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MULTILINGUALISM AND LINGUA FRANCA AMONG AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES: A
CASE STUDY OF MANINGRIDA.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used for language and dialect names in tables and appendices:

E	English
GV	Gunavidji
B	Burera
GW	Gunwinjgu
GG	Gungoragone
GB	Gunbalang
MG	Maung
RB	Rembarnga
NG	Ngalkbon
G	Gunej
N	Nakara
DJ	Djinang
GP	Gupapuyngu
DJA	Djambarrpuyngu
DJI	Djinba
GM	Gumatj
W	Wangurri
R	Ritarngu
M	Maiali
DJN	Djauan
MA	Maringa
GAN	Ganalbingu
WK	Wulaki
WAL	Walbiri

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

A major determinant of socio-cultural interaction amongst different groups of people is the range of their linguistic capabilities and the extent to which there is a common language available. Culture-contact situations around the world vary in form, and place differing constraints on the various types of communities involved. In some multilingual situations sufficient stress is placed on the community for a lingua franca to have to be accepted or developed. In others, contact between the different groups is low enough or of such a kind that no social need exists for a lingua franca. If the number of language groups involved is sufficiently small, and one group is indisputably the dominant one, the multilingual situation may be perpetuated, side by side with the acceptance of the language of the dominant group as a lingua franca. This last situation occurs in particular in migrant enclaves, and has been a focus of study in Australian research into group multilingualism. Within Australia, a far more complex, although different, multilingual situation exists among Aboriginal communities, particularly those where a large number of different tribal groups are living in enforced close proximity, under the influence of the dominant white society. These communities are artificial, created by whites who have encouraged traditionally nomadic people to move into confined, permanent settlements. This study aims to explore the nature of multilingualism in Maningrida, a multi-tribal and multilingual settlement in Arnhem Land, in order to assess whether a lingua franca has been or is likely to be developed.

A number of studies of aspects of multilingualism have been carried out overseas.¹ As yet no unified "theory of multilingualism" has been developed to link these studies, although considerable work has been done on the "domain" of interchanges and linguistic accommodation in multilingual settings.

Within Australia, sociolinguistic research has been very limited. To date, it has concentrated mainly on urban centres² and the white population. The majority of sociolinguistic studies associated with the Australian Aborigines have dealt primarily with special speech styles, use of which is determined by certain social constraints operating within tribal units. Very little wider ranging sociolinguistic work has been conducted among the Australian Aborigines. Douglas, (1968); Steffenson, (1975); Sommer and Marsh, (1969) and Jernudd, (1971) all discuss particular effects of social change among the Aborigines on linguistic behaviour. However, the social consequences of multilingualism and the possible determinants of language choice do not appear to have been explored. This study of multilingualism and lingua francas in a particular Aboriginal community thus opens a field which is new

¹ Discussions of multilingualism include, for example: Lambert, Gardner, Olton and Tunstall, 1968; Herman, 1968; Mackey, 1968; Bourhis, Giles, and Lambert, 1975; Fishman, 1972; Sankoff, 1972; Greenfield, 1972; Findling, 1972; Lieberman, 1972; Cooper and Carpenter, 1972; Rubin, 1968; Blom and Gumperz, 1972; Denison, 1972).

² For a comprehensive survey of the available literature, see Sommer, (1976.)

in Australian research. Because of its exploratory nature, the results at present cannot be generalised to other similar communities. Further research is needed, both to assess the applicability of the results of this research to other Aboriginal communities, and to provide answers to many of the questions raised, but incompletely resolved, by this study.

The aim of this study is to provide a qualitative and to a lesser extent quantitative overview of the extent and nature of multilingualism in Maningrida, the community investigated. "Multilingualism", in this context, refers to the speaker's ability to speak and/or understand ("hear") two or more languages, and the linguistic situation which results when every member of a community has this ability. From this study, an initial assessment will be made of whether a lingua franca has already emerged in the multilingual community, whether circumstances at present militate against such a development, and what the prospects are likely to be for the future.

In this study, "lingua franca" refers to any language used for communication within a region among people with different first languages, which nearly everyone can speak when the need presents itself. In this case "the region" is the settlement of Maningrida and the decentralised communities in the area which regard Maningrida as a "resource centre" and a possible home during the Wet Season.

While this study is wide-ranging in its aims, its scope is necessarily limited in a number of ways. The two month fieldwork period was insufficient to gain more than a cursory view of the parameters involved in language choice in a complex multilingual situation. While the view of the linguistic situation in Maningrida presented in this

study is necessarily static, a greater understanding of the impact of current social changes among the Aborigines on present and future linguistic behaviour would be gained if a dynamic view of multilingualism could be presented. This would involve a long-term study, lasting over, at the minimum, several years.

Chapter 2 presents a brief history of Maningrida, the community being considered. This reveals the fluid nature of the settlement's population, and the present importance of the outstation movement in determining who lives in Maningrida and who lives "in the bush" in the area around Maningrida. The chapter also considers the demographic structure of Maningrida. Traditional tribal organisation and affiliations of the eleven language groups represented in the Maningrida area, are important factors in language use in the community.

Chapter 3 explores the linguistic relationships which exist among the languages spoken in the Maningrida area. Phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical features of these languages are compared, where such material is available, to highlight the linguistic diversity of the region. "Aboriginal English" is also briefly analysed, as it is an important factor in any consideration of the languages spoken on an Aboriginal settlement at present.

Chapter 4 considers the sociolinguistic issues of language competence, language use and language attitudes, and the effects of intra-tribal social constraints on multilingual behaviour. The language competence of members of various tribal groups is compared, to see whether discernible patterns emerge in what languages are learned by members of particular groups at particular ages. No language emerges as being clearly used by a great number of people in all circumstances.

A number of variables appear to affect language choice in multilingual situations. The attitudes held by the various groups towards each other and themselves are found to be significant in a consideration of the likelihood of one or other language being regarded as a lingua franca, both at present and in the future. A very brief survey is made of kinship-determined intra-tribal social constraints on language use in a multilingual setting.

Chapter 5 evaluates the consequences of the data on language competence, language use and language attitudes for the present or future acceptance of one of the languages spoken in the Maningrida area as a regional lingua franca. The discovery that only sign language, the traditional Aboriginal lingua franca, can be described as a lingua franca at present has a number of implications which are explored. A number of questions about multilingualism in an Aboriginal context, which have not been answered by this study, are raised as areas of possible further research in conclusion.

The importance of this study rests in its relevance for future administrative planning, and language and educational policy in the Maningrida area. It demonstrates that no decisions should be made without a detailed examination of the directions of change in the linguistic situation, and without consulting all the tribal leaders. It also reveals much that is unknown or little understood about communication between different Aboriginal groups. These findings suggest that continual close proximity between diverse linguistic groups in Aboriginal Australia does not always generate a lingua franca suitable for use by various planning authorities. It is hoped that the insight this study provides on Aboriginal codes of social and linguistic behaviour, and in particular, the importance of language attitudes in determining

language choice in a multilingual situation, will enable non-Aboriginals to appreciate something of the social and linguistic complexity of the Aboriginal culture.

CHAPTER 2

MANINGRIDA: HISTORICAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC PERSPECTIVE

2.1 Introduction

An assessment of current linguistic developments in Maningrida requires a knowledge of the historical background and demographic structure of the multilingual community.

This chapter analyses the social, demographic and historical background of Maningrida, in order to provide a framework in which to undertake the later empirical study of linguistic behaviour and attitudes.

Following a brief description of the effects of pre-settlement contact with Europeans on the traditional Aboriginal way of life, an examination of the historical development of the settlement of Maningrida is undertaken. The official reasons the European community put forward for establishing the settlement are considered and the main developments in the settlement are reviewed.

Maningrida is a hybrid, artificial community with a fluctuating population, speaking a large number of diverse first languages. The population of Maningrida has been relatively unstable since its inception. This instability appears to reflect the Aboriginals' attitudes towards living together continuously in an artificial town founded by European Australians, whose aims and ambitions for the settlement and its people were markedly different from those of the Aboriginals. The pervasive instability of Maningrida's population

appears to be due to the Aboriginal's attitudes towards sedentary living in continuous close proximity to each other. It is an indicator of the degree of friction or goodwill the various tribes feel towards each other. These social attitudes are likely to be central to linguistic interaction.

Because of the instability of Maningrida's population, reliable population figures cannot easily be established. However, because of its significance for linguistic interaction, a detailed survey of the present demographic structure and geographical location of the community in the Maningrida area is made in Section 2.3. For reasons of analytical clarity, the Aboriginal population is broken down into three broad groups, reflecting their traditional affiliations with the area, and type of social structure. The geographical location of each group's traditional "country" is found to be important for determining inter-tribal relations. This in turn is highly significant in setting patterns of multilingualism and in determining the acceptability of any Aboriginal language as a possible lingua franca in the Maningrida area.

Drawing on both the socio-historical and demographic features discussed, the possible future development of Maningrida is considered.

2.2 A Brief History of Maningrida

The present government settlement of Maningrida was established first in 1957 near a freshwater spring (from which the name of the settlement was taken), on the eastern bank of the estuary of the Liverpool River, about five miles from its mouth. Before 1957 the Aboriginals'

contact with Europeans had been spasmodic and unsystematic.

Prior to the establishment of Maningrida, the Aborigines in North-Central Arnhem Land had lived as hunter-gatherers in tribal groups. The area was rich in natural produce, so that tribal territories were smaller than for tribes further inland and over most of Australia. Tribes in the region formed two unofficial blocs (Armstrong, 1967: 12-15), an Eastern Arnhem Land bloc, (with a predominantly patrilineal social structure), and a Western Arnhem Land bloc, (with a predominantly matrilineal social structure), between which contact was minimal and generally hostile. Within each bloc, however, there was a fair degree of intertribal contact for ceremonial and trading purposes, inter-marriage was common (Berndt, 1971), and both men and women commonly spoke two or three of each other's languages.

Before 1939, when an extensive survey was carried out by Gordon Sweeney, there had been little European exploration of the Central Arnhem Land region. Methodist Overseas Missions had been established at Goulburn Island in 1916, and at Milingimbi in 1925. The Church Missionary Society established a mission at Oenpelli also in 1925. Before the Second World War, the Aborigines from the coast around the Liverpool River (the Gunavidji and Gunbalang) had gone to the Goulburn Island Mission regularly to fish for trepang (*bêche-de-mer* or "sea-slugs"). This contact ceased, however, when the market with China was lost at the outbreak of war. Men from the Burera and Nakara tribes in the Blyth River region had had regular contact with the mission at Milingimbi, but as they were not on good terms with the local Aborigines they always left when transactions were completed (Hiatt, 1965:7). The Gunwinjgu people drifted west to the Oenpelli Mission,

but this contact also ceased with the spread of war to the Pacific (Northern Territory Administration - Welfare Branch, 1959:3). During the war years, many Aboriginal men from Central Arnhem Land were drawn to and served in army camps in Darwin. After the war, when they returned home with stories of Darwin and its attractions, there was a gradually increasing drift of Aborigines, particularly men, to Darwin.

Following investigations into alleged tribal murders in the area between 1946 and 1949 the investigating Patrol Officer, Kyle-Little, included in his report a recommendation to establish a small trading post in Central Arnhem Land. The missionaries thought that the only suitable place for such a post would be near the Liverpool River, as the Aborigines there did not come directly under the influence of any mission. In 1949, Kyle-Little and a junior officer, with instructions to repatriate at least sixty Liverpool River Aboriginal men from Darwin, established a trading post at Maningrida. It was successful, but after its closure for the wet season there were insufficient funds to reopen it.

Another survey (and census) was carried out in 1955, again under the control of Gordon Sweeney. This was a result of growing concern about the rapid drift of Aborigines to Darwin. Sweeney's findings and recommendations were similar to those of Kyle-Little in 1949. In 1956 it was decided to open a medical and ration depot in North-Central Arnhem Land. This would facilitate government control over the general development of the area. In early May, 1957, three officers from the Welfare Branch went by boat to the mouth of the Liverpool River with thirty tons of building equipment, stores, a motor-driven dinghy and a radio-transceiver.

The opinions of the Aborigines themselves on the establishment of a settlement had not been sought. Sweeney, during his second patrol, in 1955, had contacted representatives of most of the groups in the area and "informed (them) of the (government's) intention to establish a settlement" (Northern Territory Administration - Welfare Branch, 1959:7). Tribes which had previously had little or no friendly contact were now to find themselves in daily proximity.

