

1980c.1

# WORK PAPERS OF SIL-AAB

Series B Volume 11

**LANGUAGE SURVEY**

**Editors: J. Hudson and N. Pym**

Summer Institute of Linguistics

Australian Aborigines Branch

Darwin

JUNE 1984

Summer Institute of Linguistics  
P.O. Berrimah  
DARWIN, N.T. 5788  
AUSTRALIA



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ISSN 0157-5066  
ISBN 0 86892 312 8

## NATIONAL LIBRARY OF AUSTRALIA Cataloguing-in-publication Data

Language Survey.

Bibliography  
ISBN 0 86892 312 5.

[1]. Aborigines, Australian - Australia, Central - Languages. 2. Language surveys - Australia, Central. 3. Australian languages. [4]. Western Desert Languages. 5. Australia, Central - Languages. [6]. Aborigines, Australian - Languages. 7. Sociolinguistics - Queensland - Hope Vale Region. 8. Australian languages - Social aspects. [9]. Aborigines, Australian - Queensland - Hope Vale Region - Languages.  
I. Hudson, Joyce. II. Pym, Noreen. III. Summer Institute of Linguistics. Australian Aborigines Branch. (Series: Work Papers of SIL-AAB. Series B; v. 11).

499'.15

## 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.

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Part of the funding for these surveys has come from the Research Fund of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

The publication of this volume was partially funded by grants from the Department of Aboriginal Affairs.

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INTRODUCTION TO  
SERIES B VOLUME 11

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

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

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

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



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# 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 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.

The writer acknowledges cooperation and help in conducting the survey and gaining relevant information from the following: at Wiluna: Paul Morgan Ngalama, Jackson Stevens Yarlukayi, Jeffrey Tjarurru, Robert Wood Rapal, Bob Robertson, Willie Ward Tartany, Benny Nyamanya, Sheila Yaka Jones, John Williams, Willy Williams, George Finch and Dave Shay; at Jigalong: Sambo Sampson Nyarnkapirti, Socks Lanti, Ngayiji, Piija Tinker, Billy Atkins Yangkurany and Teddy Etiwaru; at La Grange: Father McKelson, Lillian Nitukurna, Jimmy Muku Purungu, Roonie Butt, Sally Wajartu, Nyiwilyjikutupa Jarurru, Long Nyatuwi, Kim Nixon Yiji, Jimmy Wilirra, Wipa, Winnie Nartata, Jimmy Pangku and Tommy Pangku; at Fitzroy Crossing: Stumpy Niju, Jack Jinakarli, Spider Snell Ngalyangu, Nyangani, Jimmy Katapa, Nata Rowland, Willy Kew Luurnpa and Biddy; at Christmas Creek: Tiger Ngamija, Jimmy James Yayi, Peter Kurriji, Bluey Thomas Yukuti, George Pink Kingu, Blind billy Muputaji, George Tuckerba, Mary Ann Pulta, Missy Thomas Majija, Benny Walkutu Tukula and Nawi; at Balgo Hills: Charlie Tjungarrayi, Ngangayari Tjampitjin, Toobilly Pakupaku, Arther Tjapanangka, Nguntyja, Denny Campbell, Alan Winturu, Johnny Yimaru, Micky Nyuwunytju, John Lee, Freddy Nginpirri, George Wimitji, Father Anthony Piele and Father Hevern; at Papunya: Fred West Tjakamarra, Ngitjita Tjungarrayi, Nolan Tjapangati, Charlie Tjungurrayi, John Heffernan, Rev. M. Stollznow, Murphey Tjupurrula, Yariyari Tjampitjinpa and Johnny Angus Tjupurrula; at Giles: Mitchell Milangka, Herbert and Loraine Howell, Hilary Giles, Peter Mitchell, Milly Yates, Jacky Giles and Johnson Bennett; at Ernabella: Anmanari and Paul Eckert; at Warburton Ranges: Paul Simms. Other information was given by Rev. E. Kingston at Yuendumu and Rev. T. Fleming at Alice Springs. Mr. J.P.M. Long, Canberra, provided copies of his maps of Pintupi country and gave other much appreciated information which helped to form opinions expressed in this paper.

## 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

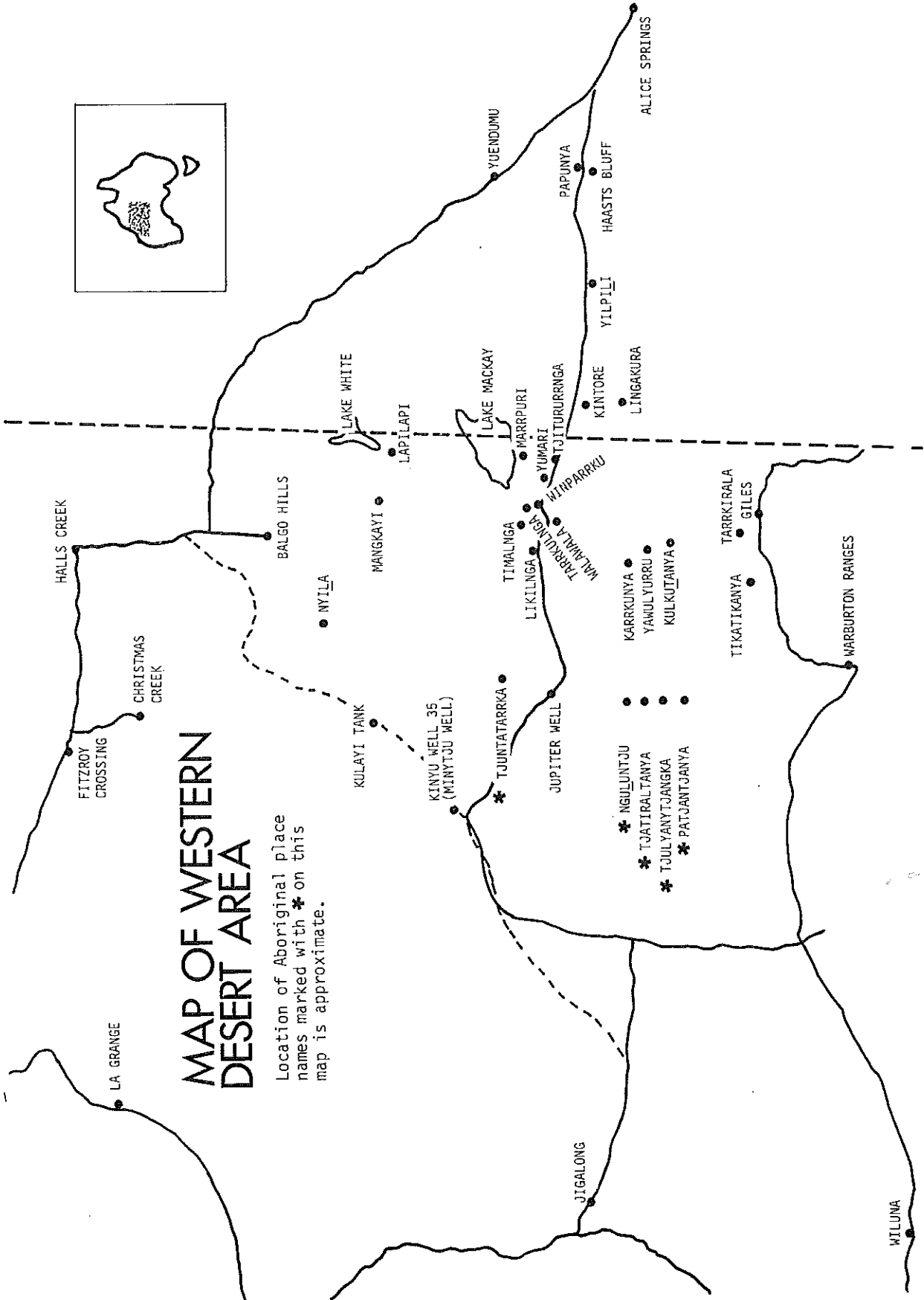
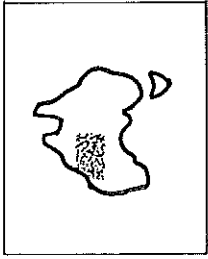


elderly or widowed females. Such 'family groups' ranged in size from three to twelve people. The period 1957-64 was one of generally average or below average rainfall but, since good seasons are the exception and drought the rule, it is safe to assume that the people of this area lived in scattered groups 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 *Tarrkerala* 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 *Tjitururrnga* (Buck Hills) near the W.A./N.T. border to *Walawala* (Pollock Hills). Relevant places are shown on the map included in this section.



# MAP OF WESTERN DESERT AREA

Location of Aboriginal place names marked with \* on this map is approximate.

LA GRANGE

HALLS CREEK

FITZROY CROSSING

CHRISTMAS CREEK

BALGO HILLS

NYILA

KULAYI TANK

MANGKAYI

LAPILAPI

KINYU WELL 35 (MINYTJU WELL)

TJUNTATARRKA

JUPITER WELL

\* NGULUNTJU

\* TJAATIRALTANYA

\* TJULYANYTJANGKA

\* PATJANTJANYA

TIMALINGA

LIKILINGA

TARKUJONGA

MALMAYIA

WIHPARRUKU

YUMARI

TJITURURRNGA

MARRPURI

LAKE MACKAY

LAKE WHITE

KARRKUNYA

YAWULYURRU

KULKUTANYA

TARRKIRALA

GILES

WARBURTON RANGES

JIGALONG

WILLUNA

YUENDUMU

PAPUNYA

HAASTS BLUFF

ALICE SPRINGS

YILPTILI

KINTORE

LINGAKURA

WILLUNA

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 *Tjitururrnga* (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 *Tarrkulnga* (north of Angus Hills), a distance of 320 km. His east-west traverse was from *Tjitururrnga* (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*, *Kuwarantjarra*, *Ngaatjatjarra*, *Putitjarra*, *Tjiwalinytja*, *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 wangkatjarra*, 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, i.e. no multigrouplects 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 *Tarrkulnga* 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, Tuwilangga, went to Balgo from *Kulikutanya* (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 *Kulikutanya* (south of Baron Range) to Giles; he is now known as a speaker of *Ngaatjatjarra*. *Kulikutanya* 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 Walpurru's relatives went to Balgo; and Tjayintjananya 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 Wangkatjunga. In the bush we used to call *Kantakanta*, a *Ngapi wangkatjarra* speaker.' *Tjunta tarrka* is considered to be Pintupi country.

Fred West Tjakamarra left *Minytju* 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 *Ngaatjatjarra* speakers in the bush days own *Minytju* well. *Minytju* 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 Tjinatinkilykirra's mob went to Giles, i.e. *Tjakamarra Tapatampapulanya*, *Tjakamarra Pintipungkupanya* etc.' *Karrkunya* is considered as Pintupi country. He also said, 'Paul Morgan, now living at Wiluna and known there as a *Mantjiltjarra/ Putitjarra* speaker, used to live with us at *Ngulunytju*, *Yarrima* and *Wanpurrutitja* (north-west of Baron Range). He speaks *Putitjarra*.' Paul Morgan told us he was really 'a Pintupi' when we visited Wiluna. *Ngulunytju*, *Yarrima*, and *Wanpurrutitja* 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 *Ngaatjatjarra/ Pintupi* speaker at Giles, lived at Papunya as a Pintupi for many years. He came from *Yawulyurru* (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 'Ngaatjatjarra 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 Tjampitjinpa (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 wangka. . . 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 *communilect*.

At each of the settlements which we visited a *communilect* 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; Wangkatjunga at Christmas Creek and Fitzroy Crossing; Yulparitja at La Grange; Mantjiltjarra at Strelley and Wiluna; and Martu Wangka at Jigalong (also termed Mantjiltjarra).

#### 1.4 LOCAL RESIDENCE AND COMMUNILECT 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 *malanypa* 'younger brother', instead of the normal *watjirra* mbsd or mbsds, *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 communilect form. However, for practical purposes, the communilect used at each centre must be recognised as including two or three synonyms and two or three grammatical forms. In addition to the predominant communilect 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 communilects 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 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'.

### 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. Mantjiltjarra at Lala Rooke 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 Yulparitja 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.



Location	Established	Last Arr./Number	Other Lang. on Centre
Giles	1975/1960	1970/4	Ngaanyatjarra, Ngaatjatjarra, Pitjantjatjarra
Haasts B Papunya	1930's	1966/17	Warlpiri, Aranda, Anmatjarri
Yuendumu	1947	1959/52	Warlpiri, Yanmatjirri
Balgo	1939	1959/15-20	Warlpiri, Walmajarri
Fitzroy C.			Walmajarri, Bunaba, Gunian Kitja
Christmas Creek			Walmajarri
La Grange	1955	1965/30	Karajarri, Juwaliny, Nyangumarta, Mangarla
Strelley	1970		Nyangamarta, Kartutjarra, Kurajarri
Jigalong	1945	1966/	
Wiluna	1950		Wajarri, Purranyatjarra, Kiyatjarra

### 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 communilects 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	<i>mulya</i>
ear	<i>pina, anpiri</i>
tooth	<i>katiti</i>
hand	<i>mara, manyirrka, mulkutu</i>
boomerang	<i>kali</i>
woomera	<i>mirru//lankurru, pikurru</i>
house	<i>wali, yiwala//waala</i>
camp	<i>ngurra</i>
fire	<i>waru, kunparatji</i>
water	<i>mina, kumpuli, kapi//tjiwiri, ngapa</i>
sky	<i>ilkari</i>
sun	<i>tjintu, tjirirpi</i>
moon	<i>pira, kinara</i>
wind	<i>walpa, pirriya, kakarata</i>
night	<i>munga</i>
midday	<i>kalala</i>
north	<i>alinytjarra, kayili</i>
south	<i>ulparirra, uwarirra</i>
east	<i>kakarrara</i>
west	<i>wilurarra, wiwurarra</i>
creek	<i>ankuwayi, karra</i>
earth	<i>manta, pana</i>
path	<i>iwarra, ruuta</i>
stick	<i>punu, kawarrtji//ngana</i>
food	<i>mai, mirrka//pulakarra</i>
dog	<i>papa, tjitutja, wanguwangu</i>
meat	<i>kuka, wakari</i>
cat	<i>ngaya, putji, putjikata, ngiyu, mulku//wiika</i>
crow	<i>kaanka, wangkilka, tarrkangalku, waangarrungarru, mirringalku</i>
fly	<i>punpunpa, muungu</i>
one	<i>kutju, kampinyu, kumpinyu</i>
two	<i>kutjarra, nyatuwarra</i>
many	<i>tjuta//pini</i>
big	<i>pulka//tina</i>
small	<i>tjukutjuku, tjimpatjimpa, kulunypa//tjapu, wiima</i>
good	<i>palya, nguyanyu, wiru, kurramunu//walykumunu</i>
bad	<i>kurra, kurrakurra, palyamunu, walykuwalyku</i>
no	<i>wiya</i>
yes	<i>uwa//yuwa</i>

black	<i>maru, marumaru</i>
red	<i>tjitintjiti<u>npa</u>, tjintjiritjintjiri, riitwana//tjatjaka</i>
man	<i>wati, puntu</i>
woman	<i>miny<u>ma</u>, kungka//wanatjarra, tjalpiratjarra</i>
father	<i>mama, punarri, ngalkari//tati</i>
mother	<i>ngunytju</i>
older brother	<i>kuta</i>
saw	<i>nyangu</i>
heard	<i>kulinu, altjurunu</i>
drank	<i>tjikin<u>u</u></i>
ate	<i>ngalkun<u>u</u>//ngalangu</i>
sat	<i>nyinangu//purun<u>u</u></i>
stood	<i>ngarangu</i>
gave	<i>ungu//yungu, nintin<u>u</u></i>
shot	<i>pawun<u>u</u>//tjutupungu</i>

### 3.1.2 GILES MASTER

nose	<i>mulya, nyunn<u>gura</u>, nyurrkuta, mut<u>ura</u>, mut<u>ara</u>, nguyali //tjutju</i>
ear	<i>pina, yan<u>piri</u>, yangkuru, pila//kuranpa, kul<u>ka</u>, munata</i>
tooth	<i>katit<u>i</u>, yirra, yanytjiwarra</i>
hand	<i>mara, mulk<u>utu</u>, manyirrka//munyutu</i>
boomerang	<i>kali, yirrkili, pumiringi, kampayiki, tjarangkalpa //pirrayi, walanu</i>
woomera	<i>mirru, lankurru//pikurru, walparra, mangkutju, marapaku, tjutiltjutilpa</i>
house	<i>tawunpa, yiwala//wa<u>ala</u>, yawilypa, maya</i>
camp	<i>ngurra, pintiri, yulun<u>pa</u></i>
fire	<i>waru, kunparatji, kunyingarrpa//kunparrpa, kala</i>
water	<i>kapi, kalyu//tjiwiri, tjarruru, yil<u>a</u>, ngapa</i>
sky	<i>yilkari, nganka, nguru//yalkiri</i>
sun	<i>tjintu, nyilpa//yupunytju</i>
moon	<i>kinara, pira, kitjili, kilara, muunpa, maanytja //tjunitjalu, kintanyu, panyalpa, wilarra, tjakilinpa</i>
wind	<i>pirriya, wal<u>pa</u>, wiinpa, wilinypa, ngarruntu//winu, wangelpa, ngalarra</i>
night	<i>munga, warurru</i>
midday	<i>kalala, tinatayimi, nyilpakatukatu, karr<u>pu</u></i>
north	<i>kayili, yalinytjarra//kayilirra</i>
south	<i>yulparirra//yulpari</i>
east	<i>kakarrara, kakarra//katal<u>ku</u>, lukurr<u>ku</u></i>
west	<i>yapurra, wilurarra, yapurrkura//wilura</i>
creek	<i>karru, kirikpa, kiriki, yangkuwayi//wungka</i>
earth	<i>pana, manta, warirrki</i>

track	yiwarra, ruurra, karrukarru, palkarra, yururru//ruutu, watjarra
stick	wata, ngana, punu, watiya
food	mirrka, mayi, pulakarra//miyi, yuta, mantjirra, mangarri
dog	papa, tjantu//wita, tjutju, kunyarra
meat	kuka, miitpa//kuwiyi, kuyu, tjaapi
cat	wiika, ngaya, nyulkulku, wiilyka, kunanyumpunya, putjikatu, ngalyangamu//ngalyataanpa, nyumpunya, kunawitinya, miyawu, tjutjukulyu, mulyangamu
crow	kaanka, tarrkamungulpa, waarrngarrungarru, wakinka, pinyingalku, wangkilpa, waangurru//waaku, wangkilka, waangu, wakinta, mungutjangalkulanytja
fly	muungu, punpupa, munurrku//ngurrita, ngurring
one	kutju, kumpinyu
two	kutjarra, kalyarrara
many	pini, tjuta, yannga, pili, pinyi, laltu//wiinytja
big	pulkanya, yuwinpa//pulka, tina, matju, yakulyu, tjuma
small	kulupa, kulunya, tjukutjuku, tjapu, wiima//tjulyitjulyi, tjulyi, nyamanypa
good	walykumunu, palya, wiru, pantirra//kurramunu, kunytjunyu, miku
bad	palyamunu, kurrakurra, walyku, panytja, puta//kurra, kuya
no	wiyawinngirra//paki, munu, yumu, waya, kunpu
yes	yuwa, uwa//yuu
black	maru, marumaru
red	tjitintjitinpa, riitwanpa, mitjilpa, tjatjaka, mitjimitji //minyminy
man	wati, puntu//matu
woman	minyma, tutju, wanatjarra, kungka, tjalpiratjarra//wanti
father	mama, tati, mamati, punarri
mother	ngunytju, yipi, mami//yaku, yakuti
older brother	kuta, puratja, kaka//pupu, papatu
saw	nyangu
heard	kulinu, yangkuranu//yaltjurunu, ngangkunu
drank	tjikin <u>u</u>
ate	ngalangu, ngalkunu
sat	nyinangu, pintiringarangu
stood	ngarangu
gave	nintinu, yungu
shot	tjutupungu, rulyupungu, kuntu//yungkanu, pawunu, runkanu

