ABORIGINAL LANGUAGE USE IN THE NORTHERN TERRITORY: 5 REPORTS

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FOREWORD

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# TIWI: A LANGUAGE STRUGGLING TO SURVIVE

by Jenny Lee

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INTRODUCTION

This is the second volume of language surveys produced by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Australian Aborigines and Islanders Branch. The first, appearing in WORK PAPERS OF SIL-AAB Series B Volume 11, presented three different types of survey: inherent (or mutual) intelligibility between some Western Desert languages, a preliminary general survey in central Northern Territory, and a sociolinguistic survey focusing on language usage and attitudes in a specific Queensland community. The articles in this volume again represent several types of language survey.

Jean Kirton's article is quite unique in some ways. It is a diachronic study of a linguistic community which is in the process of replacing one language, Yanyuwa, with other languages, particularly Kriol and English.

Phil Graber has focused on a specific language, Kriol. He has built on the earlier survey work of Dave Glasgow in an attempt to determine the extent to which Kriol is used in the Barkly Tableland of the Northern Territory. In contrast to a more general type of survey, this was a type of dialect survey aimed at trying to determine the boundaries of Kriol within the Tableland.

The surveys by Jim Ellis of the Daly River and Wagait regions are of a general sociolinguistic nature. The purpose of these surveys was to determine what languages are spoken in the various communities in this area of the Northern Territory, and the relative strength of each of the languages.

Language survey, especially when trying to evaluate language use and attitudes, is by its very nature an inexact science. The number of factors which influence the findings of any given survey are many. A person's conscious or unconscious attitudes toward his own language and other surrounding Aboriginal languages will affect his response. Attitudes toward researchers will also have a profound effect on responses. The researcher's knowledge of the area and the methods used will affect the findings.

The greatest hurdle that must be overcome in language investigation is that of the researcher's paradox. The ideal context in which to evaluate language use is a natural social setting amongst users of the language. However, it is impossible for the researcher to observe language use without actually being there. With the introduction of a researcher into the community, it is no longer a natural social setting unless that researcher is considered as part of the community. The
researcher is faced with the paradox of trying to observe what happens when he is not there!

In Jean Kirton's situation, this hurdle has been overcome to a large extent. Since she has lived and worked with speakers of Yanyuwa in Borroloola since the mid-1960s, she is in fact a part of the Yanyuwa community.

To minimize the impact of being outsiders in Aboriginal communities, the Kriol survey team comprised several Kriol speakers from Ngukurr. It was these men who carried out a great deal of the actual survey work in the Tableland communities.

In spite of the drawbacks and limitations of any survey, the surveys which are included in this volume help to give us a somewhat clearer understanding of the use of Aboriginal languages in the Northern Territory.

Research reported in this volume was partially funded by the Research Fund of the Australian Aborigines and Islanders Branch.

Michael J. Ray
Volume Editor

NOTE: After M. Ray had written this Introduction and departed overseas, an additional paper became available. We are happy to include Jenny Lee's paper on Tiwi language change in this series volume.
SOCIOLOGICAL SURVEY REPORT:
DALY RIVER REGION LANGUAGES

S. James Ellis

0. INTRODUCTION

This report covers the results of a survey of the sociolinguistic conditions surrounding the languages of the Daly River region in the Northern Territory of Australia. In addition to researching settlements within the region itself, research was also undertaken on other locations which are inhabited by speakers of the Daly River region languages: Darwin, Adelaide River and Pine Creek. (The language situation around Delissaville is described in my Wagait region languages report in this volume.) The Daly River region covers the area on either side of the river as far north as the Wagait Reserve, as far east as the Fish River area and as far south as the Fitzmaurice River, excluding the region of the Murinh-patha people centred around Pt. Keats. (See map, Appendix 1.) The research was carried out intermittently from November 1983 to August 1984. The major research was done during a four-week period beginning on 25 November 1983. Except for a few days that period of time was spent at the Daly River settlement under the gracious hospitality of Father Bissett, administrator of the Catholic Missions complex there, and with the kind help of many mission residents both white and Aboriginal. Side trips were taken to Woollana, Wudikapalirr and Peppimenarti. (At Peppimenarti permission to collect data was not given.)

The purpose of the survey was to provide as much sociolinguistic information as possible to help S.I.L. determine Bible translation needs among the dozen or so vernacular languages still spoken to various degrees in the Daly River region.

The specific aims of the survey were to a) describe the places where Daly River region languages are spoken (see section 2), b) describe the
state of each of the Daly River region languages particularly in terms of language use (see section 3), and c) describe language attitudes of the language speakers (see section 4). The means of gathering data is described under section 3.0, Methodology.

1. ITEMS OF HISTORICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL RELEVANCE

The sociological history of the Daly River region language groups has had a traceable bearing on the state of the language situation today. Stanner (1933) writes that traditionally the dry season had forced tribes together in billabong and river areas that yet provided food (p. 385). This was probably a factor leading to their 'inter-tribal economic systems [and their] extreme degree of "internationalism"' (p. 380). We can assume that this 'internationalism' has persisted throughout many centuries and the fact that the languages did not therefore amalgamate is probably due to the fact that 'each tribe [retained] a high degree of solidarity' (p. 384) which was probably supported by a 'paralysing fear of sorcery' (p. 383).

Points of settlement in the area, including outstations, have always drawn the Aboriginal people to them (p. 383) because the chance of obtaining consistent provisions (albeit often extremely meagre) was more appealing then a feast or famine lifestyle. In view of today's relative wealth of consistent provisions at population centres in the Daly River region, it is safe to assume that there are no longer any Aboriginal families with a principal residence out bush away from a population centre. Stanner states that the present mission area 'is at present [1932] and has always been the centre of practically all settlement since the first invasion took place probably about the late eighties of last century' (p. 380). It is because of this reason and because the Daly River is said to have been no one tribe's exclusive possession (p. 403) that the mission area has been a 'rallying ground for the remnants [and a] focus of attraction for the general drift [of Aborigines towards settlements] from as far away as the Fitzmaurice River'. Under these special localised circumstances the horde organisation, which was the focal social unit of the past, 'could not help but crumble quickly and irremediably' (p. 404).