The official reasons for establishing the settlement, and its aims, are significant. The concept of the settlement was not that of a "compound into which all the Aborigines of the area would move" (Northern Territory Administration - Welfare Branch, 1959:8), although this, in effect, was what happened very quickly. They were apparently to be left in their tribal areas, with minimum interference, initially, to their tribal patterns of life. The Aborigines themselves voluntarily moved into the new settlement, because they saw it as satisfying certain perceived new needs, such as access to tea, sugar and flour, and easier access to alcohol. It was a new experience for most of them, the significance of which, in terms of intertribal tensions, were clear neither to the Aborigines nor to the white administrators at the time.

The "major considerations" involved in the reestablishment of a settlement at Maningrida during 1957 had, however, somewhat wider aims than the mere provision of foodstuffs. They were:

- (a) to provide a point of contact where "local natives" could become "familiar with European trading practices".
- (b) the establishment of a medical control point. This was to be a first step in a campaign against leprosy.

- (c) the eventual establishment of a primary school for children, and manual training facilities for adolescents and adults, "as part of a long term programme to assimilate the aboriginal population". (Northern Territory Administration - Welfare Branch, 1959:21).

The Welfare Branch hoped that as the settlement expanded and a money economy was introduced, the settlement's ability to provide Aborigines with "gainful" employment would increase. Maningrida, as a government settlement, was seen as a key instrument "by means of which the Government's aim of assimilating the Aboriginal people would be achieved. Settlement staff have the difficult task of fitting the Aborigines to live full lives like other Australians" (Australia. Territories, Department of, 1958:13). The programme of establishing settlements, such as Maningrida, acknowledged as a fact and a necessity the inevitable disintegration of the social patterns of traditional tribal life. The immediate aim of the settlement programme, however, was to "control the speed and the severity of the breakdown in the natives' social structure" (Northern Territory Administration - Welfare Branch, 1959:22-23). Thus Maningrida was established in a period when "assimilation" was regarded by European Australians as the only solution to "the Aboriginal problem".

The first ten years of Maningrida's growth were relatively uneventful. Contrary to initial expectations, the Aboriginal population grew very rapidly, from about 260 in 1959 (N.T. Administration, Welfare Branch, 1959) to 480 in May 1960 (Hiatt, 1965), about 800 in 1966 (Census, 1966; Armstrong 1967), and 969 in 1968 (Hamilton, 1970).

(See Table 2.1). The reasons for this were undoubtedly the ready availability of certain commodities. In the longer term, however, the benefits, as perceived by the Aborigines, which stemmed from these commodities, dimmed in relation to the growing social problems and the weakening of the traditional tribal structure.

Before disenchantment with settlement life developed, "permanent" dwellings (constructed with cypress pine frames, canvas or bark walls, and corrugated iron roofs) replaced the traditional wurly, and these in turn were slowly replaced by government-built houses. A sawmill was established, and an area of ground set aside for experimental work in growing fruit and vegetable crops. The settlement became fairly self-sufficient for a time, although the garden was subsequently abandoned, and the sawmill is now rarely used.

The history of Maningrida over the last ten years is difficult to establish from written records.¹ It appears likely that for half of this period development continued along similar lines to that of Maningrida's first ten years. Certainly the white population, consisting of government officials, welfare workers, teachers, forestry workers, and their families, increased markedly between 1966 and 1974, from about 65 to 250 (this last figure (Stannard, 1975) may not be reliable). Aborigines continued to be employed as forestry workers, gardeners, truck drivers, sanitation workers and domestics. Aboriginal

¹ The first ten years of its history produced a spate of government documents outlining Maningrida's development (for example, Australia. Territories, Dept. of, 1958; N.T. Administration-Welfare Branch, 1959), and research work, both published and unpublished (including Hiatt, 1965; Armstrong, 1967; Hamilton, 1970 (based on field-work in 1967 and 1968)). There have been no further reports since that time.

TABLE 2.1

POPULATION TRENDS IN MANINGRIDA ACCORDING TO TRIBE AND LANGUAGE:
 1960 (HIATT), 1966 (ARMSTRONG), 1966 (CENSUS), 1972 (MILLIKEN).

TRIBAL NAME	HIATT* 1960	ARMSTRONG 1966	CENSUS 1966	MILLIKEN [†] 1972
Alawa	-	-	9	-
Dangbon	-	-	21	-
Gungoragone	4%(18)	11	14	37 (Maningrida only)
Gumauwurrk	-	15	?	5
Rembarnga	-	18	35	(433)
Wulaki	-	-	23	(43) (most at Maningrida)
Gunwinjgu	3%(14)	92	101	(929) (few at Maningrida)
Djinang	6%(28)	-	51	(204) (most at Maningrida)
Yarnangu	3%(14)	-	46	(44) (most at Maningrida)
Walang(Gunbalang)	2%(9)	-	15	-
Gunavidji	15%(72)	118	138	153
Nakara	13%(63)	72	67	114 (Maningrida only)
-Gidjingali	46%(220)			
Burera		346	337	594 (most at Maningrida)
-Gunadpa	8%(37)			
TOTAL	c.480	672	857	

* Hiatt (1965) gave population percentages. The numbers in parantheses are the approximate absolute numbers.

† Milliken's (1976) statistics for 1972 are inexact as a population count for Maningrida, for the numbers indicate the maximum number of people speaking each language as first language. The exact geographical location of tribal members was not important for him.

unemployment in Maningrida has always been high, and probably was so during this period, despite attempts to distribute work to as many people as possible. Many Aborigines probably survived on Social Security payments, as they do now.

At the end of 1972 there were significant changes in government policies towards Aborigines.² The change in official policy appears to have had at least two major effects which are fundamentally important in assessing possible future development of the social and linguistic situation in Maningrida. One effect was specific to Maningrida. The other occurred throughout Northern Australia.

In the first place, the Tribal Council expelled certain members of the white community (numbering 250 before this episode to the Aboriginal population of 500) (Stannard, 1975) from Maningrida for a short period in September, 1974. Those expelled were seen by the Aborigines as redundant or destructive of Aboriginal interests. This "quiet revolution" (A.B.C., 1974) appears to have been a symptom of a deeply-rooted Aboriginal concern about the concentration of power in Maningrida in the hands of the whites, most of whom were antagonistic to the Aborigines (J. Reser, psychologist with A.I.A.S., personal communication). It signifies a rejection of white domination in another way as well. "Once the well-manicured showplace for Aboriginal policies (Maningrida) has become the focal point for a black revolution against the stifling benevolence of the white welfare state" (Stannard, 1975).

2

The Federal Labor Government, which came to office in 1972, fundamentally altered the previous administrative philosophy towards the Aboriginal population of Australia. The policy of assimilation, which had guided the destiny of the Aborigines for forty years, and which was the creative force behind the establishment of government settlements like Maningrida, was replaced by a policy of "self-determination".

Although the Tribal Council has since suffered an eclipse because of tensions among its members, the political determination to act independently in their own interests as Aborigines is now very strong in Maningrida's Aborigines.

The second development following ^{from} the concern for "self-determination" is the growth of the outstation movement, a movement which has spread across the whole of the Northern Territory since 1973. (The outstation movement involves decentralisation to traditional country among Aborigines who had "settled down" on missions, government settlements and cattle stations). The movement appears to stem from an incompatibility between white and Aboriginal views of what is desirable for the Aboriginal population. Coombs (1974:6-7) explains the outstation movement in terms of social and linguistic pressures. Missions and settlements were established with the intention of imposing social changes (assimilation, in the form of adaptation to white Australian living patterns, adoption of European-style education, the cash economy, and European modes of behaviour) on a "captive" Aboriginal population. The Aborigines were thus brought together in multi-clan and often multi-language "communities" (like Maningrida). If such "communities" are maintained beyond the short term, they become alien to the Aboriginal way of life and create significant stresses (underlying such problems as drunkenness and petrol sniffing, which are rife in the Northern Territory). Whatever the cause, however, increasing numbers of small groups, usually from single clans and language groups, started breaking away from larger aggregate communities, and set up satellite communities or "outstations".

To date, twenty-two outstations have been established in the Maningrida area, within a radius of 120 km from the original settlement, south-west, south and east. Six more are proposed for

establishment within the immediate future. Most are single-language units, though a few consist of two or more groups with traditional affiliations. In a short period the outstations have become a central feature of life in the Maningrida area. Most Aboriginal people visit outstations on their own traditional tribal territory for at least short periods each year, while at least two-thirds of the population in the Maningrida area spend a substantial part of the year at their outstation, commuting perhaps as often as once a week to Maningrida for shopping, perhaps far less frequently.

Many of the services which once were provided only in centralised settlements are now provided directly to people on outstations without the social and linguistic tensions and friction accompanying them as they do in Maningrida. Once a fortnight, the Maningrida Outstation Resource Centre services each outstation with goods and pension cheques. Health workers from Maningrida visit all outstations regularly, and schools are operating in eight outstations which expressed a desire to have them.

Multilingualism is still a feature of outstations. While most outstation residents probably speak the same first language, contact with people from elsewhere is still frequent enough for knowledge of more than one language to be virtually essential. A comparison is made between multilingualism in Maningrida and on outstations in Chapter 4.

2.3 Demographic Perspective

At present (1977), three groups of people live "in Maningrida". They are: those Aboriginal people who normally live all or most of the

year in Maningrida; those Aboriginal people who spend at least all the Dry Season (and possibly longer) living on outstations in their own "country"³ in the region around Maningrida and who regard Maningrida as the normal place to go for shopping and medical care; and the white population. Each tribal group living in the Maningrida area contains members who prefer to live in Maningrida, and others who prefer to live some or most of the time on outstations.

A difficulty exists with the inference of the term "tribe" or "tribal group". Armstrong (1967) uses "tribe" interchangeably with "linguistic group". Other sources do not specify what they mean by "tribe", although they use the same names as Armstrong. Dixon (1976: 214-219) stresses that "tribe" and "language group" are ambiguous, particularly as anthropological literature uses "language" in two distinct senses. One meaning, "language 1", indicates "political and social identity". The second meaning, "language 2", is the technical meaning used by linguists. Thus, two modes of speech are dialects of the same "language 2" if they are mutually intelligible. The meanings of the terms "tribe", "language 1" and "language 2" are not always contiguous, as many different tribes effectively speak the same "language 2", (that is dialects of the same "language 2"), while some major linguistic boundaries (isoglosses) cut across "tribal" areas, following ecological or geographical boundaries. Among the "tribes" traditionally represented in Maningrida, "tribe" and "language 1" coincide with "language 2". Among the newcomers (Maung, Gupapuyngu, Wangurri and Gumatj), "tribe" and "language 1" do not coincide with "language 2" in the cases of Gupapuyngu, Wangurri and Gumatj, which are dialects of the same "language

"Country" is the English term used by Aboriginals to refer to the land traditionally occupied by their particular tribe. In a sense, it corresponds to the English concept of "home".

2", the Yolngu language.

At least eleven languages are spoken as first languages by tribal groups in the Maningrida area. Only seven of them can be regarded as "traditional" Maningrida languages. They are Gunavidji, Burera, Nakara, Gunwinjgu,⁴ Djinang (with its dialect, Wulaki), Rembarnga and Gungoragone. The remaining four, (Gupapuyngu, Wangurri, Gumatj and Maung) are spoken by "newcomers" to Maningrida itself, who come from further afield in Arnhem Land, and who are not really regarded as "Maningrida" people by some of its "traditional" residents. Two tribes which have "traditionally" been accepted as "Maningrida" people, but who seem to have largely disappeared as first-language speakers, are the Gunbalang and Yarnangu. Table 2.2 presents approximate figures, by location and language group, for the population of Maningrida.

There are considerable difficulties in compiling an accurate census of the Maningrida area, and the figures in Table 2.2 make no claim to total accuracy. No census by tribal group has been carried out for Maningrida since 1966. The figures for the Maningrida area come from a census count made of Maningrida's outstations in April, 1977 (Outstation Resource Centre, 1977). Unfortunately, there was no accompanying census of the population of Maningrida itself. Official sources (Department of Aboriginal Affairs, Department of Education and Department of Health) were unable to provide any figures for tribal population, and could only estimate that there are about 1,200 Aborigines living in the total Maningrida area (including Maningrida). During the Dry Season, the number of Aboriginal people living in the town of Maningrida fluctuates constantly,

TABLE 2.2

PRESENT POPULATION OF MANINGRIDA AND THE MANINGRIDA AREA (APPROXIMATE).