### 3.1.3 Warburton Material

nose	mulya, nyunngura, mutura//nguyali
ear	pina, yanpiri, yangkuru
tooth	katiti, yanytjiwarra

hand	<i>mara, mul<u>ku</u>tu, manyirrka, munyutu</i>
boomerang	<i>kali, yirr<u>k</u>ili, pumiringi, walanu</i>
woomera	<i>mirru, lankurru</i>
house	<i>tawunpa, yiwala</i>
camp	<i>ngurra, pintiri</i>
fire	<i>waru, kunpararrtji, kunparrpa</i>
water	<i>kapi//kalyu</i>
sky	<i>yilkari</i>
sun	<i>tjintu, yupunytju, nyilpa</i>
moon	<i>kinara, pira, kitjili, muunpa</i>
wind	<i>pirriya, walpa, wiinpa, wilinypa</i>
night	<i>munga, payinpa</i>
midday	<i>kalala, tinatayimi//karrpu</i>
north	<i>kayili, yalinytjarra//kayilirra</i>
south	<i>yulparirra//yulpari</i>
east	<i>kakarrara//kakarra, kataalku</i>
west	<i>yapurra, wilurarra//yapurrkura</i>
creek	<i>karru, kirikpa, kiriki, yangkuwayi</i>
earth	<i>pana, manta</i>
track	<i>yiwarra, ruurrrpa, karrukarru, palkarra</i>
stick	<i>wata, ngana, punu</i>
food	<i>mirrka, mayi, pulakarra</i>
dog	<i>papa, tjantu, tjutju</i>
meat	<i>kuka, miitpa//kuwiyi, kuyu</i>
cat	<i>wiilyka, ngaya, nyulkulku, wiika, putjikatu, wilpinpa, ngalyataanpa</i>
crow	<i>kaanka, tarrkamungulpa, waangarrungarru</i>
fly	<i>muungu, puurrrpuunpa</i>
one	<i>kutju, kumpinyu</i>
two	<i>kutjarra, kalyararra</i>
many	<i>pi<u>n</u>i, tjuta//pinyi</i>
big	<i>pulkanya, pulka</i>
small	<i>kulupa, kulunypa, tjukutjuku//tjulyitjulyi</i>
good	<i>walykumunu, palya, kurramunu//wiru, miku</i>
bad	<i>palyamunu, kurrakurra, walyku, kurra, puta//kuya, panytja</i>
no	<i>wiya, winngirra, kunpu//paki, munu</i>
yes	<i>yuwa//uwa, yuu</i>
black	<i>maru, marumaru</i>
red	<i>tjitintjitinpa, riitwanpa, mitjilpa</i>
man	<i>wati, puntu//matu</i>
woman	<i>minyima, wanatjarra, kungka, tjalpiratjarra//tutju</i>
father	<i>mama, tati, punari, mamati</i>
mother	<i>ngunytju, yipi, mami</i>
older brother	<i>kuta, puratja, kaka, pupu</i>
saw	<i>nyangu</i>
heard	<i>kulinu, yaltjurunu</i>
drank	<i>tjikin<u>u</u></i>

ate	ngalangu//ngalkunu
sat	nyinangu, pintiringarangu
stood	ngarangu
gave	nintinu, yungu
shot	tjutupungu, rulyupungu, yungkanu, rungkanu//kuntinu, pawunu

### 3.1.4 PAPUNYA MASTER

nose	mulya, nyunnura, nguyali, kuyala//tjuutju, mutara
ear	pina, yanpiri, langa, munata, kurupa//kurrata, yangkuru, wurrata, matamuti
tooth	katiti, yirra, yirraputa, yanytjiwarra
hand	mara, munyutu, manyirrka, munytjunpa//marumpu
boomerang	kali, pirrayi, yirkili, pumaringi
woomera	mirru, lankurru, pikurru, tjutiltjutilpa //talkawitanpa, mangkutju, marapaku
house	waala, tjitipayina, yiwala, tawunpa, waali//marru
camp	ngurra, pintiri, taku
fire	waru, kunparatji, kunyingarrpa//kala
water	kapi, kalyu, tjiwiri, tjarruru, mina, yila, ngapa
sky	nganka, yilkari, nguru
sun	tjintu, yupunytju, kuli, piya//nyanyi, tjirirpi
moon	kinara, tjakilipa, maanytja, pira, kirrinytji, panyalpa, katalpa//tjunitjalu, kitjili, tjunipulka, wilarra
wind	walpa, ngalarra, wilinypa, ngarruntu, pirriya, wanganpa, arruntunya//winu
night	munga, warurru, payilpa, payinpa
midday	karrpu, kalala//nyilpakatukatu
north	kayili, yalinytjarra//kayilirra
south	yulparirra//ngapati, yulparita
east	kakarrara, kakarra//lukurrku
west	yapurra, wilurarra//yapurrkura
creek	karru, kuriki, larrtjalarrtja, kiriki
earth	pana, manta, warirrki
track	yiwarra, palkarra, ruutu//yurutu, watjarra, yururru
stick	wata, punu, ngana, watiya
food	mayi, mirrka, miyi//mangarri, yuta, mantjirra
dog	papa, tjantu, wita//tjutjutju, kunyarrrpa, tjutju
meat	kuka, miita, miitpa//kuyu, wakari, tjaapi
cat	ngaya, wiika, putjikata, wiratju, nyarrukuta, wilpinpa, ngalyataanpa, miyawu//tjutjukulyu, nyalkulku, minyawu, ngalyangamu, mulyangamu, nganytjanpa, tjiinpa, ngiingi
crow	kaanka, kampinyka, kunangalku, tarrkamungulpa, tjakinkata, wangkita, wakitata, tjangilyka//kurukanti, wakinkata, pirurrngalku, waangurru, waaku, waangarrungarru

fly	muungu, ngurrinypa, punpunpa//kun <u>ma</u> , munurrku, munurrkun <u>uku</u>
one	kutju, kumpinyu//tjinu
two	kutjarra, kalyararra, kumpinyurra
many	tj <u>uta</u> , pin <u>i</u> , ruunytja, laltu, yan <u>nga</u> , pinyi//warrmalpa, wiinytja
big	pul <u>kanya</u> , pul <u>ka</u> , tin <u>a</u> , yuwinpa//tjal <u>u</u> , matju, yakulyu
small	tjukutjuku, wiima//nyamanypa, tjaputjapu, tjulitjuli, yamanypa
good	palya, wiru, miku, pantirrupa//kunya <u>tjunyu</u> , walykumunu
bad	kurra, panytja, kuya, put <u>a</u> //walyku
no	wiya//yumu, paki, waya, munu
yes	yuwa, yuu//uwa
black	maru//munga
red	tjatjaka, karrku//mitjimitji, riiwana, mitjilpa, milimili
man	wati, punt <u>u</u> //matu
woman	tutju, minyma, wanatjarra, kungka//wanti
father	mama, mamanti, tati//tjatja
mother	ngunytju, yipi, mami, yaku, maama//yakut <u>i</u>
older brother	kuta, papatu, kaaka
saw	nyangu
heard	kulinu, yangkunu, yankurunu//yaltjurunu, ngangkunu
drank	tjikin <u>u</u> //yiilarringu
ate	ngalkun <u>u</u> , ngalangu
sat	nyinangu, pintiringarangu
stood	ngarangu
gave	yungu//nintinu
shot	kuntinu, rungkanu, tjutupungu//rulyupungu, yungkanu

### 3.1.5 BALGO MASTER

nose	mulya, nyunnura, nguyali, pantilypantily//tjutju, nyurrkura, mut <u>ura</u>
ear	pina, langa, kuranpa, kul <u>ka</u> , yan <u>piri</u> , yankuru, yirula, munata kulilkulil, kurrata
tooth	kat <u>iti</u> , watura, yirra, lirra, yanytjiwarra
hand	mul <u>ku</u> tu, mara, marumpu, munyutu, kurrapa
boomerang	kali, pirrayi, yirrkili, walanu, tjul <u>upa</u> li, kunanturu, tjilpirrpa
woomera	mirru, lankurru, pikirri, pikurru, mangkutju, tjut <u>ily</u> pa, marapaku, wal <u>par</u> ra, tjut <u>iltj</u> ut <u>il</u> pa
house	marru, mayaru, wa <u>ala</u> , yawutjupa, yiw <u>ala</u> //yawu, tawunpa, yawilypa, yiw <u>ali</u>
camp	ngurra, pintiri, yulun <u>pa</u> , tjuluny
fire	waru, kun <u>par</u> tji, wal <u>u</u> , tjangilyan, nguyumparra //kuningarrpa, kal <u>a</u> , mitjirri, ngitji, yil <u>iny</u> tji



water	kapi, kalyu, tjiwiri, tjarruru, ngapa, yila, kulali, purraku//kalinyu
sky	nganka, nguru, yalkiri, yilkari
sun	tjintu, yupunytju, kuli, nyilpa, ngililpa, purangu
moon	yakanypa, panyalpa, kirrinytji, tjakilinpa, wilarra, tjunitjalu, kinara, pira//maanytja, kitjili, muunpa
wind	walpa, ngalarra, wilinpa, mayawuny, tjutuly//nguminu, winu, pirriya, wangapa, ngarruntu, karaputa, wangalpa
night	munga, mungatjarra, warurru, wurrulytju, payinta
midday	karrpu, kurutjurrku, kalala, wanta, kankarrarringu
north	kayili, yalinytjarra, kayilirra, yalinytja, yalinykatinytja
south	yulparirra, yulpari, ngapati
east	kakarra, kakarra, lukurrku
west	yapurra, wilura, yapurrkura, wilurarra, kularra
creek	karru, kiliki, kuriki, warrku, matuwarra//wungka
earth	pana, warirrki, manta, nguwa
track	yiwarra, karrukarru, ruutu, palkarra//watjarra, ruutpa, tjina
stick	wata, punu, watiya, ngana
food	mirrka, mangarri, mayi, miyi, mantjirrrpa//yuta
dog	tjantu, papa, wita, kunyarrrpa, wangani, tjutju, punpulu, tjarrnga
meat	kuka, kuyu, kuwiyi, miitpa, liwilypa
cat	ngaya, nyumpunya, putjikatu, wilypiny, nyulkulkutu, miyawu, kunangamuka, minyawu, taanpa, wiika, kunawutju, ngalyamarrka, ngalyataanpa, wiilyka, nanytjatjinpa, ngalyangamu, nganytjanpa, mangunypa, nyulkulku, ngalyanyuwata, ngalyakinti, mulyangamu, kunanyumpu, ngalyakintikinti, puutji
crow	kaanka, tarrkamungulpa, wankuta, wakitata, tarrkangalku, minytjinngalku, takinkata, kunatjarrilypungku, waaku, waanka, wakinka, kuwalpa, wankura, wangkuriny, kurukanti, waangu
fly	ngurrinypa, muungu, ngurrita, munurrku
one	kutju, kumpinyu, tjinu, nguyarra, yikamata
two	kutjarra
many	laltu, yannga, pinyi, pini, tjuta, ruunytja
big	tjalu, pulka, yuwinpa, tina, matju//yakulyu, tjuma
small	lampanpa, tjuku, wiima, nyamany(pa)//tjapu, tjulitjuli, tjumpili
good	palya, pantirrrpa, miku, wiru, ngalyapa//kunytjunyu, walykumunu
bad	ngawu, puta, panytja, kurra, kuya//walyku, nyurrka, mungutja
no	wiya, lawa, yumu//waya, paki, munu
yes	yuwa, yuu

black	maru, marumaru, yalta, lipi, kutupiri, nalipa
red	pilytji, karrku, riitwana, yilkurrkura, mitjimitji, tjatjaka, mutu, tiritiri
man	puntu, wati, matu
woman	tutju, minyma, wanatjarra, wanakulu, mirrkatjarra, kungka//wanti
father	mama, wampirra, tati, mamati, yina//kantju
mother	yipi, ngunytju, yipitja, mami, yakuti//nyurrka, tilypu
older brother	kuta, papatu//pupu, kukunu
saw	nyangu
heard	kulinu, yangkurunu, yaltjurunu//ngangkunu
drank	tjikin <u>u</u>
ate	ngalangu, ngalkunu
sat	nyinangu, pintiringarangu
stood	ngarangu
gave	yungu
shot	yungkanu, kuntu <u>n</u> u, rungkanu, tjutumanu, tjutupungu

### 3.1.6 CHRISTMAS CREEK MASTER

nose	mulya, nguyali, punulpa, nyunngura, pantilpantilpa, nyurrkuta//mutura, tjutju, mutarrka
ear	pina, yirrul(pa), yangkuru, kulilkulilpa, yiyurr, munata, wurrata, langa//yitul, kurampa, kulka, munata, yanpiri
tooth	katiti, yirra, lirra, tjaminytji, yanytjiwarra, watura, tjawa
hand	marumpu, mara, mulkutu, kurrapa, mala//munyutu
boomerang	kali, pirrayi, yirrkili, warraka, paralyi, walampa //walanu, wilki, tjiinpa
woomera	lankurru, pikurru, mirru, walparra, marapaku, ngapaliny, mangkutju, parrkalyi, tju <u>t</u> ilpa, yilpili //tjuti <u>t</u> ilpa, marapangu
house	mayaru, marru, maya, yiwali, mangkatja, kanatja//taatjan, waala, tawunpa, yawilypa, yiwala
camp	ngurra, pintiri, yulunpa
fire	waru, walu, kunparatji, tjangilyany, ngunyumpara//wanali, kunyingarrpa, kala
water	kalyu, kapi, ngapa, yila, tjarruru//tjiwiri, papa, kungkutjunyu
sky	yalkiri, nganka, nguru//yilkari
sun	tjintu, purangu, yupunytju, ngilirrpa, ngililpa, tjila//piya, nyilpa, wangkuwangku
moon	yakan(pa), panyalpa, tjakiliny(pa), kinara, wilarra //tjunitjalu, pira, maanytja, kitjili, kintanyu, muun
wind	walpa, mayawun(pa), ngalarra, wangalpa, ngarruntu, wangarr, pirriya, tjutuly, makurru//winu, wilinpa

night	<i>mungatjarra, munga, warurru, payinpa//yupunytju, pukanytja, kapan</i>
midday	<i>karrpu, karrpuwati//nyilpakatukatu, kalala</i>
north	<i>kayili, kayirrara, kayilingu//yalinytjarra, yalinytja, kayilirra, yatitjarra</i>
south	<i>yulparirra, kulirra, ngawarrara//ngapati, yulpari</i>
east	<i>kakarra, lukurrku//kakarrara, lukurra</i>
west	<i>yapurra, wilura//kala, yapurkura, wilurarra</i>
creek	<i>karru, matuwarra, kiliki, kuriki, walalarra//wungka</i>
earth	<i>pana, nguwa, warirrki//manta</i>
track	<i>yiwarra, karrukarru, ruutu//palkarra, watjarra, ruurra, munyi, walyarra</i>
stick	<i>wata, punu, mana, yingkana, watiya</i>
food	<i>mayi, mirrka, mangarri, miyi, mantjirr(pa)//yuta, kunamanytjirr, pulura</i>
dog	<i>wita, tjantu, papa, kunyarr(pa)//ngini, tjangga, tjutju</i>
meat	<i>kuka, kuyu, kuwiyi//miitpa, mantu, liwilypa</i>
cat	<i>putjikata, miyawu, ngaya, nyulkulku, ngalyangamu, ngalyataanpa, wilypiny, nyumpunpa, ngalyakintikinti, wiika //tjutjukulyu, minyawu, ngantjanpa, papangalura, putjikan(pa), mulyangamu, ngiingi, tjiinpa, mitulypa, ngalyanganmu</i>
crow	<i>kaanka, wangkana, kunamungulpa, tarrkamungulpa, yunangalku, tjangintara, wakita, tarrkaminytjirr, waaku, tjakilyata, wakinka, wakitata, wankuta, waangu, tarrkaminytjil, kunatjarrinpungku</i>
fly	<i>ngurriny(pa), muungu, ngurrita, purrmuru//muunurru, ngurrila</i>
one	<i>kutju, kumpinyu, tjinu, kayan</i>
two	<i>kutjarra, tjirrama, kurriny</i>
many	<i>laltu, yannga, pinyi, pini//wiinytja, tjuta</i>
big	<i>tjalu, pulka, yuwin(pa), matju, tjukumunu//tjuma, tina, yakulyu</i>
small	<i>lampan(pa), tjuku, tjukutjuku, tjukunya, nyamanpa, ngini //tjulitjuli, wiima, tjumpili, nyuyi</i>
good	<i>palya, pantirr(pa), wulyu, miku//kunytjunyu, ngalya, wiru, walykumunu, nyarru, tjuninkarra</i>
bad	<i>puta, walyku, panytja, ngawu, ngalapa//kurra, kuya, kuyamata</i>
no	<i>wiya, wara, malaly//paki</i>
yes	<i>yuwa, yuu, yarapa</i>
black	<i>maru, marumaru, yalta, kunkun</i>
red	<i>yilkulyyilkulypa, riituan, riitpala, karrku, tili, pilytji, tjitjiwa//mitjimitji, mitjilpa, mungumungu</i>
man	<i>puntu, wati, yina//matu, pun, ngapayi, purrku</i>
woman	<i>tutju, minyma, wanakulu//ngilypi, wanti, munin, kungka</i>

father	y <u>ina</u> , mama, tati, ngarpu, w <u>apirra</u>
mother	y <u>ipi</u> , tily <u>pu</u> , nyurr <u>ka</u> , yipit <u>ja</u> , ngunyt <u>ju</u> , ngam <u>ali</u> , lampun <u>u</u> //yakut <u>i</u> , mami
older brother	k <u>uta</u> , papat <u>u</u> , papat <u>ji</u> //p <u>upu</u>
saw	nyangu, milyakun <u>u</u> , nyanyama
heard	kulin <u>u</u> , kawuntan <u>u</u> , ngangkun <u>u</u> , pinalkarrinya//yangkurun <u>u</u> , yaltjurun <u>u</u> , yankuran <u>u</u>
drank	tjikin <u>u</u> , nganiman <u>a</u>
ate	ngalangu, ngan <u>u</u> , ngan <u>i</u> //ngalkun <u>u</u>
sat	nyinangu, kirrpanya
stood	ngarangu, karrinya//yikin <u>u</u>
gave	yungu//nintin <u>u</u> , yinyapal <u>a</u>
shot	yungkan <u>u</u> , tjutupungu, luwan <u>i</u> //kuntin <u>u</u> , tjutuman <u>u</u>