These historical factors, then, help to account for the structure of the present-day Daly River region society. Firstly, there is a bond of identity among Daly River region residents collectively. Secondly, despite that strong common bond each individual maintains an identification with his own traditional group and, ipso facto, his traditional group land as well. Lastly, it appears that the horde identification has long since disintegrated although identification with the extended family unit itself is strong.
2. CENTRES OF POPULATION

2.1 DALY RIVER

The present-day relatively high standard of living and community organisation which the Daly River residents of the past and present have worked for has come about through the support of Catholic Missions bolstered by government funds. The present Daly River Mission was officially opened in 1956 in response to Aboriginal request a few years earlier (Pye 1976:12-18). Government funding for the community now comes largely through the Department of Community Development and the Aboriginal Development Commission. Among the Community Development's many funded services is the installation and maintenance of a computerised three-generator power plant which supplies electricity for the expanding community. The community consists of about thirty contemporary block homes used by Aboriginal families, several more used by whites or mixed-race families, several new Aboriginal homes nearing completion, Catholic mission staff facilities, a church, a large mission-operated clinic, a mission-operated school, a community office complex, an all-purpose hall, a police aid office, a community club, a store, an airstrip, a garden complex, various mechanical and carpentry shops, and miscellaneous structures. Funds from the Town Management and Public Utility are also used to support services: parks and gardens, roads, drains, water, electricity, sewer, hygiene, and the community office. The community is stretched out along the Daly River and situated about two kilometres downriver from the Daly River Crossing. There is a police station complex and a hotel/pub complex located at the Crossing. Make-shift or temporary living areas can be found in the area around the pub as well as across the river from the community. There is a small resort, called Wulk Witi, a few kilometres north of the community which is also used as a flood refuge and is operated and funded by the community. The community has a cattle project.

There are at present nearly 200 Aboriginal residents at the Daly River community representing all twelve or so historical language groups. The main vernacular is Ngankikurungkurr (see section 3.3). The population number fluctuates constantly as relatives move to and from other areas. Of that number the majority are under twenty-five years old. (For age and gender statistics see Appendix 2.)

In line with one of the mission's purposes for existence (Pye 1976:8), the community is a training centre for Aborigines. There are apprentices in carpentry and bricklaying and one with the powerplant, several teaching assistants, several health workers, two store workers, and a couple of office workers, as well as several workers involved with
servicing and general maintenance of the community. Any Aboriginal person interested in steady employment is provided with a job.

Another of the mission's purposes for existence is to care for the spiritual needs of the people, to provide a Christian environment in which people who choose to can develop in their Christian faith.

A third reason for the mission's existence (Pye 1976:67) is to establish education for the children and health care for all people. The mission school provides quality education and is eagerly attended by all eighty or so children enrolled. The school has five divisions: 1) pre-school, 2) first grade and second grade, 3) third grade and fourth grade, 4) fifth grade and sixth grade, and 5) seventh grade and post primary (i.e. continuing education as long as the pupil wants to learn or until he has established a certain level of academic proficiency). Each division has at least one qualified teacher along with a teaching assistant from the local Aboriginal community. The school principal pointed out that the children's performance is comparable to European children in the lower grades but typically it dwindles in the higher grades (apparently due to 'Aboriginal way' peer pressure). Some students go on to further education in Darwin at St. Johns, Salonika or St. Marys.

Although the community is supported by Catholic Missions and several government agencies, it is designed to be controlled by an Aboriginal council which is made up of a president and eight other council members. Decisions concerning community affairs are to be channelled through the council. There are community advisors but they are not members of the council.

Communication to outside the community is by means of a radio-telephone which is operable twenty-four hours a day. There is also an outpost radio to VJY Darwin, Catholic Missions headquarters and other missions. The community receives radio broadcasts from Darwin and it also has a satellite dish receiving national television broadcasts from Brisbane. There is a community television set at the club and several homes also have television sets. A few homes have video machines. The council has a video which shows movies in the all-purpose hall several nights per week. Occasionally there is a professional concert or other special activity in the hall.

Besides the twenty or so whites who permanently reside at the community, there are often visiting whites from government bodies, institutions, Catholic Missions etc., who are involved in elections, linguistics, social awareness, or other programmes intended to benefit the Aboriginal people.
2.2 PEPPIMINARTI

Located on Tom Turner's Creek feeding into the Moyle River, Peppiminarti began in 1974 with the encouragement, advice and physical help of the Daly River Mission (including UNIA, the Aboriginal association) and the efforts of a man who is half English and half Aboriginal, Harry Wilson. The intent behind establishing this settlement was to provide a community where Aboriginal people could provide their own livelihood and handle their own affairs, to foster their own indigenous culture and maintain their Christian faith on their own traditional land. Available funds would be provided by government agencies but the main industry was to be cattle.

In some ways the settlement has fulfilled its aims and in other ways it has not. It nonetheless fulfills a role in the livelihood of the whole region.

At present, the community has a store, a school, a bank/community office, an airstrip, mechanical workshops, miscellaneous structures, and is completing a new clinic building. Previously the residents lived centrally in small iron-clad dwellings, but those are mostly taken down and contemporary block housing is appearing throughout the settlement.

The population which was up to 200 just a few years back is now down to between 125 and 150 due to migration back to the Daly River community as well as to the typical migration to dry season camps. As the wet season sets in, the population will rise as families return from their dry season camps. There is at present one white couple working with community office affairs and there are two white couples and one single person teaching at the school. There are about sixty children in the school.

The settlement has no mission presence but the priest from the Daly River Mission tries to make a trip out every other week to celebrate mass and to meet individual spiritual needs.

The dominant vernacular language of Peppiminarti is Ngankikurungkurr (see section 3.3).

2.3 WOOLIANNA

This small settlement, which is about twenty kilometres downstream from the mission, is the home of some twenty Aboriginal people of the MalakMalak group, most of whom are adults (see section 3.6). They, along with perhaps others of MalakMalak descent in the area, have laid claim to a large portion of land north of the mission area and are
awaiting the results of investigation by the Federal Minister. Two of the Malak Malak people work at the Daly River clinic. The people generally do a lot of fishing and hunting for their livelihood.

At Woolianna itself there is also a caravan park and tea rooms run by a white. Between Woolianna and Daly River Mission there are several farms, a store, and a small school which caters to the children of whites in the area.

2.4 WUDIKAPALIRR

This settlement, located about fifty kilometres northwest of Peppiminarti, is in the process of construction by a particular clan (Parry clan of the Marrithyiyl; see section 3.5). It is part of the general trend of Aborigines to move back to their historical homelands.

At present there are a few make-shift or temporary dwellings. Construction of a fully licensed commercial airstrip is proceeding at a rapid pace. They have attracted some government funding for the airstrip and by demonstrating aggressive progress they hope to attract Community Development funds to eventually build a water system, power plant, store, school, clinic etc. The eventual 200 residents that they envision attracting (principally the Marrithyiyl from the Daly River community) would live in standard housing stretched along both the airstrip and a rather extensive billabong close by.

The purpose behind the existence of Wudikapalirr is much the same as that of Peppiminarti: to establish a place on traditional lands where Aboriginal people linked to that land can provide their own livelihood.

2.5 OTHER AREAS WITHIN THE DALY RIVER REGION

There are three clan or family settlements that are used mostly during the dry season. Nardirri is situated on the coast at the Moyle River mouth and has about fifteen tin sheds and a wind-driven water pump. There are about twenty people living there (apparently of the Marinjar or Mare Ammu tribes) who live at Pt. Keats during the wet season. Femiddir is situated inland from the Moyle about half way between Peppimenarti and the coast. There are about twenty family members there (of the Maringar tribe) who get their supplies from Peppimenarti during the dry season and live at Peppimenarti or Pt. Keats during the wet season where their children go to school year round. There is also another camp in the same general area west of Peppimenarti that is used by a family from the Daly River community (the Miler family of the Maringar tribe) on weekends during the dry. The camp is on their
traditional homeland and supposedly they, like the families at Ferriderr and Nardirri, hope to eventually establish it as a permanent residence.