LANGUAGE GROUP	MANINGRIDA AREA	MANINGRIDA	TOTAL
(Gunbalang)/ Gunavidji	14	100+	110+
Burera	240	100-120	340-360
Nakara	55	20-45	75-100
Gunwinjgu	148	less than 10	150-160
Djinang/(Wulaki)	78	20-30	100-110
Rembarnga	142	less than 10	152
Gungoragone	18	10-15	about 30
Maung	-	fluctuating small no.	fluctuating small no.
Gupapuyngu	-	20-30 fluctuating	20-30
Wangurri	-	less than 5	less than 5
Gumatj	-	less than 5	less than 5
Total	695	300-355+	995-1,050+

from as low as fifty, to as high as 400 or 500, with the average Aboriginal population being between 300 and 350. This range is based on the official estimate of total Aboriginal population in the region, and the census count of Maningrida's outstations. The detailed figures are based on this, combined with an estimate of approximate tribal size, indicated in the 1966 Census.

There were about 160 whites living in Maningrida during August-September, 1977. Between 30 and 40 left at the end of October, 1977, and will not be replaced. Even so, except when the population swells with the Wet Season influx, the whites are at present the largest single group in the town.⁵

Among the "traditional" Maningrida population, the Burera are the largest single group in the Maningrida area by about 200, although in Maningrida there are as many Gunavidji as there are Burera. Table 2.2 indicates that the Gunwinjgu and the Rembarnga are among the numerically larger groups in the Maningrida area, although there are very few of either group in Maningrida itself. Most of the Gunwinjgu live to the west, in and around Oenpelli. Most of the Rembarnga live to the south, mainly in Katherine, Bamyili and Bulman. The Djinang are another large group in the Maningrida area, though three quarters of them do not live on the settlement. The bulk of the Djinang tribe live east of the Maningrida area, however, centred at Ramingining and Nangalala, south of Milingimbi. The Nakara group is moderately significant in the

5

Stannard (1975) attributes the "quiet revolution" in 1974 partially to the very high ratio of whites to aborigines (1:2), with the Aboriginal population numbering about 500. The ratio is the same in 1977.

Maningrida area in terms of numbers, but, again, only one quarter live in the settlement. The thirty Gungoragone and the very few Gunbalang are remnants of once much larger tribes.

The newcomers to Maningrida are all members of very large groups. All of them live in Maningrida, rather than in the general area. Aboriginal informants in Maningrida felt they should be regarded as transitory visitors to Maningrida, although a number of Gupapuyugu have been living there for a couple of years, and hold prized jobs. Even though their presence in Maningrida may be relatively short-term, they are important in a study of multilingualism in Maningrida.

The traditional spatial arrangement of these linguistic groups in Central Arnhem Land is significant for the information it reveals about traditional intertribal affiliations and hostilities, attitudes and relationships. From these, much can be inferred about current linguistic behaviour and attitudes at an intertribal level. Armstrong (1967:12-15) distinguishes two major but loosely knit associations of tribes: the "Western Arnhem Land" tribes and the "Eastern Arnhem Land" tribes, based as much on intra-tribal social structure as on geographical location. This distinction is maintained in this discussion, as it provides a useful perspective for an analysis of linguistic interaction.

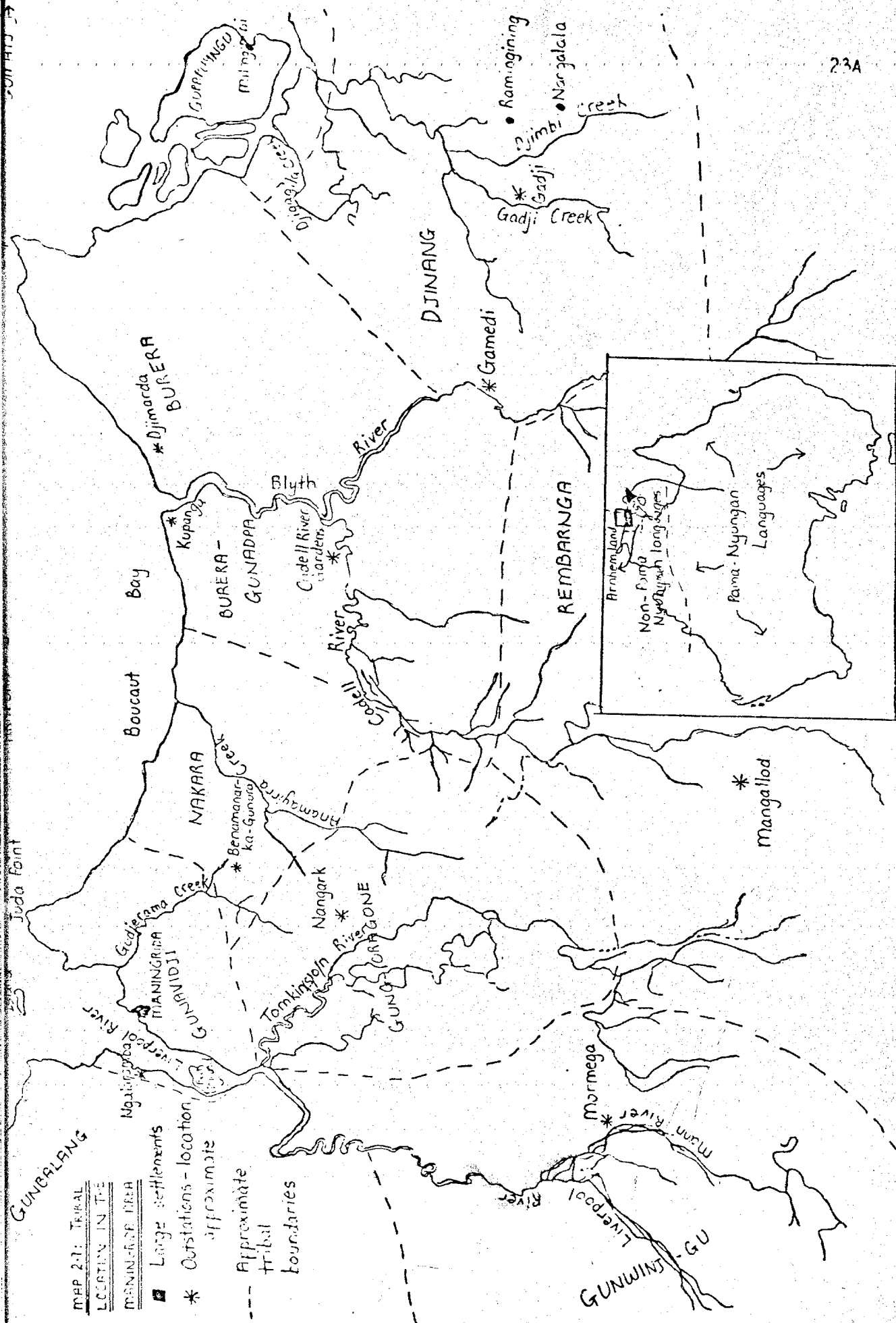
2.3.1 The "Western Arnhem Land" Tribes

The Gunavidji, Walang (or Gunbalang), Gungoragone, Gunwinjgu, Nakara and Maung all have a "Western Arnhem Land" type of social structure (Armstrong, 1967: 12-13), which is strongly matrilineal. The tribes are bound together by intermarriage and a ceremonial exchange system.

Maningrida is built in Gunavidji country, which extends from the Tomkinson River (see map) to the sea on the east bank of the Liverpool River. Its eastward boundary appears to be near the centre of Boucaut Bay. The Gunavidji estates ("clan territories") are also located on the western bank of the Liverpool River. Although the Gunavidji are the traditional land-holders, they are not respected by the whites in Maningrida or by the Burera and Gupapuyugu. The reason for this is obscure, but seems to be associated at least in part with the relative weakness of the head Gunavidji man, a relative lack of political astuteness among the Gunavidji as a group, and the particularly acute problems of alcoholism and petrol-sniffing (both of which, along with syphilis, are rife among Aboriginal communities such as Maningrida) with which the Gunavidji are afflicted.

Adjoining Gunavidji country to the west, along the Liverpool River and west to Junction Bay, is Walang country. The Walang people, who speak Gunbalang (documented by Joy Kinslow Harris) are very much a transitory remnant in Maningrida, as are the Gungoragone. Gungoragone country is located south of Gunavidji territory, along the Tomkinson River.

The Gunwinjgu people, who live west of the mid-Liverpool region, are one of the major groups of Arnhem Land. Now they are concentrated in the region around Oenpelli, and relatively few of them (about a hundred and fifty, which is about one-eighth of their total numbers) live in the Maningrida Area, around the Upper Liverpool and Mann Rivers. Those who do live in the Maningrida Area have strong associations with the Gunwinjgu further west and also with other tribes west who use the Gunwinjgu language as something of a lingua franca.



The Nakara people live immediately to the east of the Gunavidji country, to within about five miles of the mouth of the Blyth River. Traditionally they were on good terms with tribes both to the east and west. Even now they tend to act as intermediaries between the Gunavidji and the Burera, whose traditional relationships were always hostile.

The Maung, transitory newcomers to Maningrida, come from Goulburn Island, west of Maningrida.

The "West Arnhem Land" tribes are not a particularly cohesive unit. Neighbouring tribes are closer than more distant groups (for example, the Nakara were traditionally more closely linked with the Gunavidji and Burera than with the Gunwinjgu). As their immediate neighbours are no longer strongly unified, the Gunwinjgu tend to remain aloof from the other groups in the Maningrida area (Armstrong, 1967:13). Further, as the Gunwinjgu generally associate with other Gunwinjgu-speaking people to the west, they have only a limited knowledge of other languages spoken in Maningrida. The high proportion of Gunwinjgu in the Maningrida Area, combined with their relative isolation from the other Aboriginal residents of Maningrida, made their earlier presence in Maningrida extremely difficult. The attitudes of the other groups towards the Gunwinjgu language, and the linguistic behaviour of the Gunwinjgu themselves, is a focal point of Chapter 4.

2.3.2 The "Eastern Arnhem Land" Tribes

The Burera, Djinang, Yarnangu, Gupapuyugu, Gumatj and Wangurri all have the "Eastern Arnhem Land" type of social structure, which is patrilineal (Armstrong, 1967:14-15).

From the lower mid-Cadell River to Cape Stewart is country which is inhabited by basically Burera speakers, the largest group in the Maningrida Area. Hiatt (1965) distinguishes two main groups of Burera, the Gidjingali and the Gunadpa, whose languages are marked by some dialectal differences (Armstrong, 1967:13). Information provided by Burera informants suggests that the situation is more complex. The Burera appear to be a loose affiliation of several different clan groups (for example, Gunadpa, Anbara, Madai and Maringa) around the lower Cadell River, lower Blyth River and Cape Stewart. Some of the people identify as "Anbara" or "Gunadba" or "Maringa" rather than "Burera", and it is not clear what status "Burera" actually has as either a tribal name or a language name, although the dialects spoken by the various groups are probably reasonably similar.

The Yarnangu were a group east of Cape Stewart. They intermarried with the Burera (mainly from the Cape Stewart region), and had strong ties with Milingimbi people. They appear to have virtually disappeared from the Maningrida Area.

The Djinang came from the mainland south of Milingimbi. They have strong ties matrimonially and geographically with the Burera, particularly the Gunadpa group. They also have strong mythological and ritual associations with the Yarnangu and others at Milingimbi.

While the Yarnangu and Djinang both have a complete "Eastern Arnhem Land" social system (strongly patrilineal), the Burera social system tends to reflect a transition between the "Eastern Arnhem Land" type and the "Western Arnhem Land" type. However, the primary influence appears to be the Eastern type. Burera, and to a lesser extent, Gupapuyngu (spoken by the largest group at Milingimbi) are

lingua francas among them.

Gupapuyngu is the main dialect of Milingimbi, east of the Maningrida area. The number of Gupapuyngu speakers in Maningrida increased dramatically during 1977. Gumatj and Wangurri are two dialects spoken at or near Yirrkala, on the Gove Peninsula. All three groups, newcomers to Maningrida, share an "Eastern Arnhem Land" type of social system with the Burera and Djinang, traditional Maningrida residents.

2.3.3 Others

Some tribes resident in the Maningrida area do not fit the division into "Eastern Arnhem Land" and "Western Arnhem Land" social structure. They are the Rembarnga, the Alawa, and the very few Central Australians living at present in Maningrida.

The Rembarnga came originally from the headwaters of the Cadell River, south of Burera (Gunadpa) territory. They have intermarried with Burera-Gunadpa, Gunwinjgu and Dangbon (Ngalkbon), and have extensive connections with Mainoru Station (the southern limit of Arnhem Land), Beswick Downs, Katherine, Bam'yili and Bulman.

One Alawa family, a remnant of a much larger tribe from the country south of the Gulf of Carpentaria, lives at present in Maningrida. They maintain extensive contacts with friends to the south-east. The children belonging to the Alawa family do not speak Alawa, but regard Roper Creek Creole as their first language.

One or two Central Australian Aborigines now live in Maningrida. Maningrida informants suggested that they were mainly Aranda people.

