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PREFACE

These Work Papers are being produced in two series by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Australian Aborigines Branch, Inc. in order to make results of SIL research in Australia more widely available. Series A includes technical papers on linguistic or anthropological analysis and description, or on literacy research. Series B contains material suitable for a broader audience, including the lay audience for which it is often designed, such as language learning lessons and dictionaries.

Both series include both reports on current research and on past research projects. Some papers by other than SIL members are included, although most are by SIL field workers. The majority of material concerns linguistic matters, although related fields such as anthropology and education are also included.

Because of the preliminary nature of most of the material to appear in the Work Papers, these volumes are circulated on a limited basis. It is hoped that their contents will prove of interest to those concerned with linguistics in Australia, and that comment on their contents will be forthcoming from the readers. Papers should not be reproduced without the authors' consent, nor cited without due reference to their preliminary status.

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INTRODUCTION TO
SERIES B VOLUME II

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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COMMUNICABILITY
OF SOME
WESTERN DESERT COMMUNILECTS

K.C. Hansen

0. INTRODUCTION

'Pintupi here, Kukatja at Balgo and Yulparitja at La Grange are all the one language.' Over the years at Papunya similar remarks have been made by Aborigines indicating their feelings of a unity in the above mentioned Western Desert dialects. On the other hand the difference between these same dialects has been emphasised by other Aborigines with remarks like this, 'That Yulparitja is a different language, not like Pintupi.' Herein lies the problem: How can we measure the differences and similarities among these Western Desert dialects? When conversing with Aborigines from a distant Western Desert dialect, how much do they adjust their speech to accommodate the newcomer? Is the speech they use with the outsider the same as that used by all members of their communities?

In 1978, after learning of the mutual intelligibility testing material from Mexico, James Marsh and I resolved to survey the following Western Desert dialects for degree of communication: Mantjiltjarra, Martu
Wangka, Yulparitja, Wangkatjungka, Kukatja, Pintupi and Ngaatjatjarra. Because of other pressing work and the lack of readily available testing materials, we did not commence survey at that time. In 1980 the Summer Institute of Linguistics asked James Marsh and me to plan for a survey later that year. Marsh has been involved in a linguistic programme at Jigalong, Western Australia since 1967. Independently, Marsh and I collected texts in Martu Wangka and Pintupi respectively for communicability testing and I commenced the development of the synonym range and grammatical form range test. We carried out the survey in July and August 1980. We visited the following communities: Wiluna, Jigalong, La Grange, Fitzroy Crossing, Christmas Creek and Balgo Hills in W.A. During September 1980 I did further testing at Papunya and Giles. During 1981 I analysed and interpreted the data as presented in this paper.

O'Grady and Voegelin (1966, p. 138) have classified all of the dialects we were interested in comparing, except Wangkatjungka and Ngaatjatjarra, as belonging to the one 'Family-like language' i.e. Pama-Nyungan Family, Wati Subgroup. This linguistic classification made on the basis of lexical similarity gave us little help in determining communicability between the dialects. It was apparent that lexicostatistics would be of little help in measuring communication between dialects since grammatical forms needed comparing as well as vocabulary items. (Dixon 1972, pp. 20-21).

Having worked with these languages for some years, I was acutely aware of the frequent vocabulary changes which occur in the event of death. (Words which sound similar to the name of the dead person cease to be used and vocabulary items from another dialect are borrowed to replace them.) Because of this and the large number of synonyms in use in each dialect, it was evident that a different approach was necessary to measure communication.

In the early 1970's a dialect communication measuring method was developed in Mexico (Mutual Intelligibility Testing [Casad, 1972]) based on grading the answers given to content questions which were asked about stories from other dialects. An adaptation of this method was used as part of this present survey. The other part of this survey, using synonym and grammatical range lists, was developed by myself. Details of these materials are included in 2.2.3 and 2.2.4.

This communicability survey applies only to north Western Desert dialects. It should be noted that although vocabulary and grammatical forms from Pitjantjatjarra at Ernabella and Ngaanyatjarra at Warburton Ranges occur in some of the lists in this paper, these are included only for comparative purposes. The conclusions and comments expressed in this paper do not apply to those two Western Desert dialects. Data from only one and can aforesmee hoped t

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only one person at each of those two centres is included in some lists and cannot be considered in the same light as data from the aforementioned centres, where up to twelve people contributed. It is hoped that a similar survey will sometime be conducted in southern dialects including those at Warburton, Cundeelee, Ernabella etc.


1. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNILECTS

1.1 NOMADIC LOCAL GROUPS

It is difficult to obtain a completely accurate picture of the nomadic lifestyle of Aborigines living in the Gibson and Great Sandy desert areas prior to European contact without a full scale investigation being carried out at centres around the perimeter of the aforementioned area. Nevertheless, we have been able to get some idea of the size and activity of local groups from among the Pintupi before they went to live at Papunya (Peterson 1976). These observations were made on a number of
journeys from 1957 to 1966, when Mr. J.P.M. Long and others visited 'Pintupi country'. I quote from Mr. Long's article 'Arid Region Aborigines. The Pintupi.'

The former inhabitants of the area explored on these journeys have conveniently been referred to as Pintubi (Pintupi) or Bindibu. The evidence suggests that at least three distinct dialects of what has been labelled the Western Desert language were spoken in this area, and that the inhabitants distinguished at least as many regional groups of people within the area.

By 1957 the evacuation of the area was well advanced. People had moved north to the Balgo Hills mission, southwest to the Warburton Range mission and east to Haasts Bluff settlement. The people remaining in the desert were separated from their relatives, who had gone on to Haasts Bluff, by an uninhabited area about 250 km wide of which they knew little, and they knew nothing of the fate of those who had left. At least one or two of the men living in the extreme west of the area, not far from Carnegie's Family Well... had visited wells on the Canning Stock Route and one of these men had certainly been with parties which killed cattle on or near the stock route. At least one man in the desert had visited the Warburton Range mission and others had visited the Giles Meteorological Station. Some of those who remained in the desert in 1957 had travelled some of the distance with parties walking towards Balgo Hills and Haasts Bluff. Some living in the Lake Mackay area in 1957 had made journeys to the edge of the occupied pastoral country (Mount Doreen Station). In 1957 there were groups living farther to the south and west, but depopulation had certainly reduced the range and frequency of their social contacts.

Size and Composition of Groups

Groups have been met with which ranged in size from two people (a man and a boy) to twenty-two, the term "group" being here used to mean a number of people camping overnight at a single waterhole. The group of twenty-two was found at a claypan west of Lake Mckay in 1957 shortly after heavy rain. It consisted of three men, their wives and children and three single women (widows), and a group of three single males was reported to be camped some kilometres away to the west.

Generally, however, groups have consisted of one or two families, often with one or more adolescent males and/or...
elderly or widowed females. Such 'family groups' ranged in size from three to twelve people. The period 1957-64 was one of generally average or below average rainfall but, since good seasons are the exception and drought the rule, it is safe to assume that the people of this area lived in scattered groups of this size for most of the time.

It seems that one can think in terms of loose "associations" of families, which commonly foraged independently but often within a day's march of each other, and some or all of which came together at a single camp from time to time. Operating from separate but relatively close waterholes the individual families would be aware of each other's presence and movements by observing hunting and camp fire smokes as well as by occasional meetings. The families and single males of such associations might have come together not only after rain, but in the hot dry summer months, when it seems that groups may have tended to congregate at the more reliable wells (inta or tjila), where there might be good shade as well as water. After rain, when both water and food were relatively abundant, member groups of more than one association might foregather for ceremonies. (Long p. 265)

To add to the above insights, I have questioned at length four Pintupi men regarding their travels and associates in the desert prior to European contact. Details of these personal histories show the flexibility in number and composition of the local group. A local group may have occupied its own territory for some periods of time, but it is evident that they also foraged in other areas. All the male owners of a series of water places did associate with each other from time to time, but were often separated from each other in different local groups. It is evident also that many people spent a great deal of time away from their own country and the local groups in that area. This, of course, had far-reaching implications on the language used by transients who had shared life with many local groups in many localities. The four men to whom I am indebted for so much historical information are Billy Nolan Tjapangati, Ngitjita Tjungurrayi, Fred West Tjakamarra, and Cheekybugger Tjungurrayi.

Billy Nolan Tjapangati of Papunya was born at Tarrkira which is close to the Walter James Range. In his period of time in the bush before finally settling at Haasts Bluff, he travelled 400 km to the north to Mangkayi (Stansmore range) and Lapilapi (near Lake Hazlett). The east-west range of his travel was from Tjitururnga (Buck Hills) near the W.A./N.T. border to Walawala (Pollock Hills). Relevant places are shown on the map included in this section.
Ngitjita Tjungurrayi was born at Patjantjanya (south of Hickey Hills) and travelled from Tikatikanya (near Van Der Linden lakes) in the south as far north as Marrpuri (north of Dover Hills), 280 km. His east-west traverse was 320 km, from Lingakura (Davenport Hills) to west of Karrkunya (near Dowling Hills).

Fred West Tjakamarra was born at Tjulyanytjangka (near Dowling Hills) and travelled north with different local groups 720 km to Nyila (near French Hills). His east-west traverse was from Tjiturrurrnga (Buck Hills) 400 km west to the Canning Stock Route, Kinyu (Well no. 35).

Cheekybugger Tjungurrayi was born at Tjatiraltanya (west of Baron Range). He travelled as far south as Giles and as far north as Tarrkulunga (north of Angus Hills), a distance of 320 km. His east-west traverse was from Tjiturrurrnga (Buck Hills) 320 km west to Puntutjarrpa (Jupiter Well) and beyond.

This travelling of individuals and nuclear families seemed to be more the rule than the exception. However, it seems the greatest distances were covered by older boys and single men. All this travel meant that such people became very much aware of the linguistic differences of local groups and collections of local groups in many areas. Local groups would split up and move to far distant areas as participants of other local groups.

These local groups and collections of local groups, which in this paper I term multigroup, had minor speech variations and were often tagged with a name derived from such speech differences. The Ngapi wangkatjarra in the north were so called because they used ngapi instead of ngaatja for 'this'. Ngapi wangkatjarra means 'the people' with the talk/word ngapi'. Whilst such linguistic differences existed they were not considered as any barrier to communication or socialisation, as the differing speech forms only affected approximately 20% of their speech. 80% of their speech was common. There must have been scores of such multigroup dialect names over the whole Gibson and Sandy Desert area. The following are some that I have come across; Kanti wangkatjarra, Patutatjarra, Pitjapitja, Winanpa, Purruku wangkatjarra, Wanantjarra, Kuwarratjarra, Ngaatjatjarra, Putitjarra, Tiwalinjita, Ngulyu wangka, Mantjiltjarra, Kukatja kiya, Tjarrurungkatja Minurungkatja, Wangka tjukutjukutjarra, Wangka kuwarra and Kakarra wangka.

No attempt to list all multigroup dialect terms has been made because of a further complicating factor. When eliciting some of the above terms it became evident there is a variation of dialect terms for the same multigroup, depending on which other multigroup member refers to them. Cheekybugger Tjungurrayi said the Putitjarra (in bush days living to the west of his multigroup) used to call them Kakarra wangkatjarra 'the ones
with the eastern talk'. 'They called us two other names,' said Tjungurrayi, 'Wangka tjukutjukutjarra "the ones using the talk/word tjukutjuku", and Wangka Kuwarra "the ones using the talk/word kuwarra".'

Fred West Tjakamarra, who was born in the same area as Cheekybugger Tjungurrayi and recognises him as being of the same country, said, 'The Putitjarra used to call us Mantjiltjarra which means, 'The people with the talk/word mantji''. Cheekybugger Tjungurrayi said again, 'The people to the south of us in the bush used to call us Minurungkatja and also Kayilingkatja'. He and Fred West Tjakamarra and their group, who are known as Pintupi at Papunya, used all of the above mentioned linguistic terms, i.e. tjukutjuku, kuwarra, mantjila, minuru and kayili in their pre-contact multigroup dialect. So their multigroup dialect was known by five terms, probably more. Such would have been the case for most multigroups resulting in a great number of distinguishing linguistic terms.

Normally there was a great deal of movement of members between local groups and multigroups. This would have meant that vocabulary and grammatical variations would become widely known. The practice of intermarriage with members of more distant multigroups also would have resulted in a great deal of synonym and grammatical variation.

After rain, local and multigroups would spread out having far wider contact with other multigroups in foraging and ceremonies. Vocabulary which had become taboo because of a death would be noted and consequent changes would take place in the language used by other multigroups closely related to the deceased person, as well as in the language of the deceased person's own multigroup. Adoption of new vocabulary from other multigroups would be a constantly occurring event. Word and idiom fashions would have changed the spoken language as much then as it does now at Papunya. As a result of this a variety of synonyms were used in the multigroups. In avoiding the pronunciation of a taboo term, members of a multigroup would borrow different synonyms from other multigroups, resulting in a couple of synonyms being used at any given time in any one multigroup.

All four Pintupi men from whom these histories were obtained indicated that two, three or four synonyms were used for each vocabulary item in the bush days. The origin of some of these synonyms was known, but not all. The men were able to give an explanation about certain words, e.g. 'This word was borrowed from the Kanti wangkanjarra, because of my uncle's death'. However the origin of other synonyms was not known, and they would only comment, 'All those words are our language'.

It would appear that in pre-contact days the desert dwelling Aborigines had no one name for all the multigroup variants used throughout a region, recognising members of other tribes as being of the same country. Cheekybugger Tjungurrayi and Fred West Tjakamarra recognise themselves and their group as being of the same country. The Putitjarra and Minurungkatja used to call them Mantjiltjarra and Kayilingkatja.
region, i.e. no multigroups were recognised. They did, however, recognise three levels of communicability: the close communication among members of their own multigroup, the distant communication with members of other multigroups whose speech was still mutually intelligible with theirs (known as 'relatives'), and the greater distant communication with other groups such as Aranda, Warlpiri, Tjiwaliny etc. where there were communication problems. They explained these as, 'Different languages, not our language.' They realised that their relatives married to Tjiwaliny people, or living in Tjiwaliny areas, had learned Tjiwaliny, i.e. were bilingual. Their own adjacent multigroups and others further afield were not described as different languages but 'our talk', 'one talk'.

The term Pintupi was not used as a regional language name in the bush. Many of the so called Pintupi only learned of it after meeting people from Papunya and other settlements for the first time. As a result of this, Pintupi territory must be defined only as the territory belonging to the various multigroups who were brought into Haast Bluff, Papunya and Yuendumu. It is probable that the Warlpiri first dubbed a multigroup to its west by the nickname 'Pintupi', because that group used the expletive 'pintupi' frequently, as many at Papunya still do today. Following this, as settlements were established, the term was taken up by Europeans, Warlpiri, Aranda and Pitjantjatjarra alike, to refer to anyone who came in from the Gibson and Sandy Desert area, to those respective settlements.

1.2 DISPERSION OF DESERT DWELLERS

In the 1930's Aboriginal people from the Gibson and Sandy desert areas began going to the various cattle stations, settlements and missions around the border of the desert.

Cheekybugger Tjungurrayi said that a group first went to Balgo Hills mission from his area, and then others to Jigalong and Haasts Bluff and Papunya. One would think that people living closest to Haasts Bluff would have gone there instead of Balgo and people living closer to Giles and Warburton would have gone to those closer centres. However there were a lot of exceptions to this. Many followed their closer relatives to the far distant settlements to try life along side the white man for a time and return again to other relatives in the central desert. Many have told us of numerous trips to settlements and back to the bush before finally staying on a settlement. Tjupurrula Johnny Angus (recognised as a Pintupi living at Papunya) said that he and his wife with others went from the Tarrkuimga area (near Pollock Hills) north to Balgo. After staying for a month at Balgo they returned and lived in the central desert again before going east to Lapilapi (near Lake
Hazlett). There they met some Warlpiri and Europeans in a group and went with them to Mt. Doreen, then to Yuendumu. Later they went to Papunya and stayed there. Because of conflicts and suspicion of others (who were suspected of causing, through sorcery, the death of a loved relative), many leaving the desert would know which settlements they wished to avoid. It is surprising how effectively news is remembered and passed on.

Ngitjita Tjungurrayi said that his aunt, Tuwilannga, went to Balgo from Kulkutanya (south of Baron Range) when she was only 240 km from Warburton Ranges and even closer to Giles. Others of Ngitjita’s relatives went north to Balgo with Aborigines who came from Balgo with camels.

Also in the 1930’s many were guided into Haasts Bluff by Aborigines who knew the water holes over the forbidding stretch between Sandy Blight Junction and Haasts Bluff. These were initially known as Luritja people, as well as by the other term, Pintupi. Then from 1957 to 1966 there was the final exodus from the Central Desert to Jigalong, La Grange, Christmas Creek, Balgo Mission, Yuendumu, Papunya and Giles. Although many local groups from one multigroup dialect area may have moved into one settlement together, because of the constraints of relationship and the avoidance of further conflict some local groups went to other settlements. Therefore each centre of population involved in this survey is made up of local groups from a variety of historical multigroups.

The four men previously mentioned from whom personal histories were taken, each said that people related to them went from their area to various missions and settlements. Some examples are given below.

Tjapangati Johnson went from Kulkutanya (south of Baron Range) to Giles; he is now known as a speaker of Ngaatjarra. Kulkutanya is considered to be Pintupi country. Tjapanangka Patutanya who is now living at Balgo Hills and known as a Kukatja speaker went from Timalnga (north of Pollock Hills). Timalnga is considered to be Pintupi country. When he lived there with Tjapangati Nolan, he was recognised as speaking Kanti wangkatjarra. Pakupaku Tjapaltjarri went from around Yumari to Balgo mission, where he is known as Kukatja speaker. Yumari is considered as Pintupi country. "We used to live together around tjunta tarrka (north of Jupiter Well) and from there Walpurrus relatives went to Balgo; and Tjajintjananya Tjampitjinpa, Tjulypa Tjampitjinpa, Kantakanta Tjampitjinpa/Tjakamarra went on to live at Christmas Creek. Those at Balgo are known as Kukatja speakers and those at Christmas Creek are known as Wangkatjungka. In the bush we used to call Kantakanta, a Ngapi wangkatjarra speaker. Tjunta tarrka is considered to be Pintupi country."
Fred West Tjakamarra left Mitynjju well (Well no. 35 Canning Stock Route) to go north to Balgo. When almost to his destination he decided not to go in to Balgo and he returned south, eventually settling at Papunya after being at Tjitururrnga (Dovers Hills) for a time. Fred West also said the Jigalong people who were called Ngaatjarra speakers in the bush days own Mitynjju well. Mitynjju well is not considered Pintupi country, but Fred West who is considered Pintupi spent much time there.

Cheekybugger Tjungurrayi said, 'We lived together at Karrkunya (Baron Range) and Tjinatinkilykira's mob went to Giles, i.e. Tjakamarra Tampatampapulanya, Tjakamarra Pintipungkupanya etc.' Karrkunya is considered as Pintupi country. He also said, 'Paul Morgan, now living at Wiluna and known there as a Mantjiltjarra/ Pujiitjarra speaker, used to live with us at Ngulunytju, Yarrima and Wanjurrutitja (north-west of Baron Range). He speaks Pujiitjarra.' Paul Morgan told us he was really 'a Pintupi' when we visited Wiluna. Ngulunytju, Yarrima, and Wanjurrutitja are all places which are considered to be in Pintupi country. Cheekybugger Tjungurrayi also said, 'Nyampulinya, my sister, is at Wiluna and my other sister is at Jigalong'.

Charlie Tjakamarra Kulpakarratja, who is known as a Ngaatjarra/ Pintupi speaker at Giles, lived at Papunya as a Pintupi for many years. He came from Yawulyuru (near Baron Range).

Although I have recorded just a few of those who moved from what has become known as 'Pintupi territory' to various settlements, there are many more. Also many from what is now known as 'Kukatja territory' and 'Ngaatjarra territory' moved into Haasts Bluff and Papunya to eventually be classified as Pintupi and Luritja.

The reasons that people have given for leaving their desert homes are many. However, the predominant reason seems to be the promise of continuing flour, tea and sugar. Early arrivals at the centres of European influence took samples of flour, tea and sugar out to their bush cousins. These in turn tried the new food and decided to go where more was available. Many resisted going even though they liked what they had tasted, as a great fear of the white man had grown up. They had heard news of shootings and poisoning of their relatives, and wanted to stay isolated. Added to this was the normal Aboriginal fear of spirits and other Aborigines in unknown areas. To go to a new area you normally moved through local groups who knew the territory, and with whom a trust was established.

In the late 1950's, however, the desert was becoming lonely because of the great exodus. Many felt forced to move into settlements to be with their relatives in spite of their fears. Following are a few quotes
recounting the later days in the bush before coming into centres of European civilisation.

Ngitjita Tjungurrayi: 'Nosepeg and Watuma came and got us. The white man got those (earlier dispersed) Aborigines and then they went and got us. We had plenty of food and meat in the bush. They brought us in for tea and food (i.e. flour/damper).'

Fred West Tjakamarra: 'I came first to the white man here at Papunya. Jerry Long brought us. We came here for flour. ... Kantakanta Tjamitjinja (now at Christmas Creek) and the rest of us used to go around water places together at Nyila, near French Hills. He speaks some Ngapi wanga. ... in the bush we all spoke one language. ... We and Patuta Tjapanangka (who is recognised as a Kukatja at Balgo) used to live together around Tarrkulnga (north of Angus Hills). ... He went to Yuendumu through Lapilapi (near Lake Hazlett). He is Pintupi. ... Yes, they call him Kukatja (at Balgo) that is their custom. ... We are all Kukatja (because we all use the word Kuka), we who belong to the sandhill plain country.'

Cheekybugger Tjungurrayi: 'No, they didn't call us Pintupi in the bush; they used to call us wati Minurungkatja. It was only here (at Papunya) that they called us Pintupi. When Mr. Long and the others came for us they called us Pintupi.' When the question was asked (by the author), 'Why did you come to Papunya?' (rather than another settlement) Cheekybugger explained, 'Our relatives came out and got us, we went in to be with them. Maybe the Jigalong mob or the Warburton mob might have gone out to get us. We waited in vain for someone to come to take us in to Jigalong or Warburton but no one came. We waited in vain for them, and finally some from here went and got us from Haasts Bluff.'

1.3 DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNILECTS ON SETTLEMENTS

Members of the different multigroups throughout the Gibson and Great Sandy deserts had apparently all moved more or less permanently to one settlement or another by 1966. (Settlement is defined here as any centre of European contact, i.e. cattle stations, Missions, and Government Settlements.) This meant that there were individuals and families from many multigroup dialects at each centre who all had one thing in common: they were the latest arrivals from the isolated central desert area. At these settlements they met up with Aborigines who had earlier come in from their own areas as well as others who spoke different languages. These settlement residents were far more experienced in the subtleties of getting along with Europeans. They had become part of the Establishment and preferred not to overtly associate with the later arrivals even though they were related. To set themselves apart they usually camped in separate areas. Nevertheless,
when away from the eyes of the Europeans they shared ceremonial and social activities. Although not the situation on other settlements, at Haasts Bluff and Papunya the earlier arrivals and their offspring preferred to be known as Luritja and they called the later arrivals Pintupi. The Lutheran missionaries and Aranda pastors from Hermansburg and Haasts Bluff however, retaining the term from earlier days, continued to call the total group Pintupi. In a personal communication, Pastor Pech, who was at Haasts Bluff in the 1950's, told me that all Western Desert people at Haasts Bluff in those days were called Pintupi. He had not heard the term Luritja. At Balgo and other centres, no such dichotomy of linguistic terms for earlier and later arrivals now exists, although the segregation and elevated social status of the earlier arrivals over the later was recognisable when I first visited Balgo in the mid 1970's.