There is an Aboriginal-owned station called Palumpa located about forty kilometres by road east of Pt. Keats. Perhaps fifty people live there during the wet season and many more workers during the dry season. The people are from either Daly River or Pt. Keats settlements (and hence the language influence is first Murrinh-patha and second Ngankikurungkurr). Just a few small children live there with their families.

There are other possible settlements as well that are probably used just in the dry season, such as Emu Point, Fish River, Papanella, and Cheluk.

2.6 AREAS OUTSIDE OF THE DALY RIVER REGION

There are at least a dozen locations of permanent or semi-permanent habitation by Aborigines in the Darwin area ranging from camping to hostels to Aboriginal-owned blocks of land. Aborigines from the Daly River region are mainly associated with two of these locations: the Catholic Missions headquarters complex and a permanent settlement in Berrimah. The accommodations at the Catholic Missions headquarters would be considered as only temporary housing even though the complex is often in use by Aborigines. The Berrimah location is not only used for temporary housing by visiting Daly River region Aborigines, but it is the permanent home for perhaps fifty Aborigines who traditionally come from the Daly River region. As a result of the efforts of the Aboriginal Development Foundation, the Berrimah people were given title to a large block of land a few years ago. Since that time the Aboriginal Development Foundation has acquired funds to provide quality permanent housing and services. Besides carrying out their own daily affairs, the Berrimah people act as business brokers and hoteliers for those of their kinsmen who come to town to visit or to stay for a while (Sansom 1980:7). The leader of the Berrimah location claims there are as many as eighteen language dialects represented there at various times. Marrithiyel would probably have a slight edge on the others, but according to Sansom (pp. 28-9), the language of the settlement would be their own form of Aboriginal English.

Another camp which has also become permanently established by the efforts of the Aboriginal Development Foundation and which is also used at times by Daly River region people is Railway Dam (or One Mile Dam) located in town. These people, however, have more association with the Wagait region and even Pt. Keats rather than with the Daly River region.
There are also a few Aborigines at Bagot Reserve who are traditionally from the Daly River region (mostly MalakMalak).

Outside Adelaide River there is a permanent camp which has recently been developed with good housing and services. It is inhabited by Aborigines traditionally from different regions. At least one family comes from the Daly River region. They are Ngankikurungkurr but use a creole in their day-to-day interaction with other residents.

There are two camps at Pine Creek which are largely inhabited by people traditionally from the Daly River region. One camp is made up of permanent buildings and the other, a short distance away, is made up of one old building and some tents. A few kilometres down the track from Pine Creek is a permanent settlement called Kybrook. There is a white manager who is attempting to restore the settlement to a profit-making industry. The thirty Aborigines who now stay there are part of the whole Pine Creek mob who altogether would make up as many as 75 or 100 people. These people, like the people at the Daly River Mission, have a variety of other camps more in the bush which they often inhabit. Exactly how many of these people come traditionally from the Daly River region would require more research. Of those Daly River region people, the majority consider Wagaman to be their traditional language. It is mainly these people who are hoping for a positive outcome on a land claim in the Fish River area.

There is also a small group of Daly River region people at Batchelor and a few others scattered around at various Top End locations and in cities and settlements throughout Australia.

3. SOCIOLOGICAL CONDITIONS OF EACH DALY RIVER AREA LANGUAGE

3.0 METHODOLOGY

The methods of obtaining information concerning the sociolinguistic conditions of each language were observation, interviewing, and document research. Some of the observation and interviewing time was spent in an attempt to answer the ethnographic questions given in Appendix 3. Most of that time, however, was spent informally seeking answers to questions that arose in the process of visiting the settlements. Most of the interview information concerning the Daly River region came primarily from the mission priest (Father Laurie Bissett), and secondarily from the Daly River Mission school principal (Sister Elsie) and a Daly River Aboriginal woman who has had extensive education experience in Darwin as well as in the mission school (Mrs. Miriam Rose Ungumerr). Information about the region was also obtained from several other white staff
personnel and from many Aborigines representing language groups at the Daly River community.

Interview information about locations outside of the Daly River region proper, such as Adelaide River and Pine Creek, came mostly from Aborigines living in those locations.

For purposes of analysing the data more clearly, language users have been divided into groups. Grouping by language use was done on the basis of the results of the methodology and with the help of kinship charts constructed during the survey. The language use groups are divided into the following categories (taken from LANGUAGE USE CATEGORIES chart in Appendix 2) and will be referred to in the following sections:

I. Pre-school 3 yrs old and younger
II. School 4 yrs to 14 yrs
III. Post school/young family 15 yrs to 23-25 yrs
IV. Family 24-26 yrs to 35-40 yrs
V. Older 38-40 yrs and older

(The reason for the split numbering used in categories III-V is to accommodate generation groupings inside particular categories despite variance in age. This reflects more accurately the number of people in language use groups.)

3.1 ENGLISH

There has been no English comprehension testing in general among Aboriginal people from the Daly River region. If addressed by a Standard English speaker, however, nearly all people would be able to respond except for some people in category V (particularly the older women) and presumably some in category I since many of these children are from homes where the child is exposed only to the Daly River creole or a vernacular as well.

There are a number of reasons why the Daly River region language groups have at least a moderate ability in English. Most of the people have had English contact since the latter half of the 1800s and this contact has steadily increased along with greater accessibility and interest in the area by research, government, and mission personnel, as well as tourists. Transportation to and from Darwin and surrounding towns is easily accessible, compared to the past, and is utilised by all categories of people. Nearly all children are exposed to at least five or six years of school where instruction is mostly in English (except for preschool) by white and Aboriginal teachers. Since the majority of
Aboriginal people from the Daly River region either live at the Daly River community or visit there regularly, they have exposure to English television programming and also English video movies which are shown several evenings per week in the all-purpose hall and in various homes.

The English that is used by Aborigines in the Daly River region varies from Australian Standard English to something not far removed from the Daly River creole. Most speak a variety of English that could be called Aboriginal English similar to that spoken by Aborigines throughout rural Australia (characterised by limited domains, lack of many English language redundancies etc.). The vast majority of Daly River region Aborigines do not have a command of technical English. This assessment is based on observing younger men while they were watching television at the Daly River club and by interacting with them there. Of all categories of speakers these young men, in categories III and IV, should have the greatest command of English since they (versus older men) have not only been through some schooling but they (versus women) also have the most encounter with whites. It is more common for men to associate with whites—via work, the pub, traveling etc.—although women are sometimes more outgoing with other people. Those Aborigines in the other categories, then, would have less competence in English to varying degrees. Many women in category V, for instance, will not respond at all in English since they are either unable to or they are too insecure in their ability. A possible exception to the younger men's stronger ability in English would be with many of the older school children. They have had exposure to technical English in recent years through their exposure to the outside world via their modern school education, visiting with white special interest groups, and the recent availability of video movies. As an example, many of the older school children recently answered most questions correctly on a test concerning parliamentary procedures (as reported by the visiting government workers who administered the test).