The Alawa and Central Australians are, like the Gupapuyngu, Gumatj, Wangurri and Maung "newcomers" to the Maningrida area.

2.3.4 How Spatial Arrangements in Maningrida Reflect Tribal Location

Hiatt (1965) and Armstrong (1967) both noted that in the early days of Maningrida, incoming Aboriginal groups would align themselves spatially in the settlement exactly as their tribal territories were aligned geographically in Arnhem Land. This apparently subconscious behaviour permeated many levels of settlement life. The spatial arrangement would be reproduced whenever mixed tribal groups congregated, for example, on pay days, and in the communal dining room while it was operating. The tendency diminished in time, although the geographical orientation of the groups was still marked in both 1968 (Hamilton, 1970:1) and 1977 (Elwell, personal observation).

Work gangs, too, tended to be composed of men of the same or neighbouring groups, who understood each other's language. Although the tendency was breaking down by 1966 (Armstrong, 1967:16), it seems to have regained strength. The shop is now run by the Gunavidji, the Gupapuyngu control the Hasty Tasty, (a café) the Djinang form the main group of Maningrida-based health workers, and the Housing Association is controlled by Bureras. The bakery is run by a group of Gunavidji, Gungoragone and Gunwinjgu (who have traditional close associations). The council workers and teaching assistants are more mixed groups, but

they generally do not have to work together. The Tribal Council is a completely mixed group, but this linguistic and social heterogeneity has caused so many tensions that it did not meet at all in 1977 until it was presented with an ultimatum at the end of August.

The original geographical arrangement of the tribes represented at Maningrida affected intertribal relations both socially and linguistically. Members of neighbouring tribes which had social connections tended also to learn each others' languages. The relative instability of certain tribal groups in Maningrida, including the development of the outstation movement in the 1970s, could reflect tensions arising from the associations of groups mutually suspicious because of traditional social, geographic and linguistic distance. The position of the Gunwinjgu in the Maningrida Area, despite their numbers, has tended to be circumscribed by traditional social distance. The degree to which living together in Maningrida and the wider Maningrida Area has altered past associations and alignments is reflected in the attitudes members of each group have towards the languages of other groups, and their ideas about "correct" or acceptable linguistic behaviour.

2.4 Maningrida: Prospects for the Future

Maningrida's future is not entirely clear. In the medium term, it seems likely that Maningrida will become simply a resource centre for the whole area, with a very small permanent Aboriginal population of no more than one hundred who really want to live there. Many among the relatively large white population will leave, too, once

their jobs become redundant⁶ or are taken over by Aborigines.

At present, Maningrida is a hybrid, artificial community, with its fluctuating population speaking a large number of different first languages. Geographical location of each group's traditional country is significant in determining who is likely to have had good relations with whom in the past. This tends to be highly significant in setting patterns of multilingualism, and in determining the likely acceptance or otherwise of any Aboriginal language as a lingua franca for the Maningrida area. As a result of the pressures of tensions arising from rapid social change and enforced linguistic heterogeneity, many of the people have moved back to their own country. While the outcome of this movement in the long term is not entirely clear, it seems that it is not likely to lessen substantially the complexity of the multilingual situation in Maningrida.

⁶ This has happened with most of the people working for the Maningrida Housing Association, which was reduced in October 1977 to a small core of maintenance workers (all Aboriginal) under one white supervisor.

CHAPTER 3

THE LANGUAGES OF MANINGRIDA: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

3.1 Introduction

In a study of the sociolinguistic aspects of multilingualism in a particular community, it is essential that the facts of the languages concerned be well understood. Without an idea of what it means in linguistic terms to be a speaker of a particular language learning another language, it is difficult to isolate social from linguistic factors determining the extent and nature of multilingualism. While social motivation is an important determinant of second-language learning, the typological or structural diversity of the second language relative to the first and other languages already known is also significant.

The languages of Maningrida are structurally highly diversified. The eleven languages spoken as first languages in the Maningrida area appear to belong to up to five probably distantly-related language families: Gunwinjguan, Gunavidjian, Nakaran, Bureran and Pama-Nyungan. Languages within each language family are relatively similar linguistically. Thus it would probably be relatively easy to learn a second language from the same language family. Languages in different language families are generally structurally very different. It would be much more difficult, relatively, to learn languages from different language families. This chapter presents aspects of the grammars of the languages spoken

in the Maningrida area in a comparative format, to highlight their diversity. Only those languages are considered where descriptive material is already available, and where the population of Maningrida which speaks the language concerned is reasonably large.

First, this chapter discusses the postulated relationship of the languages of Maningrida to each other and to the other languages of the Australian continent. The linguistic data is then presented in a way which highlights the typological similarities and differences between the languages. An examination of their morphological, syntactical and lexical differences follows a brief discussion of the phonologies of Maningrida's languages. A discussion of some characteristics of Aboriginal English is provided, as well as a brief review of the influence of Macassan and English on the vocabularies of the Aboriginal languages. The former section demonstrates the diversity of style which exists within one language learned as a second language. The latter section illustrates how the Aboriginal languages adapt to diversity imposed from external sources. Finally, a survey is made of possible linguistic effects on multilingual competence of the typological diversity of the languages in the Maningrida area.

3.2 The Languages of Maningrida: General Classification

The sociolinguistic consequences of multilingualism in the Maningrida area are likely to be affected by the linguistic relationships between the languages spoken there. In order to gain a general impression of the relationship of Maningrida's languages to each other and to the other Aboriginal languages of the continent, two existing attempts to fit the languages of Maningrida into the overall framework

of Australian languages are discussed briefly.

Most Aboriginal languages appear to be members of one large, probably related, family, called the Pama-Nyungan languages.¹ These languages span most of the continent, except for one part of northern Australia which includes all, except the north-east, of Arnhem Land. Within this relatively small area of Northern Australia, a number of apparently quite disparate language families are found. They are described as "non-Pama-Nyungan" languages. It is not at all clear whether these language "families" are genetically related to each other, or to the Pama-Nyungan languages. It seems likely, however, that they are distantly related, as they do share certain features. Their phonemic inventories contain a number of typically "Australian" features, although these could be a result of areal diffusion within Australia. They also share a few lexical items, described by Capell, (1966:84ff) as "common Australian". These are much less likely to be areal features (resulting from diffusion) than are phonological and other typological similarities. The relationship of the languages of Maningrida to the other languages of the continent is not important here. What is important is to consider how past linguistic analysts have perceived the relationship between the languages spoken in the Maningrida area. Two attempts have been made to classify the language of Arnhem Land.

One system of classification for North and North-West Australia was made by Capell on the basis of whether the languages

¹ The name "Pama-Nyungan" is derived from two words for "man" among Australian languages, "pama" in the northeast and "nyunga" in the southwest. (Dixon, personal communication).

concerned could be considered to be "prefixing" or "suffixing" (Capell, 1940:242-244). This classification indicates whether grammatical relations are expressed by prefixes or suffixes. Subdivisions within these two main groups were made on the basis of the type of noun classification. Thus both Gunwinjgu and Gunbalang were classified as prefixing languages, with multiple classification of nouns. Gunavidji was classified as a prefixing language, with dual noun classification. The languages east of the Cadell River, such as Burera, Yarnango and Djinang were not mentioned individually, but Capell's map suggests they would be grouped together as suffixing languages. This classification is not very refined or useful. It fails to take note of the major difference between Pama-Nyungan and non-Pama-Nyungan languages (let alone the other possible language families in the Maningrida region), as the "suffixing" languages are said to include Burera (a non-Pama-Nyungan language) and the Yolngu languages (a branch of the Pama-Nyungan languages).

A more useful attempt to relate the languages of Arnhem Land into language families is made by O'Grady and Voegelin (1967:30-31). This is the classification used in this study. Like the Capell "prefixing" - "suffixing" classification, it is based on typology, but it makes use of a greater range of structural features, (phonological, syntactic and morphological) as well as vocabulary. (It is possible that with further linguistic analysis of the languages in the region, this classification could also be refined.)

Among the languages of Arnhem Land, O'Grady and Voegelin isolate a Gunavidjian family (with one member, Gunavidji), a Nakaran family (with one member, Nakara), a large Gunwinjguan family (with six major groups) and a Bureran family, with two groups, subsuming a Gorogonic Group

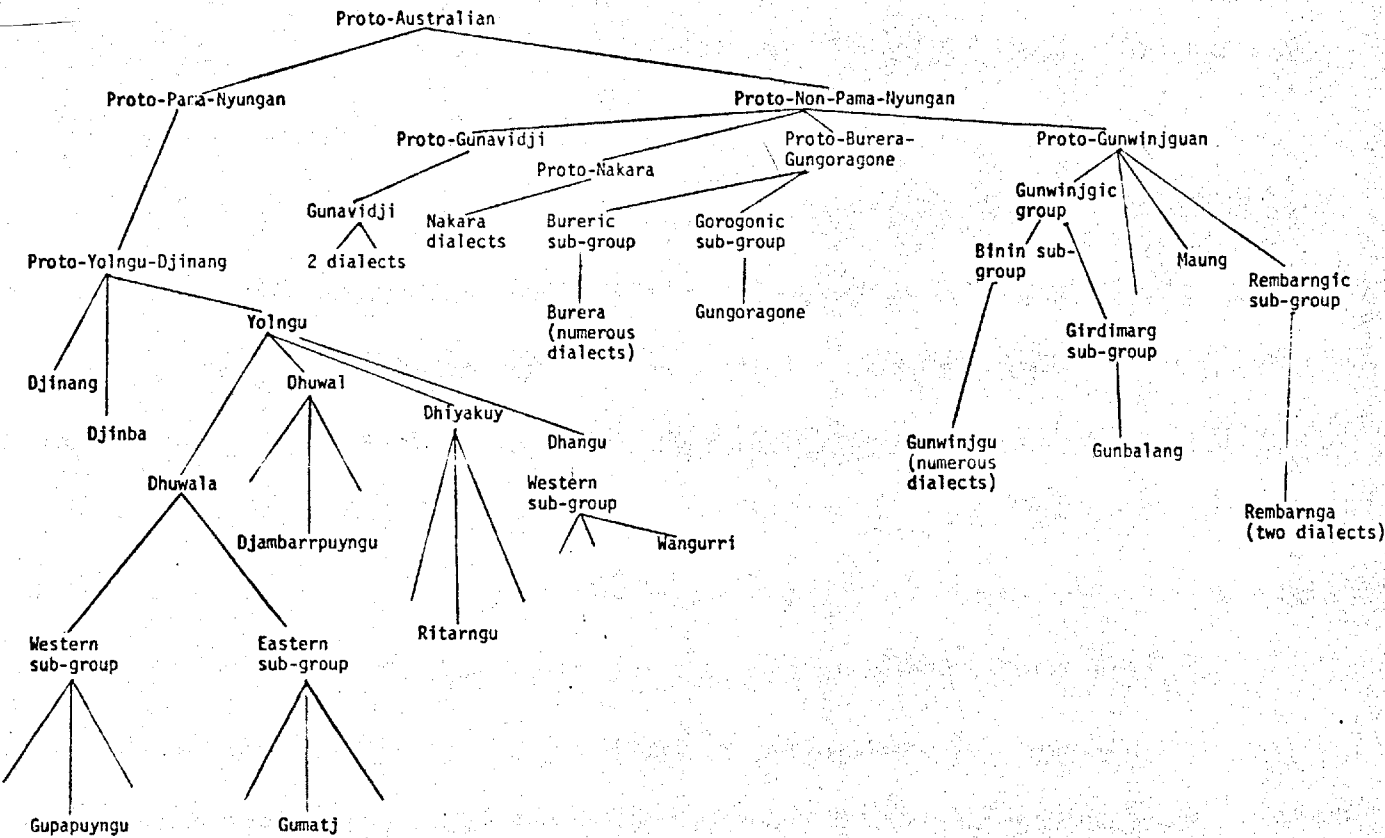
(with one member Gungoragone), and a Bureric Group (with the two dialects of Burera: Gunadpa and Gidjingali). Within the Gunwinjguan family, Gunwinjgu is a member of the Binin Subgroup of the Gunwinjgic group, while Gunbalang is a member of the Girdimarg subgroup of the Gunwinjgic group. Rembarnga is the only member of the Rembarngic group of the Gunwinjguan language family. Djinang is a Pama-Nyungan language. It is related to Gupapuyngu, Gumatj and Wangurri (Schebeck, n.d.), all dialects of the "Yolngu language" (also Pama-Nyungan). These probable relationships are schematised in Figure 3.1.