### 3.1.7 FITZROY CROSSING MASTER

nose	mulya, punul <u>pa</u> , nyunngura, pantirrpantirr //pantilypantily <u>pa</u> , kuyali, nguyali, mut <u>ura</u> , tjut <u>ju</u>
ear	pina, kulilkulil <u>pa</u> , langa, munat <u>a</u> , yangkuru//kuran <u>pa</u> , kul <u>ka</u> , wurrat <u>a</u> , yanpiri
tooth	yirra, tjaaminyt <u>ji</u> , katit <u>i</u> , yanytjiwarra
hand	mara, kurrapa, marumpu, mulkut <u>u</u> //munyutu
boomerang	kali, tjinypa, yipapaly <u>pa</u> , paltjarrangu//yirrkili, warraka, pirrayi, walanu
woomera	marapaku, lankurru, pikurru, mirru, kunanturu//mangkut <u>ju</u> , tjutiltjutil <u>pa</u>
house	mayaru, yawut <u>ji</u> , maya, yiwali//tawun <u>pa</u> , yawily <u>pa</u> , waal <u>a</u>
camp	ngurra, rurrngu, tjunpurra//yulun <u>pa</u> , pintiri
fire	waru, wal <u>u</u> , wanali//kunparat <u>ji</u> , kal <u>a</u> , kunyingarr <u>pa</u>
water	kalyu, kapi, ngapa//tjarruru, papa, tjiwiri, kunyatu, karuwa
sky	nganka, yalkiri, yalkari//nguru
sun	tjint <u>u</u> , purangu//ngilily(pa), yupunyt <u>ju</u> , piya, nyil <u>pa</u>
moon	yakan(pa), panyal <u>pa</u> , wilarra, tatata//kinara, muun, tjunitjal <u>u</u> , tjakilin <u>pa</u> , maanyt <u>ja</u>
wind	wal <u>pa</u> , ngalarra, wangal, mayawuny, winta//pirriya, ngarruntu, wilinypa, winu
night	munga, mungatjarra, warurru, pukanyt <u>ja</u> //yupunyt <u>ju</u>
midday	karrpu, karrpuwat <u>i</u> , kumanta, tjin <u>ingara</u> , kankarrapak <u>anu</u> //nyilpakatukatu
north	kayili, kayirra, nyankantal//yalinyt <u>ja</u> , yalinytjarra, kayilirra, mayili
south	yulparirra, kulil <u>a</u> , kulirra, ngawarrara//yulpari, ngapat <u>i</u>
east	kakarra//kakarrara
west	wilura, yapurra//wilura, rra, yapurrkura, kal <u>a</u>
creek	karru, kiliki, matuwarra, tarrkal <u>pa</u> //kiriki, wungka

earth	<i>pana, nguwa, warirrki//manta, walya</i>
track	<i>yiwarra, karrukarru, ruutu, palkarra//walalarra, yururru, watjarra, ruutpa, walyarra, wanytjarra</i>
stick	<i>wata, punu, mana//ngana, watiya</i>
food	<i>mayi, mirrka, miyi, mangarri//mantjirr(pa), yuta, puluru, manyirr</i>
dog	<i>wita, tjantu, kunyarr(pa)//papa, tjutju, punpulu, kampa</i>
meat	<i>kuka, kuwiyi, kuyu, miit, wakari, ngatinypa//mantu</i>
cat	<i>minyawu, miyawu, putjikatu, wilpinpa, ngaya, ngalyakinti //nyulkulku, ngalyataanpa, nyimpunpa, wiika, ngalyangamu, mulyangamu, tjutjukulyu, wiilyka, nganytjanpa, tjiinpa, ngiingi, mitulpa</i>
crow	<i>kaanka, tjakilyata, wangkana, wakinka, wangkiti, wangkuta, wakalata, wakitata, waakwaak, waaku, pinyingkalku, waangu, minytjilytjaka, tarrkamungulu</i>
fly	<i>ngurrinypa, ngurrinya, muungu, kurungalku, purrmuru, ngurrata, ngurrira//muunurrku, ngurrila</i>
one	<i>kutju, kumpinyu, kayan//tjinu</i>
two	<i>kutjarra, kurriny</i>
many	<i>laltu, patja, tjaiya, pini//yannga, pinyi, wiinytja, tjuta</i>
big	<i>tjala, pulka, yuwinpa, pulkanya//matju, tjuma, yakulyu, kita, matjuwata</i>
small	<i>tjuku, lampan, tjukutjuku, tjutamata, nyuyi//tjulitjuli, tjapu, wiima, nyamanypa, tjumpili</i>
good	<i>palya, pantirr(pa), putapani, wulyu, wiyaputa //kunyttjunyu, ngalya, miku, wiru, walykumunu</i>
bad	<i>puta, walyku, panytja, ngala//kuyamata, kuya, kurra</i>
no	<i>wiya, yumu//paki, munu, waya</i>
yes	<i>yuu, yuwa, yuwayi</i>
black	<i>maru, kunkun(pa), marumaru, pulakwana</i>
red	<i>tilitili, tilytilypa, yilkurr, yilkuyilku, riitwanpa, pilytji, mitjimitji//matarrpa, tjtajaka, pilyarri, mitjilpa, riitpala, minyminy, pilpat</i>
man	<i>puntu, wati, ngankurrkulu, nganpayi, piina//matu, yina</i>
woman	<i>tutju, wanatjarra, minyama, manin, mulytunpa, kalapi //wanti, ngilypi</i>
father	<i>mama, yina, tati, mamanti, ngarpu, wampirra</i>
mother	<i>yipi, yipitja, tilypu, mami, nyurrka//ngunytju, yakuti</i>
older brother	<i>kuta, papatu, papatji//pupu</i>
saw	<i>nyangu</i>
heard	<i>kulinu, kuwantanu, pinakarrinya//yalytjurunu, ngangkunu, yangkurunu</i>
drank	<i>tjikinuu, wuntunu, ngupunu</i>
ate	<i>ngalangu//ngalkunu</i>
sat	<i>nyinangu//pintiringarangu</i>

stood           ngarangu//yikinu  
 gave           yungu//nintin  
 shot           yungkanu, tuutumanu, tulkurrpungu, tutupungu//kuntin

3.1.8      LA GRANGE MASTER

nose           mulya, pantilpantil, kuyali, nguyali, milya,  
 nyurrngura//nyunngura, tjutju, mutura  
 ear           munata, kulilkulilpa, kulka, kuran(pa), pina//yangkuru,  
 wurrata, matamuti, yanpiri, yankura  
 tooth         yirra, katiti, yanytjiwarra  
 hand         mara, kurrapa, mapirr(pa), munyutu//mulkutu  
 boomerang   kali, yirrkili, paralyi, tjarangkarr, yarankarra,  
 warraka//walanu, pirrayi, kunantu  
 woomera     walparra, marapaku, mangkutju, mirru, lankurru, pikurru,  
 tjutiltjutilpa//marapangu  
 house        maya, yayanpa, tawunpa//yiwala, yawilypa  
 camp         ngurra//pana, yulunpa, pintiri  
 fire         waru, kala, tjungku, kunparatji//walu, wika,  
 kunyingarra  
 water        kalyu, kapi, papa, ngapa//tjiwiri, tjarruru  
 sky          nganka//yilkari  
 sun          tjintu, karrpu, purangu//nyilpa, piya, yupunytju  
 moon         wilarra, panyalpa, yakanypa, tatata, kirriti,  
 tjunitjalu//tjakilinpa, kitjili, muun, maanytja, kinara,  
 kintanyu  
 wind         wanganpa, walpa, ngalarra, wilinypa, wiinpa, pirriya  
 //ngarruntu, winu  
 night        mungatjarra, munga//warurru, yupunytju  
 midday      karrpu, karrpuwati, rukaruka//kalala, nyilpa, katukatu  
 north        kayili, yalinytja, yalinytjarra//kayilirra, kayiliwarraku  
 south        yulparirra, ngapati, ngawarrara//yulpari, kulila  
 east         kakarra//kakarrara, lukurrku  
 west         yapurra, wilura, yapurrkura, kara//wilurarra  
 creek        karru, kuriki, kurikpa, wungka, tjurarra  
 earth        pana, munnyi, manta//warirriki  
 track        yiwarra, ruutu, karrukarru, mutu, palkarra, ruutpa  
 stick        wata, mangu, wurrkalpa//punu, watiya, nganawati  
 food         mayi, mirrka, mantjirra, miyi, yungkalpinti//yuta,  
 matumirri  
 dog         tjantu, wita, kunyarr(pa), papa, tjangalyi, kampura,  
 yukurru//tjutju, kunyarra  
 meat         kuka, kuwiyi, miitpa//mantu, tjangalyi  
 cat         minyawu, putjikatu, ngalyawangka, tjutjukulyu, nyumpunypa,  
 mulyakint, taanpa, pitawanku, nyulkulku//ngalyangamu,  
 mulyangamu, wiika, wilpinpa, tjiinpa, nganytjanpa,  
 wiilyka, ngalyataanpa, ngiingi, tjutjumanta

crow	ka <u>anka</u> , wak <u>inka</u> , tjak <u>inkata</u> , wak <u>itata</u> , wak <u>urra</u> , tarrkamungulpa, wangkiti//wangk <u>una</u> , waaku, pinyingalku, waangu, waakurra
fly	ngurriny(pa), ngurr <u>ita</u> , wan <u>miny</u> pa, muungu//ngurr <u>ila</u> , muunurrku, muunurrnurr, kurrikala
one	kutju, kumpinyu//tjinu, yikamata
two	kutjarra
many	pini, laltu, yan <u>nga</u> , kun <u>ngal</u> pa, pinyi, ari//pini, ruupa, tju <u>ta</u> , wiinytja
big	tja <u>lu</u> , tj <u>uma</u> , yuwinpa, pul <u>ka</u> , matjuwata//matju, yakulyu
small	tju <u>ku</u> , tjukutju <u>ku</u> , tjapu, tjulyitju <u>lyi</u> , tjapuwata, tjulyi, nyamanypa// wiima, lampan, warrku, tjumpili
good	palya, pantirr(pa), ngalya, kunytjunyu, walykumunu //miku, wiru
bad	puta, walyku//kuyamata, kanutja, kurra, kuya, panytja
no	wiya, paki, wingirra, munu, yipilya//yumu, wuna, waya
yes	yuu, yuwa, nyamu
black	maru, marumaru, wamatja, wamata
red	mitjimitji, milyarri, yilkulyilkuly, riitwan, pilyarri, tiltilpa, laliyi//tjatjaka, minyminy, mitjilpa, yilywulyilywuly
man	puntu, yina, wati, kita, matu, pulku, nganpayi, tjal <u>u</u> , purirr
woman	tutju, wanti, ngilypi, wanatjarra
father	yina, mama, tati, tatiyi
mother	yipi, tilypu, mami, malatju//yakuti, ngunytju
older brother	papatu, kuta//pupu, pupatja
say	nyangu
heard	kulinu, kuwantanu, kurantanu//ngangkunu, yaltjurunu, yangkuranu, yangkurunu
drank	tjikin <u>u</u> , wuntun <u>u</u>
ate	ngalangu, ngalkunpa
sat	nyinangu, nyinangunpa, kurranganu//pintiringarangu
stood	ngarangu, ngarangunpa//yikin <u>u</u>
gave	yungu, yunganya//nintinu
shot	yungkanu, tjuutumanu//kuntinu, tjutupungu

### 3.1.9 JIGALONG MASTER

nose	mulya, kuyali, nguyali//nyunnura, mutura
ear	kuranpa, pina, kul <u>ka</u> , munata//wurrata, yanpiri
tooth	yirra, katiti, yanytjiwarra
hand	mara, marumpu, munyutu//mul <u>kutu</u> , mina
boomerang	yirrkili, wal <u>anu</u> , kali, manti//wak <u>unti</u> , pirrayi
woomera	walparra, mangkutju, mirru, ngami, marapaku, lankurru, marapangu, tjutiltjutilpa

house	maya, pinany//tawunpa, yiwala
camp	ngurra, yulunpa
fire	waru, kala
water	kalyu, kapi, papa//ngapa, tjiwiri
sky	nganka, yilkari//nguru
sun	tjintu, nyilpa
moon	wilarra, panyalpa, kinara//tjunitjalu, muun, pira, kintanyu, maanytja
wind	wangalpa, wilinypa, walpa, winu, pirriya//ngalarra, ngarruntu
night	mungatjarra, yupunytju, mungatjarri, munga, payinpa, kunyala
midday	karrpu, nyilpa, katukatu//kalala
north	kayili, yalinytja, kayilirra//yalinytjarra
south	ngapati, yulpari//yulparirra
east	kakarra, kakarrara
west	yapurra, wilura, yapurrara, yapurrkura//wilurarra
creek	karru, wungka, kuriki
earth	pana, putjurrpa, warirrkiki//manta
track	yiwarra, yururru, ruutu, karrukarru//palkarra, watjarr, tjina, ruurrrpa
stick	wata, mungka, punu//ngana, pilypa, watiya
food	mirrka, yuta, mayi, manytjirr(pa)
dog	tjantu, papa, wita//tjutju, kunyarrrpa
meat	kuka, kuwiyi, mantu, miitpa
cat	tjutjukulyu, wiika, taanpa, putjiputji, winyawu, ngalyangamu, putjikatu, wilypinpa//mulyangamu, ngiingi, ngalyataanpa, tjiinpa, wiilyka
crow	kaanka, wakitata, waaku, wakinka, wanguna//wangkuna, pinyingalku, waangu
fly	muungu, ngurrita, warrari, ngurrila, tatu, muunurrku
one	kutju//waratja, tjinu, yikamata
two	kutjarra
many	yangga, laltu, pini, wiinytja, kuyarra//tjuta
big	matjumata, matju, tjuma, yakulyu, pulka//tjalu, puntu, yuwimpa
small	tjuku, tjukutjuku, tjulitjuli, tjapuwata//nyamanypa, kulunpa
good	kunytjunyu, pantirrrpa, palya, ngalya//walykumunu, miku, wiru
bad	walyku, puta, kuyamata, kuwiyamata//kurrakurra, kurra, panytja
no	paki, wiya, munu, pampulypa//yumu
yes	yuu, yuwa
black	maru, marumaru
red	mitjimitji, minyminy(pa), mitji, yilykurrpa//pilyarri, rarrpararrpa, riitwana, tiiltilpa, tjatjaka, mitjilpa



man	puntu, y <u>ina</u> , wati, kita// <u>matu</u>
woman	wanti, t <u>jutju</u> , miny <u>ma</u> , wanatjarra, kungka, ngilypi //mitawa
father	mama, tati
mother	yaku, tily <u>pu</u> , yakuti, mami//ngunyt <u>ju</u> , yipi
older brother	k <u>uta</u> , pap <u>atu</u> , pupu
saw	nyangu
heard	kulin <u>u</u> , ngangku <u>nu</u> //yaltju <u>runu</u> , yangkur <u>anu</u>
drank	tjikin <u>u</u> //wunt <u>unu</u>
ate	ngalang <u>u</u> //ngalk <u>unu</u>
sat	nyinangu, pintiringar <u>u</u>
stood	ng3rang <u>u</u> , yikin <u>u</u>
gave	yungu//nintin <u>u</u>
shot	yungkan <u>u</u> , tjuutuman <u>u</u> , pungu//kuntin <u>u</u> , tjutupungu, tjuutamun <u>u</u>

### 3.1.10 WILUNA MASTER

nose	mulya, nyunngura, mut <u>ura</u> , tjutju//kuyali
ear	pina, kuran(pa), kul <u>ka</u> , yalytju <u>ru</u> , munata//yanpiri, warrata, yintul, yangkura, wurrata, yankuru, matamuti
tooth	yirra, tjaaminyt <u>ji</u> , katiti, yanytjiwarra
hand	mara, munyutu, mul <u>ku</u> tu, marumpu
boomerang	wal <u>an</u> u, yirrkili, kal <u>i</u> , pirrayi//wakun <u>ti</u> , pirriti
woomera	wal <u>par</u> ra, mangkutju, marapaku, lankurru, tjutiltjutilpa //mirru, pikurru
house	maya, yawily <u>pa</u> , tawun <u>pa</u> //yiwa <u>la</u> , wa <u>la</u> , yu <u>wu</u> pa
camp	ngurra, yulun <u>pa</u>
fire	waru, kun <u>par</u> at <u>ji</u> , nguyumpara//ka <u>la</u> , kunyingarr <u>pa</u>
water	kapi, kalyu, papa, kalinyu//ng <u>ap</u> a, tjarruru
sky	nganka, yilkari, wankirri//ngur <u>u</u>
sun	tjint <u>u</u> , nyil <u>pa</u> , yupunyt <u>ju</u> , piya, tjituran
moon	wil <u>ar</u> ra, kintanyu, panyal <u>pa</u> , kin <u>ar</u> a, minytjil, muun(pa)//pi <u>ra</u> , tjunitjal <u>u</u> , muuna, kitjili, kinyarra
wind	pirriya, winu, wilin <u>ya</u> , wal <u>pa</u> , wangal <u>pa</u> , karap <u>ta</u> , ngarruntu, ngalarra //wiin <u>pa</u> , karrun <u>tu</u> , winingkarra
night	munga, mungatjarra, warurru, yupunyt <u>ju</u> , yupuntungka, kutuwanit <u>ji</u>
midday	karr <u>pu</u> , nyilpakatukatu, puyulyurru//kal <u>al</u> a
north	kayili, kayilirra//yalinytjarra, watal <u>pa</u>
south	yul <u>par</u> i, ngap <u>ati</u> , yulparirra
east	kakarra, kakarrara//lukurr <u>ku</u>
west	yapurra, yapurrkura//yapurru, wilurarra, wilura
creek	karru, wungka, kuriki
earth	pan <u>a</u> , putjuirra, manta, warirr <u>ki</u>
track	yiwarra, yururru, ruut <u>pa</u> , tjina, watjarra, ruutu //palkarra, tjamana, ruurr <u>pa</u>

stick	wata, punu, watiya//ngana
food	mirrka, mayi, yuta, manytjirr(pa)
dog	tjantu, papa, tjutju, pupu, wita//kunyarrpa
meat	kuka, kuwiyi, miitpa//mantu
cat	tjutjukulyu, wiika, putjikatu, tjiinpa, ngiingi, mulyangamu, minyaku, ngalyataanpa, wilypinpa, ngalyangamu, putjiputji, wiilyka, nganytjanpa
crow	kaanka, wakitata, waaku, wakinka, waangu, pinyingalku, wangkuna
fly	muungu, muunurrku, ngurrita//ngurrinpa, ngurrila
one	kutju//tjinu, waratja, yikamata
two	kutjarra
many	yangga, laltu, pini, pininya, muunku, wiinytja//tjuta, ruupu
big	matju, tjuma, pulka, tjalu, yakulyu, tjukumunu, matjuwata, kangkutu, yuwinpa, pimpiri//yina, puntu
small	tjuku, tjukutjuku, tjapu, tjulitjuli, warrku, tjapuwata //tjumpili, nyamanypa, wiima
good	kunytjunyu, palya, pantirrrpa, miku, walykumunu, ngalya //kuutwanpa, wiru
bad	walyku, puta, panytja, kuyamata, kurrakurra
no	wiya, paki, yumu, munu, yumumata//waya
yes	yuwa, yuu
black	maru, marumaru
red	mitjimitji, minyminypa, riitwanpa, mitjilpa, pilyarri
man	puntu, wati, kita, yina, matu, nyalya
woman	wanti, minyma, tutju, ngilypi, wanatjarra//kungka
father	mama, tati, mamatji, yulman
mother	mami, yipi, yakuti, yaku, yimi, ngunytju//maama, maminya
older brother	papatu, kuta, pupu
saw	nyangu
heard	kulinu, ngangkunu, yangkuranu, yaltjurunu
drank	tjikin <u>u</u> , wuntunu
ate	ngalangu, ngalkunu
sat	nyinangu, pintiringarangu
stood	ngarangu//yikin <u>u</u> , watjunu
gave	yungu//nintinu
shot	yungkanu, tjutupungu, tjuutumanu, kuntinu, 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 communities 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 suffixing 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.      *ngayu-lu, ngayu-lu-na*  
plus ergative

First person sing.      *ngayu-nya, ngayu-nya-ni*  
plus object

Second person sing.    *nyuntu, nyuntu-n*  
plus ergative

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

First person plur.  
plus ergative &  
exclusive      *nganana, nganana-la*

First person plur.  
plus nominative and  
exclusive      *nganana, nganana-la*

#### Bound pronouns

Second person dual  
object      *pulanya, nyupali*

Second person dual  
subject      *pula*

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

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

#### Demonstratives

Singular  
demonstrative      *nyangatja//ngaatja*

Plural  
demonstrative      *nyanganpa-ya*

#### Conjunctions

Same subject  
conjunction      *palulanguru, palunyatjanu*

Different subject  
conjunction      *ka*

#### Case suffixes

Locative      *-la// -ngka*

Dative, plus plural pronoun      *tjanampa -ku*

Avoidance      *-ngkatawarra*

Accessory      *-la*

### 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-lu*

### 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	<i>-nyi</i>
Consecutive action marking	<i>-ra -rra -nu</i>

### 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 *-rri-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'	<i>putu</i>
'Partially'	<i>arunyku, aru puulpa</i>
'Again'	<i>piruku</i>
'Continually' with verb 'take' & case	<i>rawa-ngku kati, titutjarra-ngku kati, titu-ngku</i>
'Ahead' & case	<i>nganmany-tju</i>
'Quickly'	<i>warrpungkula pungu, wala-ngku pungu//wala-lu</i>

### 3.2.2 GILES MASTER

#### Free form pronouns with case inflection

First person sing. plus ergative	<i>ngayu-lu-na, nganku-lu-na</i>
First person sing. plus object	<i>ngayu-nya-ni, nganku-nya-ni</i>
Second person sing. plus ergative	<i>nyuntu-lu-n, nyuntu-n</i>
Second person sing. plus object	<i>nyuntu-nya-nta</i>
First person plur. plus ergative & exclusive	<i>ngayu-lu-latju, ngayun-tu-//ngayutiny-tju-, ngayuny-tju-</i>
First person plur. plus nominative & exclusive	<i>ngayu-lu-latju, ngayun-pa-//ngayun-nga-, ngayutiny-pa-</i>

#### Bound pronouns

Second person dual object	<i>-ntapulanya, -pulanyanta, -pulanyan, -ntapula</i>
Second person dual subject	<i>-pulan, -npula</i>

Third person sing. avoidance, plus case marker	<i>no pron.-ngkatawarra, -lura -ngkamarra, no pron.-ngkatarra</i>
Third person plur. avoidance, plus case marker	<i>no pron.-ngkatawarra, -tjanampalura -ngkamarra, no pron.-ngkatarra</i>

### Demonstratives

Singular demonstrative	<i>ngaanya, ngaatja//nyangatja</i>
Plural demonstrative	<i>ngaanya-ya, ngaanpa-, ngaatjinga-, ngaakatja-</i>

### Conjunctions

Same subject conjunction	<i>palunyanguru, palulanguru, palunyatjanu, parrinyanguru</i>
Different subject conjunction	<i>palunyangka, parrinyangka, palula</i>

### Case suffixes

Locative	<i>-la, -ngka</i>
Dative, plus plural pronoun	<i>-tjanampa -ku</i>
Avoidance	<i>-ngkatarra, -ngkatawarra, -ngkamarra</i>
Accessory	<i>-ngka</i>

### Relators

'Intention' plus ergative case	<i>-kitja-lu, -kitja-ngku</i>
'Negative' plus ergative case	<i>-wiya-lu, -wiya-ngku, -pani-, maral-tu// -punatja-</i>