Most of the people in categories II-IV at the Daly River community (and possibly at Peppimenarti as well) have some reading ability as a result of their school training. However, they don't read much after leaving school. An exception to this is that some younger mothers often read to their children Bible stories which they have learned through religion classes at the school.

In summary, the majority of Aboriginal people of the Daly River region have a moderate command of English, though this command would largely be confined to domains of Aboriginal interest.
3.2 THE DALY RIVER CREOLE

The Daly River creole is a language variety spoken throughout the Daly River region. No one in the area seems to know when or how it originated but it is at present the main means of communication between language groups. It is to some degree a different variety from the Kriol spoken at Roper River and used in S.I.L.'s Kriol books. Many of the words and phrases used in these books met with either quizzical looks or gales of laughter among the Daly River people. (Admittedly part of that would be due to the awkward way it was read to them.) After repetition and a bit of concentration, however, the Kriol text could be figured out. It appears that the Daly River creole is a more anglicised variety than is Kriol and is often mixed with Ngankikurungkurr words. It should be noted that just a couple hours away at the Adelaide River Aboriginal camp one of the Kriol texts was read with complete understanding and with a comment, "Yeah, that's just how we talk."

According to everyone interviewed at the Daly River community, the creole is understood and spoken by all categories of speakers. Most of those in category V have limited capability and confidence in the creole and prefer to use their vernacular even when being addressed in the creole. The school administrator at the Daly River Mission finds that nearly all children come to the first day of pre-school speaking the creole. Some come with a vernacular as well as the creole. Confidence in understanding English comes about through time spent with the white teachers. It also comes through fellow pupils in higher grades that share the same classroom. In the lowest division of school the Daly River creole is used as the main medium of instruction because English is essentially not understood and use of a vernacular is too troublesome. Whether this is because of the children's lack of competence in the vernacular, the Aboriginal instructors' preference for the creole, or whether there is a more natural match between the creole and the domains of instruction is not known. By the time the children reach the second division they are receiving instruction in English and speak it well enough for the classroom demands. During classroom breaks and outside of school hours the children of all ages speak mainly the Daly River creole among their peers. According to Aboriginal sources, most of the school children use the creole at home, including those children from homes where their parents may speak to them in a vernacular. The school children will use Aboriginal English when addressing Europeans and it appears that they will shift away from the creole even in the presence of Europeans.

As young Aborigines leave school and begin working on the mission or on outstations or begin shifting between settlements, the creole is still the main means of communication. As the women of this category
(category III) get married they begin associating more with their older
kin members. As this happens they begin expressing themselves more in a
vernacular with the older women while still addressing their young
children in the creole. The young men, however, are observed to
continue using the creole as they begin raising their families and work,
hunt, and socialise together. According to sources, as the men get
older (category IV) the influence of the older people (and perhaps the
pressure of the 'Aboriginal way' which they have felt since leaving
school) becomes a compelling force and while still using the creole they
also try to revive their capability in the use of a vernacular, i.e.
Ngankikurungkurr.

The above trends in the creole usage would also apply at Peppimenarti
although the vernacular, Ngankikurungkurr, would be used more by each
category because of the situation there (described in section 3.3).
Several children in category II, however, were observed using the creole
while playing, whether or not in the presence of older people. The
young men in categories III and IV were also observed to be using the
creole among themselves.

3.3 NGANKIKURUNGKURR

The traditional homeland of Ngankikurungkurr speakers according to most
sources (including Tryon 1974 and former Catholic Mission priest Father
Leary) is located on a relatively large region of land just east of
Peppimenarti. Today, this language group is the strongest of the Daly
River language groups both in numbers and influence. No one seems to
know why it is the Ngankikurungkurr rather than another language group
that has come to the forefront. Perhaps historically being one of the
larger Daly River groups as well as one of the earlier groups to migrate
to the Daly River settlements (Reid 1982), they were always more
influential. Early in the present mission's existence at Daly River it
was the Ngankikurungkurr speakers who took the most active part in
decision-making processes. Today, there are more in the
Ngankikurungkurr language group than in all the other Daly River region
language groups put together. There are approximately 150 people at the
Daly River community who are Ngankikurungkurr, and a few more who claim
it as their language, as well as about 125 at Peppimenarti. There are
also a few Ngankikurungkurr at Pt. Keats as well as some in towns
scattered from Darwin to Katherine. These figures were arrived at with
the aid of genealogical charts meticulously compiled by Father Martin

Because of the dominance of Ngankikurungkurr at the Daly River
community, nearly all Aboriginal residents claim to understand the
language. Even a 25-year-old man from another language group who
claimed to no longer speak any vernacular found that he could understand a short Ngankikurungkurr discourse on tape—at least enough to get the basic elements of it. He said he heard the language as a child from his mother.

On the other hand, most people who claim to be Ngankikurungkurr speakers have varying levels of proficiency. Sources told me that there are two kinds of Ngankikurungkurr, one that the old people speak and another that the younger people (category IV) speak. Apparently those in category V actively spoke Ngankikurungkurr or another vernacular as children (before the present mission came into being). But those in category IV, although completely understanding the vernacular as children, have had to learn or re-learn to speak Ngankikurungkurr as adults since they spoke a variety of creole or English as youngsters (because the mission school was by then operating). Upon hearing some recorded discourses of an old Ngankikurungkurr speaker, one speaker in category IV who has demonstrated fluency in Ngankikurungkurr did not respond to the recorded material as would be expected of a fluent speaker. This gives a small amount of evidence to the possibility of there indeed being a modernised Ngankikurungkurr—perhaps a slightly pidginised variety which has come into being on account of the many 're-learners'.

According to another source, Ngankikurungkurr is used in council meetings and with all Aboriginal-culture related activities, like corroborees or circumcisions.

The school has scheduled Ngankikurungkurr language learning sessions with Ngankikurungkurr speakers. During these sessions, usually one or two afternoons per week, the children in categories I and II learn isolated words from charts and books while those in older categories spend time with elders in sessions designed to teach practical skills. It is obvious, as a result of observing one of these practical skills sessions, that the Aboriginal children respond as naturally to instruction from their Ngankikurungkurr-speaking elders as they do to their English-speaking teachers. Most of the instruction was contextual, however. Although the children in the younger categories spend their language learning time repeating isolated words, their understanding of the language was verified by having them listen to the recordings of an old Ngankikurungkurr speaker (mentioned above). About half of the second and third graders individually heard a discourse about hunting goanna and the majority gave an immediate accurate translation. In fact, a boy from a non-Ngankikurungkurr family understood the old person's speech much more readily than a girl from a 'modern' Ngankikurungkurr-speaking family. This is probably due to the fact that whereas the boy lives on the side of the community where all the old Ngankikurungkurr speakers live (which is rather separated from
the mission complex), the girl lives on the side where there are essentially no old Ngankikurungkurr speakers (and where housing is integrated with the mission administration complex).