Each of the languages described here has both regional and social dialects, spoken by only part of the tribes concerned. Carroll's work on Gunwinjgu is based on the dialect spoken most frequently at Oenpelli. It is not known whether generalisations made about Oenpelli Gunwinjgu are also applicable to Maningrida Gunwinjgu. One of the Gunwinjgu dialects is the "mother-in-law" language, Gunkurrng (Harris, 1970). Gundavidji appears to have at least two dialects (McKay, 1976), as does Burera (Gunadpa and Gidjingali). Rembarnga has two dialects, according to the moiety of the speaker (McKay, n.d.:1). In the languages spoken in Maningrida, moiety and clan affiliation appear to be the major determinants of dialectal variation.

The diversity of languages spoken in the Maningrida area, unusual for Australia as a whole, is probably similar to that of the most widely diffused Indo-European languages. The languages of Maningrida are probably as different from each other as Gaelic, Armenian, Spanish, Russian, Greek and Hindi. Degree of "relatedness" or "diversity" between languages can be established approximately by comparing the numbers of linguistic features which can be described as the "same" or "different".

FIGURE 3.1

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SOME OF THE MAJOR LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN NORTHERN ARNHEM LAND
(after O'Grady and Voegelin, 1967: 30-31, Schebeck, n.d.:10).



It should be noted that the typological classification of languages in the Maningrida area does not entirely correspond with the social classification outlined broadly in Chapter 2. The linguistic diversity (possibly five distantly related language families) (O'Grady and Voegelin, 1967) is far greater than the social diversity (basically a dichotomy between "Eastern" and "Western Arnhem Land" tribes) (Armstrong, 1967). One language family, the Bureran, spans both patrilineal and matrilineal social systems. The most major linguistic division (between Djinang (Pama-Nyungan) and Burera (non-Pama-Nyungan)) occurs between tribes who have basically the same type of social system (the patrilineal "Eastern Arnhem Land" system). Extensive multilingualism occurs in the Maningrida area despite the considerable linguistic diversity. This suggests that social need for multilingual language competence can outweigh the difficulty of learning two or more disparate languages. For example, because of traditional ceremonial associations and present proximity in Maningrida, a Gunavidji person might learn both Gunwinjgu and Burera, thereby gaining a knowledge of at least three different languages, in three different language families.

3.3 The Linguistic Data

This discussion of the languages spoken in the Maningrida area is necessarily circumscribed by the available descriptive material.² Some of the major languages in Maningrida have so far been only superficially studied, while some of the less dominant languages (primarily

² A detailed discussion of the available descriptive material is provided in Appendix G.

those whose major populations live elsewhere) have been studied in some depth. The Aboriginal languages considered in this chapter are: Gunwinjgu, Rembarnga and some aspects of Gunbalang (all supposedly members of the Gunwinjguan language family (O'Grady and Voegelin, 1967); Gunavidji (the Gunavidjian language family); some aspects of Nakara (the Nakaran language family); Burera and some aspects of Gungoragone (the Bureran language family) and Djinang (the Yolngu branch of the Pama-Nyungan language family). The languages of the four "newcomers" to Maningrida are not discussed here, as the influence of their speakers in Maningrida is very limited at present.

3.4 Languages of Maningrida: Comparative Phonology

This section explores two aspects of the phonologies of the languages spoken in the Maningrida area, to highlight their diversity. They are the phonemic inventories of the languages concerned, and their phonotactics (the combining properties of the phonemes for each language). A brief review of the phonology of the languages spoken in the Maningrida area is useful, as the languages of the Australian continent are remarkably uniform in the sounds which contrast phonologically, while a number of differences do exist among the languages spoken in Maningrida.

3.4.1 Phonemes

The phonemic inventories of the languages spoken in Maningrida bear some resemblance to each other, and to the phonemic structure of Australian languages in general. Table 3.1 presents the phonemic

TABLE 3.1

COMPARATIVE PHONEMIC INVENTORIES

	Carroll (1976) GUNWINJGU	McKay (1975) REMBARNGA	McKay (1976) GUNAVIDJI	Glasgow (1967 & 1976) BURERA 1st anal.	new anal.	Christie (n.d.) DJINANG	Alpher (1977) NAXARA	Elwell (1977) GUNGURUGONI tentative
Stops:								
voiceless series	Bilabial /t/ b Apico-alveolar /t/ d Apico-Post-Alveol. (Retroflexed) /ɖ/ rd Lamino-dental /t/ dʒ Dorso-Velar /t/ k Glottal /t/ ʔ	/p/ p /t/ t /t/ t /t/ t /k/ k	/p/ p /t/ t /t/ t /t/ t /k/ k	/p/ p /t/ t /t/ t /t/ t /k/ k	/p/ p /t/ t /t/ t /t/ t /k/ k	/p/ p /t/ t /t/ t /t/ t /k/ k	/p/ (bb) /t/ (dd) /t/ (dd) /t/ (dʒ) /k/ (gg)	/b/ voiceless /d/ allophones /d/ /d/ /g/
Stops: voiced- if 2 series	Bilabial Apico-alveolar Apico-Post-Alveol. Lamino-dental Dorso-Velar		/b/ b /d/ d /d/ d /d/ d /g/ g		/b/ b /d/ d /d/ d /d/ d /g/ g	/b/ b /d/ d /d/ d /d/ d /g/ g	/b/ /d/ /d/ /d/ /g/	
Nasals:	Bilabial /m/ m Apico-alveolar /n/ n Apico-Post-Alveol. /ɳ/ ɳ Lamino-dental /ɲ/ ɲ Dorso-Velar /ŋ/ ŋ	/m/ m /n/ n /ɳ/ ɳ /ɲ/ ɲ /ŋ/ ŋ	/m/ m /n/ n /ɳ/ ɳ /ɲ/ ɲ /ŋ/ ŋ	/m/ m /n/ n /ɳ/ ɳ /ɲ/ ɲ /ŋ/ ŋ	/m/ m /n/ n /ɳ/ ɳ /ɲ/ ɲ /ŋ/ ŋ	/m/ m /n/ n /ɳ/ ɳ /ɲ/ ɲ /ŋ/ ŋ	/m/ /n/ /ɳ/ /ɲ/ /ŋ/	/m/ /n/ /ɳ/ /ɲ/ /ŋ/
Laterals:	Apico-alveolar /l/ l Apico-Post-Alveolar /ɭ/ ɭ Lamino-Dental /ɮ/ ɮ	/l/ l /l/ l /l/ l	/l/ l /l/ l /l/ l	/l/ l /l/ l /l/ l	/l/ l /l/ l /l/ l	/l/ l /l/ l /l/ l	/l/ /l/ /l/	/l/ /l/ /l/
Rhotics	Alveolar(flap) /r/ r Retroflex(resonant) /ɻ/ ɻ	/r/ r /ɻ/ ɻ	/r/ r /ɻ/ ɻ	/r/ r /ɻ/ ɻ	/r/ r /ɻ/ ɻ	/r/ r /ɻ/ ɻ	/r/ r /ɻ/ ɻ	/r/ /ɻ/
Semi- vowels	Laminal /ɹ/ ɹ Peripheral /w/ w	/ɹ/ ɹ /w/ w	/ɹ/ ɹ /w/ w	/ɹ/ ɹ /w/ w	/ɹ/ ɹ /w/ w	/ɹ/ ɹ /w/ w	/ɹ/ /w/	/ɹ/ /w/
Vowels	Front high /i/ i Front mid /e/ e Central mid /ə/ ə Central low /a/ a Back high /ɯ/ ɯ Back mid /ɔ/ ɔ	/i/ i /e/ e /ə/ ə /a/ a /ɯ/ ɯ /ɔ/ ɔ	/i/ i /e/ e /ə/ ə /a/ a /ɯ/ ɯ /ɔ/ ɔ	/i/ i /e/ e /ə/ ə /a/ a /ɯ/ ɯ /ɔ/ ɔ	/i/ i /e/ e /ə/ ə /a/ a /ɯ/ ɯ /ɔ/ ɔ	/i/ i /e/ e /ə/ ə /a/ a /ɯ/ ɯ /ɔ/ ɔ	/i/ Vowels /e/ may be longer /a/ short /ɯ/ ɯ /ɔ/ ɔ	/i/ vowel length is not contrastive /a/ /ɯ/ /ɔ/

stress may
be phonemic:
postulated
only, on
basis of
McKay's
vocabulary.

stress-supra
segmental
(phoneme)

(): form not attested in available material, or phonemic status not assured.

/ : -phonologically contrastive, that is, phonemes.

Forms outside / / are the usual orthographic representations used by the analyst of the language.

inventories of Gunwinjgu, Rembarnga, Gunavidji, Burera, Djinang, Nakara and Gungoragone.

A number of things should be noted about the phonemes.

The phonemic inventory for Gunavidji is the suggestion of the present writer, based on an analysis of the distribution of sounds in the verbs cited by McKay (n.d. and 1976). McKay (n.d.:1) suggests tentatively that both vowel length and stress appear to be phonologically significant in Gunavidji. If this is the case, Gunavidji is distinctive in these respects, as these features are not normally found in Arnhem Land languages. Also apparently restricted to Gunavidji in this part of Australia, intervocalic /g/ and /b/ in Gunavidji are usually manifested as fricative allophones. (Fricatives contrast phonologically only in the languages of Cape York.) These features aside, the Gunavidji phonemic inventory is much closer to those of Burera (new analysis, Glasgow and Garner, 1976) and Djinang, than to Gunwinjgu and Rembarnga, in that all three (Burera, Gunavidji and Djinang) can be analysed as having both a voiced and a voiceless series of stops. Within the limited corpus available for Gunavidji, there were no examples of /t/ or /tj/. They are suggested tentatively to complete the paradigm of voiceless stops. This feature (two series of stops) is unusual in Australian languages. Voicing occurs in Rembarnga and Gunwinjgu, but it is not distinctive, as it occurs in complementary distribution with voicelessness. As with other Australian languages, there is a nasal phoneme corresponding to each place of articulation for stops (except glottal). All the languages have at least two laterals, both apical. Oates (1964) suggests that Gunwinjgu has a laminal lateral as well, but Carroll (1976) hypothesises that it is very rare, and appears to be either an allophone, or a phoneme which occurs in a few borrowed words. Each language, except Burera

(new analysis), has two rhotics. All the languages have the two semi-vowels, /y/ and /w/.

The vowel inventory of all the languages, except Djinang, (a Pama-Nyungan language), is atypical for Australian languages. Gunwinjgu and Burera both have five vowel phonemes (common among the non-Pama-Nyungan languages). Rembarnga has a sixth vowel phoneme /ə/. The vowel phonemes of Gunavidji are at present not clearly determined, because the status of the feature "length" has not yet been adequately analysed (McKay, personal communication). In Gunavidji, vowel length could well be a phonemically distinctive syllabic feature (as the glottal stop is for Rembarnga (McKay, 1975:37)), which would mean that Gunavidji still has a basic five-vowel system, plus the feature length. All the vowel phonemes of each language have a number of non-contrastive phonetic variants.

Some of the languages of Maningrida under investigation here have diphthongs. Gunwinjgu's eight diphthongs are all "closing ones". They are: iw, ey, ew, ay, aw, oy, ow and uy (Carroll, 1976:13). Christie (n.d. (a) and n.d.(b)) makes no mention of diphthongs in Djinang. The available corpus of Djinang vocabulary does not include any diphthong. McKay's (1975) Rembarnga corpus includes at least five diphthongs: ow, oy, ay, aw and uy. The situation in Gunavidji again is not clear. McKay's (n.d.) and (1976) material does not indicate whether there are any diphthongs. Kilham's (1963) material suggests that at least four diphthongs exist: ey, ay, au, and ou. It is a moot point whether they have phonemic status. Glasgow and Glasgow (1967:9) interpret Burera diphthongs as (V+y) and (V+w). Only four examples occur in the lexical corpus of Burera. These are: uy, ay, oy, ey. The same situation appears to occur in Gungoragone (Elwell, 1977). The literature concerned is not

explicit on the question of diphthongs. It is generally not clear how many there are in each language or whether they are phonologically contrastive.

While the phonemic inventories of the languages are relatively similar, they are sufficiently different in some cases to cause difficulty for language learning, as when, for example, the second language to be learned has a more complex set of vowel oppositions than the speaker's first language. One major difference is the apparent existence of a double series of stop phonemes (voiced and voiceless) in the non-Gunwinjuan languages (based on O'Grady and Voegelin's classification, (1967)). Voiced and voiceless allophones exist for the stop series in Gunwinjgu and Rembarnga, so that the concept of voice is not entirely unfamiliar to a person who only speaks Gunwinjgu and/or Rembarnga. This would be the case, too, with vowels. A word borrowed from one language to another in Maningrida would be easily assimilated by the phonemic inventory of the borrowing language.

It is possible that the relative similarity of phonemes in the languages spoken in the Maningrida area reflects an areal feature, where the languages concerned have acquired similar phonemic inventories by a process of diffusion from one contiguous language to another.