'Characteristic'	-payi
'Origin'	-nguru, -tjanu
'Toward'	-kut <u>u</u> , -tu// <u>-ku</u> , -ka <u>t</u> i
'Along'	-wana// <u>-wanu</u>
'Associative'	-tjarra-lu, -ku <u>l</u> u-// <u>-winti-</u>
'Mistakenly'	-kukantja-lu, -putjunu-// <u>-karanu</u>

### Verbal suffixes

Different participant marker & continuous aspect	-rra-nytja-ngka, -rra-nya-ngka, -nya-ngka // <u>-nytja-la</u> , -nytjany-tja
Nominaliser with continuous aspect	-rra-nytja, -nytja// <u>-nytjany-pa</u>
Projected reason marker	-l-tjakutarra, -ltjakumarra, -ltjakutawarra, -ltjaku// <u>-lkuta</u> , -ltjipi, ltjakuta
Hortative marker	-, -tjaku, -nytjaku
Purpose marker with nominaliser	-l-tjaku, -ntjaku, -lwa, -lwaranpa, -raku
Present tense	-rra, -in(pa), -nyi// <u>-ni</u>
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                    *tjawa-la*

Verbal aspect

Continuous                    *titu puwa, punga-ma*  
Past continuous                *-rranytja, -ma, -ngi*  
Future continuous              *-ma, -malpa// -wanpa*  
Intermittent con-  
tinuous & past  
tense                            *-rrayinu, -rrinu*  
Subjunctive mood               *-ma, -mara// -ngara*

Verb modifiers

'Away from' with  
motion verb                    *ma pitjangu*  
  
'Toward' with  
motion verb                    *pitjangu, ngalya pitjangu*  
  
'Around' with  
motion verb                    *parra pitjangu*  
  
'Unsuccessfully'  
                                  *putu*  
  
'Partially'  
                                  *puulpa, kulyu*  
  
'Again'  
                                  *puru*  
  
'Continually' with  
verb 'take' & case              *titu kati, titu-lu kati*  
  
'Ahead' & case                 *kurranyu-lu kati, kurranyu kati*  
  
'Quickly'  
                                  *warrpuwa puwa, wala-lu puwa, wala-ngku*  
                                  *//pipurru-lu*

### 3.2.3 WARBURTON MATERIAL

#### Free form pronouns with case inflection

First person sing. plus ergative	<i>ngayu-lu-na, nganku-lu-na</i>
First person sing. plus object	<i>ngayu-nya-ni, nganku-nya-ni</i>
Second person sing. plus ergative	<i>nyuntu-lu-n//nyuntu-n</i>
Second person sing. plus object	<i>nyuntu-nya-nta</i>
First person plur. plus ergative & exclusive	<i>ngayu-lu-latju//ngayun-tu-</i>
First person plur. plus nominative & exclusive	<i>ngayu-lu-latju//ngayun-pa-, ngayun-nga</i>

#### Bound pronouns

Second person dual object	<i>-ntapulanya, -pulanyanta, -pulanyan, -ntapula</i>
Second person dual subject	<i>-pulan, -npula</i>
Third person sing. avoidance, plus case marker	<i>no pronoun -ngkatarra// -lura</i>
Third person plur. avoidance, plus case marker	<i>no pronoun -ngkatarra// -tjanampalura</i>

#### Demonstratives

Singular demonstrative	<i>ngaanya, ngaatja//nyangatja</i>
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Plural demonstrative            *ngaanya-ya, ngaatjin-nga-//ngaanpa-, ngaakatja-*

### Conjunctions

Same subject conjunction        *palunyatjanu-lu, palunyanguru-, parrinyanguru-//palulanguru-*

Different subject conjunction   *palunyangka, parrinyangka//palula*

### Case suffixes

Locative                            *-la*

Dative, plus plural pronoun      *-tjanampa -ku*

Avoidance                          *-ngkatarra, -ngkatawarra//ngkamarra*

Accessory                          *-la*

### Relators

'Intention' plus ergative case    *-kitja-lu//kitja-ngku*

'Negative' plus ergative case      *-wiya-lu, -maral-tu//wiya-ngku, -parri-*

'Characteristic'                    *-payi, -payinyu*

'Origin'                              *-tjanu, -nguru*

'Toward'                             *-kutu, -tu, -ku//kati*

'Along'                               *-wana*

'Associative'                        *-tjarra-lu//kulu-, -winti-*

'Mistakenly'                        *-kukantja-lu, putju-lu*

### Verbal Suffixes

Different participant marker, & continuous aspect	<i>-rra-nya-ngka, -rra-nytja-la, -nytja-la</i> <i>//-nytjany-tja</i>
Nominaliser with continuous aspect	<i>-rra-nytja, -nytja</i>
Projected reason marker	<i>-ltjakutarra, -ltjakutawarra, -ltjaku</i> <i>//-ltjakumarra, -lkuta, -ltjipi</i>
Hortative marker	<i>pitja-ma</i>
Purpose marker with nominaliser	<i>-ltjaku, -ntjaku//lwa, -lwaranpa</i>
Present tense	<i>-narra//nin(pa), -nanyi</i>
Consecutive action marking	<i>-ra -rra -nu</i>

### Verb class with modifier

Modifier 'Toward' with verb & o class	<i>kati-o</i>
Modifier 'Away from' with verb & rra class	<i>ma pitja-o</i>
Verb 'hit' plus wa class	<i>pu-wa</i>
Verb 'dig' plus la class	<i>tjawa-la</i>

### Verbal aspect

Continuous	<i>titu punga-ma, titu puwa, pungama</i>
Past continuous	<i>-rranytja, -ngi</i>
Future continuous	<i>-ma//malpa</i>

Intermittent continuous & past tense      *r-rayinu//--rrinu*

Subjunctive mood      *-nma*

### Verb Modifiers

'Away from' with motion verb      *ma pitjangu*

'Toward' with motion verb      *pitjangu//ngalya pitjangu*

'Around' with motion verb      *parra pitjangu*

'Unsuccessfully'      *putu*

'Partially'      *puulpa pungu//kulyu pungu*

'Again'      *puru*

'Continually' with verb 'take' & case      *titu katima//titu-lu kati*

'Ahead' & case      *kurranyu-lu*

'Quickly'      *wala-lu pungu, warrpuwa puwa//wala-ngku puwa*

### 3.2.4 PAPUNYA MASTER

#### Free form pronouns with case inflection

First person sing. plus ergative      *ngayu-lu-na, ngayu-lu*

First person sing. plus object      *ngayu-nya-ni, ngayu-lu (nom. case)*

Second person sing. plus ergative      *nyuntu-lu-n, nyuntu, nyurra-lu*

Second person sing. plus object      *nyuntu-nya-nta, nyuntu, nyurra-nya*

First person plur.  
plus ergative &  
exclusive      *ngayun-tu-latju, ngayu-lu-, ngananatju,*  
*ngayu-lu-ngarri, ngayu-lu-latju, ngananangarri,*  
*ngayutiny-tju, ngayuti-lu-*

First person plur.  
plus nominative &  
exclusive      *ngayun-pa-latju, ngananatju, nganana, ngayu-nya-,*  
*nganana-nya, ngayu-nya-ngarri, ngayutin-pa,*  
*ngayuti-*

### Bound pronouns

Second person dual  
object      *-ntapula, nyupali*

Second person dual  
subject      *-pulan, pula//-npula*

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

Third person plur.  
avoidance, plus  
case marker      *-tjanampalura -ngkamarra, ---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, -ngkata <sub>u</sub> awarra// -ngakata <sub>u</sub> arra
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, -kulu-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-la, -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, -ltjipingka, -ltjipingkamarra, -ltjakuta <sub>u</sub> awarra// -lkuta, -ltjakuta
Hortative marker	-rra, -nytjaku
Purpose marker with nominaliser	-ntjaku, -lwa// -raku



Present tense	<i>-nin(pa), -nanyi// -narra, -nanyini, -nayinpa</i>
Consecutive action marking	<i>-ra -rra -nu, -<u>nu</u> -ngu -nu</i>

### Verb class with modifier

Modifier 'Toward' with verb & o class      *ngalya kati-o, ngalyati-o*

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

Verb 'hit' plus wa class      *pu-wa*

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

### Verbal aspect

Continuous      *titu pungama, titu 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'	<i>putu</i>
'Partially'	<i>kulyu, puulpa</i>
'Again'	<i>puru</i>
'Continually' with verb 'take' & case	<i>titu kati, kutu kati</i>
'Ahead' & case	<i>kurranyu</i>
'Quickly'	<i>wala-lu puwa, wala-ngku puwa, pula-lu, parrpatu-lu, wirrurru-lu</i>

### 3.2.5 BALGO MASTER

#### Free form pronouns with case inflection

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

#### Bound pronouns

Second person dual object	<i>-ntapula, -npulanya, -pulanyan, kutjarra-nta-pula</i>
Second person dual subject	<i>-npula, -pulan, kutjarra-npula</i>

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      *ngaanpa-, ngaanya-ya, ngaatja-, ngaati,  
ngaakatja-ya*

### Conjunctions

Same subject  
conjunction      *palunyatjanu, palunyanguru, palurutjanu,  
palurunguru, parrinyanguru, parrunyanguru,  
palutjanu*

Different subject  
conjunction      *palunyangka, palurungka, palungka, parrinyangka,  
parrunyangka*

### Case suffixes

Locative      *-ngka, -l-ta, -l-tja// -la*

Dative, plus  
plural pronoun      *-tjanampa -ku*

Avoidance      *-ngkamarra*

Accessory      *-o, -ngka*

### Relators

'Intention' plus  
ergative case      *kitja-lu*

'Negative' plus  
egative case      *-pani-lu, -wiya-lu, -maral-tu, maraly-tju  
// -punatja-lu*

'Characteristic'	-payi
'Origin'	-tjanu, -nguru
'Toward'	-kutu, -kurra, -kati, -tu//-waka
'Along'	-wana
'Associative'	-kulu-lu, -tjarra-//-winti-
'Mistakenly'	-kukantja-lu, kuranytju-lu -kukanu//-karanu

### Verbal suffixes

Different participant marker & continuous aspect	-rra-nytja-ngka, -nytja-ngka//-nytja-la, -nytjany-tja
Nominaliser with continuous aspect	-nytja, -rra-nytja, -nytjanpa, -nytjanypa//-nta, -npa
Projected reason marker	-ltjaku, -ltjakumarra, -ltjakungkamarra, -ltjakuta, -lkuta, -ltjipingka, -ltjipi, -ltjipingkamarra
Hortative marker	-nytjaku, -wa, -waku, -mara, -ngara, -lkuraku, -yarra
Purpose marker with nominaliser	-lkuwa, -ntjaku, -lkura, -lkuraku, -lkuwaku
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	ngalya kati-o, katima, ngalya kawa
Modifier 'Away from' with verb & rra class	ma ya-rra, wuna yarra

Verb 'hit' plus wa class	<i>pu-wa</i>
Verb 'dig' plus la class	<i>tjawa-la</i>
 <u>Verbal aspect</u>	
Continuous	<i>wulu pungama, wulu puwa, wululu puwa, titulu puwa</i>
Past continuous	<i>-ma, -rranytja, -payi// -ngi</i>
Future continuous	<i>-malpa, -wanpa, -ranpa</i>
Intermittent con- tinuous & past tense	<i>-rrinu, -rrayinu// -ngunangu</i>
Subjunctive mood	<i>-mara, -ngara</i>

Verb modifiers

'Away from' with motion verb	<i>ma yanu, ma pitjangu</i>
'Toward' with motion verb	<i>ngalya yanu, ngalya pitjangu</i>
'Around' with motion verb	<i>parra yanu, parra pitjangu</i>
'Unsuccessfully'	<i>pu<u>t</u>u</i>
'Partially'	<i>kulyu</i>
'Again'	<i>puru, witulu</i>
'Continually' with verb 'take' & case	<i>wulu kati, wulutjarra kati, tit<u>u</u> kati</i>
'Ahead' & case	<i>kurranyu-lu, kurranyu</i>
'Quickly'	<i>wala-lu, pula-lu, pipurru-lu, wirrurru-lu</i>

### 3.2.6 CHRISTMAS CREEK MASTER

#### Free form pronouns with case inflection

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

#### Bound pronouns

Second person dual object	<i>-ntapula, -npulanya, -pulanyan</i>
Second person dual subject	<i>-npula, -pulan</i>
Third person sing. avoidance, plus case marker	<i>-lura -ngkamarra</i>
Third person plur. avoidance plus case marker	<i>-tjanampalura -ngkamarra</i>

#### Demonstratives

Singular demonstrative	<i>ngaatja, ngaanya, ngaa//nyangatja</i>
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Plural demonstrative            *ngaanpa-ya, ngaati-, ngaanya-//ngaakatja-, ngaa*

### Conjunctions

Same subject conjunction        *palunyatjanu, palunyanguru, palutjanu*  
   *//parrinyatjanu, parrinytjanguru*

Different subject conjunction   *palunyangka, palungka//parrinyangka,*  
   *parrinytjangka*

### Case suffixes

Locative                            *-ngka, -l-ta, -l-tja//-la*

Dative, plus plural pronoun      *-tjanampa -ku*

Avoidance                         *-ngkamarra*

Accessory                         *-ngka, -o*

### Relators

'Intention' plus ergative case    *-kitja-lu*

'Negative' plus ergative case      *-pani-lu, -wiya-//-punatja-, maral-tju*

'Characteristic'                   *-payi*

'Origin'                             *-tjanu, -nguru*

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

'Along'                              *-wana*

'Associative'                       *-kulu-lu, -tjarra-//-winti-*

'Mistakenly'                       *-kukanu, -kukantja-//-karanu*

### Verbal suffixes

Different participant marker, & continuous aspect	<i>-nytjany-tja, -nytjan-pa, -nytja-ngka, -rra-nytjangka, -n-pa// -nytja-la</i>
Nominaliser with continuous aspect	<i>-nytja, -nytjany(pa), -rra-nytja, -nypa// -nta</i>
Projected reason marker	<i>-ltjaku, -ltjakumarra, -lkuta, -ltjakungkamarra// -ltjipi</i>
Hortative marker	<i>-ra, -wa, -raku, -ngara, -nytjaku, -tjaku, -waku, yarra</i>
Purpose marker with nominaliser	<i>-lkura, -lkuraku, -lkuwa, -ltjaku, -nytjaku, -lkuwaku</i>
Present tense	<i>-nin(pa), -nanyin(pa)// -nanyi, -nayin(pa), -nani, -narra</i>
Consecutive action marking	<i>-<u>nu</u> -ngu -nu// -ra -rra -nu</i>

### Verb class with modifier

Modifier 'Toward' with verb & o class	<i>kati-o, katima, kawani, ngalyati-o</i>
Modifier 'Away from' with verb & rra class	<i>ma ya-rra</i>
Verb 'hit' plus wa class	<i>pu-wa</i>
Verb 'dig' plus la class	<i>tjawa-la</i>

### Verbal aspect

Continuous	<i>wulu puwa, wulu pungama, wulu-lu puwa</i>
Past continuous	<i>-ma, -payi, -rranytja// -ngi</i>



Future continuous	-malpa, -ranpa// -wanpa
Intermittent continuous & past tense	-rrayinu, -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, wirrurru-lu

### 3.2.7 FITZROY CROSSING MASTER

#### Free form pronouns with case inflection

First person sing. plus ergative	ngayu-lu- <u>na</u> , nganku-lu-//ngatjunana
First person sing. plus object	ngayu- <u>ni</u> , ngayu-nya-, nganku-
Second person sing. plus ergative	nyuntu-lu-n

Second person sing. plus object	<i>nyuntu-nta nyuntu-nya-</i>
First person plur. plus ergative & exclusive	<i>ngayun-tju-latju, ngayun-tu-, ngayut<u>i</u>-lu-, ngankuny-tju-//ngayut<u>i</u>n-tju</i>
First person plur. plus nominative & exclusive	<i>ngayun-pa-latju, ngayun-pa-, ngayut<u>i</u>-, ngankuny-tju-//ngayut<u>i</u>n-tju-</i>

### Bound pronouns

Second person dual object	<i>-ntapula//-npulanya</i>
Second person dual subject	<i>-npula//-pulan</i>
Third person sing. avoidance, plus case marker	<i>-lura -ngkamarra</i>
Third person plur. avoidance, plus case marker	<i>-tjanampalura -ngkamarra</i>

### Demonstratives

Singular demonstrative	<i>ngaatja, ngaanya, ngaa//nyangatja</i>
Plural demonstrative	<i>ngaanpa-ya, ngaat<u>i</u>-, ngaakatja-, ngaanya-</i>

### Conjunctions

Same subject conjunction	<i>palunyatjanu, palunyanguru, palurutjanu //parrinyatjanu, parrinyanguru</i>
Different subject conjunction	<i>palunyangka//parrinyangka</i>

### 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// -wiya-, -maraly-tju, -punatja-
'Characteristic'	-payi
'Origin'	-tjanu, -nguru
'Toward'	-kutu, -kati, -kurra// -tu, -waka
'Along'	-wana
'Associative'	-kulu-lu, -tjarra-lu// -winti-
'Mistakenly'	kukanu, -kukantja-lu

### Verbal suffixes

Different participant marker, & continuous aspect	-nytja-ngka, -nytjany-tja// -nytja-la
Nominaliser with continuous aspect	-nytjany(pa), -nytjan(pa), -rranytja// -nytja, -nta
Projected reason marker	-ltjaku(marra), -ltjakungkamarra, -lkuta, -lkutangamarra, -ntjangkamarra// -ltjipi
Hortative marker	-mara, -rra, -raku// -nytjaku, -ngara, -ra, -wa, -waku

Purpose marker with nominaliser	<i>-lkuraku, -lkura, -lkuwa// -nytjaku, -lkuwaku</i>
Present tense	<i>-nin(pa)// -nanyin(pa), -nani, -nanyi, -narra</i>
Consecutive action marking	<i>-nu -ngu -nu// -ra -rra -nu</i>

#### Verb class with modifier

Modifier 'Toward' with verb & o class	<i>kati-o-<u>ni</u>, kawa-<u>ni</u></i>
Modifier 'Away from' with verb & rra class	<i>ma ya-rra, ya-rra</i>
Verb 'hit' plus wa class	<i>pu-wa</i>
Verb 'dig' plus la class	<i>tjawa-la</i>

#### Verbal aspect

Continuous	<i>wululu pungama</i>
Past continuous	<i>-ma, -payi// -rranytja</i>
Future continuous	<i>-malpa, -ranpa, -wanpa</i>
Intermittent continuous & past tense	<i>-rrinpa, -rranytja// -rrayinu, -rrinu</i>
Subjunctive mood	<i>-mara, ngara</i>

#### Verb modifiers

'Away from' with motion verb	<i>ma yanu, yanu</i>
'Toward' with motion verb	<i>ngalya yanu</i>

'Around' with motion verb	<i>parra yanu</i>
'Unsuccessfully'	<i>putu</i>
'Partially'	<i>kulyu</i>
'Again'	<i>witulu//puru</i>
'Continually' with verb 'take' & case	<i>wulu kati, wulu-lu kati</i>
'Ahead' & case	<i>kurranyu-lu kati, kurranyu kati</i>
'Quickly'	<i>wala-lu puwa, pula-lu, wala puwa//pipurru-lu, wirrurru-lu</i>

### 3.2.8 LA GRANGE MASTER

#### Free form pronouns with case inflection

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

### 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, ngaa//ngaatja, nyangatja*

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

### Conjunctions

Same subject conjunction      *palunyatjanu, palunyanguru//parrinyanguru*

Different subject conjunction      *palunyangka//parrinyangka*

### Case suffixes

Locative      *-ngka, -l-tja*

Dative, plus plural pronoun      *-tjanampa -ku*

Avoidance      *-ngkamarra*

Accessory      *-o, -ngka*

## Relators

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

## Verbal suffixes

Different participant marker & continuous aspect	- <i>nytja-ngka</i> , <i>nytjany-tja</i> //- <i>nytja-la</i>
Nominaliser with continuous aspect	- <i>rra-nytja</i> , - <i>nguny-pa</i> , - <i>nyiny-pa</i> //- <i>nytja</i> , - <i>nytjany-pa</i> , - <i>nta</i>
Projected reason marker	- <i>ltjaku</i> , - <i>ltjakumarra</i> , - <i>ltjakuta</i> , - <i>lkuta</i> , - <i>ltjakungkamarra</i> , - <i>ntjangkamarra</i>
Hortative marker	- <i>raku</i> , - <i>ra</i> , - <i>wa</i> //- <i>ngara</i> , - <i>mara</i> , - <i>nytjaku</i>
Purpose marker with nominaliser	- <i>ra</i> , - <i>raku</i> , - <i>wa</i> //- <i>ntjaku</i>
Present tense	- <i>nayin(pa)</i> , - <i>nin(pa)</i> , - <i>nanyin(pa)</i> , - <i>nani</i> //- <i>nanyi</i> , - <i>narra</i>
Consecutive action marking	- <i>nu</i> - <i>ngu</i> - <i>nu</i> //- <i>ra</i> - <i>rra</i> - <i>nu</i>

