Anmajarra, with some Alyawarra, some Warlpiri, a few Aranda Akityerre (apparently a dialect similar to Aranda Akerre) and two other Aranda families. These vernaculars were used by the whole community at all levels. I observed children in a class at the school using Anmajarra among themselves. A teacher said that they use vernacular at all times other than when English is demanded of them, and that the older people speak better English than the younger.

Anmajarra people told me that they and the Alyawarra people 'hear' each other's language but just speak their own.

No English or Pidgin was observed in the people's communication with each other, but only vernacular.

Roper Kriol was claimed to be understood at least better than standard English.

The questionnaire respondents expressed the desire for both Anmajarra and Alyawarra literacy to be taught in the school, in that order of preference.

2.21 NGGULWALYA (KURRAJONG BORE)

This is an outstation of Utopia, on the southern bank of the Sandover River, about 7 km south of Nara, about 65 km by road northeast of Utopia homestead. It is a dry camp.

Time did not permit me to be as thorough in examining this community as I was in others. The vernacular was Alyawarra, which I am reasonably certain was spoken by the whole community at all levels. I am less sure of the population but estimate it to be 50.
2.22 NARA (SOAKAGE BORE)

Approximately 120 Aborigines were living at this outstation of Utopia, about 1 km north of the Sandover highway, about 60 km by road north east of Utopia homestead. It is a dry camp. The children are taken to Utopia each day for school.

The main vernacular was Anmajirra, which some there referred to as Anmajirra Aranda, plus some Alyawarra and a few Warlpiri who had married in. They said that Anmajirra and Alyawarra adults could 'hear' each other's language, but the children could not do so.

The vernacular was spoken by the whole community at all levels. They said that English was not used between parents and children nor among the children themselves.

Roper Kriol was barely understood, except for one man who said he had 'bin long that country'.

2.23 URRULTYA

About 60 Aborigines were living on what appears to be an excision from McDonald Downs station, about 24 km west of Derry Downs homestead. The people said they had moved there from McDonald Downs station. No school was observed.

The vernacular was Alyawarra, which was used by the whole community at all levels. The children seemed almost monolingual. A few English words were observed in the adults' speech, for concepts which were possibly not easily expressed in vernacular or were associated more with Europeans, such as 'road'.

Roper Kriol was not tested, due to time limitations, but the questionnaire respondent used Pidgin with me.

They indicated the desire to have Alyawarra literacy taught to the community.

2.24 DERRY DOWNS

Approximately 70 Aborigines were living in the camp about 1 km north of the Derry Downs homestead. The only Europeans living on the station were the manager and his wife. There was no school there.

The vernacular was Alyawarra, which was used by the whole community at all levels. They said that they could 'hear' Anmajirra but would reply in English. Younger people, who had been to school at Lake Nash, spoke
fairly standard English, while older men's English was influenced by Pidgin.

Roper Kriol was only partially understood, but all except one understood it better than standard English.

The questionnaire respondents wanted Alyawarra literacy taught, provided no secret material would be published.

2.25  BONYA HILL (JERVOIS)

Approximately 65 Aborigines were living on a one square mile excision from Jervois station, about 20 km north of the homestead. A European couple was running a store across the creek, just outside the excision. There was no school there, although the people wanted one. Five of their children were away at school at Alice Springs. I was told of plans to start a school at Jervois mine, about 48 km away, and to bus the children there, but since my visit I have heard that the mine has closed down and most of its (European) community has left.

The vernacular was Aranda Akerre, although there was some evidence of influence of Aranda Akityerre, and possibly of another more different dialect from further east which they said was 'Narra'. The vernacular was used by the whole community at all levels. Most of the children, and even some teenagers, seemed to be monolingual. Some men said they could 'hear' Alyawarra and speak it a little bit.

One man spoke Pidgin to me, while others used more standard English, although broken.

Roper Kriol was only partially understood, but better understood than standard English.

The questionnaire respondent wanted literacy and books etc. in Aranda Akerre.

2.26  HART'S RANGE AND MT. RIDDOCK

About 60 Aborigines were living at these two places. Hart's Range is the site of a police station, about 27 km east of Mt. Riddock homestead. Many Aborigines move frequently between the two places so they are being treated here as one community. There was no school at either place. (Many people were away at Alice Springs at the time of my visit so the above population estimate could be inaccurate.)