Based on the above information there seems to be a trend at the Daly River community. During the years of category I, the children hear the creole from their parents and Ngankikurungkurr from the older people, but they begin speaking the creole. During the years of category II, the vast majority have a passive understanding of Ngankikurungkurr but use the creole as their primary means of communication. During the years of category III, the women begin using Ngankikurungkurr as a means of expression and the men continue using the creole. During the years of category IV, the men also begin expressing themselves in Ngankikurungkurr. And during the years of category V, both men and women use Ngankikurungkurr as their primary means of communication even though it is possibly modernised with each succeeding generation.

The Peppimenarti settlement differs from the Daly River settlement in that Ngankikurungkurr seems to be used more readily as a whole, especially among women of category IV. This phenomena is of course due in part to the lack of contact with whites and other Aboriginal language groups. According to one of the school teachers there, who is especially interested in the vernacular, the younger children come to school speaking Ngankikurungkurr as their first language. The teacher also claims to hear it from the older children during classroom breaks. But as referred to earlier, the Daly River creole is still used as the main means of communication among most of the children, most of the young men, and many of the younger women.

There is a general feeling at the mission (and among some at the School of Australian Linguistics as well) that Ngankikurungurr is viable at Peppimenarti. However, no linguist has as yet been able to spend sufficient time there to verify any conclusions one way or the other.

Ngankikurungkurr is not ordinarily spoken at the other places mentioned in section 2, such as Woolliana and Wudikapalirr, but it is certainly understood at most of those places including not only the Berrimah centre but other Darwin camps as well.

Several parties interested in Ngankikurungkurr have done linguistic work at the Daly River community. Besides the work done by Stanner and Tryon, the mission staff reported that there had been research done by Hoddinott. There has been work done by one of the mission staff, Sister Robin, and a graduate student from the Australian National University, Nicholas Reid. The latter two have resumed studies in the South and it is questionable whether they will return to the Daly River region. A few years ago some people from the Bilingual Education Department
visited the school to assess the need for bilingual education. But because of the heavy presence of a creole and the small number of Aborigines genuinely committed to support a languages maintenance program, they felt that such a program would not be successful. This was the conviction of the School of Australian Linguistics as well, after having spent some time with the mission school preparing some vernacular curriculum materials a couple years ago.

Ngankikurungkurr materials that have been produced consist of a dictionary which is the work of Sister Robin, a vernacular story in pamphlet form resulting from Reid's work, songs, and a few Scripture portions and miscellaneous materials done by Miriam Rose Ungunnerr, and the curriculum materials done by S.A.L.

3.4 NGANKIWUMIRI (Nanguumiri)

According to Tryon (p.230) this language variety is a dialect of Ngankikurungkurr, being 84% cognate based on a 200-word list. This is verified by the Daly River community people themselves who claim the two varieties to be very close. One woman identified as a Ngankikurungkurr speaker claimed that all of the Ngankiwumiri speakers were also Ngankikurungkurr speakers. Another woman identified as Ngankiwumiri verified this information and suggested that there were five or so fluent speakers of Ngankiwumiri (whether that referred to just the community or the whole region is uncertain). She also said that children could understand it (presumably because of it being so close to Ngankikurungkurr) but that they could only speak a few words that were purely Ngankiwumiri. Another woman who was visiting from Peppimenarti believed that the Ngankikurungkurr and the Ngankiwumiri were all mixed together at that settlement. There appears to be no independent feeling among Ngankiwumiri speakers. They consider the Ngankikurungkurr speakers and themselves to be one language group. Any Ngankikurungkurr materials that have been produced (see section 3.3) or that will be produced are claimed by descendants of the traditional Ngankiwumiri language group to be meant as much for them as any other Ngankikurungkurr speaker. It is for this reason that any figures and findings mentioned concerning Ngankikurungkurr speakers in this report have the Ngankiwumiri speakers integrated with them as one group.

It should be noted that Sister Teresa from Pt. Keats has visited several dry season camps situated along the northern side of the Fitzmaurice River which she reports as being Ngankiwumiri camps. Whether or not these people reside at Peppimenarti during the Wet or are in fact some autonomous/different group is not presently known.
3.5 MARRITHIYEL (Marithiel)

In a thesis on the phonology and morphology of the Marrithiyel language, Ian Green offers the following information:

Today there are probably as many as two hundred people entitled to be called members of the Marrithiyel tribe, most of them living at the Daly River Mission or in Darwin. There are roughly twenty-five out of this two hundred, all aged over forty, who learnt Marrithiyel as a first language, but only ten of these . . . still use Marrithiyel as the major language of daily conversation. It is not clear what degree of control of the language the remaining Marrithiyel tribespeople have. My research indicates that no-one under about thirty knows any more than a few lexical items, but there is insufficient data to form any conclusions about the competence of the older people. At the Daly River Mission they speak mostly Ngangikurrunggurr, which is now the first language of Marrithiyel children there. (Green 1981:3)

There is no evidence to refute Green's figures except to say that some of his figures are optimistic if anything. There are only five or six competent Marrithiyel speakers who are from the Daly River community. All told, the community has about thirty people who are Marrithiyel by blood. Most of these are teens or younger who speak the Daly River creole, English, and varying degrees of Ngankikurungkurr in that order of preference and proficiency.

All but one of the five or six mentioned above are now staying at the new settlement under construction, Wudikalirr, which is situated on traditional Marrithiyel land. Along with the four or five older people at Wudikalirr are three or four young wives, two young men, a very few small children, and two white men who are married into the family. The use of Marrithiyel speech there must be shared with both the Daly River creole and English even at this isolated settlement.

There are a few older speakers of Marrithiyel at the Berrimah settlement and several others in the Darwin area who claim to be Marrithiyel by blood. There is also a family of Marrithiyel living on the Wagait reserve.

Bill Parry, Marrithiyel clan elder, would like to attract all Marrithiyel-related people to the new settlement, as well as other interested Aboriginal people from the Daly River region. According to Parry, Wudikalirr's future school will have English instruction in the morning and Marrithiyel instruction with the elders every afternoon. All resident children, then, would hypothetically be learning Marrithiyel, thus restoring the language.
3.6 MALAKMALAK (Mullukmulluk)

According to Birk (1975:59), 'the outlook of the language is bleak. There are currently not more than twenty speakers for only nine of whom it is the mother-tongue'. Two of those nine have died since Birk's work, leaving seven. However, one of those seven claims that including all areas there are still nine to eleven fully competent speakers, another eleven at Woolianna and other areas who either understand it or speak fairly well, and there are over twenty children who have at least some exposure to the language but who mainly live away from Woolianna in various towns. Observation revealed that MalakMalak was definitely alive among the older speakers. One young man in his early twenties displayed his confidence in the language by producing a long impromptu discourse onto a cassette. This same young man also explained that he would teach the language to his children when he got married and so keep it alive.