### Verb class with modifier

Modifier 'Toward' with verb & o class	<i>kawa-<u>ni</u>, kati-o-<u>ni</u>, ngalya kati-o</i>
Modifier 'Away from' with verb & rra class	<i>ma ya-rra, ya-rra, mawu ya-rra</i>
Verb 'hit' plus wa class	<i>pu-wa</i>
Verb 'dig' plus la class	<i>tjawa-la</i>

### Verbal aspect

Continuous	<i>wululu puwa, wululu pungama, punganyan puwanpa</i>
Past continuous	<i>-payi, -ma, -rranytja, -ngunpa, -nytjanypa</i>
Future continuous	<i>-malpa, -ranpa, -wanpa</i>
Intermittent con- tinuous & past tense	<i>ngunpa, -rrayinu, -payi// -rrinu</i>
Subjunctive mood	<i>-mara, -ngara, -ra</i>

### Verb modifiers

'Away from' with motion verb	<i>yanu, ma yanu, mawu yanu</i>
'Toward' with motion verb	<i>yan<u>ni</u>, ngalyan<u>i</u> yanu</i>
'Around' with motion verb	<i>parra yanu</i>
'Unsuccessfully'	<i>pu<u>tu</u></i>
'Partially'	<i>kulyu</i>
'Again'	<i>wituka</i>



'Continually' with verb 'take' & case	<i>wulu kawa, wulu-lu kawa, wulu-lu kati</i>
'Ahead' & case	<i>kurranyu-lu kati, kurranyu kawa</i>
'Quickly'	<i>wala-lu puwa//pula-lu, pipurru-lu, wirrurru-lu</i>

### 3.2.9 JIGALONG MASTER

#### Free form pronouns with case inflection

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

#### Bound pronouns

Second person dual object	<i>-npulanya, -ntapula</i>
Second person dual subject	<i>-npula, -pulan</i>
Third person sing. avoidance, plus case marker	<i>-lura -ngkamarra</i>

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

### Demonstratives

Singular  
demonstrative           *ngaa, ngaanya, ngapi//ngaatja, nyangatja*

Plural  
demonstrative           *ngaanpa-ya, ngaanya-, ngaaparaku-, ngaakatja*

### Conjunctions

Same subject  
conjunction           *palunyatjanu, palunyanguru, palunyatjanuyila//  
parrinyatjanu*

Different subject  
conjunction           *palunyangka, palunyangkayila//parrinyangka*

### Case suffixes

Locative               *-ngka, -n-tja, -n-ta*

Dative, plus  
plural pronoun       *-tjanampa -ku*

Avoidance             *-ngkamarra*

Accessory             *-ngka, -tja, -o*

### Relators

'Intention' plus  
ergative case       *-kitja-lu*

'Negative' plus  
ergative case       *-pani-lu, -punatja-lu// -wiya- -maral-tu*

'Characteristic'     *-payi*

'Origin'               *-tjanu// -nguru*

'Toward'	- <u>kati</u> , -kutu//-tu, -waka
'Along'	-wana
'Associative'	-winti-lu, - <u>kulu</u> -//-tjarra-
'Mistakenly'	- <u>kuranu</u> , -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, - <u>lku</u> ta//-ltjipi
Hortative marker	-ngara, -rra, -nytjaku
Purpose marker with nominaliser	-lkura, -lkuraku//-nytjaku, -lkuwa
Present tense	- <u>nani</u> , -nin(pa)//-narra, -nanyi
Consecutive action	- <u>nu</u> -ngu -nu//-ra -rra -nu

### Verb class with modifier

Modifier 'Toward' with verb & o class	kaw <u>ani</u> , 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	<i>wululu puwa, wulu puwa, pungama</i>
Past continuous	<i>-payi, -ma// -rranytja</i>
Future continuous	<i>-malpa, rawa nyinaku// -wanpa</i>
Intermittent continuous & past tense	<i>-ngunangu// -rranyinu, -rrinu</i>
Subjunctive mood	<i>-ngara// -mara</i>

### Verb modifiers

'Away from' with motion verb	<i>ma yanu</i>
'Toward' with motion verb	<i>yanuni, ngalya yanu</i>
'Around' with motion verb	<i>parra yanu</i>
'Unsuccessfully'	<i>putu</i>
'Partially'	<i>mantanpa// kulyu</i>
'Again'	<i>yarranu, karu</i>
'Continually' with verb 'take' & case	<i>wulu-lu kati, wulu kati</i>
'Ahead' & case	<i>kurranyu-lu kawa</i>
'Quickly'	<i>wala-lu puwa, pula-lu, wirrurru-lu, pini-lu, pipurru-lu</i>

### 3.2.10 WILUNA MASTER

#### Free form pronouns with case inflection

First person sing. plus ergative	<i>ngayu-lu-na</i>
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First person sing. plus object	<i>ngayu-<u>ni</u>, ngayu-nya-</i>
Second person sing. plus ergative	<i>nyuntu-lu-n</i>
Second person sing. plus object	<i>nyuntu-nya-nta, nyuntu-</i>
First person plur. plus ergative & exclusive	<i>ngayun-tu-latju, ngayut<u>iny</u>-tju-, ngayuny-tju-</i>
First person plur. plus nominative & exclusive	<i>ngayun-pa-latju, ngayut<u>iny</u>-pa-, ngayun-nga-</i>

### Bound pronouns

Second person dual object	<i>-ntapula, -npulanya, -pulanyan, -ntapulan, -pulanta, -ntapulanya</i>
Second person dual subject	<i>-npula, -pulan</i>
Third person sing. avoidance, plus case marker	<i>-lura -ngkamarra</i>
Third person plur. avoidance, plus case marker	<i>-tjanampalura -ngkamarra</i>

### Demonstratives

Singular demonstrative	<i>ngaanya, ngaatja, ngaa//nyangatja</i>
Plural demonstrative	<i>ngaa-ya, ngaakatja-, ngaanpa-, ngaaparaku-</i>

### Conjunctions

Same subject conjunction	<i>palunyatjanu, palunyanguru, palutjanu, parrinyatjanu, palunyatjanuyilampa</i>
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Different subject conjunction      *palunyangka palungka//parrinyangka  
palunyangkayilampa*

### 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// -lkutangka, -ltjipi*

Hortative marker	<i>-nytjaku, -waku, -ra, -wa// -ngara, -mara, -raku</i>
Purpose marker with nominaliser	<i>-lwaku, -lkuraku, -nytjaku</i>
Present tense	<i>-nin(pa), -nan(pa)-, -nani, -narra// -nanyi</i>
Consecutive action marking	<i>-<u>nu</u> -ngu -nu// -ra -rra -nu</i>

### Verb class with modifier

Modifier 'Toward' with verb & o class	<i>kati-o-<u>ni</u>, kati-o, ngalya kati-o, kangani</i>
Modifier 'Away from' with verb & rra class	<i>ya-rra, mawi ya-rra, ma yarra</i>
Verb 'hit' plus wa class	<i>pu-wa, punga</i>
Verb 'dig' plus la class	<i>tjawa-la</i>

### Verbal aspect

Continuous	<i>wululu puwa, wulu pungama, wululu punga, wululu puwayinpa</i>
Past continuous	<i>-rranytja, -ma, -payi</i>
Future continuous	<i>-malpa, -wanpa, -kuyin(pa), -kuwin(pa)</i>
Intermittent continuous & past tense	<i>-rrayinu, -payi// -rrinu</i>
Subjunctive mood	<i>-ngara// -mara</i>

### Verb modifiers

'Away from' with motion verb	<i>ma yanu, mawu yanu, mawi yanu</i>
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'Toward' with motion verb	<i>ngalyani yanu, ngalya pitjangu</i>
'Around' with motion verb	<i>parra yanu</i>
'Unsuccessfully'	<i>putu</i>
'Partially'	<i>mantan//kulyu</i>
'Again'	<i>yarranu//puru</i>
'Continually' with verb 'take' & case	<i>wulu-lu kawa, titu kati</i>
'Ahead' & case	<i>kurranyu-lu kawa, kurranyu tjalkangu</i>
'Quickly'	<i>wala-lu puwa, pula-lu, pini-lu, wirrun-tu, wirrurru-lu, pipurru-lu</i>

### 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.

<u>Centre</u>	<u>Martu Wangka</u>		<u>Pintupi</u>	
Giles	23.8	79.3%	28.8	96%
Papunya	20.0	66.6%	30.0	100%
Balgo	27.5	91.6%	29.4	98%
Christmas Creek	28.5	95%	29.3	97.6%
Fitzroy Crossing	27.7	92.3%	28.8	96%
La Grange	28.0	93.3%	25.9	86.3%
Jigalong	30.0	100%	29.0	96.6%
Wiluna	28.0	93.3%	27.9	93%



### 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.

CHART 2

<u>Centre</u>	<u>Martu Wangka Stories</u>	<u>Pintupi Stories</u>
Giles (Ngaatjatjarra)	Martu Wangka Martu Wiitja Mantjiltjarra Jigalong Wangka	Ngaatjatjarra Ngaatja Wangka Pintupi, like Ngaatjatjarra Pitjanytjatjarra/ Ngaatjatjarra
Papunya (Pintupi)	Ngulyu Wangkatjarra Matukatja Wangka Purruku Wangkatjarra Putitjarra Wangka Waritja	Pintupi
Balgo (Kukatja)	Kartutjarra Mantjiltjarra Nyanitjarra Purrkutjarra Kukatja Kartutjarra/Kukatja/ Wangkatjungka Putitjarra Martu Wangka	Mantjiltjarra/Pintupi Kukatja Mantjiltjarra Kukatja/Wangkatjungka Pintupi Kukatja/Pintupi/Pitjapitja ngayuku wangka 'my own talk'
Christmas Creek (Wangkatjungka)	Wangkatjungka Kartutjarra/Wangkatjungka Kartutjarra/Nyanitjarra/ Putitjarra Wangkatjungka/Kartutjarra Kukatja Yulparitja	Wangkatjungka Yulparitja Mantjiltjarra Kukatja Pitjapitja/Pintupi Kukatja/Pintupi Pitjanytjatjarra/Kukatja

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 communilect 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 communilect terms. In general, as all of these communilects have a great deal of overlap in vocabulary and grammatical forms, it is difficult for a subject to distinguish by linguistic clues alone the communilect of the speaker on the tape. Once the subject was told where the speaker lives then he could accurately assign a communilect term to the speaker's language. This is strong evidence that communilect 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 communilects 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 communilect 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

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

These very high percentages reflect the extensive understanding between speakers of communilects 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 communilects, 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 communilects 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 communilect 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 communilect), 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 communict 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

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

##### 4.3.2 JIGALONG

Another aim was to establish the level of communicability between Jigalong communict and those used in other centres. Chart 5 indicates these percentages.

CHART 5

PERCENTAGES OF COMMUNICABILITY OF JIGALONG WITH OTHERS

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

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

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

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

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

4.3.5 AN ALTERNATIVE ANALYSIS

Because of the linguists' and educators' erroneous tendency to think of each communitect 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

<u>Centre</u>	<u>Synonym Range</u>		<u>Grammatical Range</u>	
	<u>First Synonym Only</u>	<u>Percentages With Other Synonyms</u>	<u>First Synonym Only</u>	<u>With Other Synonyms</u>
Giles	74%	94%	59%	98%
Balgo	72%	94%	67%	96%
Christmas Creek	62%	87%	57%	90%
Fitzroy Crossing	66%	83%	57%	84%
La Grange	59%	81%	48%	75%
Jigalong	53%	83%	38%	75%
Wiluna	59%	85%	51%	84%

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

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

## 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 communict 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 communict 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 communict, and passed on to another community. It would be useful to have written materials produced in each communict 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, Mantjiltjarra at Wiluna, Martu Wangka/Mantjiltjarra at Jigalong, Yulparitja 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 communilects 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 synonyms do 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

'nose'		C.N. mulya			
Ern	mulya				
Gil	mulya	nyunngura//	nyurrkuta	mutura	mutara nguyali
WR	mulya	nyunngura	mutura//	nguyali	
Pap	mulya	nyunngura	nguyali	kuyali//	tjutju mutara
Bal	mulya	nyunngura	nguyali	pantilpantil//	tjutju nyurrkura
CC	mulya	nguyali	punulpa	nyunngura	pantilpantil nyurrkuta
FC	mulya	punulpa	nyunngura	pantirrpantirr//	pantilpantilpa kuyali
LG	mulya	pantilpantil	kuyali	nguyali	milya nyurrngura
Jig	mulya	kuyali	nguyali//	nyunngura	mutura
Wil	mulya	nyunngura	mutura	tjutju//	kuyali

'ear'		C.N. pina			
Ern	pina	anpiri			
Gil	pina	yanpiri	yangkuru//	pila	kuranpa kulka
WR	pina	yanpiri	yangkuru		
Pap	pina	yanpiri	langa	munata	kurupa// kurrata
Bal	pina	langa	kuranpa	kulka	yanpiri yangkuru
CC	pina	yirrul(pa)	yankuru	kulilkulilpa	yiyurr munata
FC	pina	kulilkulilpa	langa	munata	yangkuru// kuranpa
LG	munata	kulilkulilpa	kulka	kuran(pa)	pina// yangkuru
Jig	kuranpa	pina	kulka	munata//	wurrata yanpiri
Wil	pina	kuran(pa)	kulka	yalytjuru	munata// yanpiri

'tooth'		C.N. katiti			
Ern	katiti				
Gil	katiti	yirra	yanytjiwarra//		
WR	katiti	yanytjiwarra			
Pap	katiti	yirra	yirraputa	yanytjiwarra//	
Bal	katiti	watura	yirra	lirra	yanytjiwarra
CC	katiti	yirra	lirra	tjaaminytji	yanytjiwarra watura
FC	yirra	tjaaminytji	katiti	yanytjiwarra//	
LG	yirra	katiti	yanytjiwarra//		
Jig	yirra	katiti	yanytjiwarra//		
Wil	yirra	tjaaminytji	katiti	yanytjiwarra//	

'hand'		C.N. mara			
Ern	mara	manyirrka	mulku <u>tu</u>		
Gil	mara	mulku <u>tu</u>	manyirrka//	munyutu	
WR	mara	mulku <u>tu</u>	manyirrka	munyutu	
Pap	mara	munyutu	manyirrka	munytjunpa//	marumpu
Bal	mulku <u>tu</u>	mara	marumpu	munyutu	kurrapa
CC	marumpu	mara	mulku <u>tu</u>	kurrapa	mala// munyutu
FC	mara	kurrapa	marumpu	mulku <u>tu</u> //	munyutu
LG	mara	kurrapa	mapirr (pa)	munyutu//	kulkutu
Jig	mara	marumpu	munyutu//	mulku <u>tu</u>	mina
Wil	mara	munyutu	mulku <u>tu</u>	marumpu//	

'boomerang'		C.N. kali			
Ern	kali				
Gil	kali	yirr <u>kili</u>	pumiringi	kampayiki	tjarangkalpa// pirrayi
WR	kali	yirr <u>kili</u>	pumiringi	walanu	
Pap	kali	pirrayi	yirr <u>kili</u>	pumar <u>ingi</u> //	
Bal	kali	pirrayi	yirr <u>kili</u>	walanu	tjulupali kunanturu
CC	kali	pirrayi	yirr <u>kili</u>	warraka	paralyi walampa
FC	kali	tjiny <u>pa</u>	yipapaly <u>pa</u>	paltjarrangu//	yirr <u>kili</u> warraka
LG	kali	yirr <u>kili</u>	paralyi	tjarangkarr	yarankarr <u>pa</u> warraka//
Jig	yirr <u>kili</u>	walanu	kali	manti//	wakunt <u>i</u> pirrayi
Wil	walanu	yirr <u>kili</u>	kali	pirrayi//	wakunt <u>i</u> pirriti

'Woomera'		C.N. mirru			
Ern	mirru//	lankurru	pikurru		
Gil	mirru	lankurru//	pikurru	wal <u>parra</u>	mangkutju marapaku
WR	mirru	lankurru			
Pap	mirru	lankurru	pikurru	tjutiltj <u>u</u> tilpa//	tal <u>kawitanpa</u> mangkutju
Bal	mirru	lankurru	pikirri	pikurru	mangkutju tju <u>tilpa</u>
CC	lankurru	pikurru	mirru	wal <u>parra</u>	marapaku mangkutju
FC	marapaku	lankurru	pikurru	mirru	kunanturu// ngapaliny
LG	wal <u>parra</u>	marapaku	mangkutju	mirru	lankurru pikurru
Jig	wal <u>parra</u>	mangkutju	mirru	ngami	marapaku lankurru
Wil	wal <u>parra</u>	mangkutju	marapaku	lankurru	tjutiltj <u>u</u> tilpa// mirru

'house'		C.N. maya			
Ern	wali	yi <u>wala</u> //	wa <u>ala</u>		
Gil	tawunpa	yi <u>wala</u> //	wa <u>ala</u>	yawily <u>pa</u>	maya
WR	tawunpa	yi <u>wala</u>			
Pap	wa <u>ala</u>	tjitipayina	yi <u>wala</u>	tawunpa	wali// marru
Bal	marru	mayaru	wa <u>ala</u>	yawutjupa	yi <u>wala</u> // yawi
CC	mayaru	marru	maya	yi <u>wali</u>	mangkatja kanatja//
FC	mayaru	yawutji	maya	yi <u>wali</u> //	tawunpa yawily <u>pa</u>
LG	maya	yayanpa	tawunpa//	yi <u>wala</u>	yawily <u>pa</u>
Jig	maya	panany//	tawunpa	yi <u>wala</u>	
Wil	maya	yawily <u>pa</u>	tawunpa//	yi <u>wala</u>	

'camp'		C.N. ngurra			
Ern	ngurra				
Gil	ngurra	pintiri	yulun <u>pa</u> //		
WR	ngurra	pintiri			
Pap	ngurra	pintiri	taku		
Bal	ngurra	pintiri	yulun <u>pa</u>	tjuluny	
CC	ngurra	pintiri	yulun <u>pa</u>		
FC	ngurra	rurrngu	tjunpur <u>pa</u> //	yulun <u>pa</u>	pintiri
LG	ngurra//	pana	yulun <u>pa</u>		pintiri
Jig	ngurra	yulun <u>pa</u> //			
Wil	ngurra	yulun <u>pa</u>			

## 'fire'

## C.N. waru

Ern	waru	kunparatji				
Gil	waru	kunparatji	kuningarrpa//	kunparrpa	kala	
WR	waru	kunpararrtji	kunparrpa			
Pap	waru	kunparatji	kuningarrpa//	kala		
Bal	waru	kunparatji	walu	tjangilyan	nguyumparra//	kuningarrpa
CC	waru	walu	kunparatji	tjangilyan	ngunyumparra//	wanali
FC	waru	walu	wanali//	kunparatji	kala	kuningarrpa
LG	waru	kala	tjungku	kunparatji//	walu	wika
Jig	waru	kala				
Wil	waru	kunparatji	nguyumparra//	kala	kuningarrpa	

## 'water'

## C.N. kapi

Ern	mina	kumpuli	kapi//	tjiwiri	ngapa	
Gil	kapi	kalyu//	tjiwiri	tjarruru	yila	ngapa
WR	kapi//	kalyu				
Pap	kapi	kalyu	tjiwiri	tjarruru	mina	yila
Bal	kapi	kalyu	tjiwiri	tjarruru	ngapa	yila
CC	kalyu	kapi	ngapa	yila	tjarruru//	tjiwiri
FC	kalyu	kapi	ngapa//	tjarruru	papa	tjiwiri
LG	kalyu	kapi	papa	ngapa//	tjiwiri	tjarruru
Jig	kalyu	kapi	papa//	ngapa	tjiwiri	
Wil	kapi	kalyu	papa	kalinyu//	ngapa	tjarruru

## 'sky'

## C.N. nganka

Ern	yilkari					
Gil	yilkari	nganka	nguru//	yalkiri		
WR	yilkari					
Pap	nganka	yilkari	nguru//			
Bal	nganka	nguru	yalkiri	yilkari		
CC	yalkiri	nganka	nguru//	yilkari		
FC	nganka	yalkiri	yalkari//	nguru		
LG	nganka//	yilkari				
Jig	nganka	yilkari//	nguru			
Wil	nganka	yilkari	wankirri//	nguru		