The vernacular was Aranda Akerre, which was used by the whole community at all levels. The people used a broken form of English rather than Kriol.
Roper Kriol was only partially understood, but better understood than standard English.

The questionnaire respondents wanted Aranda Akerre literacy as well as English to be taught.

2.27 ENGAWALA (ALCOOTA)

Approximately 70 Aborigines were living on this excision about 2 km. north of Alcoota homestead. It was a dry camp, and it had no school.

(At the time of my visit the leaders were away and others were hesitant
to talk with me. Most of the following information was supplied by just
one young woman who appeared to be the only one with sufficient English
to do so, although others may have been just too shy. The situation did
not allow me to test Roper Kriol, elicit a word list or fill in a
questionnaire.)

The vernaculars spoken were Eastern (Santa Theresa) Aranda and
Alyawarra, about 50% of the people speaking each, plus a few Aranda
Akerre speakers. Originally it was an Aranda group but others married
in or otherwise joined the group. Aranda is understood by the Alyawarra
people, and vice-versa. The vernaculars were used by the whole
community at all levels, with the children and young adults appearing to
be monolingual. No English or Pidgin was observed apart from the one
person speaking to me.

2.28 OTHER PLACES

The following places visited were found to have no significant
Aboriginal population, so time was not taken to attempt to collect data
at them: Eva Downs, Kurundie, Waite River, Dneiper, Huckitta and Jervois
stations, and the roadhouses at Renner Springs, Frewena, Wauchope,
Wycliffe Well, Barrow Creek and Aileron. Nor was Ti-Tree township
investigated apart from the school.

Information obtained about the following places indicated that they had
no significant Aboriginal populations, so they were not visited:
Ucharonidge, Mungabroom, Shandon Downs, Walhollow, Creswell Downs, Helen
Springs, Brunchilly, McLaren Ck., Elkedra, Mt. Skinner, Woodgreen,
McDonald Downs, Lucy Creek, Bushy Park and Yambah stations, and the
various non-pastoral establishments (i.e. roadhouses, mines, etc.) in
the area other than those listed above.

The following places were reported to have Aboriginal populations but
were not visited for economy reasons and because of the amount of
information obtained about them from other Aborigines, which is as
follows:

141
Beetaloo has approximately 18 Aborigines who belong to the Jingulu and Mudburra tribes. The language situation is basically the same as that described above for Jingulu and Mudburra people at Newcastle Waters (2.1) and Elliott (2.2).

2.28.2 WOOLA DOWNS

Woola Downs is an Aboriginal-owned station having approximately 50 people, all of whom speak Annajirra. The language situation is basically the same as that for Annajirra people at the two Ti-Tree locations (2.16 and 2.17).

2.28.3 ANNINGIE

Anningie has a number of people whose mother tongue is Annajirra, and also some whose mother tongue is Warlpiri.

3. CONCLUSIONS

3.1 NORTHERN HALF

A form of Pidgin has become, or is becoming, creolised in the Barkly Tableland. This is the language used for most everyday communication in the area surveyed, from Ali-Curung northwards, with the exception of the Alyawarra speaking communities at Ali-Curung, Epenarra and the Kargura School camp at Tennant Creek. It is the lingua franca of the remaining speakers of vernaculars in this northern half, and also of some vernacular speakers in the southern half.

Any serious attempts at communication with the Aborigines of this northern half of the area surveyed should not ignore Pidgin as a medium. Further study of it is needed, particularly to determine its relationship to Roper Kriol, the extent to which Roper Kriol could be used in this area and the dialectal variations between the two.

3.2 SOUTHERN HALF

In the remainder of the area surveyed, that is, south of Ali-Curung but also including the Alyawarra communities listed above, Alyawarra and Annajirra are the most important languages, and Aranda Akerre is also significant. Alyawarra and Annajirra are not mutually intelligible although they are closely related and speakers of each would have little difficulty in learning the other, as indeed some have done. There are significant numbers of people in this area, many of whom are in the younger age bracket, who appear to be almost monolingual. That is, they
have minimal knowledge of English or of any Aboriginal language other than their own.