Because of centralising Government policy and the scarcity of settlements, a number of different language groups resided at each settlement, as well as the people from the central desert area. At Papunya and Haasts Bluff there were and still are speakers of Aranda, Anmatjera and Warlpiri. This mixture of language was a source of difficulty to the Europeans who did not consider there could be so many multigroup dialects and languages on each settlement.

I offer the following as a possible explanation of the development of tribal language names used today. Experiencing communication difficulties, the European with his desire to categorise people probably asked Aborigines who these new arrivals were. When given a multigroup dialect term such as Pintupi he would thereafter refer to that group with that term and only that term. Then he noticed that still more arriving from the Central desert area came and lived with that first group, rather than with any other group on the settlement. He naturally assumed that all of the subsequent arrivals who lived in the same general area were of the same language, as they seemed to have no difficulty communicating and preferred each other's company. As a result, there may have been six or more multigroup dialects represented in that camping region, but they all became known as Pintupi to Europeans and Aborigines alike. So the term Pintupi applied traditionally by one multigroup to another became a generic term covering speakers of many related Western Desert multigroup dialects. As mentioned, in the Papunya Haasts Bluff area the Lutheran pastors and missionaries applied the term Pintupi to all Western Desert speakers. Many of these later preferred to call themselves Luritja (an Aranda word meaning 'stranger' which was applied by the Aranda originally to Western Desert speakers living to the west of Hermansberg). The term Luritja also grew up to cover a variety of speech forms and is now applied to people in the following categories: older Western Desert people who arrived during the 1930's at Haasts Bluff; all their offspring who have
virtually grown up at Haasts Bluff and Papunya; and people of the same generation who may be from Aranda, Warlpiri or Anmatjera background, but have lived many years in the Papunya area. To complicate matters many members of the first two groups above are today called Pintupi by other Aborigines in the community.

With a settlement like Balgo Mission the initial arrivals in the 1930's were called Kukatja, very likely using a multigroup dialect term. This term distinguished the earlier arrivals from the Warlpiri and Walmajarri. As that sector of the camp grew in size all its occupants became known as Kukatja. Today a great number of people who speak many multigroup dialects with influences from surrounding languages are contained in the term Kukatja. The following variations of speech are contained in the term Kukatja: desert dwellers who are now old people at Balgo speaking complicated Western Desert forms (among these would be representatives of at least six Western Desert multigroup dialects); the younger generation born on the settlement with a range of less complicated grammatical structures and more modern idioms; and those whose mother tongue was Walmajarri or Warlpiri but who now speak a Western desert dialect heavily laced with forms and pronunciations from their own mother tongues. All these speech variations are called Kukatja by Aborigines and Europeans alike. The same range of speech variations are at Papunya and I expect would be in each of the other communities surveyed. Plainly, Kukatja is used to refer to the speech of all people in the one community at Balgo, as Pintupi is used to refer to all at Papunya and Haasts Bluff communities, even though other language varieties may be involved.

It is evident that a choice of synonyms and grammatical variants is acceptable Kukatja, as the charts of material will illustrate in section 3. For convenience then, I will refer to the speech of a community as a communilet.

At each of the settlements which we visited a communilet term has been applied to the Western Desert speakers: Kukatja at Balgo; Pintupi or Luritja at Papunya (a broken English way of referring to this is 'Pintupi, Luritja mix up'); Ngaatjatjarra or Pintupi at Giles; Wangkatjungka at Christmas Creek and Fitzroy Crossing; Yularitja at La Grange; Mantjiltjarra at Strelley and Wiluna; and Martu Wangka at Jigalong (also termed Mantjiltjarra).

1.4 LOCAL RESIDENCE AND COMMUNILET CONCEPT

Aborigines of the Western Desert language count relationship as an important factor in their lives. Although blood relatives among the Pintupi are important, the people with whom one has lived for a period of time, sharing life's day by day experiences, are also counted as
close relatives. This is reflected in the fact that they are addressed as kuta 'older brother' and malangya 'younger brother', instead of the normal watjira mbsd or mbsd, tjamu mmbss, marutju mmbds. Since living with another and sharing life and food in the same location has always been an important factor in unifying a group, this same factor has maintained its importance in the new settlement lifestyle. Therefore Western Desert speakers at any one settlement regard themselves as having a unique local identity in their relationship to other settlements. This is vocalised in the development and use of differing communilect terms on each settlement. Although these communilect terms are related to the language spoken, they also serve to identify a social group, i.e. the large group of people living together in a community. In the same way, multigroup dialect terms were a sociolinguistic means in pre-contact days of identifying a number of local groups of one area, and marking them off from another set of local groups belonging to another area. Just as these multigroup dialect terms did not imply a lack of mutual understanding in pre-contact days, so communilect terms should not be thought of as strict limits to communication between settlements.

Another factor helping to cement the use of communilect terms on each settlement is the relative lack of inter-settlement communication and visiting by Aborigines from the 1930's to 1960's. However, this has changed with the advent of award wages and social service payments. As a result of this regular income, more Aborigines have bought their own vehicles and have been able to travel to spend time with their long-lost relatives.

The recognition of communilects on settlements has implications for the linguist and education worker. Firstly, the linguist cannot expect to find 'pure Pintupi' or 'pure Kukatja'. Certainly an Aborigine can provide the linguist with one term for each elicited vocabulary item, and one grammatical form for each elicited grammatical function. When the linguist works with others of the same communilect, perhaps a younger person or a person from a different multigroup dialect, a profusion of synonyms and grammatical forms will be vouched for as 'proper speech'. In the same way educational or religious material produced using speech forms from only one multigroup may not be acceptable to all the speakers of the communilect. Methods of how to meet this problem will be discussed in section 6.

1.5 COMMUNILECTS AND IDIOLECTS

While 14 or 15 years ago it may have been an easy task for recently arrived central desert Aborigines to provide the linguist with vocabulary and grammatical forms in his multigroup's dialect, today it
is a different story. Because of such things as language fashion, the
effects of taboo, as well as the profusion of synonyms and grammatical
forms in use, most Aborigines on any one settlement use a very much
modified version of their original multigroup dialect. While people can
often tell which synonyms are theirs, one will hear them using different
synonyms in their everyday speech. They will also use different
grammatical forms. There is evidence from Aboriginal-authored stories
that the same speaker will use two different grammatical forms in one
story. From the same person in conversation one can hear more than one
grammatical form. In the same way different synonyms will be used in
one conversation or story. There are some situations where the use of
synonyms depends on the social status of the group to which the hearer
belongs. Usually, however, the grammatical forms and synonyms used seem
to depend more on the speech habits of the individual concerned, and
such habits are most likely related to the speech of his/her peers and
immediate family. I will refer to the individual's speech as an
idiolect. This term is to be understood to refer to the speech of a
person or small family group. Variation in speech between families may
effect no more than 20% of their speech forms. The range of synonyms
and grammatical forms is understood by each person. One hears the other
speaker's idiolect and speaks one's own, usually without any problems of
communication.

Although each of the communities surveyed contains many idiolect and
family dialect variants in vocabulary and grammatical forms, it appears
there are predominant synonyms and grammatical forms used in each
community. This was determined by asking approximately ten people in
the community for their spoken word for each item on the word list.
Usually, according to statistical count, one synonym emerged as the
first choice spoken word of the greater number of the ten or twelve
subjects. The same held true in determining a first choice spoken
grammatical form. This first choice spoken item I call the predominant
communilict form. However, for practical purposes, the communilict used
at each centre must be recognised as including two or three synonyms and
two or three grammatical forms. In addition to the predominant
communilict form, the other one or two synonyms or grammatical forms
represent the first choice spoken items of the minority of the 10 or 12
subjects. Therefore two or three synonyms and two or three grammatical
forms would indicate what is spoken by all families in the community.

2. COMMUNICABILITY TESTING

2.1 DEVELOPMENT OF MATERIALS

Throughout the rest of this paper I refer to the Western Desert
communilicts as follows: Mantjiltjarra at Wiluna; Martu Wangka at
Jigalong; Yulparitja at La Grange; Wangkatjungka at Fitzroy Crossing and
Christmas Creek; Kukatja at Balgo; Pintupi/Luritja (i.e. Pintupi, Luritja mixed up) at Papunya; Ngaatjatjarra (i.e. Pintupi, Ngaatjatjarra mixed up) at Giles.

To assess communicability between each of the above mentioned communilects, I had to devise testing materials which would cover the range of synonyms and grammatical forms known or understood. The Mutual Intelligibility materials developed in Mexico (Casad 1972) were produced especially to measure communication between pairs of dialects. The story content communication technique was adapted, and four secular stories were pre-recorded from Jigalong in Martu Wangka and another four stories in Pintupi from Papunya. We prepared five content questions to go with each story, in the language of the story tellers.

To determine the spoken range and hearing range of each subject, a fifty-four item word list was prepared. To the right of each item there was line space to include twelve or so synonyms. Synonyms were divided into two categories, 'spoken' and 'heard'. A 'spoken' synonym is one which the subject uses currently, and regards as his language. We shall also call these primary synonyms. Some subjects gave two synonyms as their currently spoken language. The spoken first choice was to be recorded initially with the other spoken synonyms following, after which the 'heard' or secondary synonyms were to be recorded. In producing the word list, we deliberately tried to choose items which were unambiguous, in common usage, and easily demonstrable.

In a similar way a Grammatical Form synonym chart was prepared to allow the recording of spoken and heard forms for each subject. There were fifty-three items chosen for inclusion on the chart, based on prior knowledge of dialect differences in these forms in other centres.

2.2 ADMINISTERING THE MATERIALS

We attempted to consider several factors when choosing subjects at each centre. Firstly, we strove for an equal number of young and old. Secondly, we sought representatives from different families in the community. We did not reach these ideals completely in most places as we had to use whoever was interested and available. As the testing took approximately three hours with each person, those who were not working on the settlement were most often the only ones available. This limited the number of younger people for the testing. The other factor was that the middle aged and older people consider themselves the language experts and it was difficult to avoid a high proportion of such subjects. Nevertheless, in communities where we worked with 8 or 10 subjects, I felt a reasonable sample of the communilect was gained.
2.2.1 STORY TESTING

Each subject in each of the testing locations was asked to listen to seven stories. The first story was played to the subject as a trial story and the related questions were asked (no grading was recorded) to familiarise the subject with the procedure. Then the first of three further stories in the same dialect was played, (either Pintupi or Martu Wangka) until three or four sentences containing the answer to the first content question were covered. The tape was stopped and the content question asked by the field worker. The Martu Wangka stories had the questions recorded on the tape. These questions were sometimes repeated using local synonyms if the subject did not understand the Martu Wangka or Pintupi question forms. When the subject answered, his answer was evaluated by the field worker and graded accordingly. Two marks meant that his response was correct, one mark meant the response was partially correct, zero marks meant the response was not correct. Then the next section of the tape was played until the pause point for question two was reached. Here the machine was stopped and the next content question asked. After recording the grading of the answer the following questions were handled in the same way. This meant that each subject could gain a total of 30 marks for complete understanding of the 15 questions associated with the three Martu Wangka stories, and 30 marks for complete understanding of the 15 questions associated with the three Pintupi stories. The actual marks gained by each subject for each set of stories was later converted to a percentage. This percentage represented the subject's understanding of the story material.

In most cases we were successful in keeping prospective subjects from hearing the questions and answers given by another subject. However, this was difficult as there was usually one or two other spectators sitting in while the testing was being conducted with one subject. If any spectators appeared interested enough to become a subject later, we diplomatically requested that they not listen to all the story material.

2.2.2 LANGUAGE IDENTIFICATION

After playing one or two of the stories from Papunya and Jigalong we would ask, 'What language is that person on the tape speaking?' We noted the responses with subjects from La Grange, Fitzroy Crossing, Christmas Creek, Papunya and Giles. We had not realised the usefulness of this question in communities visited earlier, and so have nothing recorded from them. Results on this question are summarised in section 3.5.

2.2.3 SYNONYM RANGE CHART

Commencing with Item 1 on the synonym range chart, i.e. 'nose', we would point to our own nose and ask in Pintupi or Martu Wangka, 'What is your name for understand utterance? Then (p.), other word writing, any other previous them with was slow synonyms subject promptin with a list consider. The pros the sub; question the above in what describ list.

After one declini 'heard' time of a number because to the partic hot hear; hereafter called

2.2.4

We usu complet choice Desert context 'What Simili: pungu utter; if the 'h'.
name for this?" (If the question form in Pintupi or Martu Wangka was not understood, we used the local question forms.) We would write down the utterance in the extreme left hand margin of the Synonym Range Sheet. Then (pointing to a nose) we would ask, 'Do you (singular) speak any other word for this' whereupon he may give another synonym. After writing his 'spoken' synonym, we would then ask if he heard (understood) any other words for this (pointing to the nose, or using one of his previously given synonyms). We would list these words next, marking them with a lower case 'h' meaning 'heard vocabulary'. If the subject was slow responding at this stage we would prompt with the list of synonyms we had already recorded for that item, avoiding any that the subject had already mentioned. If the subject was reminded by our prompting of another synonym he/she spoke, we would record that word with a lower case 's' meaning 'spoken vocab'. This item was later considered in analysis along with the earlier recorded spoken synonyms. The prompting usually produced more 'heard' synonyms than 'spoken'. If the subject spoke English well, which was rare, we would ask the question without demonstrating, 'What word do you say for nose?' With the above method we took particular care not to influence the subjects in what synonym they would give as their first choice. The procedure as described for Item 1 was used for all other items on the Synonym Range list.

After one or two 'spoken' items were given by some subjects there was a declining lack of clarity on whether the item was 'spoken' or just 'heard'. A further complication occurred when a synonym 'heard' at the time of testing, had been 'spoken' earlier. This was explained to me on a number of occasions. It may have gone out of that person's speech because of taboo, but still be spoken by others not as closely related to the deceased person. It was also explained frequently that a particular 'heard' synonym was previously spoken by the subject in the 'bush' (prior to European contact). The 'spoken' synonyms will hereafter be called primary synonyms, while 'heard' synonyms will be called secondary synonyms.

2.2.4 GRAMMATICAL PARTS RANGE LIST

We usually administered the grammatical range list last as it is more complicated and not as easy to get uninfluenced responses to first choice forms. With subjects who knew no English we usually used a Desert language to give them a choice of the grammatical form in a context. For example, to ask about the grammatical form we would ask, 'What do you say, like this punguna ngayulu or ngayulu pungu?' Similarly for Item 2 we would ask in language, 'What do you say, ngayuni pungu or punguni ngayunya?' Once we had determined the subject's spoken utterance we would then prompt with other synonyms of that form, to see if the subject 'heard' them. These would be marked with a lower case 'h'.

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2.2.5 SPOKEN TEXT

The final contribution from each subject was usually a small one or two minute text on any topic desired by the subject. By listening to this text we were able to see if the person's spoken language was confirming the synonyms and grammatical forms already noted. These texts were not graded in any way. Some of the subjects spoke about their days in the 'bush' prior to white contact and by which route they came to European civilisation.

Four additional texts were taken from people at Papunya explaining the language and dialect situation as they knew it in the 'bush'. A lot of detail on range of movements and first European contact are contained in these texts.

2.3 DETAILS ON CENTRES VISITED

As we only had one month in which to collect data, we were limited in the number of centres we could visit. As a result of prior knowledge we realised that smaller communities were usually linguistically related to larger communities in geographically close proximity. For this reason we determined not to take samples from communities where languages other than Western Desert were predominant, e.g. Wave Hill or Meekatharra. We aimed mainly at larger pockets of speakers of Western Desert dialects. Although I feel our results are adequate to demonstrate trends, it would have been better had we had time and opportunity to gather data from Docker River, Areyonga, Yuendumu, Nookanbah, Strelley, Lala Rooka and perhaps Warburton Ranges. Nevertheless, from observations and conversation with speakers from the above places, I believe their language can be related back to the closest larger centre. Pintupi/Luritja at Yuendumu is regarded as being similar to Pintupi/Luritja at Papunya and closely related to Kukatja at Balgo. Mantjilarrkara at Lala Rooka and Strelley is considered to be closely related to Martu Wangka at Jigalong. Historically people from both these centres lived at Jigalong until the late 1960's. Western Desert language at both these centres is also regarded as being closely related to Yurlparitja at La Grange. I recognise Areyonga and Docker River as being closely related to Ernabella dialect. However Docker River also has close ties with Giles and Papunya.

Chart 1 shows the names of the centres visited in the lefthand column with details of the dates they were established and dates when the last desert people arrived in that final movement. The righthand column lists languages other than those surveyed which are spoken at these centres.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Established</th>
<th>Last Arr./Number</th>
<th>Other Lang. on Centre</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Haasts B Papunya</td>
<td>1930's</td>
<td>1966/17</td>
<td>Warlpiri, Aranda, Anmatjarri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuendumu</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>1959/52</td>
<td>Warlpiri, Yanmatjirri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balgo</td>
<td>1939</td>
<td>1959/15-20</td>
<td>Warlpiri, Walmajarri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fitzroy C.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Walmajarri, Bunaba, Gunian Kitja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christmas Creek</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Walmajarri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Grange</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>1965/30</td>
<td>Karajarri, Juwaliny, Nyangumarta, Mangarla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strelley</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nyangamarta, Kartutjarra, Kurajarri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jigalong</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td>1966/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wiluna</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td></td>
<td>Wajarri, Purranyatjarra, Kiyatjarra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. RESULTS OF TESTING
3.1 SYNONYM RANGE MASTERS

Approximately 70 subjects were tested in the eight different communities previously mentioned. It seems that the only way to display the great range of synonyms and grammatical forms used by speakers of the communilacts in each centre is to present a master list for each community. Each master list combines the contribution of five to ten subjects at the centre concerned. At the centres where fewer subjects were tested the author had greater in-depth knowledge of the range of synonyms used. Such extra synonyms and grammatical forms were added to the Papunya master list as secondary or 'heard' forms.

Working from the Synonym Range sheets from one community, the synonym which was first preference to the greater number of subjects is listed.
first in the master list for that community. This is followed by the
synonym which was the next most popular first preference for the
subjects tested. The next most popular synonym is placed third on the
master list. Often it was necessary to consider primary synonyms from
the 2nd and 3rd preference of subjects, when selecting this third place
synonym on the master list. For instance if two subjects indicated
synonym (a) as their first choice and two other subjects indicated
synonym (b) as their first choice, 2nd and 3rd preferences of other
subjects would be viewed. If synonym (a) was indicated as a second
choice of a majority of other subjects then synonym (a) would rank
before synonym (b) in the listing of primary synonyms on the master
sheet of the community concerned. After this, all primary synonyms are
listed even if only one or two subjects mentioned them. A double (/\)
indicates the end of the primary synonyms and all that follow this mark
are secondary synonyms or synonyms 'heard' by the subjects from the
community. These are not arranged in any order of preference.

In some situations synonyms which are known to be borrowed from English
and surrounding languages were given by subjects as their first choice
synonym. These words have probably been adopted to avoid some taboo
word which was significant to that person. Such borrowings have been
listed along with other spoken vocabulary in their order of preference.

The source of borrowed synonyms is not easy to identify. Because of the
historical mixing and frequent borrowings several Aborigines may give
different sources for the one synonym. For example, the word tjapinu
'to ask' is used by Warlpiri and Pintupi. Some of those using it will
say it is Warlpiri and others Pintupi. Of course there are many
vocabulary items on which there is general consensus regarding their
source. Many subjects seemed to know when a certain synonym was not
their language, but widely differing answers were given as to the
dialect or language to which it belonged.

Some synonyms are used in the avoidance speech. (See CRS vocabulary
[Hansen & Hansen 1975].) We did not especially ask for avoidance
vocabulary. An item which is taboo and avoidance speech in one
community will not necessarily be so in another. Words which we
recognised and determined to be avoidance speech were not included,
(these were very few). Again taboo words were included in the master
listing if they were given by any subject.

The material from Ernabella and Warburton Ranges is from one speaker at
each place, and is included only for comparative purposes. Because of
this it is headed 'Material' rather than 'Master'.

Master lists are arranged with the English glosses at the left of the
page with synonyms listed in the order of preference (as described
above) at the right. Those which precede the double slash mark are primary synonyms used in the community and those which follow it are secondary synonyms.