Several of the MalakMalak people live at Bagot Reserve where they use the language to some degree among themselves. Their normal means of daily communication, however, is in the variety of English typical of Bagot Reserve. Any MalakMalak speakers who may reside at the Berrimah settlement would also use the variety of English typical of that particular settlement in their normal daily communication.

3.7 MAGNELLA

Magnella is a dialect of MalakMalak. According to Tryon the two languages are only 45% cognate. But members of both language groups claim to speak freely with one another, each using their own language. Stanner pointed out that the Magnella fused into one social group with the MalakMalak after the numbers of the two groups became depleted. At present there is one man at the Daly River community who has first-language ability in Magnella along with three of his daughters who can understand it. There are also four other men who have an undetermined Magnella speaking ability. No other speakers were discovered.

3.8 TYERAITY, YUNGGOR, KAMOR

Research failed to discover anyone in the Daly River region who knew anything about these languages, although Tryon (p.25) claims that they are in the Mulluk language family.
3.9 MURINTJABIN, MAREAMMU, MARIDAN, MARINGAR, MARAMANANDJI

According to Tryon (p.94) the first three languages above are all dialects of Marrithiyl and the last two are not dialects but are in the same language group.

Sister Teresa (from Pt. Keats) reports that Murintjabin and Maringar are both strong and are both spoken at Pt. Keats. Chester Street (1980:4) reported that there were over fifty Maringar speakers at the new Wudi Pull outstation. There is one family at the Daly River community who often travel to their traditional Maringar land to camp during the dry season (as previously mentioned in section 2.5). The father alone speaks Maringar as a first language and his family identify themselves as Ngankikurungkur speakers. Murintjabin speakers were not found at the Daly River community but there was one young man who claimed that he and his family members at the community were members of the Murintjabin language group.

Green (1981) suggests that Maridan is merely a place name within the Marrithiyl traditional land but he also suggests that there are a few people left who claim to be Maridan speakers.

There is one old speaker of Maramanandji at the Daly River community. She claims to know of only three other speakers who are still alive.

No evidence of MareAmmu's existence was found in the region except possibly at Nardirri (as previously mentioned in section 2.5). There is also evidence of MareAmmu speakers in Darwin and in the Wagait region (see 'Sociolinguistic Survey Report: Wagait Region Languages' in this volume).

3.10 MARANUNGGU, AMI, MANDA

Speakers of these dialects are not known to exist in the Daly River region despite the fact that their traditional homeland is largely within the region. There are, however, many Ami and Manda speakers living in the Wagait region (see Wagait report).

3.11 PONGA PONGA, WADYIGIN, BATYAMAL

Tryon (p.187) claims that these are dialects of one language group called Wogait. There is one old man who is a Batyamal speaker at the Daly River community. He has two daughters living there and nearby who
have some speaking ability in the language. One of the daughters refers to her language as Wadyigin. Wadyigin and Batyamal are most probably the same language variety, as suggested by Tryon. There are many Wadyigin speakers at Delissaville (see Wagait report). Apparently no one at the Daly River settlement believes Ponga Ponga to exist. Some say it never did.

3.12 WAGAMAN

This language is not discussed in Tryon's 1974 work, but it is considered to be one of the Daly River region languages by the people there. A very few competent speakers are reported living at Daly River and Peppimenarti settlements where they find that other languages meet their day-to-day needs. At present, however, most of these Wagaman people, along with the Wagaman speakers at Pine Creek (see section 2.7), are involved in the land claim along the Fish River and are therefore living in that area.

A number of people at the Daly River community are part Wagaman but are not speakers of the language. Those people living permanently in the Pine Creek area would have a better grasp of the language but further research would be needed to determine their actual level of language ability.

4. LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

No one in the Daly River region who is linked to a minority language group enjoys the fact that their language is either dead or dying. They would be happy to see their language and all the other languages return to a position of prosperity once again. But like others, the Daly River region Aborigines find themselves following the route of least resistance, which is to use whatever language allows for easiest communication. But losing their various vernaculars has not been so painful as long as Ngankikurungkur is strong enough to act as a representative of the Aboriginal vernaculars. Although Ngankikurungkur is accepted throughout the Daly River region as the language of the region, there are still a few language groups who have not given up hope for their own language. As mentioned earlier, Bill Parry of the Marrithiyel group hopes to revive the language by teaching it to the children in school when the new settlement is ready. He is also hoping that Ian Green will come back and continue working on the language. The two other Daly River region languages, Murintjabin and Maringar, which are still strong according to reports, have no reason to give up hope. While there are a few representatives from these groups at the Daly River community, those two language groups are essentially dominated by
the Murrinh-patha people at Pt. Keats and their fate lies in the circumstances around that area rather than at Daly River. Concerning MalakMalak, even though the one young man from Woolianna plans to keep his language alive, the older people there realise that while their language is not being dominated by Ngankikurungkurr, it is nonetheless being overtaken by the Daly River creole. The real MalakMalak language will die with them. And it would be safe to say the same fate awaits the Wagaman language.

The Daly River creole is as widely disliked as it is used. Many people in the region do not admit it exists. Some ignore it. Others enjoy it. But no one is proud of it. Like an intruder it has come from an unknown place and spread its influence everywhere. The route of least resistance allows it to stay. Its two main opponents are the mission staff and the older vernacular speakers. The creole is not allowed as instruction or in curriculum at either the school or the church. The only exception to this is in the pre-school where Aboriginal teachers use the creole in order to communicate without difficulty. Many old people deeply lament the fact that their children are proficient in an English creole rather than English or Ngankikurungkurr, and they blame everybody except the 'route of least resistance' for it. Whites and Aborigines alike would like to see all children become proficient in both English and Ngankikurungkurr (the Marrithiyel would like to have their language added to the list) and they are willing to take whatever realistic steps they can to make that happen. However, the barriers appear too formidable.
APPENDIX 1: MAP OF DALY RIVER REGION

DARWIN

TIMOR SEA

WAGAIT ABOR RESERVE

BELVIEL (DELISSAVILLE)

 Batchelor

Adelaide River

Port Keats

Peppimart

ABORIGINAL RESERVE

Moyle River

Daly River Mission

Daly River

Fitzmaurice River

Victoria River

WA N.T.