## 'sun'

## C.N. tjintu

Ern	tjintu	tjirirrpil//				
Gil	tjintu	nyilpa//	yupunytju			
WR	tjintu	yupunytju	nyilpa			
Pap	tjintu	yupunytju	kuli	piya//	nyanyi	tjirirrpil
Bal	tjintu	yupunytju	kuli	nyilpa	ngililpa//	purangu
CC	tjintu	purangu	yupunytju	ngilirrpil	ngililpa	tjililpa//
FC	tjintu	purangu//	ngilil(pa)	yupunytju	piya	nyilpa
LG	tjintu	karrpu	purangu//	nyilpa	piya	yupunytju
Jig	tjintu	nyilpa//				
Wil	tjintu	nyilpa//				

## 'moon'

## C.N. wilarra

Ern	pira	kinara				
Gil	kinara	pira	kitjili	kilara//	muunpa	maanytja
WR	kinara	pira	kitjili	muunpa		
Pap	kinara	tjakilimpa	maanytja	pira//	kirrinytji	panyalpa
Bal	yakan(pa)	panyalpa	kirrinytji	tjakilimpa	wilarra	tjunitjalu
CC	yakan(pa)	panyalpa	tjakilimpa	kinara	wilarra//	tjunitjalu
FC	yakan	panyalpa	wilarra	tatata//	kinara	muun
LG	wilarra	panyalpa	yakan	tatata	kirriti	tjunitjalu//
Jig	wilarra	panyalpa	kinara//	tjunitjalu	muun	pira
Wil	wilarra	kintanyu	panyalpa	kinara	minytjil	muun(pa)

'wind'		C.N. walpa				
Ern	walpa	pirriya	kakarrata//			
Gil	pirriya	walpa	wiinpa	wilinyapa	ngarruntu	winu
WR	pirriya	walpa	wiinpa	wilinyapa		
Pap	walpa	ngalarra	wilinyapa	ngarruntu	pirriya	wanganpa
Bal	walpa	ngalarra	wilinyapa	mayawuny	tjutuly//	nguminu
CC	walpa	mayawun(pa)	ngalarra	wangalpa	ngarruntu	wangarr(pa)
FC	walpa	ngalarra	wangal(pa)	mayawuny	winta//	pirriya
LG	wangalpa	walpa	ngalarra	wilinyapa	wiinpa	pirriya//
Jig	wangalpa	wilinyapa	walpa	winu	pirriya//	ngalarra
Wil	pirriya	wiinu	wilinyapa	walpa	wangalpa	karaputa

'night'		C.N. munga				
Ern	munga					
Gil	munga	warurru				
WR	munga	payinpa				
Pap	munga	warurru	payilpa	payinpa//		
Bal	munga	mungatjarra	warurru	wurrulytju	payinta//	
CC	mungatjarra	munga	warurru	payinpa//	yupunytju	pukanytja
FC	munga	mungatjarra	warurru	pukanytja//	yupunytju	
LG	mungatjarra	munga//	warurru	yupunytju		
Jig	mungatjarra	yupunytju	mungatjarri	munga	payinpa	kunyala//
Wil	munga	mungatjarra	warurru	yupunytju	yupuntungka	kutuwanitji//

'midday'		C.N. karrpu				
Ern	kalala					
Gil	kalala	tinatayimi	nyilpakatukatu//	karrpu		
WR	kalala	tinatayimi//	karrpu			
Pap	karrpu	kalala//	nyilpakatukatu			
Bal	karrpu	kurutjurrku	kalala	wanta	tjintukankarrarringu	
CC	karrpu	karrpuwati//	nyilpakatukatu	kalala		
FC	karrpu	karrpuwati	kumanta	tjiningara	kankarra	pakanu//
					nyilpakatukatu	
LG	karrpu	karrpuwati	rukaruka//	kalala	nyilpakatukatu	
Jig	karrpu	nyilpakatukatu	puyulyurru//	kalala		
Wil	karrpu	nyilpakatukatu	puyulyurru//	kalala		

'north'		C.N. kayili				
Ern	alinytjarra	kayili//				
Gil	kayili	yalinytjarra//	kayilirra			
WR	kayili	yalinytjarra//	kayilirra			
Pap	kayili	yalinytjarra//	kayilirra			
Bal	kayili	yalinytjarra	kayilirra	yalinytja	yalinykatinytja	
CC	kayili	kayirrara	kayilingu//	yalinytjarra	yalinytja	kayilirra
FC	kayili	kayirra	nyankantal//	yalinytja	yalinytjarra	kayilirra
LG	kayili	yalinytja	yalinytjarra//	kayilirra	kayiliwarraku	
Jig	kayili	yalinytja	kayilirra//	yalinytjarra		
Wil	kayili	kayilirra//	yalinytjarra	watalpa		

'south'		C.N. yulparirra				
Ern	ulparirra	uwarirra				
Gil	yulparirra//	yulpari				
WR	yulparirra//	yulpari				
Pap	yulparirra//	ngapati	yulparita			
Bal	yulparirra	yulpari	ngapati//			
CC	yulparirra	kulirra	ngawarrara	ngapati	yulpari	
FC	yulparirra	kulila	kulirra	ngawarrara//	yulpari	ngapati
LG	yulparirra	ngapati	ngawarrara//	yulpari	kulila	
Jig	ngapati	yulpari//	yulparirra			
Wil	yulpari	ngapati	yulparirra//			

'east'	C.N. kakarra			
Ern	kakarrara			
Gil	kakarrara	kakarra	kataluku//	lukurrku
WR	kakarrara//	kakarra	kataluku	
Pap	kakarrara	kakarra//	lukurrku	
Bal	kakarra	kakarrara	lukurrku//	
CC	kakarra	lukurrku//	kakarrara	lukurr (pa)
FC	kakarra//	kakarrara		
LG	kakarra//	kakarrara	lukurrku	
Jig	kakarra	kakarrara//		
Wil	kakarra	kakarrara//	lukurrku	

'west'	C.N. yapurra				
Ern	wilurarra	wiwurarra			
Gil	yapurra	wilurarra	yapurrkura//	wilura	
WR	yapurra	wilurarra//	yapurrkura		
Pap	yapurra	wilurarra//	yapurrkura		
Bal	yapurra	wilura	yapurrkura	wilurarra	kularra
CC	yapurra	wilura//	kala	yapurrkura	wilurarra
FC	wilura	yapurra//	wilurarra	yapurrkura	kala
LG	yapurra	wilura	yapurrkura	kara//	wilurarra
Jig	yapurra	wilura	yapurrrara	yapurrkura//	wilurarra
Wil	yapurra	yapurrkura//	yapurru	wilurarra	wilura

'river/creek'	C.N. karru				
Ern	ankuwayi	karru			
Gil	karru	kirikpa	kiriki	yankuwayi//	wungka
WR	karru	kirikpa	kiriki	yangkuwayi	
Pap	karru	kuriki	larrrtjalarrtja	kiriki//	
Bal	karru	kiliki	kuriki	warrku	matuwarra// wungka
CC	karru	matuwarra	kiliki	kuriki	walalarra// wungka
FC	karru	kiliki	matuwarra	tarrkalpa//	kiriki wungka
LG	karru	kuriki	kurikpa	wungka	tjurarrpa//
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	munnyi	manta//	warirrki	
Jig	pana	putjurrrpa	warirrki//	manta	
Wil	pana	putjurrrpa	manta	warirrki//	

'path/track'	C.N. yiwarra					
Ern	iwarra	ruuta				
Gil	yiwarra	ruurrrpa	karrukarru	palkarra	yururru//	ruutu
WR	yiwarra	ruurrrpa	karrukarru	palkarra		
Pap	yiwarra	palkarra	ruutu//	yurutu	watjarra	yururru
Bal	yiwarra	karrukarru	ruutu	palkarra//	watjarra	ruutpa
CC	yiwarra	karrukarru	ruutu//	palkarra	watjarra	ruurrrpa
FC	yiwarra	karrukarru	ruutu	palkarra//	walalarra	yururru
LG	yiwarra	ruutu	karrukarru	mutu	palkarra	ruutpa
Jig	yiwarra	yururru	ruutu	karrukarru//	palkarra	watjarr
Wil	yiwarra	yururru	ruutpa	tjina	watjarra	ruutu//

			C.N. wata			
Ern	punu	kawarrtji//	ngana			
Gil	wata	ngana	punu	watiya//		
WR	wata	ngana	punu			
Pap	wata	punu	ngana	watiya//		
Bal	wata	punu	watiya	ngana//		
CC	wata	punu	mana	yingkana	watiya//	
FC	wata	punu	mana//	ngana	watiya	
LG	wata	mangu	wurrrkalpa//	punu	ngana	watiya
Jig	wata	mungka	punu//	ngana	pilypa	watiya
Wil	wata	punu	watiya//	ngana		

			C.N. mayi			
Ern	mai	mirrka//	pulakarra			
Gil	mirrka	mayi	pulakarra//	miyi	yuta	mantjirpa
WR	mirrka	mayi	pulakarra			
Pap	mayi	mirrka	miyi//	mangarri	yuta	mantjirpa
Bal	mirrka	mangarri	mayi	miyi	mantjirpa//	yuta
CC	mayi	mirrka	mangarri	miyi	mantjirpa//	yuta
FC	mayi	mirrka	miyi	mangarri//	mantjirr (pa)	yuta
LG	mayi	mirrka	mantjirpa	miyi	yunkalpinti//	yuta
Jig	mirrka	yuta	mayi	mantjirr (pa)//		
Wil	mirrka	mayi	yuta	mantjirr (pa)//		

			C.N. tjantu			
Ern	papa	tjitutja	wanguwangu//			
Gil	papa	tjantu//	wita	tjutju	kunyarrpa	
WR	papa	tjantu	tjutju			
Pap	papa	tjantu	wita//	tjutjutju	kunyarrpa	tjutju
Bal	tjantu	papa	wita	kunyarrpa	wangani	tjutju
CC	wita	tjantu	papa	kunyarr (pa)//	ngini	tjangga
FC	wita	tjantu	kunyarr (pa)	papa	tjutju	punpulu
LG	tjantu	wita	kunyarr (pa)	papa	tjangalyi	kampura
Jig	tjantu	papa	wita//	tjutju	kunyarr (pa)	
Wil	tjantu	papa	tjutju	pupu	wita	kunyarrpa

			C.N. kuka			
Ern	kuka	wakari//				
Gil	kuka	miitpa//	kuwiyi	kuyu	tjaapi	
WR	kuka	miitpa//	kuwiyi	kuyu		
Pap	kuka	miita	miitpa//	kuyu	wakari	tjaapi
Bal	kuka	kuyu	kuwiyi	miitpa	liwilypa//	
CC	kuka	kuyu	kuwiyi//	miitpa	mantu	liwilypa
FC	kuka	kuwiyi	kuyu	miit	wakari	ngatinyapa//
LG	kuka	kuwiyi	miitpa//	mantu	tjangalyi	
Jig	kuka	kuwiyi	mantu	miitpa//		
Wil	kuka	kuwiyi	miitpa//	mantu		

			C.N. ngaya			
Ern	ngaya	putji	putjikata	ngiyu	mulku//	wiika
Gil	wiika	ngaya	nyulkulku	wiilyka	kunanyumpunya	
WR	wiilyka	ngaya	nyulkulku	wiika	putjikatu	wilpinpa
Pap	ngaya	wiika	putjikata	wiratju	nyarrukuta	wilpinpa
Bal	ngaya	nyumpunya	putjikatu	wilypin	nyulku <sup>u</sup> kutu	miiyawu
CC	putjikata	miyawu	ngaya	nyulku <sup>u</sup> ku	ngalyangamu	ngalyataanpa
FC	miyawu	miiyawu	putjikatu	wilypinpa	ngaya	ngalyakinti//
LG	miyawu	putjikatu	ngalyawangka	tjutjukulyu	nyumpunya	mulyakinti
Jig	tjutjukulyu	wiika	taanpa	putjiputji	miyawu	ngalyangamu
Wil	tjutjukulyu	wiika	putjikatu	tjiinpa	ngiingi	mulyangamu



'crow'			C.N. ka <u>an</u> ka			
Ern	ka <u>an</u> ka	wangk <u>il</u> ka	tarrkangalku	waangarrungarru//		
Gil	ka <u>an</u> ka	tarrkamungulpa	warrngarrungarru	wak <u>in</u> ka	pinyingalku	
WR	ka <u>an</u> ka	tarrkamungulpa	waangarrungarru			
Pap	ka <u>an</u> ka	kampiny <u>ka</u>	kunangalku	tarrkamungulpa	tjakink <u>at</u> a	
Bal	ka <u>an</u> ka	tarrkamungulpa	wan <u>ku</u> ta	wak <u>it</u> ata	tarrkangalku	END
CC	ka <u>an</u> ka	wangkana	kunamungulpa	tarrkamungulpa	yun <u>an</u> galku	
FC	ka <u>an</u> ka	tjakily <u>at</u> a	wangkana	wak <u>in</u> ka	wangk <u>it</u> i	wangk <u>u</u> ta
LG	ka <u>an</u> ka	wak <u>in</u> ka	tjakink <u>at</u> a	wak <u>it</u> ata	wakurra	tarrkamungulpa
Jig	ka <u>an</u> ka	wak <u>it</u> ata	waaku	wak <u>in</u> ka	wanguna//	wangk <u>u</u> na
Wil	ka <u>an</u> ka	wak <u>it</u> ata	waaku	wak <u>in</u> ka	waangu	pinyingalku

'fly'			C.N. ngurrin <u>yp</u> a			
Ern	punpun <u>pa</u>	muungu//				
Gil	muungu	punpun <u>pa</u>	muunurrku	ngurr <u>it</u> a	ngurrin <u>y</u>	
WR	muungu	puurpun <u>pa</u>				
Pap	muungu	ngurrin <u>yp</u> a	punpun <u>pa</u> //	kun <u>ma</u>	muunurrku	muunurrkun <u>u</u> ku
Bal	ngurrin <u>y</u> (pa)	muungu	ngurr <u>it</u> a	muunurrku//		
CC	ngurrin <u>y</u> (pa)	muungu	ngurr <u>it</u> a	purrmuru//	muunurrku	ngurril <u>a</u>
FC	ngurrin <u>y</u> (pa)	ngurrin <u>yp</u> a	muungu	kurungalku	purrmuru	ngurrat <u>a</u>
LG	ngurrin <u>y</u> (pa)	ngurr <u>it</u> a	wanmin <u>yp</u> a	muungu//	ngurril <u>a</u>	muunurrku
Jig	muungu	ngurr <u>it</u> a	warrari	ngurril <u>a</u>	tatu	muunurrku//
Wil	muungu	muunurrku	ngurr <u>it</u> a//	ngurrin <u>y</u> (pa)	ngurril <u>a</u>	

'one'			C.N. kut <u>ju</u>			
Ern	kut <u>ju</u>	kampin <u>y</u>	kumpin <u>y</u>			
Gil	kut <u>ju</u>	kumpin <u>y</u>				
WR	kut <u>ju</u>	kumpin <u>y</u>				
Pap	kut <u>ju</u>	kumpin <u>y</u> //	tjin <u>u</u>			
Bal	kut <u>ju</u>	kumpin <u>y</u>	tjin <u>u</u>			
CC	kut <u>ju</u>	kumpin <u>y</u>	tjin <u>u</u>	nguyarra	yikamat <u>a</u>	
FC	kut <u>ju</u>	kumpin <u>y</u>	kayan//	tjin <u>u</u>		
LG	kut <u>ju</u>	kumpin <u>y</u> //	tjin <u>u</u>	yikamat <u>a</u>		
Jig	kut <u>ju</u> //	watjara	tjin <u>u</u>	yikamat <u>a</u>		
Wil	kut <u>ju</u> //	tjin <u>u</u>	waratja	yikamat <u>a</u>		

'two'			C.N. kutjar <u>ra</u>			
Ern	kutjar <u>ra</u>	nyatuwarra//				
Gil	kutjar <u>ra</u>	kalyararra//				
WR	kutjar <u>ra</u>	kalyararra				
Pap	kutjar <u>ra</u>	kalyararra	kumpin <u>y</u> urra//			
Bal	kutjar <u>ra</u>					
CC	kutjar <u>ra</u>	tjirrama	kurrin <u>y</u> //			
FC	kutjar <u>ra</u>	kurrin <u>y</u> //				
LG	kutjar <u>ra</u> //					
Jig	kutjar <u>ra</u> //					
Wil	kutjar <u>ra</u> //					

'many'			C.N. laltu			
Ern	tjut <u>a</u> //	pini				
Gil	pini	tjut <u>a</u>	yan <u>ng</u> a	pili	pinyi	laltu//
WR	pini	tjut <u>a</u> //	pinyi			
Pap	tjut <u>a</u>	pini	ruunyt <u>ja</u>	laltu	yan <u>ng</u> a	pinyi//
Bal	laltu	yan <u>ng</u> a	pinyi	pini	tjut <u>a</u>	ruunyt <u>ja</u>
CC	laltu	yan <u>ng</u> a	pinyi	pini//	wiin <u>yt</u> ja	tjut <u>a</u>
FC	laltu	pat <u>ja</u>	tjayi <u>ya</u>	pini//	yan <u>ng</u> a	pinyi
LG	laltu	yan <u>ng</u> a	kunngal <u>pu</u>	pinyi	uri//	ruupa
Jig	yan <u>ng</u> a	laltu	pini	wiin <u>yt</u> ja	kuyarra//	tjut <u>a</u>
Wil	yan <u>ng</u> a	laltu	pini	pin <u>in</u> ya	muunku	wiin <u>yt</u> ja//

## 'big'

C.N. tjalu

Ern	pul <u>ka</u> //	t <u>ina</u>				
Gil	pul <u>kanya</u>	yuwin <u>pa</u> //	pul <u>ka</u>	t <u>ina</u>	mat <u>ju</u>	yakulyu
WR	pul <u>kanya</u>	pul <u>ka</u>				
Pap	pul <u>kanya</u>	pul <u>ka</u>	t <u>ina</u>	yuwin <u>pa</u> //	t <u>jal<u>u</u></u>	mat <u>ju</u>
Bal	t <u>jal<u>u</u></u>	pul <u>ka</u>	yuwin <u>pa</u>	t <u>ina</u>	mat <u>ju</u> //	yakulyu
CC	t <u>jal<u>u</u></u>	pul <u>ka</u>	yuwin (pa)	mat <u>ju</u>	tjukumunu//	tjuma
FC	t <u>jal<u>u</u></u>	pul <u>ka</u>	yuwin <u>pa</u>	pul <u>kanya</u> //	mat <u>ju</u>	tjuma
LG	t <u>jal<u>u</u></u>	tjuma	yuwin <u>pa</u>	pul <u>ka</u>	matjumata//	mat <u>ju</u>
Jig	matjumata	mat <u>ju</u>	tjuma	yakulyu	pul <u>ka</u> //	t <u>jal<u>u</u></u>
Wil	mat <u>ju</u>	tjuma	pul <u>ka</u>	t <u>jal<u>u</u></u>	yakulyu	tjukumunu

## 'small'

## C.N. tjuku

Ern	tjukut <u>ju</u> ku	tjimatj <u>im</u> pa	ku <u>lun</u> ya//	t <u>ja</u> pu	wi <u>im</u> a	
Gil	ku <u>lupa</u>	ku <u>lun</u> ya	tjukut <u>ju</u> ku	t <u>ja</u> pu	wi <u>im</u> a//	tjulit <u>ju</u> li
WR	ku <u>lupa</u>	ku <u>lun</u> ya	tjukut <u>ju</u> ku//	tjulyit <u>ju</u> lyi		
Pap	tjukut <u>ju</u> ku	wi <u>im</u> a//	nyam <u>an</u> ya	t <u>ja</u> put <u>ja</u> pu	tjulit <u>ju</u> li	yam <u>an</u> ya
Bal	lam <u>pan</u> (pa)	t <u>ju</u> ku	wi <u>im</u> a	nyam <u>an</u> (pa)	t <u>ja</u> pu	tjulit <u>ju</u> li
CC	lam <u>pan</u> (pa)	t <u>ju</u> ku	tjukut <u>ju</u> ku	tjukun <u>ya</u>	nyam <u>an</u> pa	ngini//
FC	t <u>ju</u> ku	lam <u>pan</u>	tjukut <u>ju</u> ku	tjutamata	nyu <u>yi</u>	tjulit <u>ju</u> li
LG	t <u>ju</u> ku	tjukut <u>ju</u> ku	t <u>ja</u> pu	tjulit <u>ju</u> li	t <u>ja</u> puwata	t <u>ju</u> lyi
Jig	t <u>ju</u> ku	tjukut <u>ju</u> ku	tjulit <u>ju</u> li	t <u>ja</u> puwata//	nyam <u>an</u> ya	ku <u>lun</u> ya
Wil	t <u>ju</u> ku	tjukut <u>ju</u> ku	t <u>ja</u> pu	tjulit <u>ju</u> li	warr <u>ku</u>	t <u>ja</u> puwata//