3.4.2 Phonotactics

Another important aspect of phonology which is important here is the question of syllable structure and phonotactics. Despite a superficial similarity in their phonemic inventories, the languages spoken

in the Maningrida area demonstrate a considerable diversity in syllable structure, root length, and general phonotactic behaviour, which would make any second-language learning very difficult.

The results of the phonotactic analysis of the four languages suggests that, in contrast to the conclusions suggested by the phonemic inventories alone, the phonotactic possibilities of the languages spoken in the Maningrida area demonstrate a high degree of diversity. In particular, Burera appears to be a phonotactic "odd-language-out", in terms of the phonotactics of Australian languages in general, and the phonotactics of the other languages of Maningrida with which it is compared here. It allows a far wider range of consonant clusters than usual (for Australian languages and the languages of Maningrida), as well as consonant clusters word-initially. This latter is possible because Burera allows a syllable type consisting of a syllabic consonant (see chart 3.2) (always in word initial position) which is generally followed by a syllable starting also with a consonant. Burera syllable structure is distinctive in another way, too, in that certain word-initial syllables may begin with vowels (in particular, the vowel, /a/). This feature also is very unusual among Australian languages. Preliminary analysis of the Gungoragone material suggests that these same features are reproduced in Gungoragone, the other language belonging to the Bureran language family (O'Grady and Voegelin, 1967). In Gunwinjgu, the only other language spoken at Maningrida which appears to have syllable-initial vowels, the words concerned are all loan words or place names and are thus "non-Gunwinjgu" (Carroll, 1976:26). Burera also appears to be the only language spoken at Maningrida to have a syllable type ($C_1 VC_2 C_3 C_4$).

TABLE 3-2

COMPARATIVE PHONOTACTICS: SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

CARROLL (1976) GUNWINJGU	n-d McKAY (1976) GUNAVIDJI	GLASGOW (1967) BURERA	CHRISTIE (n-d(b)) DJIHANG
	<u>C</u> one example = n	<u>C</u> C = any nasal, except retroflexed	
<u>V</u> place names and other		<u>V</u> V = a (/i/-I word)	
<u>VC₁</u> loan words from outside Gunwinjgu		<u>VC₁</u> * V = a C = nasal	
<u>C₁V</u> C ₁ = all Cs, except ʔ, /r/ very rare V = all Vs	<u>C₁V</u> C ₁ = all Cs V = all Vs (/e/ not cited in corpus)	<u>C₁V</u> * C ₁ = all Cs V = all Vs	<u>C₁V</u> C ₁ = any C V = any V
<u>C₁VC₂</u> C ₁ = all Cs, except ʔ, /r/rare V = all Vs C ₂ = all Cs, except retroflex	<u>C₁VC₂</u> C ₁ = all Cs V = all Vs(/e:/ not cited in corpus) C ₂ = b, n, r, r, d, ɲ cited in corpus No velars?	<u>C₁VC₂</u> * C ₁ = all Cs V = all Vs C ₂ = all Cs	<u>C₁VC₂</u> C ₁ = any C V = any V C ₂ = any C
<u>C₁VC₂C₃</u> C ₁ = all Cs except ʔ, /r/rare V = all Vs C ₃ = ʔ, then C ₂ = nasal, liquid (except /r/), semi-vowel C ₃ ≠ ʔ, then C ₂ = lateral, /r/, /w/ C ₃ = /b/, /g/, /ŋ/		<u>C₁VC₂C₃</u> * C ₁ = all Cs V = all Vs C ₂ = d, l, r, ŋ C ₃ = stops, nasals, laterals	<u>C₁VC₂C₃</u> C ₁ = any C V = any V C ₂ = either lateral, either rhotic C ₃ = p, k, ŋ
	* See next chart (3) for possible consonant combin- ations in Burera	<u>C₁VC₂C₃C₄</u> * C ₁ = all Cs V = all Vs C ₂ = rhotic C ₃ = lateral C ₄ = k (stops)	

TABLE 3-3

COMPARATIVE PHONOTACTICS: CONSONANT CLUSTERS

	WORD INITIAL	WORD MEDIAL	WORD FINAL
<u>GUNAVIDJI:</u>	nm	Ones cited in McKay's corpus- Homorganic = ng , nd Heterorganic = r-y, r-m, n.b, g-p , r-b	
<u>DJINANG:</u> (Christie, n-d(b):23)	$\emptyset$	1) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Lateral} \\ \text{Rhotic} \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{p} \\ \text{k} \\ \text{g} \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{plosive} \\ \text{nasal} \end{array} \right\}$ 2) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Lateral} \\ \text{Rhotic} \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{p} \\ \text{k} \\ \text{g} \end{array} \right\}$ 3) Any C + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{plosive} \\ \text{nasal} \end{array} \right\}$	-rk -lk cited in Christie's corpus As in previous chart for $C_1VC_2C_3$
<u>GUNWINJGU:</u> (Carroll, 1976:28-29)	$\emptyset$	No restrictions when corresponds with morpheme boundary. $C.C_x$ = Any C (except retroflex) + oral stop, nasal, semi-vowel * $CC.C_x$ = /l/, /l/, /r/, /w/ + /b/, /g/, /h/ + /b, m, k, ng/ $C/2/.C_x$ = $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{nasal} \\ \text{liquid-exc. /r/} \\ \text{semi-vowel} \end{array} \right\}$ + b, m, k, w	As in previous chart for $C_1VC_2C_3$
<u>BURERA:</u> Adapted to Glasgow & Glasgow (1967:8), using (1976) orthography	mp, nyp, nych, nym, nyny, nyy, nt, ngk	pp, chch, tp, tk, kp, kch, kk, dng, lk, lm, lng, mp, nyp, nych, nym, nyny, nyy, np, nt, nk, nm, nn, nng, ngp, ngk, yp, ych, yk, ym, yn, yng, yr, yw, yy, rp, dpp, dkk, dmp, lpp, lchch, lkk, lmp, mpp, ngkk, ngrd, rchch, rtp, rtk, rkk, rlp, rlch, rik, rim, rnp, rnt, rnk, rnng, rngk, ykk, ypp, rkk, rlpp, richch, rnpp * /?/.C _x = /?/ + b,m,k,w.	dk, lp, lk, rk, rlk

Gunwinjgu and Djinang each have three syllable types (discounting the "non-Gunwinjgu" syllables mentioned above). (C_1V) and (C_1VC_2) are the most common syllable types in Australian languages. ($C_1VC_2C_3$) is fairly rare among Australian languages. The candidates for each consonant and vowel position in each syllable type differ considerably between Gunwinjgu and Djinang. Thus, despite superficial similarity in possible syllable types, Gunwinjgu and Djinang are phonotactically dissimilar. This supports O'Grady and Voegelin's (1967) suggestion that they are members of different families.

The phonotactic picture presented by Gunavidji is not clear at present, as the analysis is based on too small a body of material (the verbs cited by McKay (1976) and (n.d.)³.) Like Burera it appears to have syllabic consonants, word-initially. The number of these and the number of word-initial consonant clusters which occur in Gunavidji, are other areas for further investigation.

Root length is one area which distinguishes Gunavidji markedly from the three other languages discussed in this section. While Gunwinjgu, Burera and Djinang lexical items may be from five to ten syllables in length, most words have from two to three syllables, and roots are only rarely longer than this. (The general tendency in Australian languages is for roots to be disyllabic.) In Gunavidji, however, average root length appears to be four syllables, while a fairly large number of words have five-syllable roots. All the languages

3

This material is to be found in Appendix D.

discussed here permit a small number of monosyllables.

While the languages of Maningrida are similar in terms of phonemic inventory, they are phonologically highly distinctive in other ways. Gunavidji is distinguished by the length of its roots. Burera (and possibly Gungoragone) is characterised by its large number of syllable types, its vowel-initial syllables and by the wide range of consonant clusters which can occur in all positions. Gunwinjgu and Djinang, although only distantly related, are relatively similar phonotactically, the main difference being in the types of consonants which can cooccur in clusters.

3.4.3 Comparative Phonology: Summary

Two aspects of phonology in some languages spoken in the Maningrida area have been examined briefly. Gunwinjgu, Rembarnga, Gunavidji, Burera and Djinang have relatively similar phonemic inventories. Yet, despite relative phonemic similarity, the languages behave quite differently phonotactically. This phonotactic diversity could well present serious learning problems for people acquiring multilingual fluency. While Burera would probably present relatively few problems to the Gungoragone speaker, on phonological grounds, learning it is likely to be a more difficult task for Djinang, Gunavidji and Gunwinjgu speakers, and vice versa. The phonological diversity of the languages spoken in the Maningrida area distinguishes this group of languages from most of the other linguistic regions in Australia, where geographically contiguous languages frequently have a fairly high degree of phonological homogeneity.

3.5 The Languages of Maningrida: Comparative Morphology

A comparative study of morphology for the languages of the Maningrida area appears to suggest a greater diversity in the number of ways of expressing different grammatical relationships than was shown to exist for their phonologies. The morphology of these languages has been generally less thoroughly studied than their phonology so that there are a number of gaps in the available material. Nevertheless, a morphological analysis of the languages of Maningrida can show something of what concepts must be obligatorily expressed in a language, and of the relationships between items in a sentence which are expressed by grammatical markers rather than by word order. Following is a tentative sketch comparison of the morphology of noun classification, grammatical case markers, locational markers, free pronouns, pronominal verb prefixes and verbal morphology (conjugations and markers of tense, aspect and mood). These are all salient aspects of the morphologies of at least some of the languages spoken in Maningrida. The diversity exists in the number of different ways these grammatical categories can be expressed, including by their absence. Not all aspects of morphology are explored, as the aim of this section is to highlight the morphological diversity of languages spoken in the Maningrida area, rather than to provide a comprehensive morphological analysis.

3.5.1 Noun Classification

Only some of the languages of Maningrida appear to have noun classification. In Gunwinjgu, four noun classes exist (Carroll, 1976:30). This situation is paralleled in Gunbalang (Capell, 1940:271).

Two main classes are claimed for Gunavidji (Capell, 1940:272), though their details are not described. Rembarnga has no noun classification (McKay, 1975). Christie (n.d.a.) makes no mention of noun classification for Djinang. The situation in Burera is not entirely clear. Glasgow and Garner's (1976) numerous examples of Burera sentences (described in the tagmemic framework) refer to certain noun morphemes as "classifiers". Eight of these can be found in the examples, but it is not clear whether they represent eight noun classes, or, more likely, whether four of them might be allomorphs of the other four, to which they are somewhat similar phonetically. Preliminary analysis of Gungoragone suggests that noun classification exists in that language and that the situation is analogous to the one operating in Burera. The diversity of forms for noun classification is schematised in Table 3.4.

In Gunwinjgu (Carroll, 1976:30) class I nouns are generally masculine or refer to objects normally handled by men. Class II nouns are generally feminine. Class III nouns tend to be "neuter generic" while class IV nouns tend to be "neuter specific". Some nouns take no prefix, and their class membership is determined by the prefix of the concordant adjective. Classification is not entirely by gender, as some exceptions to the predominant rule occur in each class. This situation is paralleled in Gurbalang. If the Burera noun classifiers are in fact grouped as they are in Table 3.4 (class I and Ia, III and IIIa, and IV, IVa and IVb being possible allomorphs) then it is probable not only that they reflect a similar type of generalised gender distinction (broken down gradually due to the process of lexical borrowing, arising from the tabooing of words) but that the classifiers in the two languages are historically related.

TABLE 3.4

NOUN CLASSIFICATION

GUNWINGU CARROLL (1976:30) OATES (1964:24)	GUNBALANG HARRIS (1969b)	REMBARNGA McKAY (1975)	GUNAVIDJI CAPELL (1940)	BURERA GLASGOW & GARNER (1976)	DJINANG CHRISTIE (n.d.a.)
4 noun classes	4 noun classes	no noun classes	2 noun classes Details not known	at least 4-8 noun classes	no noun classes
I: na- II: ngal- III: kun IV: man- Concord with adjectives.				I: an- Ia: ana- II: ngu- III: gun- IIIa: gu- IV: mun- IVa: mu- IVb: m-	

Thus, noun classification exists in only some of the languages spoken in the Maningrida area. Languages in the same postulated language family (O'Grady and Voegelin, 1967) (for example, Gunwinjgu and Rembarnga) do not necessarily behave in the same way with regard to noun classification. Nevertheless, noun classification is one area of morphology where the diversity of linguistic structure in the languages spoken in the Maningrida area can be clearly exemplified. The absence of noun classification in one's first language, for example, Rembarnga or Djinang, would make learning a language with noun classification (for example, Gunwinjgu, Gunavidji or Burera) much more difficult.