3.1.1 ERNABELLA MATERIAL

nose           mulya
ear             pina, anpiri
tooth           katiti
hand            mara, manqirrka, mulkutu
boomerang       kali
woomera         mirru//lankurru, pikurru
house           wali, yiwala//waala
camp            ngurra
fire            waru, kunparatji
water           mina, kumpuli, kapi//tjiwiri, ngapa
sky             ilkari
sun             tjintu, tjirirrp
moon            pira, kinara
wind            walpa, pirriya, kakarata
night           munga
midday          kalala
north           alinytjarra, kayili
south           ulparirra, uwarirra
east            kakarrara
west            wilurarra, wiwurarra
creek           ankuwayi, karru
earth           manta, pana
path             iwarra, ruuta
stick           punu, kawarrtji//ngana
food            mai, mirrka//pulakarra
dog             papa, tjitutja, wanguwangu
meat             kuka, wikari
cat             ngaya, putji, putjikata, ngiyu, mulk//wiika
crow            kaanka, wangkilka, tarrkangalku, waangarrungarru, mirringalku
fly             punpumpa, muungu
one             kutju, kampinyu, kumpinyu
two             kutjarra, nyatuwarra
many            tjut//ipi
big              pulka//tiina
small           tjukutjuku, tjimpatjipa, kulungpa//tjapu, wiima
good            paliya, nguyangu, wiru, kurramunu//walykumunu
bad              kurra, kurrukura, palyamunu, walykuwalu
no               wiya
yes             uwa//yuwa
black
red
man
woman
father
mother
older brother
saw
heard
drank
ate
sat
stood
gave
shot
track
stick
food
dog
meat
cat
crow
fly
one
two
many
big
small
good
bad
no
yes
black
red
man
woman
father
mother
older
saw
heard
drank
ate
sat
stood
gave
shot

3.1.2 GILES MASTER

nose
ear
tooth
hand
boomerang
woomera
house
camp
fire
water
sky
sun
moon
wind
night
midday
north
south
east
west
creek
earth

mulga, nyunngura, nyurrkuta, mutura, mutara, nguyali
//tjultu
pina, yanpiri, yangkuru, pila//kuranpa, kula, munata
katigi, yirra, yanytjiwarra
mara, mulkutu, manyirrika//munyutu
kali, gurrkili, pumiringi, kampayiki, tjarangkalpa
//pizrari, walanu
mirru, lankurru//pikurru, walparra, mangkutju, marapaku,
tjultjutilpa
tawunpa, yiala//waala, yawilypa, maya
ngurra, pintiri, yulunpa
waru, kunparatji, kunyingarrpa//kunparpa, kala
kapi, kalyu//tjiwiri, tjarruru, yila, ngapa
yilkari, nganka, nguru//yalkiri
tjintu, nyilpa//yupuntju
kinara, pira, kitjili, kilara, muunpa, maanytja
//tjunitjalu, kintanyu,
panya, wilarra, tjakilinpa
pirriya, wilpa, wiinpa, wilinpa, nyarruntu//winu,
wangalpa, ngalarra
munga, warurru
kalala, tinatayimi, nyilpakatukatu, karrpu
kayili, yalinytjarra//kayiliira
yulparrira//yulpay
kakarrara, kakarra//katalku, lukurrku
yarruurra, wilurarra, yapurrkura//wilura
karru, kirikpa, kiriki, yangkuwayi//wungka
pama, manta, warirrki

3.1.3

nose
ear
tooth
track yiwarra, ruurrrpa, karrukarru, palkarra, yururrru//ruutu, watjarra
stick wata, ngapa, pupu, watiya
food mirrka, mayi, pulakarra//miyi, yuta, mantjirrpa, mangarri
dog papa, tjantu//wita, tjutju, kunyarrpa
meat kuka, miltpa//kuwiyi, kuyu, tjapi
cat wilka, ngaya, nyulkulu, wiillyka, kunanyumpunypa,
putjikatju, ngalyangamu//ngalyataanpa, nyumpunypa,
kunawitnypa, miyayu, tjutjkuluyu, mulyangamu
crow kaanka, tarrkamungulpa, waarrngaarrungarru, wakinka,
pinjingleku, wangkilpa, waangurrru//waaku, wangkilka,
wanggu, wakinta, mungutjangalkulanytja
fly muungu, punpunta, munurrku//ngurrita, ngurriny
one kutju, kumpingu
two kutjarra, kalarrara
many pinji, tjuta, yannga, pili, pinji, laltu//wiinytja
big pulkanya, yuwinpa//pulka, tina, matju, yakulu, tjuma
small kulupa, kulumyapa, tjukutjuku, tjapu, wiima//tjulyitjulyi,
tjulyi, nyumanypa
good waaltykumunu, palya, wiru, pantirrpa//kurramunu, kunytjungyu,
miku
bad palyamunu, kurrukarru, walyku, panytja, puta//kurra, kuya
no wiyawinnigira//paki, munu, yumu, waya, kunpu
yes yuwa, uwa//yuu
black maru, maangamu
red tjitiintjitinga, riitwanpa, mitjilpa, tjatjaku, mitjimitji
//minyminy
man waci, puntu//matu
woman minyma, tutju, wananjarra, kungka, tjalpiratjarra//wanti
father mama, tati, mamati, punarri
mother ngunytju, yipi, mamu//yaku, yaku//
older brother kutja, puratja, kaku//pupu, papatu
saw nyangu
heard kulingu, yankuranu//yaltjirunu, ngangkunu
drank tjikinu
ate ngalangu, ngalkunu
sat nginangu, pintirinagarangu
stood ngarangu
gave nintinu, yungu
shot tjutupungu, rulyupungu, kuntinu//yungkanu, pawumu,
rungkanu

3.1.3 WARBURTON MATERIAL

nose mulya, nyunngura, mutura//nguyali
ear pina, yampirri, yankuru
tooth ka†iti, yanitjiwarra
hand: mara, mulkutu, manyirrka, munyutu
boomerang: kali, yirrkili, pumiringi, walalu
woomera: mirru, lankurru
house: tawunpa, yiwala
camp: ngurra, pintiri
fire: waru, kunparaarntja, kumparrpa
water: kapi/kalyu
sky: yilkari
sun: tjintu, yupunytju, nyilpa
moon: kinara, pira, kitjili, muunpa
wind: pirriya, walpa, wiinpa, wilingpa
night: munga, payinpa
midday: kalala, tinatayimi/karrpu
north: kayili, yalinytjarra/kayilirra
south: yulpirirra/yulpari
east: kalarara/kakarra, kataku
west: yapurra, wilurarra/gapurrkura
creek: karru, kirikpa, kiriki, yangkuwayi
earth: pana, manta
track: yilwarra, ruurra, karrukarru, palkarra
stick: waia, ngana, punu
food: mirrka, mayi, pulakarra
dog: papa, tjantu, tjutju
meat: kuka, miitpa/kuwiyi, kuyu
cat: wiilyka, ngaya, nyulkuku, wiika, putjikatu, wilpinpa,
      ngalyataanpa
crow: kaanka, tarrkamungulpa, waangarrungarra
fly: muungu, puurrpuunpa
one: kutju, kumpinyu
two: kutjarra, kalyararra
many: pin, tjuta/pinyi
big: pulkanya, pulka
small: kulupa, kulunypa, tjukutjuku/tjuljitjulyi
good: walykumunu, palya, kurramunu/wiru, miku
bad: palyamunu, kurrakurra, walyku, kurra, puta/kuya, panytja
no: wiya, winnirra, kunpu/paki, munu
yes: yuwa/uka, yu
black: maru, marumaru
red: tjitintjitjina, riitwanga, mitjilpa
man: wati, puntu/matu
woman: minyama, wanatjarra, kununga, tjalpiratjarra/tutju
father: mama, tati, punari, mamati
mother: ngunytju, yipi, mami
older brother: kuta, puratja, kaka, pupu
saw: nyangu
heard: kulirim, yaltjurunu
drank: tjikiru
3.1.4 PAPUNYA MASTER

nose 
multip, nyunggura, nguyali, kuyala, tjuutja, mutara

ear 
pina, yanpiri, langa, munata, kurupa, kurrata, yangkuru, wurrata, matamuti

tooth 
katiti, yirra, yirraputa, yantjirrara

hand 
mara, munyutu, manyirrka, munytjuna, marumpu

boomerang 
kali, pirragi, yirrkili, pumarini

woomera 
mirru, lankurr, pikurr, tjutiltjutilpa

house 
waala, tjitipaijina, wiwala, tawunpa, waali, marru

camp 
ngurra, pintiri, taku

fire 
waru, kunparatji, kunjungarra, kala

water 
kapi, kalju, tjirriwi, tjarruru, mina, yila, ngapa

sky 
gugka, ilkari, nguru

sun 
tjintu, yupunytju, kuli, piya, nyangyi, tjirirri

moon 
kingga, tjakilinpa, maangta, pira, kirringty, panyalpa, katalpa, tjunitjula, kitjili, tjunipulka, wilarra

wind 
wirra, ngalarra, wilinypa, ngarruntu, pirriya, wanganpa, arruntunya, winu

night 
munga, warurr, payilpa, payinpa

midday 
karrpu, kalala, nyilpakatukatu

north 
kayili, yalintjarra, kayillira

south 
yulpaijina, ngapari, yulparita

east 
kakarrara, kakarrara, lukurru

west 
yapura, wilurarra, yapurrkura

creek 
karru, kuriki, larrtjalarrta, kiriki

earth 
pana, manta, warirrki

track 
jiwarra, palkarra, ruutu, yurutu, watjarra, yururr

stick 
waata, punu, ngana, watiya

food 
maa, mirka, miyi, mangarri, yuta, mantjirrpa

dog 
papa, tjantu, wita, tjuutju, kungarrpa, tjuju

meat 
kuka, miita, miitpa, kuyu, wakari, tjaapi

cat 
ngaya, wika, putjikata, wiratju, nyarrukuta, wilinpa, ngalyataanpa, miyawu, tjuju, ngalkulk, miniyau, ngalyangam, mulyangam, nganyijanpa, tiinga, ngiingi

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fly
muunugu, ngurrinypa, punpunta//kunma, munurrku, munurrkunuku
one
kutju, kumpinya//tjinu
two
kutjarra, kalyararra, kumpinjuryra
many
tjuta, pini, runytja, laltu, yannga, pinyi//warrmalpa, wiinytja
big
pulkanya, pulka, tina, yuwinpa//tjalu, matju, yakulyu
small
tjukutjuku, wiima//nyananypa, tjaputjapu, tjulitjuli, yamanupa
good
palja, wiru, miku, pantirra//kunytjungyu, walykumunu
bad
kurra, panjtja, kuya, puta//walyku
no
wiya//yumu, paki, waya, munu
yes
yuwa, yu//uwa
black
maru//munga
red
tjatjaka, karrku//mitjimitji, riitwana, mitjilpa, milimili
man
watj, puntu//matu
woman
tutju, minyma, wanatjarra, kungka//wanti
father
mama, mamanti, tati//tjatja
mother
ngunytju, yipi, mami, yaku, maama//yakutji
older brother
kuta, papatu, kaaka
saw
nyangu
heard
kuliru, yangkunu, yankurunu//galtjurunu, ngangkunu
drank
tjiriru//yiilarringu
ate
ngakiru, ngalangu
sat
nyinangu, pintiringarangu
stood
ngarangu
gave
yungu//ninti
shot
kintiru, rungkanu, tjutupungu//ruluyungu, yungkunu

3.1.5 BALGO MASTER

nose
mulya, ngunngra, nguyali, pantilypantily//tjutju, nyurrkura, mutura
ear
pina, langa, kuranpa, kulka, yangiri, yankuru, yirula, munata kulilikul, kuratura
tooth
katiti, watura, yirra, liirra, yanntjiwarra
hand
mulikuru, mara, marumpu, munytu, kurrapa
boomerang
kali, pirrapi, yirkili, walanu, tjutilpali, kunanturu, tjilpirrpa
woomera
mirru, lankurruru, pikirri, pikurruru, mangkutju, tjutilypa, marapaku, walparra, tjutiljtjutilpa
house
marru, mayaru, waala, yawutjupa, yiwala//yawi, tawunpa, yawilypa, yiwali
camp
ngurra, pintirri, yulunpa, tjuluny
fire
waru, kumparatji, walu, tjangilyan, nguyumparra
//kunyungarrpa, kala, mitjirri, ngitji, yilinytji
| water      | kapi, kalyu, tjiwiri, tjarruru, ngapa, yila, kulali, purraku/kalinyu |
| sky        | nganka, nguru, yalkiri, yilkari                                  |
| sun        | tjintu, yopunytju, kuli, nyilpa, ngililpa, purangu              |
| moon       | yakunyupa, panyalpa, kirrinytji, tjakinlpa, wilarra, tjunitja, kiarda, pira/mama, kutji, muunpa |
| wind       | walpa, ngalarra, wilinya, mayawuny, tjutuly/nguminu, winu, pirriya, wangapa, ngarruntu, karaputa, wangaipa |
| night      | munga, mungatjarra, warurru, wurrulytju, payinta                |
| midday     | karrpu, kurutjurrku, kalala, wanta, kankarrarringu             |
| north      | kayili, yalingtjarra, kayilirra, yalingtja, yalingkatinytja    |
| south      | yulparirra, yulpari, ngapati                                    |
| east       | kakarra, kakararra, lucurrku                                   |
| west       | yapurra, wilura, yapurrkura, wilurarra, kularra                |
| creek      | karru, kiliki, kuriki, warrku, manuwarra/wungka                |
| earth      | papa, warirri, manta, nguwa                                   |
| track      | yirarra, karrukarru, ruutu, palmarra/watjarra, ruutpa, tjina    |
| stick      | wata, punu, watiya, ngaana                                     |
| food       | mirrka, mangarri, mayi, miyi, mantjirrpa/yuta                  |
| dog        | tjantu, papa, wiya, kungarrpa, wangi, tjutju, punpulu, tjarrga  |
| meat       | kuka, kuju, kuwiyi, miitpa, liwilypa                           |
| cat        | ngaya, ngumpunya, putji, wilipiny, nyulkukutu, miyi, kunangamuka, minya, taanpa, wiika, kunawutju, ngalyamarrka, ngalyataapa, willyka, nanytatjina, ngalyangamu, nganytjanpa, mangunyupa, nyulkulu, ngalyanyuwata, ngalyakinti, mulyangamu, kunanyumpu, ngalyakintikinti, pootji |
| crow       | kaanka, tarrkamungulpa, wankuta, wakitata, tarrkangalku, minytjingu, takinkata, kunatjarrilyungha, waaka, waanka, wakinka, kuwalpa, wankura, wangkuriny, kurukanti, waanga |
| fly        | ngurrinypa, muugu, ngurrita, munurrku                           |
| one        | kutju, kumpinyu, tjunu, nguyarra, yakamata                    |
| two        | kutjarra                                                       |
| many       | laltu, yannga, pinya, pini, tjuta, ruunyntja                   |
| big        | tjalu, pula, yuwinpa, tina, matju/yakulu, tjuma                |
| small      | lamanpapa, tjukut, wilma, nyamanyapa/tjapu, tjulitjuli, tjumpili |
| good       | palya, pantirrpa, miku, wiru, ngalyapa/kunytjunyu, walykununy  |
| bad        | ngawu, pula, panytja, kurra, kuya/walyku, ngurrka, mungutja    |
| no         | wiya, lawa, yumu/waya, pakku, munu                            |
| yes        | yuwa, yuu                                                      |

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3.1.6 CHRISTMAS CREEK MASTER

black  maru, marumaru, yalta, lipi, kutupiri, nalipa
red  pilytji, karrku, riitwana, yilkurrkura, mitjimitji, tjatjaka, mutu, tiritiri
man  puntu, wati, matu
woman  tutju, minyama, wanatjarra, wanakulu, mirrkatjarra, kungka//wanti
father  mama, wapirra, tati, mamati, yina//kantju
mother  yipi, nguntju, yipitja, mami, yakuti//nyurrka, tilypu
older brother  kuta, papatu//pupu, kukkanu
saw  nyangu
heard  kulinu, yangkurunu, yaltjurunu//ngangkunu
drank  tjikiju
ate  ngalangu, ngalkunu
sat  nginangu, pintiringarangu
stood  ngarangu
gave  yungu
shot  yungkanu, kintinu, rungkanu, tjutumatu, tjutupungu

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got
bac
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ye:
bl:
rec
ma:
woi
night mungatjarra, munga, warurr, payinpa//yupunytj, pukanyntja, kapa
midday karri, karpuwati//nyilpakatukatu, kala
north kayili, kayirra, kayilingu//yalintjarra, yalinytja, kayilirra, yatitjarra
south yulpariirra, kulirra, ngawarrara//ngapati, yulpap
east kakarra, lukurrku//kaharrara, lukurrpa
west yaparra, wiura//kala, yapurrkura, wilurarra
creek karru, matuwarra, kiliki, kuriki, walalarra//wungka
earth pana, nguwa, warirrki//manta
track yiwarra, karukarru, ruutu//palkarra, watjarra, ruuurrpa, muny, walyarra
stick wata, punu, mana, yingkara, watiya
food manji, mirrka, mangarr, miyi, mantjirr(pa)//yuta, kumananytjirr, pulura
dog wita, tjantu, papa, kunyarr(pa)//ngini, tjajnga, tjutj
meat kuka, kuyu, kuwi//miitpa, mantu, liwipapa
cat putjikata, miyamu, ngaya, nyulkulu, ngalyangamu, ngalyataapa, wilypini, nyumpunpa, ngalyakintikinti, wiixa//tjurjukuylu, minyamu, ngantjaapa, papangalura, putjikan(pa), mulyangamu, ngiini, tjilpa, mtulypa, ngalyangamu
crow kaanka, wangkana, kunamungulpapa, tarrkamungulpapa, yuungalku, tjangintara, waketa, tarrkamintjirra, waaku, tjakilyata, wakinka, wakita, wakuta, waangu, tarrkamintjil, kunatjirrangu, ngurringu
fly ngurrringu(pa), muungu, ngurrita, purrumuru//muunurrku, ngurrila
one kutju, kumpinyu, tjinu, kayan
two kutjarra, tjirrama, kurring
many laltu, yunnga, pinya, pi//wiinyja, tjuta
big tjalu, pulka, yuwin(pa), matu, tjukumunu//tjuma, tina, yakulyu
small lampan(pa), tjuku, tjukutjuku, tjukunja, ngamanpa, ngini//tjulitjuli, wiima, tjampil, nyuji
good palya, pantirr(pa), walyu, miku//kunytjungu, ngalypa, wiru, walykumun, ngurru, tjuninkarra
bad puta, walyku, panjtja, ngawu, ngalapa//kurra, kuja, kuyamata
no wiya, warra, majaly//paki
yes yuwa, yu, yarapa
black maru, marumaru, yalta, kunkun
red yilkulygilkulpapa, riituwan, riitpala, karrku, tili, piltyji, tjitjiwa//mitjimitji, mitjilpa, mungumungu
man punctu, watu, yina//matu, pun, ngapayi, purrku
woman tutju, minyma, wanakulu//ngilypi, wanti, munin, kungka
3.1.7 FITZROY CROSSING MASTER

nose
mulya, punulp, nyunngura, pantirrpantirr
//pantilypanypantilypa, kuyali, nyuvali, mutura, tjutju

ear
pina, kulilkulilpa, langa, munata, yangkuru//kurana, kulka, wurra, yanpiri

tooth
yirra, tjamanjty, katiti, yantjirwarra

hand
marra, kurru, marumpu, mulkutu//munyutu

boomerang
kali, tjinypa, yipapalypa, paltjarrangu//yirkili, warraka, pirriy, wulanu

woomera
marapaku, lankurr, pikurr, mirru, kunanturu//mangkutju, tjutiltygipila

house
mayari, yawutji, maya, yiwal//tawunpa, yawilypa, waala

camp
ngurra, rurrnu, tjunpurrpa//yuluppa, pintiri

fire
waru, walu, wulanu//kunparatji, kala, kunyangarrpa

water
kalu, kapi, ngapa//tjaarru, papa, tjiwiri, kunyatu, karuwa

sky
nganka, yalkiri, yalkari//nguru

sun
tjintu, purangu//ngililypa, yupunytyu, piya, nyilpa

moon
yakan(pa), panyalpa, wilara, tatata//kinara, muun, tjunitjula, tjakilipna, maunya

wind
walpa, ngalarra, wangal, mayawuny, winta//prippa, ngarrunru, wilinypa, wipu

night
munga, mungatjarra, warurr, pukanypj//yupunytyu

midday
karrpu, karrpua, -kumanta, tjinjara, kankarrapakanu
//nyilpakatukatu

north
kayili, kayirra, nyankantal//yalinjtya, yalinjjarra, kayillirra, mayili

south
yulparirra, kulula, kulirra, ngawarrara//yulpia, ngapati

east
kakarra//kakarrara

west
wilura, yapurra//wilura, rra, yapurrkura, kala

creek
karra, kilik, matuwarra, tarrkalpa//kiriki, wungka
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yolngu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>earth</td>
<td>pana, nguwa, warirrki//mantà, walya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yiwarra, karrukarru, ruutu, palkarra//walalarra, yururr, watjarra, ruutpa, waljarra, wanytjarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>track</td>
<td>wâta, punu, manja//ngana, watiyga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stick</td>
<td>manji, mirrka, miyi, manguari//mantjirr(pa), yuta, puluru, manjirr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>food</td>
<td>witu, tjantu, kunyarr(pa)//papa, tjutju, punpulu, kampura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meat</td>
<td>kuka, kuwiyi, kuyu, miit, wakari, ngatinypa//mantu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cat</td>
<td>minyawu, miyayu, putjikatu, wilpinpa, ngaya, ngalyakinti//nyulculku, ngalyataanpa, nyimpunpa, wiika, ngalyangamai, mulyangamai, tjutjukulyu, wiilyka, nganytjanpa, tjiinpa, ngilingi, mitulpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crow</td>
<td>kaanka, tjakilya, wangkana, wakinta, wangkiti, wangkuta, wakalata, wakita, waakwaak, waaku, pinyingkalku, waangu, minytjilytjaka, tarrkamungulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fly</td>
<td>ngurriyapa, ngurriyiga, muungu, kurungalku, purruru, ngurrata, ngurrata//muunurru, ngurrila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one</td>
<td>kutju, kumpinyu, kayan//tjinu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two</td>
<td>kutjarra, kurring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>many</td>
<td>laltu, patja, tjayiya, pini//yamniga, pinji, wiiyntja, tjuta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>big</td>
<td>tjalu, pulka, yuwinpa, pulkanya//matju, tjuma, yakulyu, kita, matjuwaata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small</td>
<td>tjuku, lampaj, tjukujuku, tjutamata, nyuji//tjulitjuli, tjapu, wiima, nyamanupa, tjumpili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good</td>
<td>paliya, pantjirr(pa), putapani, wiilyu, wiyaputa//kunytyunji, ngalypa, miku, wiwu, walakumunu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bad</td>
<td>putu, waluku, panjtja, ngala//kuyama, kuya, kurrja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>wiya, yumu//paku, munu, waya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yu, yuwa, yuwayi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>black</td>
<td>maru, kunkun(pa), marumaru, pulakwana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>red</td>
<td>tiliitili, tiliytilypa, yilkurr, gilkyilkiri, riitwanpa, pilytji, mitjimitji//matarrpa, tjatjaka, pilyrri, mitjilpa, riitpala, mingyinia, pilpat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>puntu, wati, ngankurrkulu, nganpayi, piina//matju, yina //wanti, ngilypi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman</td>
<td>tutju, watajarra, minyma, manin, mulytunpa, kalapi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>mama, yina, tati, mamanti, ngarpur, wapirra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td>yipi, yilpitja, tiilypu, mami, nyurrka//ngunytju, yakuti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>older brother</td>
<td>kuta, papatu, papatji//pupu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saw</td>
<td>nyangu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heard</td>
<td>kulini, kuwantanu, ninakarrinya//yalitjurugu, ngangkunu, yangerkunu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drank</td>
<td>tjikini, wuntunu, ngupunu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ate</td>
<td>ngalangu//ngalkunu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sat</td>
<td>nyinangu//pintirgarangu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NGARANGU//YIKINU
yungu//NINTINU
yungkantu, tuutumanu, tulkurru//KUNTINU