Any serious attempt at communication with the Aborigines of this southern half of the area, apart from the most sophisticated of them, should not ignore these vernaculars as media. Recognising that linguistic research in depth is in progress in Alyawarra and Western Aranda, more research into Anmajirra is called for, as well as into Aranda Akerre.
APPENDIX I

1972 Tribal Population Figures

A survey conducted by the Welfare Branch of the Department of the Northern Territory in 1972 gives a count of the numbers of people at the different locations in the Northern Territory and their various tribal affiliations. Out of interest I quote below a summary of those relevant to the area of this survey.

However, it should be noted that these figures do not show the numbers of speakers of the tribal languages but rather the numbers who had those tribal affiliations, as determined by their patrilineal ancestry. Therefore they are at variance with the concerns of this survey in two respects:

1. Persons whose fathers had left one tribe and married into another were counted as being of the former tribe, although they now regard themselves as belonging to the latter and speak the latter's language.

2. Persons who have ceased to speak any tribal vernacular but instead use English or Pidgin were counted as belonging to one of the tribes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section of this Report</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Number of People</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>Amajirra</td>
<td>839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>Alyawarra</td>
<td>746</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>Aranda</td>
<td>2110 (Total of all Aranda groups. No separate figure for Aranda Akerre.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>Warumungu</td>
<td>463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>Warlpiri</td>
<td>2712 (Total of all Warlpiri.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>Kaytej</td>
<td>380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>Mudbura</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>Warlmanpa</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>Jingulu</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>Wampaya</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>Kutanji</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>Wagaya</td>
<td>791</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX II

My Word List

dog
he
ground
fire
ashes
stone
sky
tree

grass (generic)
dry grass
green grass

food (veg.)
meat

water

man
woman

child
head
hand
foot

eye

nose

mouth

ear

chin

whiskers

tongue

elbow

knee

belly

I, me

you (s.)

he, him

we (dual incl.)
APPENDIX III

QUESTIONNAIRE USED IN CENTRAL NORTHERN TERRITORY SURVEY
APRIL-MAY, 1982.

Name of Community

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>male</th>
<th>female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aged</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>.....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>middle-aged</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>.....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adult</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>.....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>young adult</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>.....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teenager</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>.....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>.....</td>
<td>.....</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. What divisions did you notice in the language group concerning living arrangements? Do they live in:
   a. one tight-knit group ........................................
   b. inter-related communities (caused by geographical distance) ........................................
   c. several groups within the community ..................

2. Do the people in a given locality live:
   a. in a mixed group ........................................
   b. in separate groups divided according to language...
   c. integrated with Europeans ..............................

3. What are the reasons for the situation described above (last two questions)? Is the division in the tribe determined by:
   a. place of employment ......................................
   b. prestige of one group ...................................
   c. dialect difference or language difference ...........
   d. tribal origin .............................................
   e. caste ....................................................

Points to Watch
1. In many situations a direct question-answer method will not be possible but questions will need some discussion. Don't rush the interview—better to conduct a few with people who have thought through the issues than a lot answered in a hurry.

2. Take care not to imply that programmes discussed are being promised to the community. It may be wise to make a negative statement to clarify this.
3. Items 1 through 4 and 20 are to be completed from the interviewer's observations. Reasons for this: It can be an embarrassment to ask a person to give his name and most will not know their age. Some of the questions require content answers, for these a space is left. Others give several options. For the latter type, circle the letter(s) corresponding to the answer(s) given by the respondent.

Interviewer's Name ................. Date .......... Items 1 - 4 to be answered by interviewer

1. Name (if known without elicitation) .................

2. Sex
   a. male
   b. female

3. Approximate age
   a. school age
   b. teenager (16-19 years)
   c. young adult (20-30 years)
   d. adult (30-50 years)
   e. middle-aged (50-65 years)
   f. aged (65 and over)

4. Ethnicity
   a. full Aborigine
   b. part Aborigine
   c. European
   d. other

**************************

5. Employment status
   a. employed as .................
   b. unemployed

6. i. Place of living now (community name or street name) .........
    ii. Place of birth (give name if offered)
       a. town ..........................
       b. station ........................
       c. bush

7. i. What languages are spoken in this community
       ..................................
ii. How many speak each language? (Tick the appropriate space)
Languages very many many few

................
................
................
................