3.5.2 Grammatical Case Markers

Most languages of the Australian continent demonstrate a remarkable homogeneity in their need to express grammatical relationships by a system of Absolutive-Ergative case marking. The genitive, dative and instrumental case marking is also generally obligatory. Most of the languages spoken in the Maningrida area, by contrast, do not express grammatical relationships by a set of obligatory case markers. In this regard, the diversity of linguistic types in Maningrida is not very clearly demonstrated.

Of the languages spoken in the Maningrida area, only Rembarnga, one member of the Gunwinjguan language family (O'Grady and Voegelin, 1967:30-31), appears, on present evidence, to require grammatical case marking. These markers are suffixes. Gunwinjgu, Burera, Gungoragone and Djinang have no grammatical case markers on nouns. There is no material available on this aspect of Gunavidji or Nakara.

TABLE 3.5

GRAMMATICAL CASE MARKERS

GUNWINGU	REMBARNGA	NAKARA AND GUNAVIDJI	BURERA	DJIWANG
No case markers. Instrumental -bewi in one north-western dialect.	Nominative: - $\emptyset$ Ergative: -yi? Dative: -kan Instrumental: -yi?	No material available.	No case markers.	No case markers.

In Rembarnga, ergative and instrumental nouns, morphologically identical, are distinguished syntactically by the fact that only nouns in ergative case may be cross-referenced by pronominal verb prefixes.

The absence of grammatical case markers from most of the languages spoken in Maningrida, even across boundaries of major language families (O'Grady and Voegelin, 1967), possibly represents an areal feature for this part of Arnhem Land. A process of diffusion of features between geographically contiguous, although genetically only very distantly related, languages, could have been responsible for a general levelling and equalising of case markers between the languages spoken in Maningrida.

The presence of case markers in Rembarnga would appear to make learning this language more difficult for members of the other tribes in the Maningrida area mentioned here.

3.5.3 Locational Markers

Among the languages spoken in Maningrida a much greater diversity appears to exist with the way concepts of "location" are expressed morphologically, than is the case with grammatical case marking. Not all languages in Maningrida have locational markers. In other languages, the paradigm of locational markers is only partially filled.

Carroll (1976:101) cites an ablative marker in Gunwinjgu: -beh, indicating motion away from the noun to which it is suffixed. Again, insufficient material is available for Gunavidji, for us to know how it expresses concepts of location. This question is not mentioned

by Christie (n.d.a.) for Djinang. The situation in Burera is not entirely clear. Glasgow and Garner (1976:17-19) cite certain prefixes which seem to perform a locational function. Four location markers occur in Rembarnga (McKay, 1975:80). They are suffixes. The situation is illustrated in Table 3.6.

The expression of concepts of "location" is another area where the languages spoken in the Maningrida area demonstrate considerable diversity, although again, the diversity does not appear to coincide with O'Grady and Voegelin's (1967) postulated language families.

3.5.4 Free Pronouns⁴

Free form pronouns exist in all the languages spoken in the Maningrida area. The relationships which can be pronominalised differ markedly from language to language. Pronoun structure is also diverse. In some languages, concepts like number and type of pronoun can be expressed by regular suffixes or prefixes. Each language discussed here has three or four sets of pronouns.

In Gunwinjgu, separate subject (nominative), object (accusative) and oblique, and reflexive pronouns are found (Carroll, n.d.(b):30).⁵ Separate suffixes indicate unit augmented (dual) number, and defined augmented (plural) number, in the object/oblique category. Reflexive

⁴ Pronoun paradigms for the languages discussed are summarised in Appendix A.

⁵ Oates' (1964:67) analysis was a little different. She found identical forms to exist for subject and object pronouns, while her genitive-dative pronouns (oblique) correspond to Carroll's oblique and object pronouns (n.d.(b):30).

pronoun paradigms of Gunwinjgu and Rembarnga, supposedly belonging to the one (Gunwinjguan) language family (O'Grady and Voegelin, 1967). This diversity of form between pronouns in the languages of Maningrida would be a learning hazard for any person, regardless of first language.

3.5.5 Pronominal Verb Prefixes⁶

Gunwinjgu, Rembarnga, Gunavidji and Burera all have extensive systems of pronominal verb prefixes. Pronominal verb prefixes provide an extensive cross-referencing system which clearly delineates the relationship between the nominal components in a sentence. They are, in effect, a substitute for grammatical case markers. Only in Rembarnga, which has a set of grammatical case markers already, can the pronominal verb prefixes be regarded as "superfluous".

The presence of this cross-referencing system in all the languages of Maningrida suggests that it may be another areal feature. Rembarnga, with both pronominal verb prefixes and grammatical case markers (the normal way grammatical relationships are expressed in Australian languages), could be a language "in transition" in this regard. This suggests that the innovation (with regard to other Australian languages), pronominal verb prefixes, has spread south from one of the coastal languages. Alternatively, pronominal verb prefixes might be an archaic feature. Rembarnga may have only relatively recently adopted the innovation, a set of grammatical case markers, from the languages to the south.

In each of the languages discussed, a distinction is made between pronominal prefixes on transitive verbs and on intransitive verbs. In each case, the pronominal prefixes on intransitive verbs

⁶ Pronominal verb prefix paradigms are summarised in Appendix B.

are relatively simple, as only the subject of the verb is pronominalised. Transitive verb prefixes are far more complex, as both the agent and the object of the transitive verb are incorporated in the pronominal prefix. In all the languages considered, much duplication of forms occurs, however, particularly between forms for unit augmented and (defined) augmented objects of the verb. Similarities in phonetic shape of the stems also link the transitive and intransitive verb prefixes. While in a number of cases it would be possible to show that the pronominal verb prefixes across the languages are historically related, many are superficially very different. Gunwinjgu stands alone in the languages considered in that it has no system of pronominal verb prefixes for transitive verbs with a first person inclusive object.

While the presence of pronominal verb prefixes in at least the non-Pama-Nyungan languages spoken in the Maningrida area does not distinguish one language or language family from another, considerable diversity exists in the phonological realisation of these morphemes. Pronominal verb prefixes would also be a learning hazard to any second language learner in the Maningrida area.

3.5.6 Verbal Morphology⁷

Verbal morphology is the final aspect of morphology to be discussed here which demonstrates the diversity of the languages spoken in the Maningrida area. It is the area in which the greatest variety

⁷ Conjugations and tense, aspect and mood morphemes for each language are summarised in Appendix C.

of forms exists in these languages, thus potentially causing the greatest problems to any second-language learner.

A complete comparison of verbal morphology is not possible as the Gunavidji material on verb classes is as yet extremely tentative and is possibly incomplete. It is difficult to gain a complete picture of verb morphology from the Burera material as it is currently constituted.

Gunwinjgu, Rembarnga, Gunavidji and Djinang each have a number of conjugations (or verb classes). Gunwinjgu has thirteen, with a large number of subdivisions (Carroll, 1976:113). Rembarnga has seven separate verb classes, with a number of subdivisions in some of them (McKay, 1975:132). McKay tentatively proposes eleven verb classes for Gunavidji (McKay, 1976 and n.d.), although it is possible some of these may prove to be subdivisions, or that yet new verb classes may be found to exist. Djinang has "only" four verb classes (Christie, n.d.(a): 7). The number of verb classes in Burera is not clear at present in the available material. Thus complexity of verbal classes is a feature of all languages, particularly the Non-Pama-Nyungan ones, of Maningrida.

The verbal morphology of each language is further distinguished by the expression of different tenses, aspects and moods. In Gunwinjgu, an imperative mood and non-past tense are juxtaposed against two past aspects and one past mood: a past completed, a past continuous and a past negative. Rembarnga has present, future, infinitive, past punctual, past continuous and past counterfactual morphemes. Gunavidji appears to have only three tenses: future, past 1 and past 2. The nature of the difference between past 1 and past 2 was not clear to McKay, at the time of writing (1976) and (n.d.). Djinang has six tenses and

moods: remote past and present (combined), future, past, negative, infinitive, and imperative and negative present (combined). Burera has several complex tenses, all derived from the simplest form, the potential subjunctive.

All Gunwinjgu tenses, most Rembarnga tenses, the past 1 and past 2 forms in Gunavidji, the Djinang tenses and some of the Burera tenses referred to are all formed by the addition of a suffix to a verb stem. In one Rembarnga verb class, tenses are marked by individual words, not affixes. The future tense in Gunavidji is marked by the presence of a prefix and a suffix ("Ø" in most verb classes).

Verbal morphology among the languages of Maningrida is both diverse and extremely complex. Each language has a different (and generally large) number of conjugations. Only Djinang (not surprisingly), with four conjugations, has a typical number of verb conjugations for the Australian continent (Pama-Nyungan languages never have more than seven conjugations). Each language in Maningrida has a different set of tenses, aspects and moods. Learning verbal morphology is potentially the most difficult factor in acquiring a second Aboriginal language in Maningrida.

3.5.7 Comparative Morphology: Summary

Six aspects of the morphology of Gunwinjgu, Rembarnga, Gunavidji, Burera and Djinang have been considered in this section to illustrate the morphological diversity of the languages of Maningrida. These were noun classification, grammatical case markers, free pronouns, pronominal verb prefixes and verbal morphology. This study was far from exhaustive, but it was felt a complete comparison of the morphology of

Maningrida's languages was beyond the scope of this study, particularly as the aim of illustrating the morphological diversity of the languages spoken in Maningrida could be easily satisfied by these categories.

Morphological diversity in the languages spoken in the Maningrida area exists in the types of relationships which are expressed by morphemes (rather than by syntax), and in the number of ways and manner of expressing these concepts morphologically. The morphology of Maningrida's languages would present learning problems to every second-language learner.

3.6 Languages of Maningrida: Comparative Syntax

A brief outline of the syntax of the Gunwinjguan and the Bureran families and Djinang is given in this section, although diversity in syntax is less diverse than either phonology or morphology in the languages spoken in Maningrida. Unfortunately no material at all is available on the syntax of Gunavidji. Ample material is available on the syntax of Rembarnga (see McKay's (1975) chapter on syntax).

3.6.1 Syntax of the Gunwinjguan Language Family: Gunwinjgu and Rembarnga

The syntax of Gunwinjgu (Carroll, 1976:58-59,79-86,104-107) is interesting as, despite the absence of grammatical case markers, the word order is still relatively free. The verb complex is the most important part of a sentence, as grammatical relations are expressed obligatorily only by the extremely complex cross-referencing system of pronominal verb prefixes.

Four main types of sentences occur in Gunwinjgu: transitive, intransitive, ditransitive and non-verbal.⁸ In intransitive sentences, the presence of the intransitive verb is compulsory, and the subject is optional. The only obligatory element in transitive sentences is the transitive verb. The most common word order in transitive sentences is: Agent-Verb-Object. Agent-Object-Verb (which also corresponds to the order of prefixes in the verbal complex) occurs sometimes as does Verb-Object-Agent. The only constraint appears to be that the object must occur next to the verb. Ditransitive sentences also have only one obligatory element, the ditransitive verb. The three optional elements are the agent noun phrase, the object noun phrase and the indirect object or implicated noun phrase. These three elements rarely cooccur. The order is generally: agent noun phrase-verb-implicated noun phrase (indirect object). The object noun phrase may occur anywhere except sentence-initial. The "non-verbal" sentences contain at least two juxtaposed elements. (In English they would normally be linked by the copula). The more common order is: subject-predicate.

Six types of clause relations exist in Gunwinjgu. They are relative clause (occurring when coreferential noun phrases occur as subject, agent or object in main or subordinate clause, one of which is replaced by a relative pronoun), temporal clause, conditional clause, locational clause, causative clause and purposive clause.

Rembarnga syntax is very similar to that of Gunwinjgu (McKay, 1975:Chapter 3). Like Gunwinjgu, Rembarnga can have four types

⁸ Ditransitive verbs are accompanied by three noun phrases, with the functions of agent, object and indirect object.

of sentences, transitive, intransitive, ditransitive and non-verbal (.or minimal). Word order, again, is relatively free. The verb complex is the only obligatory element of any sentence (except the non-verbal ones).

The most interesting fact about the syntax of Gunwinjgu and Rembarnga from the point of view of a second-language speaker in a multilingual community is the relative freedom with which sentence components can be put together. This should pose no problems for the second-language learner.

3.6.2 Syntax of the Bureran Language Family: Burera and Gungoragone

Glasgow and Garner (1976) discuss the syntax of Burera clauses, but not of complete sentences. They use a tagmemic framework. They demonstrate the types of Burera clauses which can occur by forming a matrix of four "orders" and five "series".

Each clause type is defined by the nature of the predicate tagmeme.