3.1.8 LA GRANGE MASTER

nose
mulya, pantilpantil, kuyali, nguvali, milya,
nyurrngura//nyurrngura, tjutju, mutura

ear
munata, kulilkuilipu, kulka, kurana//pa, pina//yangkuru,
wurrata, matamuti, yanpiri, yankura

tooth
yirra, katiti, yanatjarwarra

hand
mara, kurrapa, mapirr//pa, munyuru//mulkutu

boomerang
kali, yirrki, paralyi, tjarrangarr, garankarrpa,
warra//wajantu, pirrayi, kunantu

woomera
walparra, marapaku, mangkutju, mirru, lankurru, pikurru,
tjurrutjurrurlu//marapanguru

house
maya, yayanpa, tawunpa//giwala, yawilypa

camp
ngurra//pana, yulunpa, pintiri

fire
waru, kala, tjungku, kunbaratji//walu, wiha,
kunyingarraw

water
kalyu, kapi, papa, ngapa//tjiwiri, tjarruru
//ngarrunru, winu

sky
nganka//yilkari

sun
tjintu, karrpu, purangu//nyilpa, piya, yupunyulju

moon
wilarrpa, panyalpa, yakanypa, tatata, kirriti,
tjurrutjurrurlu//tjakilinpa, kitjili, muun, maanytja, kinarra,
kintangu

wind
wangalpa, walpa, ngalarra, willypa, wiinpa, pirriya

night
mungatjarra, munga//warurru, yupunyulju

midday
karrpu, karagurukuri, rukaruka//kalala, nyilpa, katukatu

north
kayilpi, yalinypa, yalinyparru//kayilirra, kayilirrawrak

south
yulpirirra, ngapiti, ngawarrara//yulparra, kulila

east
kakarraw//kakarrarraw, lukurrku

west
yapurru, wilura, yapurrkura, kara//wilurarraw

creek
karru, kuriki, kurikpa, wungka, tjurrarrpa

earth
pama, mungyiyi, manta//wajirrki

track
yiwarra, ruutu, karrurkarra, mutu, palkarra, ruutpa

stick
wuata, mangu, wurrkalpa//punu, watupu, nganawati

food
magi, miriti, mantjirrpa, miji, yungkalpinti//yuta,
matusriri

dog
tjantu, wiha, kunyarr//pa, papa, tjangalji, kampura,
yukurru//tjurrju, kunyarr

meat
kuka, kuwi, mitpa//mantu, tjangalji

cat
minyawu, putjikatu, ngalyawangka, tjutjukulu, nyumpunyapa,
mulyakint, taap, pitawanku, nyukulkwa//ngalyangamur,
mulyangamur, wiha, wilpinpa, tjini, nganytjanpa,
wiilyka, ngalyataamra, ngiingi, tjutjumara

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3.1.9 JIGALONG MASTER

nose mulya, kuyali, nguyali//nyunngura, mutura
ear kuranpa, pina, kulka, munata//wurrata, yanpiri
tooth yirra, kati, yangtjiwarru
hand mara, marumpu, mungutu//mulkutu, mina
boomerang yirrkili, walanu, kali, manti//wakunti, pirrayi
woomera walparra, mangkutju, mirru, ngami, marapaku, lankurru, marapangu, tjiultjutilpa
man  puntu, yina, wati, kita//matu
woman  wanti, tjutju, minyma, wanaatjarra, kungka, ngilypi
//mitawa
father  mama, tati
mother  yaku, tilypu, yakuti, mami//ngunytju, yipi
older brother  kuta, papatu, pupu
saw  nyangu
heard  kulinu, ngangkunu//yaltjurunu, yangkuranu
drank  tjikinu//wuntunu
ate  ngalangu//ngalkunu
sat  nyinangu, pintiringarangu
stood  ngjarangu, yikinu
gave  yungu//nintinu
shot  yungkanu, tjututamanu, pungu//kintinu, tjutupungu, tjututamanu

3.1.10 WILUNA MASTER

nose  mulya, nyunngura, mutura, tjutju//kuyali
ear  pina, kurada(pa), kulka, yalitjuru, munata//yanpiri,
warrata, yintul, yangkura, wurrata, yankuru, matamuti
tooth  gurra, tjamintji, katiti, yantjilwarra
hand  mara, mungutu, mulkutu, marumpu
boomerang  walaru, yirkili, kali, pirrayi//wakuni, pirriti
woomera  walparra, mangkutju, marapaku, lankurru, tjiultjultilpa
//mirru, pikurru
house  maya, yawilypa, tawunpa//yiwiya, waala, yuwwupa
camp  ngurru, yuulpaa
fire  waru, kunparatji, nguyumpara//kala, kunginyarrpa
water  kapiti, kaliyu, papa, kalunyu//ngapa, tjarruru
sky  nganka, yilkari, wankiri//nguru
sun  tjintu, nyilpa, yuyunytyu, piya, tjiturunan
moon  wilarra, kintunyu, panyalpa, kipara, minytjil,
munu(pa)//pira, tjunitjalu, muuna, kitjili, kingarra
wind  pirriya, winu, wilinyupa, walpa, wangalpa, karaputa,
ngarrutta, ngalarra //wiinpa, karruntu, winningarra
night  mungu, mungatjarra, warurru, yupuntjyu, yupuntungka,
kutuwantji
midday  karrpu, nyilpakatukatu, puyulyurru//kalala
north  kayili, kayilirra//yalinytjarra, watalpa
south  yulpari, ngapati, yulparira
east  kakarra, kakarrara//lukurrku
west  yapurru, yapurrkura//yapurr, wilurarra, wilura
creek  karra, wungka, kuriki
earth  paqa, putjurra, manta, warirrki
track  yirrara, yurruru, ruutpa, tjina, watjarra, ruutu
//palkarra, tjamana, ruurpa
stick
food
dog
meat
cat
crow
fly
one
two
many
big
small
good
bad
no
yes
black
red
man
woman
father
mother
older brother
saw
heard
drank
ate
sat
stood
gave
shot

wata, punu, watiya/ngana
mirrka, mayi, yuta, manytjirr(pa)
tjantu, papu, tjutju, pupu, wi_//kunyarrpa
kuka, kuwijgi, miitpa//mantu
tjutjukulyu, wilka, putjikatu, tjiinpa, nglingi,
mulyangamu, mingawu, ngalyataanpa, wiipinpa,
ngalyangamu, putjiputji, wiilyka, nganytjampa
kaanka, wakitata, waaku, wakinka, waangu, piningalku,
wangkuna
muungu, muunurrku, ngurrita//ngurrinpa, ngurrila
kutju//tjinu, waratja, yikamata
kutjarra
yanna, laltu, pini, pininya, muunku, wiinytja//tjuta,
rupu
matju, tjiurra, pulka, tjalu, yakulju, tjukumunu,
matjuwata, kangkutu, yuwinpa, pimpi//yina, punu
tjuku, tjukutjuku, tjapu, tjulitjuli, warrkku, tjapuwata
//tjumuli, nyamanupa, wiima
kunyajungu, paitya, pantirpa, miku, walykumunu, ngalypa
//kwutwanpa, wiru
walyku, puta, panytja, kuyamata, kurrakurra
wijwa, pakija, yinu, munu, yummatua//waja
yuwa, yuu
maru, marumaru
mitjimiti, minymingpa, ritwanga, mitjilpa, pilyarrri
puntu, wati, kita, yina, matu, ngalypa
wantii, minyma, tutju, ngilypi, wanatjarra//kungka
mama, tati, mamatji, yulman
mami, yipi, yakutu, yaku, yimi, ngunytju//maama, maminga
papatu, kuta, pupu
nyangu
kulinu, ngangkunu, yangkurana, yaltjarunu
tjiikimu, wuntunu
ngalangu, ngalkunu
nyinangu, pintiringarangu
ngarangu//yikimu, watjunu
yungu//miintu
yungkanu, tjutupungu, tjututmanu, kutinu, pungu

3.2 GRAMMATICAL RANGE MASTERS

Similar to the Synonym Range Master, the Grammatical Range Master combines the contributions of six to ten subjects from each centre. The most popular primary form is listed first and followed by the less popular primary form, but this is not the only first choice of the
subjects. The third and fourth items indicate some of the other subjects' first choice primary forms. As with the Synonym Range Masters, the secondary or 'heard' forms are listed beyond the double slash (//) where relevant and these are not given in preferential order.

Again it is obvious some forms have been borrowed from other than Western Desert dialects, e.g. Warlpiri, Nyangamarta, Walmajarri etc., but no attempt has been made to establish the origin of each form. If the form is used, then it has become part of the spoken language, although all subjects may not have accepted it as part of their language. However, such borrowings are few in number and by far the greater number of synonymous grammatical forms belong to the Western Desert communilcets under consideration.

It should be noted that the material from Ernabella and Warburton Ranges is from one speaker at each place, and is included only for comparative purposes. Because of this it is headed 'Material' rather than 'Master'.

In the interest of saving room in crowded areas of the following charts, the final suffix of the first item is not repeated but a hyphen indicates it should be understood as suffixed to each of the following items in the list of grammatical synonyms. (E.g. Giles Master 'First person plural plus ergative and exclusive' -latju on the first item should be understood as suffixed to each of the following items.)

A fuller description along with illustrations of the grammatical features in these lists can be found in 'The Core of Pintupi Grammar' by Hansen and Hansen, 1978.

3.2.1 ERNABELLA MATERIAL

Free form pronouns with case inflection

First person sing. plus ergative
ngayu-lu, ngayu-lu-ŋa

First person sing. plus object
ngayu-ŋa, ngayu-ŋa-ŋi

Second person sing. plus ergative
nyuntu, nyuntu-n

Second person sing. plus object
nyuntu-ŋa, nyuntu-ŋa-ŋta
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First person plur. plus ergative &amp; exclusive</th>
<th><em>nganana</em>, <em>nganana-la</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First person plur. plus nominative and exclusive</td>
<td><em>nganana</em>, <em>nganana-la</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Bound pronouns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Second person dual object</th>
<th><em>pulanya</em>, <em>nyupali</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Second person dual subject</td>
<td><em>pula</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person sing. avoidance, plus case marker</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person plur. avoidance, plus case marker</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Demonstratives**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular demonstrative</th>
<th><em>nyangatja</em>/<em>ngaatja</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plural demonstrative</td>
<td><em>nyanganpa-ya</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Conjunctions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Same subject conjunction</th>
<th><em>palulanguru</em>, <em>palungatjanu</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Different subject conjunction</td>
<td><em>ka</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Case suffixes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locative</th>
<th><em>-la</em>/-ngka</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dative, plus plural pronoun</td>
<td>tjanampa -ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoidance</td>
<td>-ngkatawarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accessory</td>
<td>-la</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Relators**

| 'Intention' plus ergative case       | -kitja-ngku                   |
| 'Negative' plus ergative case        | -wiya-ngku, -raral-tu         |
| 'Characteristic'                    | -payi                         |
| 'Origin'                            | -nguru -tjanu                 |
| 'Toward'                            | -kutu                         |
| 'Along'                             | -wanu/-wana                   |
| 'Associative'                       | -tjarra-ngku                  |
| 'Mistakenly'                        | -palku/-kukantja-ju           |

**Verbal suffixes**

| Different participant marker & continuous aspect | -nyangka/-nytjangka           |
| Nominaliser with continuous aspect          | -nytja/-rra-nytja            |
| Projected reason marker                  | -ntjaku-tawarra/-ltjipi     |
| Hortative marker                          | uti -nama                    |
| Purpose marker with nominaliser          | -ntjaku                      |
Present tense  

-consecutive action marking

Verb class with modifier

Modifier 'Toward' with verb & class ngalya kati-/kati-

Modifier 'Away from' with verb & rra class ma pitja-

Verb 'hit' plus wa class pu-wa

Verb 'dig' plus la class tjawa-la

Verbal aspect

Continuous rawa-ngku atu-nma, atu-ma

Past continuous -ngi

Future continuous -ma

Intermittent continuous & past tense -rrri-nu

Subjunctive mood -nma uti, -nma

Verb modifiers

'Away from' with motion verb ma pitjangu

'Toward' with motion verb ngalya pitjangu, pitjangu

'Around' with motion verb parra pitjangu
'Unsuccessfully'  putu
'Partially'    arunyku, aru puulpa
'Again'    piruku
'Continually' with verb 'take' & case  rawa-ngku kati, titutjarranga-ngku kati, titu-ngku
'Ahead' & case  nganmany-tju
'Quickly'  warrpungkula pungu, wala-ngku pungu//wala-lu

3.2.2 GILES MASTER

Free form pronouns with case inflection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First person sing.</th>
<th>Second person sing.</th>
<th>First person plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>plus ergative</td>
<td>plus ergative</td>
<td>plus ergative &amp; exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngayu-lu-na, nganku-lu-na</td>
<td>nyuntu-lu-n, nyuntu-n</td>
<td>ngayu-lu-latju, ngayun-tu-//ngayutiny-tju-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngayu-nya-ni, nganku-nya-ni</td>
<td>nyuntu-nya-nta</td>
<td>ngayun-tju-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngayu-lu-latju, ngayun-tu-//ngayutiny-tju-, ngayung-tju-</td>
<td>ngayu-lu-latju, ngayun-pa-//ngayun-nga-</td>
<td>ngayutiny-pa-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bound pronouns

Second person dual object  -ntapulanya, -pulanyanta, -pulanyan, -ntapula
Second person dual subject   -pulana, -npula
Third person sing. avoidance, plus case marker
no pron.-ngkata wurra, -lura -ngkamarra, no pron.-ngkatarrra

Third person plur. avoidance, plus case marker
no pron.-ngkata wurra, -tjanampalura -ngkamarra, no pron.-ngkatarrra

Demonstratives
Singular demonstrative
ngaanya, ngaatja//nyangatja

Plural demonstrative
ngaanya-ya, ngaanpa-, ngaatjinta-, ngaakatja-

Conjunctions
Same subject conjunction
palunyanguru, palulanguru, palunyatjanu, parrinyanguru

Different subject conjunction
palunyangka, parrinyangka, palula

Case suffixes
Locative -la, -ngka

Dative, plus plural pronoun
-tjanampa -ku

Avoidance -ngkatarrra, -ngkata wurra, -ngkamarra

Accessory -ngka

Relators
'Intention' plus ergative case -kitja-lu, -kitja-ngku

'Negative' plus ergative case -wiya-lu, -wiya-ngku, -pani-, maral-tu//-punatja-
'Characteristic'  -payi
'Origin'  -nguru, -tjanu
'Toward'  -kutu, -tu/-ku, -kati
'Along'  -wana/-wanu
'Associative'  -tjarra-lu, -kulu/-winti-
'Mistakenly'  -kukantja-lu, -putjunu/-kararu

Verbal suffixes

Different participant marker & continuous aspect  -rra-nytja-ngka, -rra-nya-ngka, -nya-ngka
//-nytja-la, -nytjany-tja

Nominaliser with continuous aspect  -rra-nytja, -nytja/-nytjany-pa

Projected reason marker  -l-ntjakutarra, -ltjakumarra, -ltjakutawarra,
-ltjaku/-lkuta, -ltji pi, l tjakuta

Hortative marker  -, -tjaku, -nytjaku

Purpose marker with nominaliser  -l-tjaku, -ntjaku, -lwa, -lwaranpa, -raku

Present tense  -rra, -in(pa), -nyi/-ni

Consecutive action marking  -ra -ngu -nu, -ra -rra -nu

Verb class with modifier

Modifier 'Toward' with verb & class  kati-

Modifier 'Away from' with verb & rra class  ma pitja-

Verb 'hit' plus wa class  pu-wa
Verb 'dig' plus la class

Verbal aspect
Continuous
Past continuous
Future continuous
Intermittent continuous & past tense
Subjunctive mood

Verb modifiers
Away from
Toward
Around
Unsuccessfully
Partially
Again
Continually
Ahead & case
Quickly

tjawa-la
titu puwa, punga-ma
-rranytja, -ma, -ngi
-ma, -malpa//-wanpa
-rrayinu, -rrinu
-ma, -mara//-ngara

ma pitjangu
pitjangu, ngalya pitjangu
parra pitjangu
putu
puulpa, kulyu
puru
titu kati, titu-lu kati
kurranyu-lu kati, kurranyu kati
warrpuwa puwa, wala-lu puwa, wala-ngku

//pipuru-lu
3.2.3 WARBURTON MATERIAL

Free form pronouns with case inflection

First person sing. plus ergative  \textit{ngayu-lu-na, nganku-lu-na}

First person sing. plus object  \textit{ngayu-nya-\textit{ni}, nganku-nya-\textit{ni}}

Second person sing. plus ergative  \textit{nyuntu-lu-n/\textit{nyuntu-\textit{n}}}

Second person sing. plus object  \textit{nyuntu-nya-nta}

First person plur. plus ergative & exclusive  \textit{ngayu-lu-latju/\textit{ngayun-tu-}}

First person plur. plus nominative & exclusive  \textit{ngayu-lu-latju/\textit{ngayun-pa-}, ngayun-nga}

Bound pronouns

Second person dual object  \textit{-ntapulanya, -pulanyanta, -pulanyan, -ntapula}

Second person dual subject  \textit{-pulan, -npula}

Third person sing. avoidance, plus case marker  \textit{no pronoun -ngkatarra/-lura}

Third person plur. avoidance, plus case marker  \textit{no pronoun -ngkatarra/-tjanampalura}

Demonstratives

Singular demonstrative  \textit{ngaanya, ngaatja/\textit{nyangatja}}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural demonstrative</th>
<th>ngaanya-ya, ngaatjin-nga-/ngaanpa-, ngaakatja-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Conjunctions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Same subject conjunction</th>
<th>palunyatjanu-lu, palungangu-ru, parrinyanguru-ru/palulanguru-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Different subject conjunction</td>
<td>palunyangka, parrinyangka/palula</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Case suffixes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locative</th>
<th>-la</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dative, plus plural pronoun</td>
<td>-tjanampa -ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoidance</td>
<td>-ngkatarra, -ngkatawarra/-ngkarrarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accessory</td>
<td>-la</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Relators**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'Intention' plus ergative case</th>
<th>-kitja-lu/-kitja-ngku</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Negative' plus ergative case</td>
<td>-wiya-lu, -maral-tu/-wiya-ngku, -parri-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Characteristic'</td>
<td>-payi, -payinyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Origin'</td>
<td>-tjanu, -nguru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Toward'</td>
<td>-kutu, -tu, -ku/-kati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Along'</td>
<td>-wana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Associative'</td>
<td>-tjarra-lu/-kulu-, -winti-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Mistakenly'</td>
<td>-kukantja-lu, putju-lu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Verbal Suffixes

Different participant marker, & continuous aspect
-rra-nya-ngka, -rra-nytja-la, -nytja-la
//-nytjany-tja

Nominaliser with continuous aspect
-rra-nytja, -nytja

Projected reason marker
-ltjakutarra, -ltjakutawarra, -ltjaku
//-ltjakumarra, -lku-ta, -ltji-pl

Hortative marker
pitja-ma

Purpose marker
-ltjaku, -ntjaku//lwa, -lwaranpa

with nominaliser

Present tense
-narra//-nin(pa), -nanyi

Consecutive action marking
-ra -rra -nu

Verb class with modifier

Modifier 'Toward' with verb & o class
kati-o

Modifier 'Away from' with verb & rra class
ma pitja-o

Verb 'hit' plus wa class
pu-wa

Verb 'dig' plus la class
tjawa-la

Verbal aspect

Continuous
titu punga-ma, titu puwa, pungama

Past continuous
-rranytja, -ngi

Future continuous
-ma//-malpa
Intermittent continuous & past tense
-rrinu

Subjunctive mood -nma

Verb Modifiers
'mAway from' with motion verb ma pitjangu
'Toward' with motion verb pitjangu/ngalga pitjangu
'Around' with motion verb parra pitjangu
'Unsuccessfully' pulu
'Partially' puulpama pungu/kulu pungu
'Again' puru
'Continually' with verb 'take' & case titu katima/titu-ulu kati
'Ahead' & case kurrunyu-ulu
'Quickly' wala-ulu pungu, warrpuwa puwa/wala-ngku puwa

3.2.4 PAPUNYA MASTER

Free form pronouns with case inflection
First person sing. ngayu-ulu-na, ngayu-ulu
plus ergative
First person sing. ngayu-nya-nta, ngayu-ulu (nom. case)
plus object
Second person sing. nyuntu-ulu-n, nyuntu, nyurra-ulu
plus ergative
Second person sing. nyuntu-nya-nta, nyuntu, nyurra-nya
plus object

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| First person plur. plus ergative & exclusive | ngayun-tu-latju, ngayu-lu-, nganapatju, ngayu-lu-ngarri, ngayu-lu-latju, nganapatngarri, ngayuning-tju, ngayuti-lu- |
| First person plur. plus nominative & exclusive | ngayun-pa-latju, nganapatju, nganana, ngayu-nya-, nganana-nya, ngayu-nya-ngarri, ngayuting-pa, ngayuti- |
| **Bound pronouns** |  |
| Second person dual object | -ntapula, nyupali |
| Second person dual subject | -pul, pula//-npula |
| Third person sing. avoidance, plus case marker | -lura -ngkamara, ———ngkatawarra |
| Third person plur. avoidance, plus case marker | -tjanampalura -ngkamara, ———ngkatawarra |
| **Demonstrative** |  |
| Singular demonstrative | ngaanya, ngaatjanya, ngaatja//nyangatja |
| Plural demonstrative | ngaanpa-, ngaanya, ngaa tjuta- |
| **Conjunctions** |  |
| Same subject conjunction | palunyatjanu, palunyanguru, parrinyatjanu, parrinyanguru |
| Different subject conjunction | palunyangka, parrinyangka |
| **Case suffixes** |  |
| Locative | -ngka, -la |
### Dative, plus plural pronoun
- tjanampa -ku

### Avoidance
- ngkamarra, -ngkatarrowa/-ngakatarra

### Accessory
- ngka, -nya, -o, -la

### Relators

| 'Intention' plus ergative case       | -kitja-lu, -kitja-ngku  |
| 'Negative' plus ergative case        | -wiya-lu, -wiya-ngku, -pani-, maral-tu |
| 'Characteristic'                     | -payi                   |
| 'Origin'                             | -nguru, -tjanu          |
| 'Toward'                             | -kutu, -ku/-tu          |
| 'Along'                              | -wana/-wanu             |
| 'Associative'                        | -tjarra-lu, tjarra-ngku, -kul-u-lu/-winti-lu |
| 'Mistakenly'                         | -kukantja-lu, kukanu/-karanytju |

### Verbal suffixes

| Different participant marker & continuous aspect | -rra-nytja-ngka, -nytja-ngka, -nya-ngka, -nytja-la, -rra-nytja-lu, -nyi-ngka/-nytjany-tja |
| Nominaliser with continuous aspect              | -rra-nytja, -nytja, -ngu-tja, -nytja-tjanu, -nytja-nu/-nytjany-pa |
| Projected reason marker                         | -ltjaku, -ltjakumarra, -ltjipi, -ltjipningka, -ltjipningkumarra, -ltjakutarrowa/-lkuta, -ltjakuta |
| Hortative marker                                | -rra, -nytjaku          |
| Purpose marker with nominaliser               | -ntjaku, -lwa/-raku     |
Present tense: \(-nin(pa), -nanyi/-narra, -nanyini, -nayinpa\)
Consecutive action marking: \(-ra -rra -nu, -nu -ngu -nu\)

**Verb class with modifier**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modifier 'Toward'</th>
<th>ngalya kati-o, ngalyati-o</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>with verb &amp; o class</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modifier 'Away from' with verb &amp; rra class</td>
<td>ma ya-rra, ma pitja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb 'hit' plus wa class</td>
<td>pu-wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb 'dig' plus la class</td>
<td>tjawa-la</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Verbal aspect**

| Continuous | tītu pungama, tītu puwa |
| Past continuous | -ma, -ngi, -rranytja/-payi |
| Future continuous | -malpa, -wanpa, rawa nyinaku |
| Intermittent continuous & past tense | -rrinu, -rrayinu, -yinu |
| Subjunctive mood | -mara, -ngara |