8. i. What was your father's language? ....................
ii. What was your mother's language? ....................
iii. Which language(s) do you speak now? ...............
iv. Which language(s) do you understand but not speak?
 .........

v. Which do you consider your own language? ..........
vi. Which language(s) do your children speak? ........

vii. Which language(s) do your children understand but not speak?

................
................

9. (To be answered only by those who claim a language other than English in Item 8.iii)
i. Can you read your own language?  
   a. yes  
   b. no

ii. If yes, where did you learn? .........................
   Who has produced reading materials? ...............  
   If no, has anyone written your language?
   a. yes Who?  .............................
   b. no
   c. not sure
   Would you like your language to be written?
   a. yes
   b. no
   c. not sure

10. i. Do you use English when speaking with
    a. Europeans
    b. spouse(s)
    c. Aboriginal adults of your language group
    d. Aboriginal adults of different lang. groups
    e. children
    f. no one
If c. or d. is selected, go on to ii.

ii. Do you use English with fellow adult Aborigines
   a. at same sex gatherings
   b. at business meetings
   c. at corroborees
   d. in company with Europeans
   e. with close relatives
   f. other

11. i. Can you read English?  a. yes
      b. no

      If yes, go on to ii, iii, iv, v.

   ii. What can you read and understand?
       a. letters
       b. comics
       c. newspaper
       d. books — novels
       e. Bible
       f. other

   iii. Have you ever read a book right through?  a. yes
         b. no

   iv. Where did you learn to read?  a. school
       b. other (specify)

12. i. Do the children in this community speak English?
       a. a creole or pidgin
       b. Aboriginal English
       c. standard English
       d. something between b. and c.

   ii. Is the children's language different from that of adults?  a. yes
       b. no
       c. a little

13. i. Do the children in this community speak their
certain parents' language?  a. yes
                           b. no
                           c. some do

   ii. If yes, how well? a. some words only
       b. whenever they speak to parents
       c. when speaking to other children
14. i. What language(s) should the children be taught at school?  
   a. English  
   b. an Aboriginal language  
   c. both  

   ii. If b. or c. which Aboriginal language should it be?  
       (List in order of preference if more than one.)  
       ..............................................  
       ..............................................  

15. What is the value of learning English?  
   for you ..............................................  
   for your children .......................................  

16. i. What is the main language spoken in this area?  
       ..............................................  

   ii. What do you think will be the main language when the children of today are adults?  
       ..........................  

17. i. Would you like educational programmes set up in this community?  
       a. yes  
       b. no  
       c. not interested  

   ii. If yes, what types?  
       a. literacy in Aboriginal language(s)  
       b. literacy in English  
       c. oral English  
       d. Aboriginal culture for Aboriginal children  
       e. Aboriginal culture for European children  
       f. European culture for Aboriginal children  
       g. other  

   iii. Would you attend relevant adult classes  
       a. once daily  
       b. twice weekly  
       c. once weekly  
       d. when you feel like it  
       e. not at all  

18. If someone was to begin a programme in an Aboriginal language, which language should be used?  
       ..............................................  
       ..............................................  

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19. i. What materials would you like to have written in this language?
   a. newspaper
   b. stories about the way life was in the bush
   c. stories from the Dreamtime
   d. comics
   e. stories about European life style
   f. books about how to get along in the city
   g. books about money, etc.
   h. the Bible
   i. other (specify)

ii. Who would use these materials?
   a. children
   b. men
   c. women
   d. old people
   e. Europeans
   f. other (specify)

END OF QUESTIONS TO INTERVIEWEES

What language did the respondent use during the interview? ...........................................

If English, was it
   a. pidgin
   b. variety of standard English

If b. what is your impression of his/her fluency?
   a. equal to native speaker
   b. able to express anything required for the interview with little difficulty
   c. able to express most things required for the interview but with hesitation and self-correction
   d. spoke it with difficulty but understood questions
   e. spoke it with difficulty and only partly understood questions
   f. used only a few words
REFERENCES


Hale, Kenneth L. undated. 'Arandic Word List', mimeo.