## 'good'

## C.N. palya

Ern	palya	wiru	kurramunu	nguy <u>an</u> yu//	walykumunu	
Gil	walykumunu	palya	wiru	pan <u>tir</u> rra	kurramunu	kunyt <u>ju</u> nyu
WR	walykumunu	palya	kurramunu//	wiru	miku	
Pap	palya	wiru	miku	pan <u>tir</u> rra//	kunyt <u>ju</u> nyu	walykumunu
Bal	palya	pan <u>tir</u> rra	miku	wiru	ngal <u>ya</u> //	kunyt <u>ju</u> nyu
CC	palya	pan <u>tir</u> rra	wilyu	miku//	kunyt <u>ju</u> nyu	ngal <u>ya</u>
FC	palya	pan <u>tir</u> rr (pa)	putap <u>an</u> i	wilyu	wiyap <u>u</u> ta//	kunyt <u>ju</u> nyu
LG	palya	pan <u>tir</u> rr (pa)	ngal <u>ya</u>	kunyt <u>ju</u> nyu	walykumunu//	miku
Jig	kunyt <u>ju</u> nyu	pan <u>tir</u> rr (pa)	palya	ngal <u>ya</u> //	walykumunu	miku
Wil	kunyt <u>ju</u> nyu	palya	pan <u>tir</u> rra	miku	walykumunu	ngal <u>ya</u> //

## 'bad'

C.N. puta

Ern	kurra	kurrakurra	palyamunu	walykuwalyku		
Gil	palyamunu	kurrakurra	walyku	pu <u>ta</u> //	kurra	kuya
WR	palyamunu	kurrakurra	walyku	kurra	pu <u>ta</u> //	kuya
Pap	kurra	panyt <u>ja</u>	kuya	pu <u>ta</u> //	walyku	
Bal	ngawu	pu <u>ta</u>	panyt <u>ja</u>	kurra	kuya//	walyku
CC	pu <u>ta</u>	walyku	panyt <u>ja</u>	ngawu	ngal <u>ya</u> //	kurra
FC	pu <u>ta</u>	walyku//	panyt <u>ja</u>	ngala//	kuyamata	kuya
LG	pu <u>ta</u>	walyku//	kuyamata	kan <u>u</u> t <u>ja</u>	kurra	kuya
Jig	walyku	pu <u>ta</u>	kuyamata	kuwiyamata//	kurrakurra	kurra
Wil	walyku	pu <u>ta</u>	panyt <u>ja</u>	kuyamata	kurrakurra	

## 'no'

C.N. wiya

Ern	wiya					
Gil	wiya	winn <u>gi</u> rra//	paki	munu	yumu	waya
WR	wiya	winn <u>gi</u> rra	kun <u>pu</u> //	paki	munu	
Pap	wiya//	yumu	paki	waya	munu	
Bal	wiya	law <u>a</u>	yumu//	waya	paki	munu
CC	wiya	war <u>a</u>	mal <u>al</u> ya//	paki		
FC	wiya	yumu//	paki	munu	waya	
LG	wiya	paki	winn <u>gi</u> rra	munu	yipily <u>pa</u> //	yumu
Jig	paki	wiya	munu	pampuly <u>pa</u> //	yumu	
Wil	wiya	paki	yumu	munu	yumumata//	waya

## 'black'

## C.N. maru

Ern	maru	marumaru				
Gil	maru	marumaru				
WR	maru	marumaru				
Pap	maru//	munga				
Bal	maru	marumaru	yal <u>ta</u>	lipi	ku <u>tupiri</u>	nalipi
CC	maru	marumaru	yal <u>ta</u>	ku <u>nku</u> n//		
FC	maru	ku <u>nku</u> n(pa)	marumaru	pulakwana//		
LG	maru	marumaru	wama <u>tja</u>	wama <u>ta</u> //		
Jig	maru	marumaru				
Wil	maru	marumaru				

## 'red'

## C.N. mitjimitji

Ern	tjitintjitinpa	tjintjiritjintjiri	riitwana//	tjatjaka		
Gil	tjitintjitinpa	riitwanpa	mitjilpa	tjatjaka	mitjinjtji//	minyminy
WR	tjitintjitinpa	riitwanpa	mitjilpa			
Pap	tjatjaka	karrku//	mitjimitji	riitwana	mitjilpa	milimili
Bal	pilytji	karrku	riitwana	yilkurrkura	mitjimitji	tjatjaka
CC	yilkulyilkulypa	riitwan	riitpala	karrku	tili	pilytji
FC	tilitili	tilytjilypa	yilkurr	yilkuyilku	riitwanpa	pilytji
LG	mitjimitji	milyarri	yilkulyilkuly	riitwan	pilyarri	rarrpararrpa
Jig	mitjimitji	minyminy(pa)	mitji	yilkurrpa//	pilyarri	rarrpararrpa
Wil	mitjimitji	minyminy(pa)	riitwanpa	mitjilpa	pilyarri//	

## 'man'

## C.N. puntu

Ern	wati	puntu				
Gil	wati	puntu//	ma <u>tu</u>	ya <u>nan</u> gu		
WR	wati	puntu//	ma <u>tu</u>			
Pap	wati	puntu//	ma <u>tu</u>			
Bal	puntu	wati	ma <u>tu</u> //			
CC	puntu	wati	yi <u>na</u> //	ma <u>tu</u>	pu <u>n</u>	ngapayi
FC	puntu	wati	ngankurrku <u>lu</u>	nganpayi	pi <u>ina</u> //	ma <u>tu</u>
LG	puntu	yi <u>na</u>	wati	ki <u>ta</u>	ma <u>tu</u>	pu <u>lku</u>
Jig	puntu	yi <u>na</u>	wati	ki <u>ta</u> //	ma <u>tu</u>	
Wil	puntu	wati	ki <u>ta</u>	yi <u>na</u>	ma <u>tu</u>	nyalya//

## 'woman'

## C.N. tutju

Ern	minyma	kungka//	wanatjarra	tjilpiratjarra		
Gil	minyma	tutju	wanatjarra	kungka	tjalpiratjarra//	wanti
WR	minyma	wanatjarra	kungka	tjalpiratjarra//	tutju	
Pap	tutju	minyma	wanatjarra	kungka//	wanti	
Bal	tutju	minyma	wanatjarra	wanakulu	mirrkatjarra	kungka//
CC	tutju	minyma	wanakulu//	ngilypi	wanti	mu <u>nin</u>
FC	tutju	wanatjarra	minyma	ma <u>nin</u>	mulytunpa	kalapi//
LG	tutju	wanti	ngilypi	wanatjarra//		
Jig	wanti	tutju	minyma	wanatjarra	kungka	ngilypi//
Wil	wanti	minyma	tutju	ngilypi	wanatjarra//	kungka

'father'				C.N. mama		
Ern	mama	punarri	ngalkari//	tati		
Gil	mama	tati	mamati	punarri//		
WR	mama	tati	punari	mamati		
Pap	mama	mamanti	tati//	tjatja		
Bal	mama	wapirra	tati	mamati	yina//	kantju
CC	yina	mama	tati	ngarpu	wapirra//	
FC	mama	yina	tati	mamanti	ngarpu	wapirra//
LG	yina	mama	tati	tatiyi//		
Jig	mama	tati//				
Wil	mama	tati	mamatji	yulman//		

'mother'				C.N. yipi		
Ern	ngunytju					
Gil	ngunytju	yipi	mami//	yaku	yakuti	
WR	ngunytju	yipi	mami			
Pap	ngunytju	yipi	mami	yaku	maama//	yakuti
Bal	yipi	ngunytju	yipitja	mami	yakuti//	nyurrka
CC	yipi	tilypu	nyurrka	yipitja	ngunytju	ngama
FC	yipi	yipitja	tilypu	mami	nyurrka//	ngunytju
LG	yipi	tilypu	mami	malatju//	yakuti	ngunytju
Jig	yaku	tilypu	yakuti	mami//	ngunytju	yipi
Wil	mami	yipi	yakuti	yaku	yimi	ngunytju

'Older brother'				C.N. kuta		
Ern	kuta					
Gil	kuta	puratja	kaaka//	pupu	papatu	
WR	kuta	puratja	kaka	pupu		
Pap	kuta	papatu	kaaka//			
Bal	kuta	papatu//	pupu	kukunu		
CC	kuta	papatu	papatji//	pupu		
FC	kuta	papatu	papatji//	pupu		
LG	papatu	kuta//	pupu	pupatja		
Jig	kuta	papatu	pupu//			
Wil	papatu	kuta	pupu			

'saw'				C.N. nyangu		
Ern	nyangu					
Gil	nyangu					
WR	nyangu					
Pap	nyangu					
Bal	nyangu					
CC	nyangu	milyakunu	nyanyama			
FC	nyangu					
LG	nyangu					
Jig	nyangu					
Wil	nyangu					

'heard'				C.N. kulinu		
Ern	kulinu	altjurunu				
Gil	kulinu	yangkurunu//				
WR	kulinu	yaltjurunu				
Pap	kulinu	yangkurunu	yangkurunu//	yaltjurunu	ngangkunu	
Bal	kulinu	yangkurunu	yaltjurunu//	ngangkunu		
CC	kulinu	kawuntanu	ngangkunu	pinalkarrinya//	yangkurunu	yaltjurunu
FC	kulinu	kuwantanu	pinalkarrinya//	yalytjurunu	ngangkunu	yangkurunu
LG	kulinu	kuwantanu	kurantanu//	ngangkunu	yaltjurunu	yangkurunu
Jig	kulinu	ngangkunu//	yaltjurunu	yangkurunu//		
Wil	kulinu	ngangkunu	yangkurunu	yaltjurunu//		

'drank'			C.N. tjik <u>in</u>
Ern	tjiki <u>n</u>		
Gil	tjiki <u>n</u>		
WR	tjiki <u>n</u>		
Pap	tjiki <u>n</u> //	yiilarringu	
Bal	tjiki <u>n</u>		
CC	tjiki <u>n</u>	ngani <u>m</u> a	
FC	tjiki <u>n</u>	wuntu <u>n</u>	ngupu <u>n</u>
LG	tjiki <u>n</u>	wuntu <u>n</u>	
Jig	tjiki <u>n</u>	wuntu <u>n</u>	
Wil	tjiki <u>n</u>	wuntu <u>n</u>	

'ate'			C.N. ngalu <u>ng</u>
Ern	ngalku <u>n</u> //	ngalu <u>ng</u>	
Gil	ngalu <u>ng</u>	ngalku <u>n</u> //	
WR	ngalu <u>ng</u> //	ngalku <u>n</u>	
Pap	ngalku <u>n</u>	ngalu <u>ng</u>	
Bal	ngalu <u>ng</u>	ngalku <u>n</u>	
CC	ngalu <u>ng</u>	nganu	ngani// ngalku <u>n</u>
FC	ngalu <u>ng</u>	ngalku <u>n</u>	
LG	ngalu <u>ng</u>	ngalkun <u>p</u> a	
Jig	ngalu <u>ng</u>	ngalku <u>n</u>	
Wil	ngalu <u>ng</u>	ngalku <u>n</u>	

'sat'			C.N. nyinu <u>ng</u>
Ern	nyinu <u>ng</u> //	puru <u>n</u>	
Gil	nyinu <u>ng</u>	pintiringaru <u>ng</u> //	
WR	nyinu <u>ng</u>	pintiringaru <u>ng</u>	
Pap	nyinu <u>ng</u>	pintiringaru <u>ng</u> //	
Bal	nyinu <u>ng</u>	pintiringaru <u>ng</u> //	
CC	nyinu <u>ng</u>	kirrp <u>an</u> ya	
FC	nyinu <u>ng</u> //	pintiringaru <u>ng</u>	
LG	nyinu <u>ng</u>	nyinangun <u>p</u> a	kurrngu <u>n</u> pintiringaru <u>ng</u>
Jig	nyinu <u>ng</u>	pintiringaru <u>ng</u>	
Wil	nyinu <u>ng</u>	pintiringaru <u>ng</u>	

'stood'			C.N. ngaru <u>ng</u>
Ern	ngaru <u>ng</u>		
Gil	ngaru <u>ng</u>		
WR	ngaru <u>ng</u>		
Pap	ngaru <u>ng</u>		
Bal	ngaru <u>ng</u>		
CC	ngaru <u>ng</u>	karrinya//	yiki <u>n</u>
FC	ngaru <u>ng</u> //	yiki <u>n</u>	
LG	ngaru <u>ng</u>	ngarangun <u>p</u> a//	yiki <u>n</u>
Jig	ngaru <u>ng</u>	yiki <u>n</u>	
Wil	ngaru <u>ng</u> //	yiki <u>n</u>	watu <u>n</u>

'gave'			C.N. yungu
Ern	yungu//	yungu	nint <u>in</u>
Gil	nint <u>in</u>	yungu//	
WR	nint <u>in</u>	yungu	
Pap	yungu//	nint <u>in</u>	
Bal	yungu		
CC	yungu//	nint <u>in</u>	yiny <u>p</u> ala
FC	yungu//	nint <u>in</u>	
LG	yungu	yunganya//	nint <u>in</u>
Jig	yungu//	nint <u>in</u>	
Wil	yungu//	nint <u>in</u>	

'shot'			C.N. yungkanu			
Ern	pawunu//	tjutupungu				
Gil	tjutupungu	rulyupungu	kuntinu	rungkanu//	yungkanu	pawunu
WR	tjutupungu	rulyupungu	yungkanu	rungkanu//	kuntinu	pawunu
Pap	kuntinu	rungkanu	tjutupungu//	rulyupungu	yungkanu	
Bal	yungkanu	kuntinu	rungkanu	tjutumanu	tjutupungu	
CC	yungkanu	tjutupungu	luwanu//	kuntinu	tjutumanu	
FC	yungkanu	tjutumanu	tulkurpungu	tjutupungu//	kuntinu	
LG	yungkanu	tjutumanu//	kuntinu	tjutupungu		
Jig	yungkanu	tjutumanu	pungu//	kuntinu	tjutupungu	tjuutamunu
Wil	yungkanu	tjutupungu	tjutumanu	kuntinu	pungu//	

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-na	
Gil	ngayu-lu	ngayu-lu-na	nganku-lu-na
WR	ngayu-lu-na	nganku-lu-na	
Pap	ngayu-lu-na	ngayu-lu-	
Bal	ngayu-lu-na		
CC	ngayu-lu-na		
FC	ngayu-lu-na	nganku-lu-na	ngatjuma-na
LG	ngayu-lu-na		
Jig	ngayu-lu-na		
Wil	ngayu-lu-na		

'First person singular object independent pronoun' C.N. ngayu

Ern	ngayu-nya-	ngayu-nya-ni	
Gil	ngayu-nya-ni	nganku-nya-ni	
WR	ngayu-nya-ni	nganku-nya-ni	
Pap	ngayu-nya-ni-		
Bal	ngayu-ni	ngayu-nya-ni	
CC	ngayu-ni	ngayu-nya-ni	
FC	ngayu-ni	ngayu-nya-ni	nganku-ni
LG	ngayu-ni	ngayu-nya-ni	ngayutja
Jig	ngayu-ni//	ngayu-nya-ni	
Wil	ngayu-ni	ngayu-nya-ni	

'Second person singular ergative independent pronoun' C.N. nyuntu-lu

Ern	nyuntu	nyuntu-n	
Gil	nyuntu-lu-n	nyuntu-n	
WR	nyuntu-lu-n//	nyuntu-n	
Pap	nyuntu	nyuntu-lu-n	nyurra-lu-n
Bal	nyuntu-lu-n		
CC	nyuntu-lu-n		
FC	nyuntu-lu-n		
LG	nyuntu-lu-n		
Jig	nyuntu-lu-n		
Wil	nyuntu-lu-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	

'First person plural ergative exclusive independent pronoun' C.N. ngayu-tu-latju

Ern	nganana	nganana-la		
Gil	ngayu-lu-latju	ngayun-tu-latju//	ngayutiny-tju-	ngayuny-tju-
WR	ngayu-lu-latju//	ngayun-tu-		
Pap	ngayun-tu-latju	ngayu-lu	nganana <sub>t</sub> atju	nganana <sub>n</sub> angarri-//
		ngayutiny-tju-	ngayuti-lu-	
Bal	ngayun-tu-latju	ngayuny-tju-	ngayuti-lu-//	ngayutiny-tju-
		ngayutin-tu-		
CC	ngayun-tju-latju	ngayuny-tju-	ngayuti-lu-//	ngayun-tu-
		ngayutiny-tju-	ngayuny-tju-ti-lu-	
FC	ngayun-tju-latju	ngayun-tu-	ngayuti-lu-	ngankuny-tju-//
		ngayun-tu		
LG	ngayuny-tju-latju	ngayuti-lu-	ngayutiny-tju-//	
		ngayun-tu-		
Jig	ngayuparaku-lu-latju	ngayutiny-tju-	ngayun-tu-	ngayuny-tju-//
Wil	ngayun-tu-latju	ngayutiny-tju-	ngayuny-tju-	

'First person plural nominative exclusive independent pronoun' C.N. ngayun-pa-latju

Ern	nganana	nganana-la		
Gil	ngayu-lu-latju	ngayun-pa-//	ngayutiny-pa-	ngayuny-pa-
WR	ngayu-lu-latju//	ngayun-pa-	ngayun-nga-	
pap	ngayun-pa-latju	ngayu-nya-	ngayun-nga-	nganana <sub>t</sub> atju//
		ngayutiny-pa-	ngayuti-	
Bal	ngayun-pa-latju	ngayuti-	ngayuny-pa-//	ngayutiny-pa-
CC	ngayun-pa-latju	ngayuny-pa	ngayuti-//	ngayutiny-pa-
		ngayutin-pa-		
FC	ngayun-pa-latju	ngayuny-pa-	ngayuti-	ngankuny-pa-//
		ngayutiny-pa-		
LG	ngayun-pa-latju	ngayuny-pa-	ngayuti-//	ngayutin-pa-
Jig	ngayutiny-pa-latju	ngayuny-pa	ngayun-pa-	
Wil	ngayun-pa-latju	ngayutiny-pa-	ngayun-nga-	

'Second person dual object bound pronoun' C.N. -ntapula

Ern	pulanya	nyupali		
Gil	-ntapulanya	-pulanyanta	-pulanyan	-ntapula
WR	-ntapulanya	-pulanyanta	-pulanyan	-ntapula
Pap	-ntapula	nyupali		
Bal	-ntapula	-npulanya	-pulanyan	kutjarra-ntapula
CC	-ntapula	-npulanya	-pulanyan	
FC	-ntapula//	-npulanya		
LG	-npulanya	-ntapula	-ntapulanya	
Jig	-npulanya	-ntapula		
Wil	-ntapula	-npulanya	-pulanyan	-ntapulan -pulanta -ntapulanya

'Second person dual subject bound pronoun' C.N. -npula

Ern	pula		
Gil	-pulan	-npula	
WR	-pulan	-npula	
Pap	-pulan	pula//	-npula
Bal	-npula	-pulan	
CC	-npula	-pulan	
FC	-npula//	-pulan	
LG	-npula//	-pulan	
Jig	-npula	-pulan	
Wil	-npula	-pulan	



'Third person plural avoidance pronoun  
with case marker'

C.N. tjanampalura -ngkamarra

Ern	-----	-ngkatawarra			
Gil	-----	-ngkatawarra	-tjanampalura	-ngkamarra	-ngkatarra
WR	-----	-ngkatarra//	-tjanampalura	-ngkatawarra	
Pap	-----	-ngkamarra	-tjanampalura	-ngkamarra	
Bal	-tjanampalura	-ngkamarra			
CC	-tjanampalura	-ngkamarra			
FC	-tjanampalura	-ngkamarra			
LG	-tjanampalura	-ngkamarra			
Jig	-tjanampalura	-ngkamarra			
Wil	-tjanampalura	-ngkamarra			

'Third person singular avoidance pronoun  
with case marker'

C.N. lura -ngkamarra

Ern	tjana	-ngkatawarra			
Gil	-----	-ngkatawarra	-lura	-ngkamarra	----- -ngkatarra
WR	-----	-ngkatarra//	-lura	-ngkatarra	
Pap	-----	-ngkamarra	-lura	-ngkamarra	
Bal	-lura	-ngkamarra			
CC	-lura	-ngkamarra			
FC	-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	ngaatjanya	ngaatja//	nyangatja	ngapi
Bal	ngaatja	ngaanya	ngaa//	nyangatja	
CC	ngaatja	ngaanya	ngaa//	nyangatja	
FC	ngaatja	ngaanya	ngaa//	nyangatja	
LG	ngaanya	ngaa//	ngaatja	nyangatja	
Jig	ngaa	ngaanya	ngapi//	ngaatja	nyangatja
Wil	ngaanya	ngaatja	ngaa//	nyangatja	