**Verb modifiers**

| 'Away from' with motion verb | ma pitjangu, ma yanu |
| 'Toward' with motion verb | ngalya pitjangu, ngalya yanu |
| 'Around' with motion verb | parra yanu, parra pitjangu |
'Unsuccessfully'  putu
'Partially'  kulyu, puulpa
'Again'  puru
'Continually' with verb 'take' & case  titu kati, kutu kati
'Ahead' & case  kurranyu
'Quickly'  wala-lu puwa, wala-ngku puwa, pula-lu, parrpatu-lu, wirruru-lu

3.2.5  BALGO MASTER

Free form pronouns with case inflection

First person sing. plus ergative  ngayu-lu-na
First person sing. plus object  ngayu-ni, ngayu-nya-ni
Second person sing. plus ergative  nyuntu-lu-n
Second person sing. plus object  nyuntu-nta, nyuntu-nya-, nyurra-nya-
First person plur. plus ergative & exclusive  ngayun-tu-latju, ngayuny-tju-, ngayuti-lu/ ngayutiny-tju-latju, ngayutin-tu
First person plur. plus nominative & exclusive  ngayun-pa-latju, ngayuti-latju, ngayuny-pa- ngayutiny-pa-

Bound pronouns

Second person dual object  -ntapula, -nulpanya, -pulanyan, kutjarra-nta-pula
Second person dual subject  -npula, -pulan, kutjarra-npula
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Third person sing. avoidance, plus case marker</td>
<td>-lura -ngamarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person plur. avoidance, plus case marker</td>
<td>-tjanampalura -ngamarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstratives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular demonstrative</td>
<td>ngaatja, ngaanya, ngaa//nyangatja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural demonstrative</td>
<td>ngaanpa-, ngaanya-ya, ngaatja-, ngaati, ngaakatja-ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjunctions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same subject conjunction</td>
<td>palunyatjanu, palunyanguru, palurutjanu, palurunguru, parrinyanguru, palutjanu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Different subject conjunction</td>
<td>palunyangka, palurungka, palungka, parrinyangka, parrunyangka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case suffixes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>-ngka, -l-ta, -l-tja//-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative, plus plural pronoun</td>
<td>-tjanampa -ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoidance</td>
<td>-ngamarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accessory</td>
<td>-o, -ngka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relators</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Intention' plus ergative case</td>
<td>kitja-lu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Negative' plus egative case</td>
<td>-pani-lu, -wiya-lu, -maral-tu, maraly-tju // -punatja-lu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
'Characteristic' -payi

'Origin' -tjanu, -nguru

'Toward' -kutu, -kurra, -kati, -tu//waka

'Along' -wana

'Associative' -kulu-lu, -tjarrra-//winti-

'Mistakenly' -kukantja-lu, kuranytju-lu -kukanu//karapu

**Verbal suffixes**

Different participant marker & continuous aspect -rra-nytja-ngka, -nytja-ngka//nytja-la, -nytjan-tja

Nominaliser with continuous aspect -nytja, -rra-nytja, -nytjanpa, -nytjanypa/-nta, -nta

Projected reason marker -ltjaku, -ltjakumarra, -ltjakungkamarra, -ltjakuta, -lkuta, -ltjipingka, -ltjipi, -ltjipingkamarra

Hortative marker -nytjaku, -wa, -waku, -mara, -ngara, -lkuraku, -yarra

Purpose marker with nominaliser -lkula, -ntjaku, -lkura, -lkuraku, -lkwaku

Present tense -nin(pa), -nanyin(pa), -nani, -nanyi/-narra

Consecutive action marking -nu -ngu -nu/-ra -rra -nu

**Verb class with modifier**

Modifier 'Toward' ngalya kati-o, katima, ngalya kawa

Modifier 'Away from' with verb & rra class ma ya-rra, wuna yarra

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Verb 'hit' plus wa class: pu-wa

Verb 'dig' plus la class: tjawa-la

Verbal aspect:
- Continuous: wulu pungama, wulu puwa, wululu puwa, titulu puwa
- Past continuous: -ma, -rranytja, -payi/-ngi
- Future continuous: -malpa, -wanpa, -ranpa
- Intermittent continuous & past tense: -rrinu, -rrayinu/-ngunangu
- Subjunctive mood: -mara, -ngara

Verb modifiers:
- 'Away from' with motion verb: ma yaru, ma pitjangu
- 'Toward' with motion verb: ngalya yaru, ngalya pitjangu
- 'Around' with motion verb: parra yaru, parra pitjangu
- 'Unsuccessfully': putu
- 'Partially': kulyu
- 'Again': puru, witulu
- 'Continually' with verb 'take' & case: wulu kati, wulutjarra kati, titu kati
- 'Ahead' & case: kurranyu-lu, kurranyu
- 'Quickly': wala-lu, pula-lu, pipurrulu, wurrurrulu
3.2.6 CHRISTMAS CREEK MASTER

Free form pronouns with case inflection

First person sing. plus ergative  ngayu-\textit{lu-na}

First person sing. plus object  ngayu-\textit{ni}, ngayu-nya-\textit{ni}

Second person sing. plus ergative  nyuntu-\textit{lu-n}

Second person sing. plus object  nyuntu-\textit{nta}, nyuntu-nya-\textit{nta}

First person plur. plus ergative & exclusive  ngayun-tju-latju, ngayuny-tju-, ngayuti-\textit{lu-},
                                           ngayun-tju-//ngayutiny-tju, ngayuny-tju-\textit{ti-}lu-

First person plur. plus nominative & exclusive  ngayun-pa-latju, ngayuny-pa-, ngayuti-\textit{i-}
                                               //ngayutiny-pa-, ngayutin-pa-

Bound pronouns

Second person dual object  -ntapula, -npulanya, -pulanyan

Second person dual subject  -npula, -pulan

Third person sing. avoidance, plus case marker  -lura -ngkamarra

Third person plur. avoidance plus case marker  -tjanampalura -ngkamarra

Demonstratives

Singular demonstrative  ngaatja, ngaanya, ngaa//nyangatja
Plural demonstrative

Conjunctions

Same subject conjunction

Different subject conjunction

Case suffixes

Locative

Dative, plus plural pronoun

Avoidance

Accessory

Relators

'Intention' plus ergative case

'Negative' plus ergative case

'Characteristic'

'Origin'

'Toward'

'Along'

'Associative'

'Mistakenly'

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### Verbal suffixes

- **Different participant marker, & continuous aspect**:
  - -nytjany-tja, -nytjan-pa, -nytja-ngka,
  - -rra-nytjangka, -n-pa/-nytja-la

- **Nominaliser with continuous aspect**:
  - -nytja, -nytjany(pa), -rra-nytja, -nypa/-nta

- **Projected reason marker**:
  - -ltjaku, -ltjakumarra, -lkuta, -ltjakungkamarra//
  - -ltjipi

- **Hortative marker**:
  - -ra, -wa, -raku, -ngara, -nytjaku, -tjaku, -waku,
  - yarra

- **Purpose marker with nominaliser**:
  - -lkura, -lkuraku, -lkuwa, -ltjaku, -nytjaku,
  - -lkuwaku

- **Present tense**:
  - -nin(pa), -nanyin(pa)//-nanyi, -nayin(pa), -nani,
  - -narra

- **Consecutive action marking**:
  - -nu -ngu -nu//-ra -rra -nu

### Verb class with modifier

- **Modifier 'Toward' with verb & o class**:
  - kati-o, katima, kawani, ngalyati-o

- **Modifier 'Away from' with verb & rra class**:
  - ma ya-rra

- **Verb 'hit' plus wa class**:
  - pu-wa

- **Verb 'dig' plus la class**:
  - tjawa-la

### Verbal aspect

- **Continuous**:
  - wulu puwa, wulu pungama, wulu-ulu puwa

- **Past continuous**:
  - -ma, -payi, -rranytja//-ngi
Future continuous
- malpa, - ranpa/-wanpa

Intermittent continuous & past tense
- rragnu, - rrinu

Subjunctive mood
- ngara, - mara

Verb modifiers

'Away from' with motion verb
ma yanu, ma pitjangu

'Toward' with motion verb
ngalya yanu, yanuni

'Around' with motion verb
parra yanu

'Unsuccessfully'
putu

'Partially'
kulyu

'Again'
puru, witulu

'Continually' with verb 'take' & case
wulu kati, wulu katima, titu-lu kati

'Ahead' & case
kurranyu-lu kati, kurranyu kati

'Quickly'
wala-lu puwa, pula-lu, pipurru-lu, wirurruru-lu

3.2.7 FITZROY CROSSING MASTER

Free form pronouns with case inflection

First person sing. plus ergative
ngayu-lu-ŋa, nganku-lu-∥ngatjumana

First person sing. plus object
ngayu-ŋi, ngayu-ŋa-, nganku-

Second person sing. plus ergative
nyuntu-lu-n
Second person sing. plus object  nyuntu-nta nyuntu-nya-

First person plur. plus ergative & exclusive  ngayun-tju-latju, ngayun-tu-, ngayuti-lu-, ngankuny-tju-//ngayutin-tju

First person plur. plus nominative & exclusive  ngayun-pa-latju, ngayun-pa-, ngayuti-, ngankuny-tju-//ngayutin-tju-

Bound pronouns

Second person dual object  -ntapula//-npulanya

Second person dual subject  -npula//-pulan

Third person sing. avoidance, plus case marker  -lura -ngkamarra

Third person plur. avoidance, plus case marker  -tjanampalura -ngkamarra

Demonstratives

Singular demonstrative  ngaatja, ngaanya, ngaan//nyangatja

Plural demonstrative  ngaanpa-ya, ngaati-, ngaakatja-, ngaanya-

Conjunctions

Same subject conjunction  palunyatjanu, palunyanguru, palurutjanu //parringatjanu,parringanguru

Different subject conjunction  palunyangka//parringangka
**Case suffixes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>-ngka, -l-tja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative, plus plural pronoun</td>
<td>-tjanampa -ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoidance</td>
<td>-ngkamarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accessory</td>
<td>-o, -ngka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Relators**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Intention' plus ergative case</td>
<td>-kitja-lu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Negative' plus ergative case</td>
<td>-pani-lu/-wiya-, -maraly-tju, -punatja-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Characteristic'</td>
<td>-payi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Origin'</td>
<td>-tjanu, -nguru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Toward'</td>
<td>-kutu, -kati, -kurra/-tu, -waka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Along'</td>
<td>-wana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Associative'</td>
<td>-kulu-lu, -tjarra-lu/-winti-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Mistakenly'</td>
<td>kukanu, -kuktja-lu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Verbal suffixes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Different participant marker, &amp; continuous aspect</td>
<td>-nytja-ngka, -nytjany-tja/-nytja-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominaliser with continuous aspect</td>
<td>-nytjany(pa), -nytjan(pa), -rranytja/-nytja, -nta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Projected reason marker</td>
<td>-ltyaku(marra), -ltyakungkamarra, -lkuta, -lkutangkamarra/-ntjangerkamarra/-ltyapi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hortative marker</td>
<td>-mara, -rra, -raku/-nytjaku, -ngara, -ra, -wa, -waku</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Purpose marker with nominaliser
-likuraku, -likura, -likuwa/-nytjaku, -likuwaku

Present tense
-nin(pa)/-nanyin(pa), -nani, -nanyi, -narra

Consecutive action marking
-nu -ngu -nu/-ra -rra -nu

Verb class with modifier

Modifier 'Toward' with verb & o class
kati-o-ni, kawa-ni

Modifier 'Away from' with verb & rra class
ma ya-rra, ya-rra

Verb 'hit' plus wa class
pu-wa

Verb 'dig' plus la class
tjawa-la

Verbal aspect

Continuous
wululu pungama

Past continuous
-ma, -payi/-rranytja

Future continuous
-malpa, -ranpa, -wanpa

Intermittent continuous & past tense
-rrinpa, -rranytja/-rraynu, -rrinu

Subjunctive mood
-mara, ngara

Verb modifiers

'Away from' with motion verb
ma yanu, yanu

'Toward' with motion verb
ngalya yanu
'Around' with motion verb

'Unsuccessfully'

'Partially'

'Again'

'Continually' with verb 'take' & case

'Ahead' & case

'Quickly'

\textit{parra yanu}

\textit{putu}

\textit{kulyu}

\textit{witulu//puru}

\textit{wulu kati, wulu-lu kati}

\textit{kurranyu-lu kati, kurranyu kati}

\textit{wala-lu puwa, pula-lu, wala puwa//pipurrulu, wurruru-lu}

3.2.8 \textbf{LA GRANGE MASTER}

\textbf{Free form pronouns with case inflection}

\textbf{First person sing. plus ergative}

\textit{ngayu-lu-na}

\textbf{First person sing. plus object}

\textit{ngayu-\textit{ni}, ngayu-nya-, ngayutja-}

\textbf{Second person sing. plus ergative}

\textit{nyuntu-lu-n}

\textbf{Second person sing. plus object}

\textit{nyuntu-nta, nyuntu-nya}

\textbf{First person plur. plus ergative & exclusive}

\textit{ngayuny-tju-latju, ngayutji-lu-, ngayutiny-tju-//ngayun-tu}

\textbf{First person plur. plus nominative & exclusive}

\textit{ngayun-pa-latju, ngayuny-pa-, ngayutji-//ngayutin-pa-, ngayutiny-pa-}

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Bound pronouns

Second person dual object
- npulanya, -ntapula, -ntapulanya

Second person dual subject
- npula//-pulan

Third person sing. avoidance, plus case marker
- lura -ngkamarra

Third person plur. avoidance, plus case marker
- tjanampalura -ngkamarra

Demonstratives

Singular demonstrative
- ngaanya, ngaaa//ngaatja, nyangatja

Plural demonstrative
ngaanpa-ya, ngaakatja-, ngaanya-, ngaati-, ngaanyakatja-

Conjunctions

Same subject conjunction
palunyatjanu, palunyanguru//parringanguru

Different subject conjunction
palunyangka//parringangka

Case suffixes

Locative
- ngka, -l-tja

Dative, plus plural pronoun
- tjanampa -ku

Avoidance
- ngkamarra

Accessory
- o, -ngka
**Relators**

| 'Intention' plus ergative case | -kitja-lu |
| 'Negative' plus ergative case | -pani-lu, -punatja-lu//wiya-, maraly-tju |
| 'Characteristic' | -payi |
| 'Origin' | -nguru, -tjanu |
| 'Toward' | -kati, -kutu//tu, -waka, -kurra |
| 'Along' | -wana |
| 'Associative' | -kululu, -winti-lu//tjarra-lu |
| 'Mistakenly' | -kukanu, -kukantja-lu//karunu, -kuwantja-lu |

**Verbal suffixes**

| Different participant marker & continuous aspect | -nytja-ngka, nytjany-tja///nytja-la |
| Nominaliser with continuous aspect | -rra-nytja, -nguny-pa, -nyiny-pa//nytja, nytjany-pa, -nta |
| Projected reason marker | -ltjaku, -ltjakumarra, -ltjakuta, -lkuta, -ltjakungkamarrpa, -ntjangkamarrpa |
| Hortative marker | -raku, -ra, -wa//ngara, -mara, -nytjaku |
| Purpose marker with nominaliser | -ra, -raku, -wa//ntjaku |
| Present tense | -nayin(pa), -nin(pa), -nanyin(pa), -nani//nanyi, narrta |
| Consecutive action marking | -nu -ngu -nu//ra -rra -nu |
Verb class with modifier

Modifier 'Toward' with verb & o class 

kawa-ni, kati-o-ni, ngalya kati-o

Modifier 'Away from' with verb & rra class

ma ya-rra, ya-rra, mawu ya-rra

Verb 'hit' plus wa class

pu-wa

Verb 'dig' plus la class

tjawa-la

Verbal aspect

Continuous

wululu puwa, wululu pungama, punganyan puwanpa

Past continuous

-payi, -ma, -rranytja, -ngunpa, -nytjanypa

Future continuous

-malpa, -ranpa, -wanpa

Intermittent continuous & past tense

ngunpa, -rrayinu, -payi/-rrinu

Subjunctive mood

-mara, -ngara, -ra

Verb modifiers

'Away from' with motion verb

yanu, ma yanu, mawu yanu

'Toward' with motion verb

yanuni, ngalyani yanu

'Around' with motion verb

parra yanu

'Unsuccessfully'

putu

'Partially'

kulyu

'Again'

wituka

3.2

Verbal aspect
'Continually' with verb 'take' & case
wulu kawa, wulu-lu kawa, wulu-lu kati

'Ahead' & case
kurranyu-ku kati, kurranyu kawa

'Quickly'
wala-ku puwa//pula-ku, pipurr-ku, wirrurr-ku

3.2.9 JIGALONG MASTER

Free form pronouns with case inflection

First person sing. plus ergative
ngayu-ku-

First person sing. plus object
ngayu-ku//ngayu-nya-

Second person sing. plus ergative
nyuntu-ku-

Second person sing. plus object
nyuntu-nta nyuntu-nya-

First person plur. plus ergative & exclusive
ngayuparaku-ku-latju, ngayutiny-ku-, ngayun-ku-, ngayuny-ku-

First person plur. plus nominative & exclusive
ngayutiny-ku-latju, ngayuny-ku-, ngayun-ku-

Bound pronouns
Second person dual object
-ntapula
Second person dual subject
-ntula, -pulan
Third person sing. avoidance, plus case marker
-lura -ngkamara

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Third person plur.</td>
<td>(-tjanampalura) (-ngkamarra)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avoidance, plus case marker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstratives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular demonstrative</td>
<td>(ngaa, ngaanya, ngapi//ngaatja, nyangatja)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural demonstrative</td>
<td>(ngaanpa-ya, ngaanya-, ngaaparaku-, ngaakatja)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjunctions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same subject conjunction</td>
<td>(palunyatjanu, palunyanguru, palunyatjanuyila//parrinyatjanu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Different subject conjunction</td>
<td>(palunyangka, palunyangkayila//parrinyangka)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case suffixes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>(-ngka, -n-tja, -n-ta)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative, plus plural pronoun</td>
<td>(-tjanampa) (-ku)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoidance</td>
<td>(-ngkamarra)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accessory</td>
<td>(-ngka, -tja, -o)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relators</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Intention' plus ergative case</td>
<td>(-kitja-lu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Negative' plus ergative case</td>
<td>(-pani-lu, -punatja-lu//-wiya- -maral-tu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Characteristic'</td>
<td>(-payi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Origin'</td>
<td>(-tjanu//-nguru)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
'Toward' \(-kati, -kutu/-tu, -waka\)

'Along' \(-wana\)

'Associative' \(-winti-lu, -kulu/-tjarra-\)

'Mistakenly' \(-kuranu, -karanu/-kukantja-lu\)

**Verbal suffixes**

Different participant marker & continuous aspect

\(-nytja-ngka, -rra-nytja-ngka, -nta, -nytjany- tja /nytja-la\)

Nominaliser with continuous aspect

\(-nytjany-pa, -nta, -nytja, -rra-nytja\)

Projected reason marker

\(-ltjaku, -ltjakumarra, -lkuta/-ltjiipi\)

Hortative marker

\(-ngara, -rra, -nytjaku\)

Purpose marker with nominaliser

\(-lkura, -lkuraku/-nytjaku, -lkuwa\)

Present tense

\(-nani, -nin(pa)/-narra, -nangi\)

Consecutive action

\(-nu -ngu -nu/-ra -rra -nu\)

**Verb class with modifier**

Modifier 'Toward' with verb & o class

\(kawani, ngalya kati-o\)

Modifier 'Away from' with verb & rra class

\(ya-rra, mawi ya-rra\)

Verb 'hit' plus wa class

\(pu-wa\)

Verb 'dig' plus la class

\(tjawa-la\)
Verbal aspect

Continuous  
wululu puwa, wulu puwa, pungama

Past continuous  
-payi, -ma/-rranytja

Future continuous  
-malpa, rawa nyinaku/-wanpa

Intermittent continuous & past tense  
-ngunangu/-rranyinu, -rrinu

Subjunctive mood  
-ngara/-mara

Verb modifiers

'Away from' with motion verb  
ma yanu

'Toward' with motion verb  
yanuni, ngalya yanu

'Around' with motion verb  
parra yanu

'Unsuccessfully'  
putu

'Partially'  
mantanpa//kulyu

'Again'  
yarranu, karu

'Continually' with verb 'take' & case  
wulu-lu kati, wulu kati

'Ahead' & case  
kurranyu-lu kawa

'Quickly'  
wala-lu puwa, pula-lu, wirrurrulu, pini-lu, pipurrulu

3.2.10 WILUNA MASTER

Free form pronouns with case inflection

First person sing.  
ngayu-lu-na

plus ergative
First person sing. plus object  
\textit{ngayu-\textit{n}i, ngayu-\textit{nya-}}

Second person sing. plus ergative  
\textit{nyuntu-\textit{lu-}}

Second person sing. plus object  
\textit{nyuntu-\textit{nya-nta, nyuntu-}}

First person plur. plus ergative & exclusive  
\textit{ngayun-tu-\textit{latju, ngayuting-tju-, ngayuny-tju-}}

First person plur. plus nominative & exclusive  
\textit{ngayun-pa-\textit{latju, ngayuting-pa-, ngayun-nga-}}

Bound pronouns

Second person dual object  
\textit{-ntapula, -npulanya, -pulanyan, -ntapulan, -pulanta, -ntapulanya}

Second person dual subject  
\textit{-npula, -pulan}

Third person sing. avoidance, plus case marker  
\textit{-lura -ngkamarra}

Third person plur. avoidance, plus case marker  
\textit{-tjanampalura -ngkamarra}

Demonstratives

Singular demonstrative  
\textit{ngaanya, ngaatja, ngaa//nyangatja}

Plural demonstrative  
\textit{ngaa-ya, ngaakatja-, ngaanpa-, ngaaparaku-}

Conjunctions

Same subject conjunction  
\textit{palunyatjanu, palunyanguru, palutjanu, parringyatjanu, palunyatjanuyilampa}
Different subject conjunction

palundayka palungka//parringanyanga palundaykayilampa

Case suffixes

Locative

-ngka, -l-tja, -n-ta/-la

Dative, plus plural pronoun

-tjanampa -ku, tjanaku

Avoidance

-ngkamarra

Accessory

-ngka, -o

Relators

'Intention' plus ergative case

-kitja-lu

'Negative' plus ergative case

-pani-lu, -punatja-/wiya-, maral-tu, maal-tu

'Characteristic'

-payi

'Origin'

-tjanu, -nguru

'Toward'

-kati, -kutu/-tu, -waka

'Along'

-wana

'Associative'

-kulu-lu, -winti/-tjarra-

'Mistakenly'

-kukantja-lu, -karanu/-kukanu

Verbal suffixes

Different participant marker & continuous aspect

-rra-nytja-ngka, -nytja-ngka, -nta-ngka,
-rra-nya-ngka, -nya-ngka/-nytja-la

Nominaliser with continuous aspect

-rra-nytja, -nytja, -nta, -nytjan(pa)

Projected reason marker

-ltjakumarra, -lkuta, -ltjaku/-ikutanga, -ltjipi
Hortative marker -nytjaku, -waku, -ra, -wa/-ngara, -marra, -raku
Purpose marker with nominaliser -lwaku, -lkuraku, -nytjaku
Present tense -nin(pa), -nan(pa)-, -nani, -narra/-nangi
Consecutive action marking -nu -ngu -nu/-ra -rra -nu