Kununurra

Pine Creek

Katherine

REPRODUCED WITH SLIGHT CHANGES FROM STREET 1980:3
APPENDIX 2: LANGUAGE USE CATEGORIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Age Ranges</th>
<th>Daly River Figures</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Totals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Pre-school</td>
<td>under 3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. School</td>
<td>4 to 14</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Post school/</td>
<td>15 to 23-25</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>young family</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Family</td>
<td>24-26 to 35-40</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Older</td>
<td>38-40 &amp; older</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DAILY RIVER SETTLEMENT TOTALS 77 115 192

APPENDIX 3: ETHNOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

[NB: This questionnaire was developed by SIL some years ago. Hence, some of the terminology is outdated. However, it has still proved useful for collecting language information.]

For shorter surveys, you may not find satisfactory answers to many of these questions but answer as many as you can. Use it to guide and stimulate your thinking rather than as a legalistic document.

Name of surveyor (team): ............ Location of survey ............

Language .................... Date and length of survey ............

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I. DEGREE OF BILINGUALISM

A. The Home Situation

1. What languages are spoken in the family situation?
   a. vernacular ........................................
   b. English ...........................................
   c. non-standard English ..........................
   d. combination .................................

2. With respect to the use of English or the vernacular, what is the attitude?
   a. of the parents ......................................
   b. of the school age children .....................

B. The Age Factor

1. Is there any correlation between the age of the speaker and the language he speaks? (This refers to vernacular, English and non-standard English.) ...........................................

2. Do pre-school children first learn:
   a. the vernacular .................................
   b. English ........................................
   c. both languages ...............................

3. When Aboriginal children begin school, can they:
   a. follow directions from the English teacher ....
   b. understand something of the subject being taught ....

4. Outside the classroom, do Aboriginal children speak to each other:
   a. always in the vernacular ..........................
   b. always in English ..............................
   c. in a mixture of both ............................

   When they wish to be secretive, do they use the vernacular?

5. Within any given grade, compared to their English counterparts, are Aboriginal primary school students:
   a. older ...........................................
   b. the same age ..................................
   c. younger .......................................

   If there is a significant age differential, can it be correlated to a lack of facility in English?

6. Do those who have had schooling continue practising their English literacy after leaving school? Is their English literacy:
   a. forgotten .................................
   b. used when required ........................
   c. used for pleasure ........................
7. Do High School students or those attending colleges such as Kormilda revert to the vernacular when they return home from school:
   a. immediately ................................
   b. after 6 months ............................
   c. after 12 months ............................
   d. other ........................................

C. The Effects of the Use of the Vernacular
1. Do speakers of the vernacular "mix in" parts of English? If they do, can its extent be determined? Are the insertions:
   a. technical terms .............................
   b. nouns and/or verbs ........................
   c. names (persons or places) ................
   d. some grammatical feature ................
   e. whole phrases or sentences ..............
   f. a complete mixture ........................

2. Do the school children use the vernacular in the presence of the English school teacher? ..........................

3. What is the standard of English of those who consider themselves bilingual:
   a. excellent .................................
   b. very good .................................
   c. good ......................................
   d. fair ......................................
   e. poor .....................................

4. What is the attitude of Aborigines to you as a European attempting to learn the vernacular? Did they:
   a. highly approve ...........................
   b. strongly disapprove ......................
   c. remain neutral ............................

D. Social Contexts in which the Vernacular is Used
1. What language is used in church activities:
   a. in Sunday school classes ..................
   b. in formal worship services ................
   c. in "home" prayer meetings .................
   d. for giving testimonies ....................
   e. for formal prayer ........................
   f. for Scripture interpretation .............
   g. for the interpretation of the message ....
2. In what language do individuals pray:
   a. in private ..........................................
   b. in the home .......................................
   c. in public .........................................
   d. when called upon suddenly ......................
   e. in mixed groups ..................................
   f. in groups monolingual in English

3. What language is predominant in tribal activities such as:
   a. corroborees ......................................
   b. council meetings ................................
   c. hunting and fishing parties ....................

4. Is an interpreter used for:
   a. government officials ............................
   b. school officials ................................
   c. missionaries .....................................
   d. tourists ..........................................  

Would an interpreter mean greater comprehension in these circumstances? ........................................

E. Relation to Non-tribal Individuals
1. What Europeans have learned to understand the vernacular?

   What Europeans have learned to speak the idiom?

   What motivated them to understand or speak?

2. What is the attitude of Europeans who reside within or in close proximity to the tribal area toward the use of the idiom as a means of communication? Do they:

   a. pressure the Aborigines to use English ...........
   b. encourage bilingualism ..........................
   c. remain neutral ..................................

3. What is the attitude towards translation of the New Testament in the vernacular of:
   a. missionaries ......................................
   b. Government workers .............................
   c. other .............................................
II. CULTURAL FACTORS

A. Culture Change

1. How many part Aboriginals are in the tribe? What is their age range? ........................................
   Do they have full acceptance in the tribe? .................

2. Is the effort of the tribe (or the individual) to retain elements of the culture:
   a. determined ......................................
   b. vacillating ......................................
   c. non-existent.................................

3. Is the kinship system adhered to:
   a. rigidly .........................................
   b. loosely .........................................
   c. only by old people ............................
   d. hardly at all .................................

4. Does the tribe generally make an effort to pass along cultural skills to the children? ..................

5. Did you notice any specific taboos and customs from the past still being practised openly? ..........

6. Does the community hold corroborees etc. as tribal entities or are all inter-tribal? .................

7. How often do people have social singing in the camp? .........................................................

8. Is the promise system of marriage still in use? What is the attitude to:
   a. wrong marriages ................................
   b. extra-marital activities ......................

9. What is the current population of the tribe? Is it:
   a. increasing .................................
   b. decreasing .................................
   c. static .........................................
   What is the spread of the population with respect to age? ..........................................................

10. Is the vernacular speaking population:
    a. increasing .................................
    b. decreasing .................................
    c. static ........................................

11. What divisions did you notice in the language group concerning living arrangements? Do they live in:
    a. one tight-knit group ......................
    b. inter-related communities
       (caused by geographical distance)..........
    c. several groups within the community........
12. Do the people in a given locality live:
   a. in a mixed group .................
   b. in separate groups divided according to language ........
   c. integrated with Europeans ........................

13. What are the reasons for the situation described above (last 2 questions)? Is the division in the tribe determined by:
   a. place of employment ......................
   b. prestige of one group ....................
   c. dialect difference or language difference ...........
   d. tribal origin ..............................

B. Degree of Assimilation (Integration)

1. Do individual families have and/or use conveniences such as:
   a. telephones .........................
   b. electricity .........................
   c. running water .......................
   d. community bathroom and toilet ....
   e. private bathroom and toilet .......

2. Do individuals have access to:
   a. an automobile ......................
   b. bitumen roads ......................
   c. shopping centres ...................
   d. local pubs ...........................
   e. schools ............................
   f. churches ...........................
   g. clubs and civic organisations ....

3. How many are in steady employment? Are they:
   a. full blood ...........................
   b. mixed blood .........................

4. Of those in steady employment are they:
   a. unskilled labour ....................
   b. skilled labour (trained in some way) ....
   c. professional (with academic background) ....