'Plural Demonstrative'

C.N. ngaanpa-ya

Ern	nyanganpa-ya				
Gil	ngaanya-ya	ngaanpa-	ngaatjinga-	ngaakatja-	
WR	ngaanya-ya	ngaatjinnga-//	ngaanpa-	ngaakatja-	
Pap	ngaanpa-ya	ngaanya-	ngaa-	ngaa tjuta-//	ngaakatja-
Bal	ngaanpa-ya	ngaanya-	ngaatja-//	ngaati-	ngaakatja-
CC	ngaanpa-ya	ngaati-	ngaanya-//	ngaakatja-	ngaa
FC	ngaanpa-ya	ngaati-	ngaakatja-	ngaanya-	
LG	ngaanpa-ya	ngaakatja-	ngaanya-//	ngaati-	ngaanyakatja-
Jig	ngaanpa-ya	ngaanya-	ngaaparaku-	ngaakatja-	
Wil	ngaa-ya	ngaakatja-	ngaanpa-	ngaaparaku-	

'Conjunction'

C.N. palunyatjanu

Ern	palulanguru	palunyatjanu			
Gil	palunyanguru	palulanguru	palunyatjanu	parrinyanguru	
WR	palunyatjanu	palunyanguru	parrinyanguru//	palulanguru	
Pap	palunyatjanu	palunyanguru	palulanguru	parrinyatjanu	parrinyanguru
Bal	palunyatjanu	palunyanguru	palurutjanu	palutjanu	parrinyanguru
CC	palunyatjanu	palunyanguru	palutjanu//	parrinyatjanu	parrinyanguru
FC	palunyatjanu	palunyanguru	palurutjanu	parrinyatjanu	parrinyanguru
LG	palunyatjanu	palunyanguru	parrinyatjanu		
Jig	palunyatjanu	palunyanguru	palunyatjanuyila//	parrinyatjanu	
Wil	palunyatjanu	palunyanguru	palutjanu	parrinyatjanu	parrinyatjanuyila

## 'Conjunction'

C.N. palunyangka

Ern	ka				
Gil	palunyangka	ka	parrinyangka	palula	
WR	palunyangka	parrinyangka//	palula		
Pap	palunyangka	ka	parrinyangka		
Bal	palunyangka	palurungka	palungka	parrinyangka	parrunyangka
CC	palunyangka	palurungka//	parrinyangka	parrinytjangka	
FC	palunyangka//	parrinyangka			
LG	palunyangka//	parrinyangka			
Jig	palunyangka	palunyangkayila//	parrinyangka		
Wil	palunyangka	palungka//	parrinyangka	palunyangkayila	

## 'Locative case'

C.N. -ngka

Ern	-la	-ngka		
Gil	-la	-ngka		
WR	-la	-l-ta		
Pap	-ngka	-la	-l-ta	
Bal	-ngka	-l-ta	-l-tja//	-la
CC	-ngka	-l-ta	-l-tja//	-la
FC	-ngka	-l-tja		
LG	-ngka	-l-tja		
Jig	-ngka	-l-tja	-l-ta	
Wil	-ngka	-l-tja	-l-ta//	-la

## 'Dative case with plural pronoun'

C.N. -tjanampa -ku

Ern	-tjanampa	-ku
Gil	-tjanampa	-ku
WR	-tjanampa	-ku
Pap	-tjanampa	-ku
Bal	-tjanampa	-ku
CC	-tjanampa	-ku
FC	-tjanampa	-ku
LG	-tjanampa	-ku
Jig	-tjanampa	-ku
Wil	-tjanampa	-ku

## 'Projected reason marker with nouns'

C.N. -ngkamarra

Ern	-ngka	tawarra	
Gil	-ngkat <sub>a</sub> arra	-ngkata <sub>a</sub> warra	-ngkamarra
WR	-ngkat <sub>a</sub> arra	-ngkata <sub>a</sub> warra//	-ngkamarra
Pap	-ngkamarra	-ngkata <sub>a</sub> warra//	-ngkat <sub>a</sub> arra
Bal	-ngkamarra		
CC	-ngkamarra		
FC	-ngkamarra		
LG	-ngkamarra		
Jig	-ngkamarra		
Wil	-ngkamarra		

## 'Accessory case'

C.N. -ngka

Ern	-la		
Gil	-ngka		
WR	-la		
Pap	-ngka	-nya	-∅ -la
Bal	-∅	-ngka	
CC	-ngka	-∅	
FC	-∅	-ngka	
LG	-∅	-ngka	
Jig	-ngka	-∅	-l-tja
Wil	-ngka	-∅	

'Relator "Intention" plus ergative case' C.N. -kitja -lu  
 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  
 FC -kitja-lu// -kitja-ngku  
 LG -kitja-lu// -kitja-ngku  
 Jig -kitja-lu// -kitja-ngku  
 Wil -kitja-lu// -kitja-ngku

'Relator "negative" plus ergative case' C.N. -pani-lu  
 Ern -wiya-ngku -maral-tu  
 Gil -wiya-lu -wiya-ngku -pani-lu -maral-tu// -punatja-  
 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// -punatja-lu -maraly-tju -pani-ngku  
 FC -pani-lu// -wiya-lu -maraly-tju -punatja-lu -pani-ngku  
 LG -pani-lu -punatja-lu// -wiya-lu -maraly-tju -pani-ngku  
 Jig -pani-lu -punatja-lu// -wiya-lu -maral-tu -pani-ngku  
 Wil -pani-lu -punatja-lu// -wiya-lu -maral-tu -maal-tu -pani-ngku

'Relator "characteristic"' C.N. -payi  
 Ern -payi -l-payinya  
 Gil -payi  
 WR -payi -l-payinyu  
 Pap -payi  
 Bal -payi  
 CC -payi  
 FC -payi  
 LG -payi  
 Jig -payi  
 Wil -payi

'Relator "origin"' C.N. -nguru  
 Ern -nguru -tjanu  
 Gil -nguru -tjanu  
 WR -tjanu -nguru  
 Pap -nguru -tjanu  
 Bal -tjanu -nguru  
 CC -tjanu -nguru  
 FC -tjanu -nguru  
 LG -nguru -tjanu  
 Jig -tjanu// -nguru  
 Wil -tjanu -nguru

'Relator "toward"' C.N. -kutu  
 Ern -kutu  
 Gil -kutu -tu// -ku -kati  
 WR -kutu -tu -ku// -kati  
 Pap -kutu -ku// -tu  
 Bal -kutu -kurra -kati -tu// -waka  
 CC -kutu -kati -kurra// -tu -waka  
 FC -kutu -kati -kurra// -tu -waka  
 LG -kati -kutu// -tu -waka -kurra  
 Jig -kati -kutu// -tu -waka  
 Wil -kati -kutu// -tu -waka

## 'Relator "along"'

C.N. -wana

Ern -wanu  
 Gil -wana  
 WR -wana  
 Pap -wana  
 Bal -wana  
 CC -wana  
 FC -wana  
 LG -wana  
 Jig -wana  
 Wil -wana

## 'Relator "associative" with ergative case'

C.N. -kulu-lu

Ern -tjarra-ngku  
 Gil -tjarra-lu -tjarra-ngku -kulu-lu// -winti-  
 WR -tjarra-lu -kulu-lu -winti-  
 Pap -tjarra-lu -tjarra-ngku -kulu-lu// -winti- -kulu-ngku  
 Bal -kulu-lu -tjarra-lu// -winti- -kulu-ngku  
 CC -kulu-lu -tjarra-lu// -winti- -kulu-ngku  
 FC -kulu-lu -tjarra-lu// -winti- -kulu-ngku  
 LG -kulu-lu -winti-lu// -tjarra-lu -kulu-ngku  
 Jig -winti-lu -kulu-lu// -tjarra-lu -winti-ngku  
 Wil -kulu-lu -winti-lu// -tjarra-lu -kulu-ngku

## 'Relator "Mistakenly" with ergative case'

C.N. -kukantja -lu

Ern -palku// -kukantja-lu  
 Gil -kukantja-lu -putjunu// -karanu  
 WR -kukantja-lu -putju-lu  
 Pap -kukantja-lu -kukanu// -karany-tju  
 Bal -kukantja-lu -kuranytju-lu -kukanu// -karanu  
 CC -kukanu -kukantja-lu -karanu  
 FC -kukanu -kukantja-lu  
 LG -kukanu -kukantja-lu// -karanu -kuwantja-lu  
 Jig -kuranu -karanu// -kukantja-lu  
 Wil -kukantja-lu -karanu -kukanu

## 'Different participant marker with nominaliser and continuous aspect'

C.N. -rra -nykja -ngka

Ern -nya-ngka -nytja-ngka  
 Gil -rra-nytja-ngka -rra-nya-ngka -nytja-ngka -nya-ngka// -nytja-la  
 -nytjany-tja  
 WR -rra-nya-ngka -rra-nytja-la -nytja-la// -nytjany-tja  
 Pap -rra-nytja-ngka -nytja-ngka -nya-ngka -nytja-la  
 -rra-nytja-la -nyi-ngka  
 Bal -rra-nytja-ngka -nytja-ngka// -nytja-la -nytjany-tja  
 CC -nytjany-tja -nytja-ngka -rra-nytja-ngka// -nytja-la  
 FC -nytja-ngka -nytjany-tja// -nytja-la  
 LG -nytja-ngka -nytjany-tja// -nytja-la  
 Jig -nytja-ngka -rra-nytja-ngka-nta -nytjany-tja//  
 -nytja-la  
 Wil -rra-nytja-ngka -nytja-ngka -nta-ngka -nya-ngka  
 -rra-nya-ngka// -nytja-la

	'Nominaliser with continuous aspect'			C.N. -rra-nytja	
Ern	-nya-ngka	-nytja//	-rra-nytja		
Gil	-rra-nytja	-nytja//	-nytjany-pa		
WR	-rra-nytja	-nytja			
Pap	-rra-nytja	-nytja	-ngu-tja	-nytja-tjanu//	-nytjany-pa
				-nytja-nu	
Bal	-nytja	-rra-nytja	-nytjany-pa//	-nta	-npa
CC	-nytja	-nytjanypa	-rra-nytja	-nyapa//	-nta
FC	-nytjany-(pa)	-nytjan-(pa)	-rra-nytja//	-nytja	-nta
LG	-rra-nytja	-nguny-pa	-nyiny-pa//	-nytja	-nytjany-pa
				-nta	
Jig	-nytjany-pa	-nta	-nytja	-rra-nytja	
Wil	-rra-nytja	-nytja	-nta	-nytjany(pa)	

	'Projected reason marker on verbs with classifier'			C.N. -l-tjaku	
Ern	-nytjakutawarra	-ltjipi			
Gil	-ltjakutarra	-ltjakumarra	-ltjakutawarra	-ltjaku//	-lkuta
				-ltjipi	
WR	-ltjakutarra	-ltjakutawarra	-ltjaku//	-ltjakumarra	-lkuta
				-ltjipi	
Pap	-ltjaku	-ltjakumarra	-ltjipi	-ltjipingka	
				-ltjipingkamarra	-ltjakutawarra//
Bal	-ltjaku	-ltjakumarra	-ltjakungkamarra	-ltjakuta	
			-lkuta	-ltjipingka	
CC	-ltjaku	-ltjakumarra	-lkuta	-ltjakungkamarra//	
				-ltjipi	
FC	-ltjaku	-ltjakumarra	-ltjakungkamarra	-lkuta	
				-lkutangkamarra	-ntjangkamarra
LG	-ltjaku	-ltjakumarra	-ltjakuta	-lkuta	
				-ntjangkamarra	-ltjakungkamarra
Jig	-ltjaku	-ltjakumarra	-lkuta//	-ltjipi	
Wil	-ltjakumarra	-lkuta	-ltjaku//	-lkutangka	-ltjipi

	'Hortative marker'			C.N. -nytjaku		
Ern	-nytjaku					
Gil	-rra	-nytjaku	-tjaku			
WR	-ma					
Pap	-rra	-nytjaku//	-tjaku	-wa		
Bal	-nytjaku	-wa	-waku	-mara	-lkuraku	-rra
CC	-ra	-wa	-raku	-ngara//	-nytjaku	-tjaku
FC	-mara	-rra	-raku//	-nytjaku	-ngara	-ra
LG	-raku	-ra	-wa//	-ngara	-mara	-nytjaku
Jig	-ngara	-rra	-nytjaku			
Wil	-nytjaku	-waku	-ra	-wa	-ngara	-mara

	'Purpose marker with nominaliser with classifier'			C.N. -l-kura		
Ern	-ntjaku					
Gil	-ltjaku	-ntjaku	-lwa	-lwaranpa	-lkuraku	
WR	-ltjaku	-ntjaku//	-lwa	-lwaranpa		
Pap	-ntjaku	-lwa//	-lkuraku			
Bal	-lkuwa	-ntjaku	-lkura	-lkuraku	-lkuwaku	
CC	-lkura	-lkuraku	-lkuwa	-ltjaku-	-ntjaku	-lkuwaku
FC	-lkuraku	-lkura	-lkuwa//	-ntjaku	-lkuwaku	
LG	-lkura	-lkuraku	-wa//	-ntjaku		
Jig	-lkura	-lkuraku//	-ntjaku	-lkuwa		
Wil	-lwaku	-lkuraku	-ntjaku			

'Present tense'		C.N. -in(pa)			
Ern	-nyi				
Gil	-rra	-in(pa)	-nyi//	-ni	
WR	-rra//	-in(pa)	-nyi		
Pap	-in(pa)	-nyi//	-rra	-nyini	-yinpa
Bal	-in(pa)	-nyin(pa)	-ni	-nyi//	-rra
CC	-in(pa)	-nyin(pa)//	-nyi	-yin(pa)	-ni -rra
FC	-in(pa)//	-nyin(pa)	-nani	-nyi	-rra
LG	-in(pa)	-inpa	-nyin(pa)	-ni	-nyi -rra
Jig	-ni	-in(pa)//	-rra	-nyi	
Wil	-inpa	-anpa	-ni	-rra	-nyi

'Consecutive action marking'		C.N. -n -ngu -nu			
Ern	-ra -rra -nu				
Gil	-ra -ngu -nu	-ra -rra -nu			
WR	-ra -rra -nu	-nu -ngu -nu			
Pap	-ra -rra -nu	-nu -ngu -nu			
Bal	-nu -ngu -nu//	-ra -rra -nu			
CC	-nu -ngu -nu//	-ra -rra -nu			
FC	-nu -ngu -nu	-ra -rra -nu			
LG	-nu -ngu -nu//	-ra -rra -nu			
Jig	-nu -ngu -nu//	-ra -rra -nu			
Wil	-nu -ngu -nu//	-ra -rra -nu			

'Verb modifier "toward" with motion verb having $\emptyset$ class'		C.N. kati	
Ern	ngalya kati- $\emptyset$ kati- $\emptyset$		
Gil	kati- $\emptyset$		
WR	kati- $\emptyset$		
Pap	ngalya kati- $\emptyset$ ngalyati- $\emptyset$		
Bal	ngalya kati- $\emptyset$ kati-ma	ngalya ka-wa	
CC	kati- $\emptyset$ kati-ma	ngalya ka-wa	
FC	kati- $\emptyset$ -ni ka-wa-ni		
LG	ka-wa-ni kati- $\emptyset$ -ni	ngalya kati- $\emptyset$	
Jig	ka-wa-ni ngalya kati- $\emptyset$		
Wil	kati- $\emptyset$ -ni kati- $\emptyset$	ngalya kati- $\emptyset$ ka-nga-ni	

'Verb modifier "away from" with motion verb having rra class'		C.N. ma yarra	
Ern	a-rra ma pitja- $\emptyset$		
Gil	ma pitja- $\emptyset$		
WR	ma pitja- $\emptyset$		
Pap	ma ya-rra ma pitja- $\emptyset$		
Bal	ma ya-rra wuna ya-rra		
CC	ma ya-rra		
FC	ma ya-rra ya-rra		
LG	ma ya-rra ya-rra	mawu ya-rra	
Jig	ya-rra mawi ya-rra		
Wil	ya-rra mawi ya-rra	ma ya-rra	

'Verb "hit" with wa class'		C.N. pu-wa	
Ern	pu-wa		
Gil	pu-wa		
WR	pu-wa		
Pap	pu-wa		
Bal	pu-wa		
CC	pu-wa		
FC	pu-wa		
LG	pu-wa		
Jig	pu-wa		
Wil	pu-wa pu-nga		

'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-lu pu-wa  
 Ern rawa-ngku atu-nma  
 Gil titu pu-wa titu pu-ngama  
 WR titu pu-ngama titu pu-wa punga-ma  
 Pap titu pu-ngama titu pu-wa  
 Bal wulu pu-ngama wulu pu-wa wulu-lu pu-wa titu-lu pu-wa  
 CC wulu pu-wa wulu pu-ngama wulu-lu pu-wa  
 FC wulu pu-ngama  
 LG wulu-lu pu-wa wulu-lu pu-ngama pu-nganyan pu-wanpa  
 Jig wulu-lu pu-wa wulu pu-wa pu-ngama  
 Wil wulu-lu pu-wa wulu pu-ngama wulu-lu pu-nga wulu-lu 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 -nytjanypa  
 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 -wanpa  
 LG -malpa -ranpa -wanpa  
 Jig -malpa rawa nyin-ku// -wanpa  
 Wil -malpa -kuyin(pa) -wanpa -kuwin(pa)

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

'Subjunctive mood' with classifier		C.N. -l-mara
Ern	-nam uti -nma	
Gil	-nma -lmara// -lngara	
WR	-nma	
Pap	-lmara -lngara	
Bal	-lmara -lngara	
CC	-lngara -lmara	
FC	-lmara -lngara	
LG	-lmara -lngara -ra	
Jig	-lngara// -lmara	
Wil	-lngara// -lmara	
'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	pitjangu ngalya pitjangu	
WR	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	ngalyani 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	
'Verb modifier "unsuccessfully"'		C.N. pu <u>tu</u>
Ern	pu <u>tu</u>	
Gil	pu <u>tu</u>	
WR	pu <u>tu</u>	
Pap	pu <u>tu</u>	
Bal	pu <u>tu</u>	
CC	pu <u>tu</u>	
FC	pu <u>tu</u>	
LG	pu <u>tu</u>	
Jig	pu <u>tu</u>	
Wil	pu <u>tu</u>	



'Verb modifier "partially"'			C.N. kulyu
Ern	arunyku	aru puulpa	
Gil	puulpa	kulyu	
WR	puulpa//	kulyu	
Pap	kulyu	puulpa	
Bal	kulyu		
CC	kulyu		
LG	kulyu		
Jig	mantanpa//	kulyu	
Wil	mantanpa	kulyu	

'Verb modifier "again"'			C.N. puru
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	yarranu	karu	
Wil	yarranu//	puru	

'Verb modifier "continually" with verb "take" with ergative/nominative case'			C.N. wulu
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	
Wil	wulu-lu	titu	

'Verb modifier "ahead" with ergative/nominative case'			C.N. kurranyu-lu
Ern	ngamany-tju		
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		
Wil	kurranyu-lu	kurranyu	

'Verb modifier "quickly" with ergative case'			C.N. wala-lu
Ern	wala-ngku//	wala-lu	
Gil	waarrpuwa	wala-lu	wala-ngku// pipurru-lu
WR	wala-lu	warrpuwa//	wala-ngku
Pap	wala-lu	wala-ngku	pulalu
Bal	wala-lu	pulalu//	pipurru-lu wirrurru-lu
CC	wala-lu	pulalu//	pipurru-lu wirrurru-lu
FC	wala-lu	pulalu	wala// pipurru-lu wirrurru-lu
LG	wala-lu//	pulalu	pipurru-lu wirrurru-lu
Jig	wala-lu	pulalu	wirrurru-lu pini-lu pipurru-lu
Wil	wala-lu	pulalu	pinilu wirrun-tu wirrurru-lu

## ABBREVIATIONS

In reference to kinship terminology the following abbreviations are used:

m = mother  
b = brother  
d = daughter  
s = son

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

Ern = Ernabella  
Gil = Giles  
WR = Warburton Ranges  
Pap = Papunya  
Bal = Balgo Mission  
CC = Christmas Creek  
FC = Fitzroy Crossing  
LG = La Grange  
Jig = Jigalong  
Wil = Wiluna

Abbreviations in the Grammatical Range Masters:

sing. = Singular number  
plur. = Plural number.

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## REFERENCES

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