Verb class with modifier

Modifier 'Toward' with verb & o class kati-o-ni, kati-o, ngalya kati-o, kangi
Modifier 'Away from' with verb & rra class ya-rra, mawi ya-rra, ma yarra
Verb 'hit' plus wa class pu-wa, pungu
Verb 'dig' plus la class tjawa-la

Verbal aspect

Continuous wululu puwa, wulu pungama, wululu pungu, wululu puwayinpa
Past continuous -rranytja, -ma, -payi
Future continuous -malpa, -wanpa, -kuwin(pa), -kuwin(pa)
Intermittent continuous & past tense -rrayinu, -payi/-rrinu
Subjunctive mood -ngara/-marra

Verb modifiers

'Away from' with motion verb ma yanu, mawu yanu, mawi yanu
'Toward' with motion verb
ngalyani yaru, ngalya pitjangu

'Around' with motion verb
parra yaru

'Unsuccessfully'
putu

'Partially'
mantaaa/kulu

'Again'
yararaa/puru

'Continually' with verb 'take' & case
wulu-ku kawa, titu kati

'Ahead' & case
kurramu-ku kawa, kurramu tjalkangu

'Quickly'
wala-ku puwa, pula-ku, pini-ku, wirrun-ku, wirrurrwu-ku, pigurrwu-ku

3.3 AVERAGE STORY GRADINGs

Full understanding of each of the three stories from Jigalong could have gained the subject 30 points. Similarly full understanding of the three stories from Papunya could have gained the subject 30 points. Instead of setting out the points for each subject I have averaged the points gained by each subject and given an average point score for each community in their understanding of Martu Wangka and Pintupi stories. Papunya Pintupi subjects and Jigalong Martu Wangka subjects were not tested on their own stories. We assumed full understanding and have allotted full points to speakers from both those centres.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Centre</th>
<th>Martu Wangka</th>
<th>Pintupi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Giles</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>79.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papunya</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>66.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balgo</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>91.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christmas Creek</td>
<td>28.5</td>
<td>95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fitzroy Crossing</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>92.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Grange</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>93.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jigalong</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wiluna</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>93.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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3.4 COMMUNILECT AND DIALECT TERMS

To gain an understanding of how Aborigines define the Western Desert dialect which they speak, we carried out a simple test with most subjects, the exceptions being the subjects from Wiluna and Jigalong. We would play the Martu Wangka stories from Jigalong and the Pintupi stories from Papunya, without saying the name of the speaker or the name of the dialect he was using. During questions on these stories we would casually ask what language the person was speaking on the tape. To this question we got a variety of answers. Chart 2 is a listing of answers received at each centre.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Centre</th>
<th>Martu Wangka Stories</th>
<th>Pintupi Stories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Giles (Ngaatjatjarra)</td>
<td>Martu Wangka</td>
<td>Ngaatjatjarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Martu Wiltja</td>
<td>Ngaatja Wangka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mantjiltjarra</td>
<td>Pintupi, like Ngaatjatjarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jigalong Wangka</td>
<td>Pitjanytjarrija/Ngaatjatjarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papunya (Pintupi)</td>
<td>Ngulyu Wangkatjarra</td>
<td>Pintupi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Matukatja Wangka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Purruku Wangkatjarra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Putitjarra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wangka Waritja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balgo (Kukatja)</td>
<td>Kartutjarra</td>
<td>Mantjiltjarra/Pintupi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mantjiltjarra</td>
<td>Kukatja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nyanitjarra</td>
<td>Mantjiltjarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Purrkutjarra</td>
<td>Kukatja/Wangkatjungka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kukatja</td>
<td>Pintupi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kartutjarra/Kukatja/Wangkatjungka</td>
<td>Kukatja/Pintupi/Pitjapitja/ngayuku wangka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Putitjarra</td>
<td>'my own talk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Martu Wangka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christmas Creek (Wangkatjungka)</td>
<td>Wangkatjungka</td>
<td>Wangkatjungka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kartutjarra/Wangkatjungka</td>
<td>Yulparitja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kartutjarra/Nyanitjarra/Putitjarra</td>
<td>Mantjiltjarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wangkatjungka/Kartutjarra</td>
<td>Kukatja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kukatja</td>
<td>Pitjapitja/Pintupi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yulparitja</td>
<td>Kukatja/Pintupi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pitjanytjarrija/Kukatja</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fitzroy Crossing  
(Wangkatjungka)  -------  Mantjiltjarra  
Kukatja  
Yulparitja/Mantjiltjarra/  
Kukatja  
Wangkatjungka

La Grange  
(Yulparitja)  -------  Kukatja

Although the data is not complete, there is sufficient evidence to indicate a confusion in assessing a dialect or communilict term. It will be noticed that some subjects at most centres identified both Pintupi and Martu Wangka stories as being in their own local dialects. Then, too, others realised they were not their own local dialect but identified them with adjacent or more distant communilict terms. In general, as all of these communilicts have a great deal of overlap in vocabulary and grammatical forms, it is difficult for a subject to distinguish by linguistic clues alone the communilict of the speaker on the tape. Once the subject was told where the speaker lives then he could accurately assign a communilict term to the speaker's language. This is strong evidence that communilict terms are more defined by a location (i.e. recognition of a group of speakers belonging to one general area, a settlement or a station), rather than linguistic differences. Some linguistic clues identify speakers from certain communilicts but larger amounts of data would be needed to describe these.

4. RESULTS: DEGREE OF COMMUNICABILITY

The broad results of this survey indicate a high level of communicability between speakers of the Western Desert dialects. The evidence for this is given below in terms of percentages between selected centres and all others in the Western Desert area.

4.1 STORY TESTING

Taking the results of the story gradings (3.3) and questions about communilict and dialect terms (3.4), I find the percentage of communication between subjects at each centre is very high. The average points gained for each centre have been converted into a percentage of the whole possible score. The following percentages in Chart 3 are indicating the average degree of communication of the subjects from any one centre, who heard the Martu Wangka and Pintupi stories.
### CHART 3
**STORY COMMUNICATION PERCENTAGE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Centre</th>
<th>Martu Wangka Stories</th>
<th>Pintupi Stories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Giles</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>96%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papunya</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balgo</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>98%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christmas Creek</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>97%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fitzroy Crossing</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>96%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Grange</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jigalong</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>96%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wiluna</td>
<td>93%</td>
<td>93%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These very high percentages reflect the extensive understanding between speakers of communilcets in the Western Desert. Communication percentages using only the primary synonyms and grammatical forms indicate a lower but significantly high percentage of communication.

### 4.2 SYNONYMS AND GRAMMATICAL FORMS

Although the story communication percentages would seem a good method of determining communicability with other communilcets, I feel the communication of younger than middle age members of each community is not measured adequately by that method in this survey. Such speakers of the communilcets do not have the extensive range of understanding of synonyms. They tend to know only those used on the settlement, as this has been the limit of their language learning experience. For this reason I believe the following percentages based on the Synonym Range masters and Grammatical Range masters are more accurate from a total communilet point of view, as they reflect the current communication situation. For the remainder of this paper all communication percentages referred to will be based on the Synonym Range and Grammatical Range masters, and not on the story material.

To determine the spoken communication percentage with each centre (e.g. of Papunya communilet), I took the first choice item of the Papunya Synonym Range Master and compared it with the primary synonyms of the same item from each other master. If that Papunya synonym was contained in the primary synonyms from another centre, no point was deducted. If that Papunya synonym was not contained in the primary synonyms of another centre, then that centre's possible total of points was reduced by one. This was done for each item in the Papunya Synonym Range Master and so resulted in a listing of negative points against each centre as it related to Papunya. The total number of points awardable for each centre was one for each of the 54 vocabulary items. For instance in
relationship to Papunya, Giles ended up with a deduction of three points giving a Giles total of 51 points. This was converted to a percentage $51 \div 54 \times 100 = 94\%$. A similar method was followed for the Grammatical Range Masters.

4.3 ANALYSIS OF FOUR SELECTED CENTRES

To reduce the number of charts, communication percentages are given which relate to only four centres.

4.3.1 PAPUNYA

As one of the initial aims of this survey was to establish the level of communicability between Papunya commuinitect and those used in other centres, Chart 4 illustrates these communication percentages, based on the method outlined in 4.2. The final communication percentage in the fourth column is an average of the synonym range and grammatical range percentages.

**CHART 4**

PERCENTAGE OF COMMUNICABILITY OF PAPUNYA WITH OTHERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Centre</th>
<th>Synonym Range</th>
<th>Grammatical Range</th>
<th>Final Communication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Giles</td>
<td>94%</td>
<td>98%</td>
<td>96%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balgo</td>
<td>94%</td>
<td>98%</td>
<td>95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christmas Creek</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fitzroy Crossing</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Grange</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jigalong</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wiluna</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.2 JIGALONG

Another aim was to establish the level of communicability between Jigalong communiteect and those used in other centres. Chart 5 indicates these percentages.
CHART 5
PERCENTAGES OF COMMUNICABILITY OF JIGALONG WITH OTHERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Centre</th>
<th>Synonym Range</th>
<th>Grammatical Range</th>
<th>Final Communication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Giles</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papunya</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balgo</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christmas Creek</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fitzroy Crossing</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Grange</td>
<td>96%</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wiluna</td>
<td>98%</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>94%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.3 CHRISTMAS CREEK

Christmas Creek is approximately halfway between Papunya and Jigalong in the north. Chart 6 indicates percentages based on this centre.

CHART 6
PERCENTAGES OF COMMUNICABILITY OF CHRISTMAS CREEK WITH OTHER CENTRES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Centre</th>
<th>Synonym Range</th>
<th>Grammatical Range</th>
<th>Final Communication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Giles</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papunya</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balgo</td>
<td>98%</td>
<td>96%</td>
<td>97%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fitzroy Crossing</td>
<td>98%</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Grange</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jigalong</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wiluna</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>88%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.4 GILES

Giles is approximately halfway between Papunya and Jigalong in the south. Chart 7 indicates communication percentages based on this centre.
CHART 7
PERCENTAGE OF COMMUNICABILITY OF GILES WITH OTHERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Centre</th>
<th>Synonym Range</th>
<th>Grammatical Range</th>
<th>Final Communication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Papunya</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balgo</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christmas Creek</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fitzroy Crossing</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Grange</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jigalong</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wiluna</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.5 AN ALTERNATIVE ANALYSIS

Because of the linguists' and educators' erroneous tendency to think of each communicant as one dialect, having one word for each object in the language and one verb for each action, I have indicated another percentage in the following chart which recognises only the first choice synonym in each master from each centre. For instance to determine the Papunya first choice synonym percentages with other centres, I compared the first choice synonym of Papunya with the first choice synonym of each other centre. If the synonym is different I deducted 1 point. If it is the same the possible total of points for that centre remains unchanged. Going through each item in the Synonym Range Masters deducting points where they differ from the Papunya master, I arrived at a total number of points for each centre. These are then converted to a percentage. The percentages from this method are displayed in chart 8 to show what a low and inaccurate percentage results.

CHART 8
PERCENTAGES OF PAPUNYA WITH OTHER CENTRES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Centre</th>
<th>Synonym Range</th>
<th>Percentages</th>
<th>Grammatical Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>First Synonym</td>
<td>Only</td>
<td>First Synonym</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>With Other</td>
<td>With Other Synonyms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giles</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>94%</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balgo</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>94%</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christmas Creek</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fitzroy Crossing</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Grange</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jigalong</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wiluna</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
To obtain the final percentage of communication I combined the Synonym Range percentage with the Grammatical Range percentage and produced an average percentage of the two displayed in Chart 9. The average first choice percentage is given for interest sake.

CHART 9
COMBINED COMMUNICATION PERCENTAGES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Centre</th>
<th>First Choice Item Only</th>
<th>With Other Synonyms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Giles</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>96%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balgo</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christmas Creek</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fitzroy Crossing</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Grange</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jigalong</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wiluna</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. CONCLUSIONS

5.1 CLOSELY RELATED COMMUNILECTS

Although satisfied that the synonym and grammatical range method is reflecting an accurate measure of communication, I am aware that little testing of differences in discourse types and figurative speech is included in these results. In each community tested there was obviously a difference in the older, middle aged and young adult language usage. This observation is also based on our knowledge of Papunya and surrounding communities. The older generation use the more traditional, complicated, grammatical forms derived from their language experience in the bush. Their range of understanding of other synonyms and other parallel grammatical forms is extensive. The middle aged group use some of the older generation's synonyms and forms, but are more influenced in their spoken language by the present day linguistic pressures. Those who had their language acquisition period (i.e. from 4 to 12 years of age) in the bush, however, still use many synonyms and grammatical forms from there and they undoubtedly hear the complexities of the older people's speech clearly. The young adult group who had their language acquisition period on the settlement speak a less complicated form, using a limited number of synonyms with numerous English adaptations and borrowings. Young adults, particularly after marriage, tend to adopt the middle aged forms of the area in which they reside, rather than continuing in the children's speech fashions and forms. Thus there is a variation in the speech of each community although the community is known as speaking a single communilect i.e., Kukatja, Yulparitja etc.
Although there is special women's ceremonial speech etc., the language of the men and women of the same age group differs little in the camp situation. Close relationship speech and men's ceremonial speech are not controlled to the same extent by all age groups.

For the purpose of this survey I consider any percentage above 88% in the charts from Section 4.3 as a high percentage of communicability. Any percentage above 80% is considered a medium level of communicability, and any percentage below 80% is considered a low level of communicability.

Among the communities tested, adjacent and second adjacent communities often have a high degree of communicability i.e. 88% plus. 'Adjacent centre' is used here to refer only to the centres tested in the survey. For example, Papunya is adjacent to Balgo even though Yuendumu is between, and second adjacent would be Christmas Creek even though Lake Gregory is between, since Yuendumu and Lake Gregory were not surveyed. This implies that any written or taped language material prepared in one communilect can be understood well up to two surveyed communities away. While such materials may be understood, they may not be adopted as belonging to that community when people realise the location of their origin. On the other hand, if positive social attitudes exist between Aborigines of the centres in question, reinforced by a good deal of inter-community visiting, such materials may well be quite acceptable—particularly if their origin is not continually emphasised by the use of a communilect name (e.g. printed on the cover or label). It must be emphasised here that what is meant by good or bad relations between the Aborigines of one centre and another is often not the same for Aborigines as it is for Europeans working at those centres. Aborigines from one centre in some sort of trouble with European law are often dubbed by Europeans from another community as 'bad people'. If strong relationships and frequent visiting occurs between the Aborigines of those communities, then the local Aborigines' attitude may be quite open and accepting, although they will often criticise the other community in the presence of the ill-disposed European.

Implications of this are that one cannot predict the acceptability of written materials produced in one communilect, and passed on to another community. It would be useful to have written materials produced in each communilect and exchanged between adjacent and second adjacent communities to test their acceptability. This refers to written material produced by Aborigines with natural Aboriginal concepts. It is evident from our experience that Aboriginal-authored stories concerning unusual experiences in the European world do not communicate as well as those which describe Aboriginal concepts. Information translated from other cultures, European or Biblical, does not communicate as well as material expressed in indigenous concepts. However, once some of the
European or Biblical concept terminology is learned in the adjacent or second adjacent communilect, communication can be adequate. This communication is more complete when the translation is idiomatic rather than literal.

In producing written material for any one communilect it is impractical to produce the one story book in 30 or 40 different versions adjusting each version as closely as possible to each family dialect. As each of the family dialect differences are understood by each other family, the version produced by a member of one family dialect will communicate to all others. In producing a larger work, i.e. series of books, it would be most useful to have people from a number of family dialects involved in the production. In this way the document will be accepted as more representative of the total communilect in that centre.

In conclusion, Mantjiljitjarra at Wiluna, Martu Wangka/Mantjiljitjarra at Jigalong, Yularitja at La Grange, Wangkatjunga at Fitzroy Crossing and Christmas Creek, Kukatja at Balgo, Pintupi/Luritja at Papunya and Ngaatjatjarra at Giles are all closely related communilects. Adjacent and second adjacent survey centres usually have a very high degree of communicability especially for the middle aged groups. (The younger adult groups' responses are not well documented in our data). The percentage figure of communication is reduced between centres at a greater distance from each other, and between centres having limited social and ceremonial interaction e.g. Papunya and Jigalong.

It is noted that older people in each centre who acquired their language in the 'bush' have a very high understanding of the communilects used in each other centre. This is particularly so with written or recorded material using natural Aboriginal concepts. Expressions developed in other centres to explain European culture and Christian concepts naturally have a lower communication level with the older generation.

5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR OTHER SURVEYS

When carrying out a communicability survey such as this on communilects or dialects, more than 12 subjects from each community may be advisable. It would be best, if possible, to arrange a representative from each major extended family including balanced numbers of young and old, as well as male and female. The representative aspect in choosing subjects is more important than greater numbers of subjects. Twelve subjects from only two extended families in the community would be inadequate in formulating the extent of vocabulary and grammatical forms used in a particular centre.
It would be ideal to carry out a preliminary visit to each community, gathering local stories, and establishing as wide a range of synonyms and grammatical forms as possible. Such material could then be used in the basic synonym and grammatical form check lists, to serve as a basis for checking the range of hearing of synonyms and grammatical forms.

If a story testing method is used I suggest six stories plus any others from adjacent communities would be a manageable number of stories. There should be stories in narrative, expository and hortatory discourse types. Of course the more communities being compared with each other, the greater number of stories each subject would need to respond to. Because of that, the story testing method should be used with only a limited number of communities. The story testing method is particularly suitable to a group of dialects in the normally accepted use of the word. However, I believe the synonym and grammatical form range lists are more useful with regard to a complex situation such as we have in the Western Desert.

It would seem by the nature of the sociolinguistic development of present day Aboriginal languages that we are dealing with communillects rather than dialects, wherever a great number of families and extended families is living together in one community. Therefore, I recommend that the synonym and grammatical range method be used in measuring communicability in such situations.

In future surveys inclusion of expository and hortatory discourse types, as well as idioms and figurative speech, would broaden the data base and increase the value of the survey.
APPENDIX. COMBINED MASTERS OF ALL COMMUNITIES

To assist in the comparison of individual items on the Synonym Range charts from each community we have combined the results from Section 3 in this composite listing. We include only six synonyms from each centre which usually covers the primary synonyms. In some cases a couple of secondary synonyms are included if the primary synonym does not fill the six available positions. The primary synonyms are on the left of the mark (//) and the secondary synonyms to the right.

Considering only the centres visited the most common synonym is determined and placed at the top of each listing as the common Northern Western Desert term, abbreviated as C.N.

A.1 COMBINED SYNONYM RANGE MASTERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'nose'</th>
<th>C.N. mulya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ern mulya</td>
<td>nyunggura// nyurkuta mutura mutura nguyali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WR mulya</td>
<td>nyunggura mutura// nguyali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pap mulya</td>
<td>nguyali kuyali// mutara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bal mulya</td>
<td>nguyali pantilpantil// mutara nyurkura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC mulya</td>
<td>nguyali pumulpa nyunggura pantilpantil nyurkuta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FC mulya</td>
<td>pantilpantil kuyali mutara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LG mulya</td>
<td>pantilpantil kuyali mutara nyurkura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jig mulya</td>
<td>kuyali nguyali// nyunggura mutura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wil mulya</td>
<td>nyunggura mutura tjjutju// kuyali</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'ear'</th>
<th>C.N. pina</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ern pina</td>
<td>anpiiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WR pina</td>
<td>yanpiri yangkuru// pila kuranpa kujka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pap pina</td>
<td>yanpiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bal pina</td>
<td>langa munata kasu// kurupa// kurrata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC pina</td>
<td>yirrul(pa) kuranpa kulukulpulpa kulukulpulpa wakurr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FC pina</td>
<td>kulukulpulpa langa munata kasu// kurupa// kurrata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LG pina</td>
<td>kulukulpulpa kujka munata// yanpiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jig pina</td>
<td>kuranpa kujka munata// wurrata yanpiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wil pina</td>
<td>kuran(pa) kujka yalytjuru munata// yanpiri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'tooth'</th>
<th>C.N. katiti</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ern katiti</td>
<td>yirrara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WR katiti</td>
<td>yirrara yangytiwarra//</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pap katiti</td>
<td>yirrara yirraputa yirrara yangytiwarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bal katiti</td>
<td>yirrara yirrara yirrara yangytiwarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC katiti</td>
<td>yirrara yirrara yirrara yangytiwarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FC yirrara</td>
<td>tjaamintji katiti yangytiwarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LG yirrara</td>
<td>katiti yangytiwarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jig yirrara</td>
<td>katiti yangytiwarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wil yirrara</td>
<td>tjaamintji katiti yangytiwarra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

87
'hand' C.N. mara

Ern mara maniyrrka mulkutu
GI mara mulkutu maniyrrka// munyutu
WR mara mulkutu maniyrrka munyutu
Pap mara mNyutu maniyrrka munyṯuŋpa// marumpu
Bal mulkutu mara marumpu munyutu kurraŋa
CC marumpu mara mulkutu kurraŋa mala// munyutu
FC mara kurrapa marumpu mulkutu// munyutu
LG mara kurrapa marrŋpa(ma) munyutu// kuluku
Jig mara marumpu munyutu// mulkutu mna
Wil mara munyutu mulkutu marumpu//

'boomerang' C.N. kali

Ern kali yIRRKI pumirinji kampayiki tjarangkalpa// pirrayi
GI kali yIRRKI pumirinji walano
WR kali pirrayi yIRRKI pumirinji//
Bal kali pirrayi yIRRKI walano tjuṯali kuniṯurru walampa
CC kali pirrayi yIRRKI warraka paralŋi warraŋa
FC kali tjinypa yIRŋpa paltjarrangal// yIRRKI warraka
LG kali yIRRKI paralŋi tjarŋŋkaŋkar yarankanpa//
Jig yIRRKI yalangu kali manti// wakuni pirrayi
Wil walangu yIRRKI kali pirrayi// wakuni pirriti

'Woomera' C.N. mirrŋa

Ern mirrŋa// lankurru pikurrŋa walparra mungkutŋu marapaku
GI mirrŋa lankurru pikurrŋa walparra mungkutŋu marapaku
WR mirrŋa lankurru
Bal mirrŋa lankurru pikurrŋa tjuṯalŋŋatal// tjaŋkuṯalŋŋa mungkutŋu tjuṯalŋŋa
CC lankurru pikurrŋa mirrŋa walparra mungkutŋu mungkutŋu tjuṯalŋŋa
FC lankurru pikurrŋa mirrŋa mungkutŋu mungkutŋu tjuṯalŋŋa
LG lankurru pikurrŋa mirrŋa walparra mungkutŋu mungkutŋu tjuṯalŋŋa
Jig lankurru pikurrŋa mirrŋa mungkutŋu mungkutŋu tjuṯalŋŋa
Wil lankurru pikurrŋa mirrŋa mungkutŋu mungkutŋu tjuṯalŋŋa

'house' C.N. maya

Ern maya yiŋala// waala
GI maya yiŋala// waala yawilypa maya
WR yiŋala
Bal maya yiŋala// waala yawuṯuŋpa yiŋala// yawi
CC mayara marrŋa maya yiŋala wuṯuŋpa maya yiŋala// yawi
PC mayara yawuṯi maya yiŋala// tawunpa yawilypa
LG maya mayara tawunpa// yiŋala yawilypa
Jig maya panaŋu tawunpa// yiŋala
Wil maya yawilypa tawunpa// yiŋala