5. About how many individuals:
   a. work full time .....................
   b. work part time .....................
   c. are self-employed .................
   d. are receiving a tribal payment ....
   e. do not work at all .................
   f. receive unemployment benefits or welfare handout .......

6. How many Aborigines have received specific training for work?

What types of training? 

How many are employed locally in this capacity?
7. Is there good opportunity for employment for Aborigines in the area? .................................................................

8. Because they are illiterate in English, are many Aborigines:
   a. hindered from voting .............................................
   b. unable to obtain a driver’s licence OR had to take the written test orally ...................................................

9. Do many individuals above school age read in English:
   a. anything ..............................................................
   b. Bible .................................................................
   c. forms, pamphlets, applications .................................
   d. magazines and newspapers ......................................
   e. comics ...............................................................
   d. books ...............................................................

10. Do many individuals read in the vernacular? ..............

11. What individuals:
    a. attend movies ...................................................
    b. listen to news broadcasts ....................................

12. Is there an adult education programme? In what language is it conducted? ....................................................

13. Is the use of the vernacular (written or spoken) actively promoted in any other way? ........................................

14. Is the Aboriginal culture actively promoted in any way by outsiders? .........................................................

15. What percentage of marriages are:
    a. tribal ...............................................................
    b. legally recorded .................................................
    c. to Europeans (legal or de facto) ............................

16. In the event of death, do they have:
    a. only Christian funeral ........................................
    b. only tribal burial ..............................................
    c. Christian funeral with traditional wailing and ceremonies also .................................................................

C. TRANSLATION FACTORS

1. What religious groups are working with the Aborigines? .....................................................................................

2. Are the congregations of such specific groups:
   a. predominantly Aborigines ......................................
   b. mixed .................................................................
   c. predominantly European ......................................

3. How many Aborigines are members of churches which are:
   a. predominantly Aboriginal ...................................
   b. mixed ...............................................................
   c. predominantly European ...................................
   Are the Aborigines “accepted” by the European congregations? ........................................................................
4. Do Aborigines hold responsibility within the church or mission as:
   a. pastors  
   b. local preachers  
   c. elders  
   d. ministers  
   e. staff position  
   f. other  
   How much authority do they have?  

5. In church services, do Aboriginal pastors or interpreters attempt on-the-spot Scripture translation in the vernacular?  

6. What is the attitude of the Aborigine to:
   a. having his language written  
   b. having the opportunity to learn to read it  
   c. having the Bible translated in his language  
   d. sanctity of old (but of dubious worth) translations  

7. What is the attitude of the local missionary/pastor to:
   a. a literacy programme  
   b. Bible translation in the vernacular  
   c. previous translations in the area  

8. Have attempts been made (with some sort of orthography) to write the tribal language by:
   a. a member of the tribe  
   b. missionary, government worker  
   c. secular linguist, anthropologist  
   Is he still resident and what are his plans with regard to a literacy/translation programme?  

III. FACTS ABOUT THE AREA

   A. How many languages are there in the area?  
   B. How many children actually attend school?  
   C. How much literature in the vernacular is available?  

APPENDIX 4: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

ATTITUDES TO LANGUAGE PLANNING PROGRAMMES
IN ABORIGINAL COMMUNITIES, AUSTRALIA

Interviewer's Name  Date  

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Items 1-4 to be answered by interviewer

1. Name (if known without elicitation) ...........................................
2. Sex
   a. male
   b. female
3. Approximate age
   a. school age
   b. teenager (16-19 years)
   c. young adult (20-30 years)
   d. adult (30-50 years)
   e. middle aged (50-65 years)
   f. aged (65 and over)
4. Ethnicity
   a. full-blood Aboriginal
   b. part Aboriginal
   c. European
   d. Other

5. i. Occupation .................................................................
   ii. Employment status
       a. employed
       b. unemployed
6. i. Place of living now (community name or street location)
7. i. What languages are spoken in this community? .................
   ii. How many speak each language? (Tick the appropriate column)
       Languages ____________________ very many  many  few
8. i. What was your father's language? .................................
   ii. What was your mother's language? ...............................
9. Do you understand English (standard) in the following situations?
   a. radio--news broadcasts
   b. radio--popular songs
   c. movies
   d. store
   e. church
   f. school
   g. other

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

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

11. How well can you speak English? Can you:
A. converse with Europeans about
   a. money
   b. God
   c. sickness
   d. school
   e. nothing

   B. tell a story in English
      a. to an European
      b. to an Aboriginal

12. i. Can you read English?  a. yes  b. no
    (If "yes", go on to ii, iii, iv, v.)

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

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

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

   v. Would you be willing to take an English reading comprehension test?  a. yes  b. no  c. not sure
13. i. Would you like to learn more English?  a. yes  b. no
   ii. If yes, where?  a. at school
       b. in classes at camp
       c. other (specify)

14. i. Did you attend school?  a. yes  b. no
   ii. If yes, did you
       a. attend primary school but for less than 8 years
       b. finish primary school
       c. finish high school
       d. go to tertiary level

15. (To be answered only by those who claim a language other than
    English in Item 8.iii)
   i. Can you read your own language?  a. yes  b. no
   ii. If yes, where did you learn? ........................................
       Who has produced reading materials? ..............................
       If no, has anyone written in your language?
       a. yes  b. no  c. not sure  Who? ..............
       Would you like your language to be written?
       a. yes  b. no  c. not sure

16. i. Do the children in this community speak English?
    a. poorly
    b. well
    c. as well as Europeans
    d. better than adults
   ii. Is the children's language different from that of adults?
    a. yes
    b. no
    c. a little

17. i. Do the children in this community speak their parents'
    language(s)?
    a. yes
    b. no
    c. some do
   ii. If yes, how well?  a. some words only
       b. whenever they speak to parents
       c. when they speak to other children

18. i. What language(s) should the children be taught at school?
    a. English
    b. an Aboriginal language
    c. both
   ii. If "b" or "c" which Aboriginal language should it be?
       (List in order of preference if more than one are offered.)

19. What is the value of learning English?
    a. for you .................................................................
    b. for your children ...................................................
20. i. What is the main language spoken in this area?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

24. Do you think everyone who speaks this language would like to have it written?
   a. yes
   b. no
   c. not sure

25. Would you encourage your children to learn to read in this language?
   a. yes
   b. no
   c. not sure
26. Is there anyone in this community (Aboriginal) who could help make reading books and teach reading? (Give names)

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

END OF QUESTIONS TO INTERVIEWEE

27. Interviewer's assessment of language usage.
What language did the respondent use during the interview?
.................................................................
If English, was it
a. a pidgin
b. variety of standard English
If "b" what is your impression of his/her fluency:
   a. equal to native speaker
   b. able to express anything required for the interview with little difficulty
   c. able to express most things required for the interview but with hesitation and self-correction
   d. spoke it with difficulty but understood questions
   e. spoke it with difficulty and only partly understood questions
   f. used only a few words

REFERENCES

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