'camp' C.N. ngurrŋa

Ern ngurrŋa pintiri yulunpa/
GI ngurrŋa pintiri yulunpa/
WR ngurrŋa pintiri
gi ngurrŋa pintiri yulunpa tjuṯalŋŋa
PC ngurrŋa pintiri yulunpa tjuṯalŋŋa
LG ngurrŋa// pana yulunpa pintiri
Jig ngurrŋa yulunpa/
Wil ngurrŋa yulunpa
'fire'
Enn waru kunparatji  C.N. waru
GIL waru kunparatji kunyingarrpa// kunparatji  kale
WR waru kunparatji kunparatji
PAP waru kunparatji kunyingarrpa// kale
Bal waru kunparatji waju tjangilyan nguyumparra// kunyingarrpa
CC waru walu kunparatji tjangilyan nguyumparra// walyal
FC waru walu walyal// kunparatji kale kunyingarrpa
LG waru kale tjungku kunparatji// walu wika
JIG waru kale
WIL waru kunparatji nguyumparra// kale kunyingarrpa

'water'
Enn mina kumpuli kapı// tjiwiri ngapa  C.N. kapi
GIL kapı kalyu// tjiwiri tjarruru yila ngapa
WR kapı kalyu tjiwiri tjarruru yila
PAP kapı kalyu tjiwiri tjarruru mina yila
Bal kapı kalyu tjiwiri tjarruru ngapa yila
CC kalyu kapı ngapa yila tjarruru// tjiwiri
FC kalyu kapı ngapa// tjarruru ngapa// tjiwiri
LG kalyu kapı ngapa// tjarruru ngapa// tjiwiri
JIG kalyu kapı ngapa// tjiwiri
WIL kalyu kapı ngapa// kalinya// ngapa tjarruru

'sky'
Enn yilkari  C.N. nganka
GIL yilkari nganka nguru// yalkiri
WR yilkari
PAP nganka yilkari nguru//
Bal nganka nguru yalkiri yilkari
CC yalkiri nganka nguru// yilkari
FC nganka yalkiri ngalkiri// nguru
LG nganka// yilkari
JIG nganka yilkari// nguru
WIL nganka yilkari wankiri// nguru

'sun'
Enn tjintu tjirrirrp:// C.N. tjintu
GIL tjintu nyilpa// yupunytju
WR tjintu yunutju yunilpa
PAP tjintu yunutju kulî piya// nyani tjirrirrp
Bal tjintu yunutju kulî yilpa ngililpa// purangu
CC tjintu purangu yunutju ngililpa ngililpa// tjiila//
FC tjintu purangu ngililpa yunutju piya yilpa
LG tjintu karra piya yunutju
JIG tjintu nyilpa//
WIL tjintu nyilpa//

'moon'
Enn pira kînara  C.N. wiilarrpa
GIL kînara pira kitjili kilara// muunpa maanytja
WR kînara pira kitjili muunpa
PAP kînara tjakilipna maanytja pira// kiriynytji panyalpa
Bal yakan(p) panyalpa kiriynytji tjakilipna wiilarrpa tjunitja//
CC yakan(p) panyalpa tjakilipna kînara wiilarrpa// tjunitja//
FC yakan panyalpa wiilarrpa taleta// kînara muun
LG wiilarrpa panyalpa yakan taleta kirihtj wiilarrpa//
JIG wiilarrpa panyalpa kînara// tjunitja// muun pira
WIL wiilarrpa kintanyu panyalpa kînara minytji muun(p)
'wind'
Ern walpa pirriya kakarrata/
GI1 pirriya wa1ja wiinypa ngarruntu
WR pirriya wa1ja wiinypa nuyinypa
PA walpa ngalarra wiinypa ngarruntu pirriya wanganpa
Bal walpa ngalarra wiinypa mayawuny tjuutu// nganyinyu
CC walpa mayawun(pu) ngalarra wagalpa ngarruntu wangarr(pu)
FC walpa ngalarra wagal(pu) mayawuny winta// pirriya
LG wagalpa wa1ja ngalarra wiinypa pigwa// ngalarra
Jig wagalpa wiinypa wa1ja wiinypa wa1ja
W11 pirriya wiinypa wa1ja wanganpa karapu

'nights'
Ern munga
GI1 munga waruuru
WR munga payinpa
PA munga waruuru payulpa payinpa/
Bal munga mungatjarra waruuru payinpa// wurruluytu puyuntju pukanyntja
CC mungatjarra munga waruuru payinpa// wuyunytju pukanyntja
FC mungatjarra munga waruuru pukanyntja// wuyunytju
LG mungatjarra munga// waruuru wuyunytju
Jig mungatjarra wuyunytju mungatjarri munga payinpa kunyala/
W11 munga mungatjarra waruuru wuyunytju wuyunytju kunyula/

'middle'
Ern kalala
GI1 kalala tinatayimi nyilpakutakatu// karpu
WR kalala tinatayimi// karpu
PA karpu kalala// nyilpakutakatu
Bal karpu kurutjurruu kalala wanta tjiintukankarrarringu
CC karpu karpuwati// nyilpakutakatu kalala
FC karpu karpuwati kemanta tjiintingara kankarra pakanu// nyilpakutakatu
LG karpu karpuwati rukuruku// kalala nyilpakutakatu
Jig karpu nyilpakutakatu puyulyurru// kalala
W11 karpu nyilpakutakatu puyulyurru// kalala

'north'
Ern alinyntjarra kayil/
GI1 kayil yalinjyntja// kayilirra
WR kayil yalinjyntja// kayilirra
PA kayil yalinjyntja// kayilirra
Bal kayil yalinjyntja kayilirra yalinjyntja yalinjytjinyntja
CC kayil yalinjyntja kayilirra yalinjyntja yalinjyntja kayilirra
FC kayil yalinjyntja yalinjyntja kayilirra kayilirra kayilirra
LG kayil yalinjyntja yalinjyntja kayilirra kayilirra kayilirra
Jig kayil yalinjyntja kayilirra// yalinjyntja
W1 kayil yalinjyntja kayilirra// yalinjyntja watalpa

'south'
Ern yulparirra uwarrirra
GI1 yulparirra// yulpai
WR yulparirra// yulpai
PA yulparirra// ngapati yulparita
Bal yulparirra yulpai ngapati//
CC yulparirra kulira ngawarrara ngapati yulpai
FC yulparirra kulira kulira ngawarrara// yulpai ngapati
LG yulparirra ngapati ngawarrara// yulpai kulira
Jig ngapati yulpai// yulparirra
W11 ngapati yulpai// yulparirra//

90
'east'
C.N. kakarre
Ern kakarre
Gil kakarre kakarre kakarre// katalku// lukurru
WR kakarre kakarre katalku
Pap kakarre kakarre// lukurru
Bal kakarre kakarre kakarre lake// lukurru
CC kakarre lukurru// kakarre ka// lukurr(pa)
FC kakarre kakarre
LG kakarre kakarre// lukurru
Jig kakarre kakarre//
Wil kakarre kakarre// lukurru

'west'
C.N. yapurra
Ern wilurra// wilurra
Gil yapurra wilurra wilurra yapurku// wilura
WR yapurra wilurra wilurra yapurku
Pap yapurra wilurra wilurra yapurku
Bal yapurra wilura yapurku wilurra kularra
CC yapurra wilura// kala yapurku wilurra
FC wilura yapurra// wilurra yapurku wilurra
LG yapurra wilura yapurku wilurra
Jig yapurra wilura yapurku// wilurra
Wil yapurra yapurku// yapurru wilurra wilura

'river/creek'
C.N. karru
Ern ankuwayi karru
Gil karru kirikpa kirikpa yankuwayi// wungka
WR karru kirikpa kirikpa yangkuwayi
Pap karru kirikpa kirikpa kirikpa//
Bal karru killi kuriki warrku maatuwarra// wungka
CC karru maatuwarra killi kuriki waliwarra// wungka
FC karru killi maatuwarra tarralpa// kiriki wungka
LG karru kuriki kurikpa wungka tjarra//
Jig karru wungka kuriki
Wil karru wungka kuriki

'earth'
C.N. pana
Ern manta pana
Gil pana manta warirrki
WR pana manta
Pap pana manta warirrki
Bal pana warirrki manta nguwa//
CC pana nguwa warirrki// manta
FC pana nguwa warirrki// manta walya
LG pana mopsy manta// warirrki
Jig pana putjurrpa warirrki// manta
Wil pana putjurrpa manta warirrki//

'path/track'
C.N. yiwarra
Ern iwarra ruuta
Gil yiwarra ruurra karrukarru palkarra yurru// ruutu
WR yiwarra ruurra karrukarru palkarra
Pap yiwarra palkarra ruutu// yurutu warjarr ruurru
Bal yiwarra karrukarru ruutu palkarra//
CC yiwarra karrukarru ruutu palkarra
FC yiwarra karrukarru ruutu palkarra//
LG yiwarra ruutu karrukarru mutu palkarra ruutpa
Jig yiwarra yurru ruutu karrukarru// palkarra warjarr
Wil yiwarra yurru ruutpa tjrna warjarr ruutu//
'stick'

Ern punu kawarrtji ngana watiya
Gill wata ngana punu watiya
WR wata ngana punu watiya ngana
Pap wata punu ngana watiya
Bal wata punu watiya ngana
CC wata punu ngana yingkana watiya
FC wata punu ngana watiya
LG wata mangu wurukalpa punu ngana watiya punpulu
Jig wata munupa punu ngana pilypa watiya
Wil wata punu watiya ngana

'vegetable food'

Ern mai mirrka pulakarra
Gill mirrka mayi pulakarra miyi yuta mantjirrpa
WR mirrka mayi pulakarra
Pap mayi mirrka miyi mangarrri yuta mantjirrpa yuta
Bal mirrka mangarrri mayi miyi mantjirrpa yuta
CC mayi mirrka mangarrri miyi mantjirrpa yuta
FC mayi mirrka mangarrri yunta mantjirrpa yuta
LG mayi mirrka mantjirrpa miyi yuna mantjirrpa yuta
Jig mirrka yuta mayi mantjirr(pa)
Wil mirrka yuta mantjirr(pa)

'dog'

Ern papa tjututja wanguwanga
Gill papa tjantu wita tjutju kunyarrpa
WR papa tjantu tjutju
Pap papa tjantu wita tjutjutju kunyarrpa tjutju
Bal tjantu papa wita kunyarrpa wangujani tjutju
CC wita tjantu papa kunyarr(pa) ngini tjanggaun
LG wita tjantu kunyarr(pa) papa tjutju kunyarr(pa) tjangalyi kampura
Jig tjantu papa wita tjutju kunyarr(pa) kunyarrpa
Wil tjantu papa tjutju kunyarr(pa) kunyarrpa

'meat'

Ern kuka wakari
Gill kuka miltpa kuyu tjaapi
WR kuka miltpa kuyu tjaapi
Pap kuka miltpa kuyu wakari tjaapi
Bal kuka kuyu miltpa liwilypa
CC kuka kuyu miltpa liwilypa
LG kuka kuyi miltpa liwilypa
Jig kuka kuyi mantu tjangalyi
Wil kuka kuyi miltpa mantu

'cat'

Ern ngaya putji putjikata ngiyu mulku wiika
Gill wiika ngaya nyukulkul wilypa kunanyumpuna
WR wilypa ngaya nyukulkul wiika putjikatu wilypina
Pap ngaya wiika putjikata wiratju nyarrukutu wilypina
Bal ngaya nyumunyypa putjikatu wilypina nyukulkutu miyawu
CC putjikata miyawu ngaya nyukulkul ngalyangam ngalyaataapa
FC mityawu miyawu putjikatu wilypina ngaya ngalyakinti
LG mityawu putjikatu ngalyawangka tjutjukulyu nyumunyypa mulyakinti
Jig tjutjukulyu wiika taqppa putjiputji miyawu ngalyangam
Wil tjutjukulyu wiika putjikatu tjipppa ngiyi mulyangam
'Crow' C.N. kaanka
Ern kaanka wangkika tarrkangalku waangarrungarru//
Gil kaanka tarrkamungulpna waringgarrungarru wakinta pinyingalku
WR kaanka tarrkamungulpna waangarrungarru
Pap kaanka kanginyka kunangalku tarrkamungulpna tjakinkata
Bal kaanka kampinyka wanpuwa wakinta tarrkangalku
CC kaanka wangkana kunamungulpna tarrkamungulpna yuungalku
FC kaanka tjakiliyata wangka mu waangalka wakinta wangi ti wangkuta
LG kaanka wakinta tjakinkata wakinta wakinta wakinta / wakinta
Jig kaanka wakinta waaku wakinta wakinta wakinta / wakinta
Wil kaanka wakinta waaku wakinta wakinta waangula pinyingalku

'Fly' C.N. ngurrinypa
Ern punumpa muungu// muunurrku ngurrita ngurriny
Gil muungu punumpa muunurrku muunurrku ngurriny
WR muungu puurrunpua
Pap muungu ngurrinypa punumpa// kunga muunurrku muunurrku muunurrkuku
Bal ngurrinypa muungu ngurrita muunurrku muunurrku muunurrku
CC ngurrinypa muungu ngurrita purruru// muunurrku ngurrila
FC ngurrinypa ngurrinya muungu kurungalka purruru ngurrila
LG ngurrinypa ngurrita wajmunyapa muungu// ngurrila muunurrku
Jig muungu ngurrita warrari ngurrila tatu muunurrku//
Wil muungu muunurrku ngurrilla// ngurrinya muunurrku

'One' C.N. kutju
Ern kutju kampinyu kumpinyu
Gil kutju kumpinyu
WR kutju kumpinyu
Pap kutju kumpinyu// tjiyu
Bal kutju kumpinyu tjiyu
CC kutju kumpinyu tjiyu nguyarra yikama //
FC kutju kumpinyu koyu// tjiyu
LG kutju kumpinyu// tjiyu yikama //
Jig kutju// watiyara tjiyu yikama //
Wil kutju// tjiyu watiyara yikama //

'Two' C.N. kutjarra
Ern kutjarra nyatuwarra//
Gil kutjarra kalyarrarra/
WR kutjarra kalyarrarra
Pap kutjarra kalyarrarra kumpinyurrara//
Bal kutjarra
CC kutjarra tjirramma kurrriny //
FC kutjarra kurrriny //
LG kutjarra(/
Jig kutjarra//
Wil kutjarra//

'Many' C.N. laitu
Ern tjuta// pinli
Gil pinli tjuta yangga pinli pinli laitu//
WR pinli tjuta// pinli
Pap tjuta pinli ruunytja laitu yangga pinli//
Bal laitu yangga pinli tjuta ruunytja
CC laitu yangga pinli pinli// wiyntja tjuta
FC laitu patja tjayila pinli// yangga pinli
LG laitu yangga kunngalpu pluul ucul// ruupa
Jig yangga laitu pinli wiyntja kuyara// tjuta
Wil yangga laitu pinli pinyina muunku wiyntja//

93
'big' C.N. tjalu
Ern pulka// tina
Gil pulkanya yuwinpa// pulka tina matju yakulyu
WR pulkanya pulka
Pap pulkanya pulka tina yuwinpa// tjalu matju
Bal tjalu pulka yuwinpa tina matju// yakulyu
CC tjalu pulka yuwin(pa) matju tjukumuna// tjuma
PC tjalu pulka yuwinpa pulkanya// matju tjuma
LG tjalu pulka yuwinpa pulka matjumata// tjalu
Jig matjumata tjuma yaku// yaku pulka// tjalu
Wil matju tjuma pulka tjalu yaku pulka// tjukumuna

'small' C.N. tjuku
Ern tjukutjuku tjukpatjimpapa kulunyra// tjapu wilma
Gil kulupa kulunyra tjukutjuku// tjapu wilma// tjulitjuli
WR kulupa kulunyra tjukutjuku// tjulitjuli
Pap tjukutjuku wilma// nyamunyra tjaputjapu tjulitjuli yamunyra
Bal lampang(pa) tjuku wilma nyamunyra// tjapu tjulitjuli
CC lampang(pa) tjuku tjukutjuku nyamunyra nyamunyra ngini//
PC tjuku lampang tjukutjuku nyamunyra// nyamunyra
LG tjuku tjukutjuku tjapu nyamunyra// nyamunyra
Jig tjuku tjukutjuku tjujulitjuli nyamunyra// nyamunyra
Wil tjuku tjukutjuku tjapu tjujulitjuli warrku// nyamunyra

'good' C.N. palya
Ern palya wiru kurramuna nguyunyu// walykumuna
Gil walykumunun palya wiru pantirra kurramuna kunytyjuna
WR walykumuna palya kurramuna// wiru miku
Pap palya wiru miku pantirra// kunytyjuna walykumuna
Bal palya pantirra miku wiru ngalypa// kunytyjuna
CC palya pantirra miku// walykumuna ngalypa// kunytyjuna
PC palya pantirra miku// walykumuna ngalypa// kunytyjuna
LG palya pantirra ngalypa// walykumuna miku
Jig kunytyjuna pantirra// miku ngalypa// walykumuna miku
Wil kunytyjuna palya pantirra// miku walykumuna ngalypa//

'bad' C.N. puta
Ern kurra kurramuna kurramuna// walyku kurra kuya
Gil palykumunun kurramuna// walyku// kurra kurra
WR palykumunun kurramuna// walyku// kuya// walyku
Pap kurra pantyrja kurra/ kuya// walyku
Bal ngawu putu// pantyrja kurra kuya// walyku
CC puta walyku pantyrja ngawu ngalapu// kurra
PC puta walyku// pantyrja ngalaj// kuyama// kuya
LG puta walyku// kuyama// kuyama// kurra kuya
Jig walyku puta// kuyama// kuyama// kurramuna kurra
Wil walyku puta// kuyama// kuyama// kurramuna

'no' C.N. wiya
Ern wiya
Gil wiya// winngirra// paki walyku// mika// yamu// yamu// walyku
WR wiya// winngirra// walyku// mika// yamu// walyku
Pap wiya// walyku// mika// yamu// walyku
Bal wiya// walyku// mika// yamu// walyku
CC wiya// walyku// mika// yamu// walyku
PC wiya// walyku// mika// yamu// walyku
LG wiya// walyku// mika// yamu// yamu// walyku
Jig paki wiya// mika// yamu yamu// yamu// walyku
Wil wiya// mika// yamu yamu// yamu// walyku

94
Ern maru marumaru
Gil maru marumaru
WR maru marumaru
Pap maru// munga
Bal maru marumaru yalta lipi kutupiri napil
CC maru marumaru yalta kunkun
FC maru kunkun(pa) marumaru pulakwana
LG maru marumaru wanatja wanata
Jig maru marumaru
Wil maru marumaru

Ern tjitintjitipa tjtjiritjitjiri ritwana// tjtajaka
Gil tjtintjitipa ritwanpa mitjilpa tjtajaka mitjinjitja//
minymin
WR tjtintjitipa ritwanpa mitjilpa mitjinjitja
Pap tjtajaka karrku// mitjinjitja ritwana mitjilpa
milimili
Bal pilypji karrku ritwana yilkurrkura mitjinjitja
CC yilkulyilkulypa ritwan ritpalal karrku tili
pilypji
FC tlytilypa yilkurr yilkuyilk yilwanpa
LG mitjinjitja milyarri yilkulyilkulypa ritwan pilyarri
Jig mitjinjitja minymin(pa) mitji yilkurrpa// pilyarri
Wil mitjinjitja minymin(pa) ritwanpa mitjilpa pilyarri//

Ern watji puntu
Gil watji puntu// matu yanangu
WR watji puntu// matu
Pap watji puntu// matu
Bal puntu watji matu//
CC puntu watji yina// matu pun ngapayi
FC puntu watji ngankanka yilna// matu
LG puntu yiga watji kita matu pujku
Jig puntu yiga watji kita// matu
Wil puntu watji kita yina matu nyolypa//

Ern minymin kungka
Gil minymin tutju wanatjarra tjlpiratjarra
WR minymin wanatjarra kungka tjlpiratjarra//
Pap tutju minymin wanatjarra kungka//
Bal tutju minymin wanatjarra mankajja
CC tutju minymin wanatjarra// ngilypi
LG tutju manin milyunpa
Jig wanti minymin wanatjarra//
Wil wanti minymin tutju ngilypi

woman:

C.N. maru

man:

C.N. puntu

woman:

C.N. tutju
'father'
Ern mama punorrri ngalkari // tati
Gil mama tati mamati punorrri // punorrri
WR mama tati punari mamati
Pap mama mamari tati // tjarra
Bal mama wapirra tati mamati yina // kantju
CC yina mama tati ngarpoo wapirra //
FC mama yina tati mamari ngarpoo wapirra //
LG yina mama tati tatiy //
Jig mama tati //
Wil mama tati mamatji yulman //

'mother'
Ern nguyntju yipi
Gil nguyntju yipi mami // yaku yakuti
WR nguyntju yipi mami
Pap nguyntju yipi mami yaku yaku // yaku
Bal yipi nguyntju yipitja mami yaku // nguyntju
CC yipi tilypu nyurrka yipitja nguyntju nguyntju
PC yipi tilypu mami yaku // yaku
LG yipi tilypu mami malatju // nguyntju
Jig yiku tilypu yaku // yaku nguyntju
Wil mami yipi yaku // yaku iymi nguyntju

'older brother'
Ern kuta
Gil kuta puratja kaaka // pupu papatu
WR kuta puratja kaka // pupu
Pap kuta puratja kaaka //
Bal kuta papatu // pupu kukunu
CC kuta papatu papatji // pupu
PC kuta papatu papatji // pupu
LG papatu kuta // pupu papatja
Jig kuta papatu papu //
Wil papatu kuta // pupu

'saw'
Ern nyangu
Gil nyangu
WR nyangu
Pap nyangu
Bal nyangu
CC nyangu milyakunu nyanyama
PC nyangu
LG nyangu
Jig nyangu
Wil nyangu

'heard'
Ern kuliynu altjuru //
Gil kuliynu yangkuranu //
WR kuliynu yaltjuru //
Pap kuliynu yangkuranu yangkuranu // yaltjuru // ngangkunu
Bal kuliynu yangkuranu yaltjuru // ngangkunu
CC kuliynu kawantana ngangkunu pinaikarrinya // yangkuranu yaltjuru
PC kuliynu kawantana ngangkunu // yangkuranu yaltjuru
LG kuliynu kawantana ngangkunu // yangkuranu yaltjuru //
Jig kuliynu ngangkunu // yangkuranu //
Wil kuliynu ngangkunu yangkuranu // yaltjuru //
'drank' C.N. tjikinu
Ern tjikinu
Gil tjikinu
WR tjikinu
Pep tjikinu// yilarringu
Bal tjikinu
CC tjikinu nganima
PC tjikinu wuntu ngupunu
LG tjikinu wuntu
Jig tjikinu wuntu
Wil tjikinu wuntu

'sat' C.N. ngalangu
Ern ngalkunu// ngalangu
Gil ngalangu ngalkunu//
WR ngalangu ngalkunu
Pep ngalkunu ngalangu
Bal ngalangu ngalkunu
CC ngalangu nganu ngani// ngalkunu
FC ngalangu ngalkunu
LG ngalangu ngalkunpa
Jig ngalangu ngalkunu
Wil ngalangu ngalkunu

'sat' C.N. nyinangu
Ern nyinangu purunu
Gil nyinangu pintiringarangu//
WR nyinangu pintiringarangu
Pep nyinangu pintiringarangu//
Bal nyinangu pintiringarangu
CC nyinangu kirrpanya
FC nyinangu// pintiringarangu
LG nyinangu nyinangunpa kurrtngu pintiringarangu
Jig nyinangu pintiringarangu
Wil nyinangu pintiringarangu

'stood' C.N. ngarangu
Ern ngarangu
Gil ngarangu
WR ngarangu
Pep ngarangu
Bal ngarangu
CC ngarangu karrinya// yikinu
FC ngarangu// yikinu
LG ngarangu ngarangunpa// yikinu
Jig ngarangu yikinu
Wil ngarangu// yikinu watunu

'gave' C.N. yungu
Ern yungu// yungu ninti
Gil nintigu yungu//
WR nintigu yungu
Pep yungu// ninti
Bal yungu
CC yungu// ninti yinypala
FC yungu// ninti
LG yungu yunganye// ninti
Jig yungu// ninti
Wil yungu// ninti

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'shot'</th>
<th>C.N. yungkanu</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ern</td>
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A.2 COMBINED GRAMMATICAL RANGE MASTERS

Similarly the Grammatical Range masters from each community are combined for comparative purposes. We include only six synonym forms from each community. Forms on the left of mark // are primary forms and those on the right are secondary forms. The Common Northern Western Desert form is placed at the head of each listing. In the interest of saving room in crowded areas of the following lists, the final suffix of the first item is not always repeated but a hyphen indicates it should be understood as suffixed to each of the following items in the list of grammatical synonyms.

'First person singular ergative independent pronoun' C.N. ngayu-lu
Ern ngayu-lu ngayu-lu-ŋa
Gil ngayu-lu ngayu-lu-ŋa nganku-lu-ŋa
WR ngayu-lu-ŋa nganku-lu-ŋa
Pap ngayu-lu-ŋa ngayu-lu-
Bal ngayu-lu-ŋa
CC ngayu-lu-ŋa
FC ngayu-lu-ŋa nganku-lu-ŋa ngatjuma-ŋa
LG ngayu-lu-ŋa
Jig ngayu-lu-ŋa
Wil ngayu-lu-ŋa

'First person singular object independent pronoun' C.N. ngayu
Ern ngayu-nya- ngayu-nya-ŋi
Gil ngayu-nya-ŋi nganku-nya-ŋi
WR ngayu-nya-ŋi nganku-nya-ŋi
Pap ngayu-nya-ŋi
Bal ngayu-ŋi ngayu-nya-ŋi
CC ngayu-ŋi ngayu-nya-ŋi
FC ngayu-ŋi ngayu-nya-ŋi nganku-ŋi
LG ngayu-ŋi ngayu-nya-ŋi ngayutja
Jig ngayu-ŋi ngayu-nya-ŋi
Wil ngayu-ŋi ngayu-nya-ŋi

'Second person singular ergative independent pronoun' C.N. nyunku-lu
Ern nyuntu nyuntu-n
Gil nyuntu-łu-n nyuntu-n
WR nyuntu-łu-n/ nyuntu-n
Pap nyuntu nyuntu-łu-n nyurra-łu-n
Bal nyuntu-łu-n
CC nyuntu-łu-n
FC nyuntu-лу-n
LG nyuntu-łu-n
Jig nyuntu-лу-n
Wil nyuntu-лу-n

'Second person singular object independent pronoun' C.N. nyunku
Ern nyuntu-nya nyuntu-nya-nta
Gil nyuntu-nya-nta
WR nyuntu-nya-nta
Pap nyuntu-nya-nta nyurra-nya-nta
Bal nyuntu-nta nyuntu-nya-nta nyurra-nya-nta
CC nyuntu-nta nyuntu-nya-nta
FC nyuntu-nta nyuntu-nya-nta
LG nyuntu-nta nyuntu-nya-nta
Jig nyuntu-nta nyuntu-nya-nta
Wil nyuntu-nya-nta nyuntu-nta
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<th>Language</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<td>Ern</td>
<td>nganaga</td>
<td>nganagala</td>
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<tr>
<td>G1</td>
<td>ngayu-lu-latju ngayu-tu-latju/</td>
<td>ngayuti-tju- ngayuny-tju-</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ngayu-lu-latju/ ngayu-tu-</td>
<td>nganapatju ngangangarri-</td>
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<td>ngayuti-ju- // ngayuti-tju-</td>
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<td>ngayuti-ju- // ngayun-tu-</td>
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<td>ngayuti-ju- // ngayuny-tu-</td>
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<td>Wil</td>
<td>ngayun-tu-latju ngayuny-tu-</td>
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<tr>
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Third person plural avoidance pronoun: C.N. tjanampalura -ngkamarra
with case marker:
Ern ——— —ngkatjarra
GIL ——— —ngkatjarra -tjanampalura -ngkamarra -ngkatjarra
WR ——— —ngkatjarra// -tjanampalura -ngkatjarra
Pap ——— -ngkamarra -tjanampalura -ngkamarra
Bal -tjanampalura -ngkamarra
CC -tjanampalura -ngkamarra
PC -tjanampalura -ngkamarra
LG -tjanampalura -ngkamarra
Jig -tjanampalura -ngkamarra
Wil -tjanampalura -ngkamarra

Third person singular avoidance pronoun: C.N. lura -ngkamarra
with case marker:
Ern tjana -ngkatjarra
GIL ——— -ngkatjarra -lura -ngkamarra ——— -ngkatjarra
WR ——— -ngkatjarra// -lura -ngkatjarra
Pap ——— -ngkamarra -lura -ngkamarra
Bal -lura -ngkamarra
CC -lura -ngkamarra
PC -lura -ngkamarra
LG -lura -ngkamarra
Jig -lura -ngkamarra
Wil -lura -ngkamarra

'Singular Demonstrative': C.N. ngaanya
Ern nyangatja ngaatja
GIL ngaanya ngaatja/// nyangatja
WR ngaanya ngaatja/// nyangatja
Pap ngaanya ngaatja ngaatja/// nyangatja ngaapi
Bal ngaatja ngaanya ngaaa// nyangatja
CC ngaatja ngaanya ngaaa// nyangatja
PC ngaatja ngaanya ngaaa// nyangatja
LG ngaanya ngaaa// ngaatja nyangatja
Jig ngaaa ngaanya ngaapi// ngaatja nyangatja
Wil ngaanya ngaatja ngaaa// nyangatja

'Plural Demonstrative': C.N. ngaampa-ya
Ern nyangampa-ya
GIL ngaanya-ya ngaampa-- ngaatja ngaapi ngaakatja
WR ngaanya-ya ngaatja ngaaa// ngaanya ngaakatja
Pap ngaampa-ya ngaanya ngaaa// ngaatja ngaapi ngaakatja
Bal ngaampa-ya ngaanya ngaata// ngaanya ngaakatja ngaana
CC ngaampa-ya ngaata// ngaanya ngaakatja ngaan
PC ngaampa-ya ngaata// ngaanya ngaakatja ngaana
LG ngaampa-ya ngaakatja// ngaanya ngaakatja ngaana
Jig ngaampa-ya ngaanya ngaapi ngaakatja// ngaanya ngaakatja
Wil ngaaa-ya ngaakatja ngaanga ngaakatja// ngaanya ngaakatja

'Conjunction': C.N. palunyatjanu
Ern palulanguru palunyatjanu
GIL palunyanguru palulanguru palunyatjanu parrinyanguru
WR palunyatjanu palunyanguru palulanguru parrinyanguru// palulanguru
Pap palunyatjanu palunyanguru palulanguru palunyatjanu parrinyanguru
Bal palunyanguru palunyanguru palurutjanu palunyatjanu parrinyanguru
CC palunyanguru paluutjanu palunyatjanu parrinyanguru
PC palunyatjanu palunyanguru palutjanu palunyatjanu parrinyanguru
LG palunyatjanu palunyanguru parrinyatjanu palunyatjanu parrinyanguru
Jig palunyatjanu palunyanguru palunyatjanuyila// parrinyatjanu
Wil palunyatjanu palunyanguru palutjanu parrinyatjanu parrinyatjanuyila
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<td>WR palunyangka perrinyangka // palula</td>
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<td>Pap palunyangka ka</td>
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<td>Bal palunyangka palurungka</td>
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<td>CC palunyangka palurungka // parrinyangka</td>
<td>parrinyangka parrinytjanga</td>
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<td>FG palunyangka // parrinyangka</td>
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<td>LG palunyangka // parrinyangka</td>
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<td>Wil palunyangka palungka // parrinyangka</td>
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<td>WR -la -l-ta</td>
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<td>Pap -ngka -la -l-ta</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bal -ngka -l-ta -l-tja// -la</td>
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<td>CC -ngka -l-ta -l-tja// -la</td>
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<td>Jig -ngka -l-tja -l-ta</td>
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<td>Wil -ngka -l-tja -l-tja// -la</td>
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<td>Ern -ngkamarra tawarra</td>
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<td>Jig -ngkamarra</td>
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<td>Wil -ngkamarra</td>
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<td>Wil -ngka -ø</td>
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102
'Relator "Intention" plus ergative case'  
Ern -kitja-ngku  
Gil -kitja-lu -kitja-ngku  
WR -kitja-lu/-kitja-ngku  
Pap -kitja-lu -kitja-ngku  
Bal -kitja-lu/-kitja-ngku  
CC -kitja-lu/-kitja-ngku  
PC -kitja-lu/-kitja-ngku  
LG -kitja-lu/-kitja-ngku  
Jig -kitja-lu/-kitja-ngku  
W1 -kitja-lu/-kitja-ngku

'C.N. -kitja -lu

'Relator "negative" plus ergative case'  
Ern -wiya-ngku -maral-tu  
Gil -wiya-lu -wiya-ngku -pani-lu -maral-tu// -panatja-  
WR -wiya-lu -maral-tu// -wiya-ngku -parri  
Pap -wiya-lu -wiya-ngku -pani-lu -maral-tu//  
Bal -pani-lu -wiya-lu -maral-tu -maraly-tju// -pani-ngku  
CC -pani-lu -wiya-lu// -panatja-lu -maraly-tju -pani-ngku  
PC -pani-lu// -wiya-lu -maraly-tju -panatja-lu -pani-ngku  
LG -pani-lu -panatja-lu// -wiya-lu -maraly-tju -pani-ngku  
Jig -pani-lu -panatja-lu// -wiya-lu -maral-tu -pani-ngku  
W1 -pani-lu -panatja-lu// -wiya-lu -maral-tu -maal-tu -pani-ngku

'C.N. -pani-lu

'Relator "characteristic"'  
Ern -payi -l-payinya  
Gil -payi  
WR -payi -l-payinyu  
Pap -payi  
Bal -payi  
CC -payi  
PC -payi  
LG -payi  
Jig -payi  
W1 -payi

'C.N. -payi

'Relator "origin"'  
Ern -nguru -tjanu  
Gil -nguru -tjanu  
WR -tjanu -nguru  
Pap -nguru -tjanu  
Bal -tjanu -nguru  
CC -tjanu -nguru  
PC -tjanu -nguru  
LG -nguru -tjanu  
Jig -tjanu// -nguru  
W1 -tjanu// -nguru

'C.N. -nguru

'Relator "toward"'  
Ern -kutu  
Gil -kutu -tu// -ku -kați  
WR -kutu -ku// -kați  
Pap -kutu -ku// -tu  
Bal -kutu -kurra -kați -tu// -waka  
CC -kutu -kați -kurra// -tu -waka  
PC -kutu -kați -kurra// -tu -waka  
LG -kați -kutu// -tu -waka -kurra  
Jig -kați -kutu// -tu -waka  
W1 -kați -kutu// -tu -waka

'C.N. -kutu

103
### 'Nominaliser with continuous aspect'  
**C.N.** -rra-nytja

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<th>-nytja/-ra-nytja</th>
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### 'Projected reason marker on verbs with classifier'  
**C.N.** -l-tjaku

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### 'Hortative marker'  
**C.N.** -nytjakutawarra

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### 'Purpose marker with nominaliser with classifier'  
**C.N.** -l-kura

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105
### 'Present tense'  C.N. -in(pa)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Base Verb</th>
<th>Present Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ern</td>
<td>-ra</td>
<td>-in(pa) -nyi// -ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WR</td>
<td>-ra//</td>
<td>-in(pa) -nyi</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-nyi// -ra -nyini -yinpa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bal</td>
<td>-in(pa)</td>
<td>-nyin(pa) -gi -nyi// -ra</td>
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<tr>
<td>CC</td>
<td>-in(pa)</td>
<td>-nyin(pa) -nyi -yin(pa) -ni -rra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FC</td>
<td>-in(pa)</td>
<td>-nyin(pa) -nami -nyi -rra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LG</td>
<td>-in(pa)</td>
<td>-inpa -nyin(pa) -ni -nyi -rra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jig</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>-in(pa)// -rra -nyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wil</td>
<td>-inpqa</td>
<td>-npi -rra -nyi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 'Consecutive action marking'  C.N. -n -nu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Base Verb</th>
<th>Consecutive Form</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ern</td>
<td>-ra</td>
<td>-rra -nru</td>
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<tr>
<td>WR</td>
<td>-ra</td>
<td>-rra -nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pap</td>
<td>-ra</td>
<td>-rra -nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bal</td>
<td>-ngu</td>
<td>-rra -nru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC</td>
<td>-ngu</td>
<td>-rra -nru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FC</td>
<td>-ngu</td>
<td>-rra -nru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LG</td>
<td>-ngu</td>
<td>-rra -nru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jig</td>
<td>-ngu</td>
<td>-rra -nru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wil</td>
<td>-ngu</td>
<td>-rra -nru</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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### 'Verb modifier "toward" with motion verb having 0 class'  C.N. kati

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Base Verb</th>
<th>Modified Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ern</td>
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<td>kati-0 ngalya-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>ngalya-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Bal</td>
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<td>ngalya-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FC</td>
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<td>ngalya-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LG</td>
<td>kati-0</td>
<td>ngalya-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jig</td>
<td>kati-0</td>
<td>ngalya-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wil</td>
<td>kati-0</td>
<td>ngalya-0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 'Verb modifier "away from" with motion verb having rra class'  C.N. ma yarra

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Base Verb</th>
<th>Modified Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Ern</td>
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<td>ma pitja-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WR</td>
<td>ma pitja-0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pap</td>
<td>ma yara-a</td>
<td>ma pitja-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bal</td>
<td>ma yara-a</td>
<td>wanu yara-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC</td>
<td>ma yara-a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FC</td>
<td>ma yara-a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LG</td>
<td>ma yara-a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jig</td>
<td>ma yara-a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wil</td>
<td>ma yara-a</td>
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### 'Verb "hit" with wa class'  C.N. pu-wa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Base Verb</th>
<th>Hit Form</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>WR</td>
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<td>pu-wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pap</td>
<td>pu-wa</td>
<td>pu-wa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bal</td>
<td>pu-wa</td>
<td>pu-wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC</td>
<td>pu-wa</td>
<td>pu-wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FC</td>
<td>pu-wa</td>
<td>pu-wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LG</td>
<td>pu-wa</td>
<td>pu-wa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jig</td>
<td>pu-wa</td>
<td>pu-wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wil</td>
<td>pu-wa</td>
<td>pu-wa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

106
'Verb "dig" with la class'  C.N. tjawa-la
Ern  tjawa-la
Gil  tjawa-la
WR  tjawa-la
Pap  tjawa-la
Bal  tjawa-la
CC  tjawa-la
FC  tjawa-la
LG  tjawa-la
Jig  tjawa-la
Wil  tjawa-la

'Continuous aspect'  C.N. wulu-ulu pu-wa
Ern  rawa-ngku atu-mma
Gil  tītu pu-wa  tītu pu-ngama
WR  tītu pu-ngama  tītu pu-wa  puna-ma
Pap  tītu pu-ngama  tītu pu-wa
Bal  wulu pu-ngama  wulu pu-wa  wulu-ulu pu-wa  tītu-ulu pu-wa
CC  wulu pu-wa  wulu pu-ngama  wulu-ulu pu-wa
FC  wulu pu-ngama
LG  wulu-ulu pu-ngama  wulu-ulu pu-ngama  pu-nganyan  pu-wanpa
Jig  wulu-ulu pu-wa  wulu pu-wa  pu-ngama
Wil  wulu-ulu pu-wa  wulu pu-ngama  wulu-ulu pu-nga  wulu-ulu pu-wayinpa

'Past continuous aspect'  C.N. -ma
Ern  -ngi
Gil  -rranytja  -ma  -ngi
WR  -rranytja//  -ngi
Pap  -ma  -ngi  -rranytja//  -payi
Bal  -ma  -rranytja  -payi//  -ngi
CC  -ma  -payi  -rranytja  -ngi
FC  -ma  -payi
LG  -payi  -ma  -rranytja  -ngunpa  -nytjanpa
Jig  -payi  -ma//  -rranytja
Wil  -rranytja  -ma  -payi

'Future continuous aspect'  C.N. -malpa
Ern  -ma
Gil  -ma  -malpa
WR  -ma  -malpa
Pap  -malpa  -wanpa  rawa nyina-ku
Bal  -malpa  -wanpa  -ranpa
CC  -malpa  -ranpa//  -wanpa
FC  -malpa  -ranpa
LG  -malpa  -ranpa
Jig  -malpa  rawa nyin-ku//  -wanpa
Wil  -malpa  -kuyin(pa)  -wanpa  -kuwin(pa)

'Intermittent continuous action with past continuous aspect'  C.N. -rrayinu
Ern  -rinu
Gil  -rrayinu  -rrinu
WR  -rrayinu  -rrinu
Pap  -rrinu  -rrayinu
Bal  -rinu  -rrayinu//  -ngunangu
CC  -rrayinu  -rrinu
FC  -rrinpa  -rranytja//  -rrayinu  -rrinu
LG  -ngunpa  -rrayinu  -payi//  -rrinu
Jig  -ngunangu//  -rrayinu  -rrinu
Wil  -rrayinu  -payi//  -rrinu

107
'Subjunctive mood' with classifier
Ern -num util -num
Gil -num -lara// -lara
WR -num
Pap -lara -angara
Bal -lara -angara
CC -angara -lara
FC -lara -angara
LG -lara -angara -ra
Jig -angara// -lara
Wil -lara -angara

'Verb modifier "away from" with motion verb'
C.N. ma pitjangu
Ern ma pitjangu
Gil ma pitjangu
WR ma pitjangu
Pap ma pitjangu ma yanu
Bal ma yanu ma pitjangu
CC ma yanu ma pitjangu
FC ma yanu yanu
LG yanu ma yanu mawu yanu
Jig ma yanu
Wil ma yanu mawu yanu mawi yanu

'Verb modifier "toward" with motion verb'
C.N. ngalya yanu
Ern ngalya pitjangu pitjangu
Gil ngalya pitjangu ngalya pitjangu
WR ngalya pitjangu ngalya pitjangu
Pap ngalya pitjangu ngalya yanu
Bal ngalya yanu ngalya pitjangu
CC ngalya yanu yanuni
FC ngalya yanu ni
LG yanuni ngalya yanu
Jig yanuni ngalya yanu
Wil ngalya yanu ngalya pitjangu

'Verb modifier "around" with motion verb'
C.N. parra yanu
Ern parra pitjangu
Gil parra pitjangu
WR parra pitjangu
Pap parra yanu parra pitjangu
Bal parra yanu parra pitjangu
CC parra yanu
FC parra yanu
LG parra yanu
Jig parra yanu
Wil parra yanu

'Verbo modifier "unsuccessfully"
C.N. putu
Ern putu
Gil putu
WR putu
Pap putu
Bal putu
CC putu
FC putu
LG putu
Jig putu
Wil putu
'Verb modifier "partially"'
Ern arunyku aru puulpa
Gil puulpa kulyu
WR puulpa// kulyu
Pap kulyu puulpa
Bal kulyu
CC kulyu
LG kulyu
Jig mantappa// kulyu
Wll mantappa kulyu

'Verb modifier "again"'
Ern piruku// puru
Gil puru
WR puru
Pap puru piruku piyuku wituka
Bal puru witu-lu
CC puru witu-lu
FC witu-lu// puru
LG wituka
Jig yarrangu karu
Wll yarrangu// puru

'Verb modifier "continually" with verb "take" with ergative/nominative case'
Ern rawa-ngku titutjarra-ngku titu-ngku
Gil titu titu-lu
WR titu -ma// titu-lu
Pap titu kutu rawa wulu
Bal wulu wulutjarra titu
CC wulu titu-lu
FC wulu wulu-lu
LG wulu wulu-lu
Jig wulu-lu wulu
Wll wulu-lu titu

'Verb modifier "ahead" with ergative/nominative case'
Ern ngamany-tpju
Gil kurranyu-lu kurranyu
WR kurranyu-lu
Pap kurranyu kurranyu-lu
Bal kurranyu-lu kurranyu
CC kurranyu-lu kurranyu
FC kurranyu-lu kurranyu
LG kurranyu-lu kurranyu
Jig kurranyu-lu kurranyu
Wll kurranyu-lu kurranyu

'Verb modifier "quickly" with ergative case'
Ern wala-ngku// wala-lu
Gil waarrpuwa wala-lu wala-ngku// pipurrulu
WR wala-lu waarrpuwa// wala-ngku
Pap wala-lu wala-ngku pula-lu parrpa-yu-lu wirru-rulu-lu
Bal wala-lu pula-lu// pipurrulu-wirru-lu
CC wala-lu pula-lu// pipurrulu-wirru-lu
FC wala-lu pula-lu wala// pipurrulu-wirru-lu
LG wala-lu// pula-lu pipurrulu-wirru-lu
Jig wala-lu pula-lu wirru-rulu-pini-lu pipurrulu
Wll wala-lu pula-lu pini-lu wirru-run-tu wirru-rulu-lu

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ABBREVIATIONS

In reference to kinship terminology the following abbreviations are used:

\[
\begin{align*}
m &= \text{mother} \\
b &= \text{brother} \\
d &= \text{daughter} \\
s &= \text{son}
\end{align*}
\]

Locations visited on this survey are abbreviated in the appendix as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ern} &= \text{Ernabella} \\
\text{G1} &= \text{Giles} \\
\text{WR} &= \text{Warburton Ranges} \\
\text{Pap} &= \text{Papunya} \\
\text{Bal} &= \text{Balgo Mission} \\
\text{CC} &= \text{Christmas Creek} \\
\text{FC} &= \text{Fitzroy Crossing} \\
\text{LG} &= \text{La Grange} \\
\text{Jig} &= \text{Jigalong} \\
\text{Wil} &= \text{Wiluna}
\end{align*}
\]

Abbreviations in the Grammatical Range Masters:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sing.} &= \text{Singular number} \\
\text{plur.} &= \text{Plural number.}
\end{align*}
\]

REFERENCES
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