Tagmemes may occur in any order. Nevertheless any tagmeme can be brought to sentence-initial position to emphasise it.

While word order in Burera is free, a statistical count reveals that the order subject-object-predicate occurs in two thirds of all utterances (D. & K. Glasgow, personal communication).

Preliminary analysis of the material available for Gungoragone suggests that word order is completely free for that language as well.

Burera Clauses

<u>Orders</u>	<u>Series</u>				
	Intransitive	Transitive	Intransitive -Stative	Transitive -Stative	Descriptive
Reclarative	+	+	+	+	+
Subjunctive	+	+	+	+	
Imperative	+	+	+	+	
Warning	+	+	+	+	

3.6.3 Djinang Syntax

In contrast to Gunwinjgu & Burera, Djinang word order (Christie, n.d.(a):14-17) appears to be formally determined. Five clause types are described. The transitive clause (with three subtypes, consisting of the yes/no interrogative, the question-word interrogative and the indicative clause) consists of the following optional and obligatory components.

Transitive clause = $\pm$ Dubitive $\pm$ Actor $\left(\begin{array}{l} \text{pronoun} \\ \text{(animate)} \\ \text{(NP)} \end{array} \right) \pm$ Benefactive $\pm$ Negative
 $\pm$ Verb Transitive $\pm$ Object $\pm$ Instrumental $\pm$ Benefactive
 $\pm$ Destination $\pm$ Locative

The intransitive clause consists of:

$\pm$ Dubitive $\pm$ Subject $\pm$ Negative + Verb intransitive
 $\pm$ Time $\pm$ Location

The motion clause consists of:

$\pm$ Actor $\pm$ Negative + Verb motion $\pm$ Goal $\pm$ Manner
 $\pm$ Destination $\pm$ Location $\pm$ Time $\pm$ Source

The quotation clause consists of:

$\pm$ Actor $\pm$ Benefactive $\pm$ Verb quotation $\pm$ Introducer + Quote.

The equative clause consists simply of a topic and a comment, both slots filled by noun phrases. Sentences consist of from one to eight clauses.

Because of the non-Pama-Nyungan languages of Maningrida discussed here have free word order, the fixed nature of the sentential

components of Djinang would probably be the source of many mistakes by speakers of such languages as Gunwinjgu, Rembarnga, Burera and Gungoragone.

3.6.4 Comparative Syntax: Summary

Although the syntax of some members of only three language families was discussed in this section, a considerable difference existed between the Pama-Nyungan language (Djinang) and the non-Pama-Nyungan languages considered (Gunwinjgu, Rembarnga, Burera and Gungoragone). The relatively free word order of the non-Pama-Nyungan languages contrasts markedly with the highly explicit ordering of clause components of Djinang, the Pama-Nyungan language. Far more work needs to be done, however, before we can say that the non-Pama-Nyungan languages spoken in the Maningrida area are characterised by free word order, as well as an extensive system of cross-referencing pronominal verb prefixes. However, we can say that present evidence suggests that learning the syntax of Djinang would be hard for every speaker of Gunwinjgu, Rembarnga, Burera, and Gungoragone, while the reverse would probably not be the case.

3.7 Languages of Maningrida: Comparative Lexicon⁹

Perhaps the greatest diversity among the languages spoken in Maningrida is to be found in their lexicons. Only a very small percentage of the words for which comparisons can be made appear to be either cognates or loans. This indicates that probably none of the languages can be considered to be very closely genetically related. However, a very small

⁹ The comparative lexical data is located in Appendix D. Vocabulary was found for Gunwinjgu, Gunbalang, Rembarnga, Nakara, Gunavidji, Burera, Gungoragone, Common Australian and Djinang.

percentage of words, particularly verbs, are also cognate with "Common Australian" roots (Capell, 1940). This suggests that the languages spoken in the Maningrida area are not only very distantly genetically related themselves, but also distantly related to the Pama-Nyungan languages of the rest of the Australian continent.

The relatively low percentage of cognates probably stems from a number of other factors, (other than genetic relationship being very distant). One factor might be the high rate of vocabulary replacement in Australian languages due to the tabooing of words when a person with a name which sounds like the original word dies. When this happens, substitutes are readily borrowed from neighbouring languages, or, more likely as the lexicons are so comparatively dissimilar, from the language's own reserves.

A few of the "cognates" which can be found for the languages spoken in the Maningrida area are loans from either Macassan or English.

3.7.1 Macassan Lexicon Loans

Macassan was the language spoken by Indonesian trepang-fishermen who visited the northern coast of Australia frequently until early this century. Little is known about their contact with the Aboriginal people. Elements of the Macassan's language, particularly vocabulary, have been borrowed into all the North Arnhem Land languages.

A small number of Macassan words have been borrowed by all the Aboriginal languages of Northern Arnhem Land. Some of those which were

noted during the period of fieldwork or gleaned from the relevant literature are: 'money' rupiya; 'paper' g ran; 'rice' biratja; 'cute' anya; 'cup' gapilana.

Few Aborigines recognise or acknowledge that these words ("all-over" words) are not Aboriginal. They appear to have been completely absorbed into the morphology and phonology of the borrowing languages.

3.7.2 English Lexical Loans

In the relatively short time that the Aborigines in Maningrida have been in contact with white people, a large number of English words have been borrowed by all the Aboriginal languages. They include: "orange", "second", "barge", "school", "teacher", "hundred" and all higher numbers, "apple", "poster", "train", "bubblegum", "nannygoat", "pussy cat" (pronounced as one word, with the stress on the first syllable), [wɔtbel] ("hospital"), [mɔʔɔ bayik] ("motor bike"), [bvt] ("boots"), "kookaburra", "duck", "friend", "suitcase", "dollar", "cent", "price", "tea", [baki] ("tobacco") and "mandarine".

Most of these are no more than partially assimilated into the Aboriginal phonologies and morphologies.

While contact with Macassan and English, in particular, has been fairly intensive, their influence appears to have been relatively small (as yet, in the case of English). The longer time Macassan and the Aboriginal languages have been in contact is reflected in the fact that the Macassan words have been absorbed completely into the borrowing languages. Most English words are only partially assimilated, both morphologically and phonologically.

The result of widespread borrowing of Macassan and English words by the languages spoken in the Maningrida area is a gradual levelling of their vocabularies, scarcely started at this stage. Borrowing vocabulary from two sources by all the languages in the Maningrida area has the effect of very gradually weakening the considerable lexical diversity which exists at present between them.

3.8 Aboriginal English

Diversity also exists within one speaker's command of any particular language. For example, "Aboriginal English" in Maningrida describes a number of codes or "registers", varying from a form very close to Standard Australian English (spoken by a very small number of the Maningrida population) to a form of pidginised English, overlaid with very strong reflections of the speaker's own first language. Each speaker has a command of a number of registers, and usage depends on mood, and the general context of the conversation. The examples of Aboriginal English used in this section are taken from transcriptions of recordings with a Gungoragone man, aged about 30, in a series of "informant" sessions where the fieldworker was eliciting information about Gungoragone, not English.

3.8.1 Phonology

The phonology of Aboriginal English reflects a considerable degree of interference from the phonology of the speaker's first language. Standard Australian English contains a series of voiced and voiceless stops, fricatives, affricates, consonant clusters, vowel sounds and

diphthongs, all phonemic, which are either completely foreign or not phonemic in Australian Aboriginal languages. Generally, the English spoken by individual Aboriginals reflects only a partial mastery of these foreign sounds. While, for example, fricatives are sometimes pronounced accurately, the same speaker often articulates the equivalent stop sound.

- | | | |
|-----|----------|---------|
| (1) | "sister" | [tista] |
| (2) | "finish" | [binis] |
| (3) | "flat" | [plat] |
| (4) | "this" | [dis] |
| (5) | "teach" | [tits] |

[h] is a sound rarely pronounced by Aborigines speaking English.

- | | | |
|-----|----------|---------|
| (6) | "hungry" | [áŋgɾi] |
| (7) | "who" | [wʊ] |

Consonant clusters are frequently articulated incompletely, or differently, from Standard Australian English. For example:

- | | | |
|-----|---------|---------|
| (8) | "sleep" | [sálip] |
|-----|---------|---------|

In any one Aboriginal utterance in English, the variation between "basically English" and "basically Aboriginal" phonetics is considerable.

3.8.2 Morphology

The morphology of Aboriginal English also demonstrates a considerable diversity in the range of forms sometimes handled in a standard way, and sometimes not. As with phonology, the morphology of Aboriginal English contains a number of features typical of the Aboriginal languages. Perhaps the most overt morphological (perhaps phonological as well?) difference between Standard Australian English and

Aboriginal English, is the very frequent omission of the third person singular marker on verbs and the plural morpheme, both [s], for example:

- (9) "ten dollars" [tɛn dɔlə]
- (10) "all secrets" [ɔl sikrət]
- (11) "white man takes all" [wayi maen teik ɔl]

Command of tense and aspect in English tends to be more limited among Aborigines. The following is the range of tense/aspect variation available in the corpus of transcribed material:

- (12) "I gotta sleep."
- (13) "We gonna play."
- (14) "I'll bring it for you."
- (15) "You can go hunting."
- (16) "You gonna have a good sleep."
- (17) "You gotta go hunting."
- (18) "You give me bamboo."
- (19) "Dog is chasing me."
- (20) "She been come out."
- (21) "I sitting down."
- (22) "I'm going."

Pronominal cross-referencing, widespread among the languages "traditionally" spoken in Maningrida, is reflected in English by the extensive but varying use of pronouns in apposition to nouns, for example:

- (23) "If I find it kangaroo..."
- (24) "We, all de kid, we going to somewhere we gonna play.
We make it noise."
- (25) I want's I gonna blow.

- (26) "Can you tell that bloke, 'im gonna wait for me..."

3.8.3 Syntax

In general, Aborigines speaking English use standard English syntax, in terms of the order of the major components in a sentence: subject-verb-object. However a number of differences do occur. Complex sentences sometimes contain a series of non-coordinated principal clauses, rather than one principal clause and a series of subordinate clauses, for example:

- (27) "You can get kangaroo, you bring it someone meat,
I'll eat."

Subject-verb inversion, obligatory in Standard Australian English after interrogative words, is not always performed in Aboriginal English, for example:

- (28) "Which way 'e can get?"

The use of prepositions and particles in Aboriginal English is frequently non-standard, for example:

- (29) "'im gonna take me to home."
(30) "Later on, we gotta have a good talking about..."

Thus, phonologically, morphologically and syntactically, "Aboriginal English" contains a number of features which are both English and Aboriginal, and which are handled differently from occasion to occasion. Unfortunately, there is insufficient evidence to suggest whether an Aboriginal's command of his or her second Aboriginal languages reflects a similar degree of interference between the first and second languages as exists between English and the Aboriginal languages.

3.9 Languages of Maningrida and Multilingualism

In an Aboriginal community such as Maningrida, where everybody of almost every age speaks a minimum of two languages, a degree of "interference" in each individual's usage of various languages can be expected. This reflects the linguistic diversity of the languages spoken in the Maningrida area. The attitudes of the "owners" of each language to the possible changes encountered in their own language when used by other people would be a particularly interesting aspect of a sociolinguistic study of multilingualism, but is beyond the scope of this study. This section deals with this issue of the effects of linguistic diversity on multilingual language competence and attitudes in a very general way.

When a speaker of one language learns and uses another language, many elements of the original language interfere in his or her acquisition of a perfect command of that language. Perception of the sounds of the new language are affected by the sounds of his or her original language. As was shown in the section on phonology, the phonemic inventories of the languages of Maningrida are very similar, although phonetic performance differs to a greater degree. For example, in Gunavidji, intervocalic /g/ and /b/ are often pronounced as fricatives. These sounds might not be produced in Gunavidji by a person whose first language is Gunwinjgu or Burera. Clusters of sounds which do not occur in the speaker's original language might be assimilated to a cluster which does occur in his or her original language.

When words are borrowed from one language to another it is of interest to consider what happens to them linguistically in the borrowing language. For example, are morphological elements such as

noun class marker, pronominal verb prefix or tense marker borrowed as well as the lexical root? And do they retain any of their original functions within the borrowing language? Is the word assimilated completely, or does it always remain "foreign"? Does a speaker of one language incorporate words from his own language into a second language, when he does not know the appropriate term, and if so, what is the attitude of that language's speakers to such lexical interference? What happens to the syntax of a language when a large body of non-native speakers consistently make "mistakes" (based on the syntax of their own language)? How do first language speakers of a particular language react when they hear the variation (or "mistakes") made by people learning their language?

These are some of the linguistic questions which could be asked in a study of multilingualism. They are beyond the scope of this study. Nevertheless, an awareness of these issues allows one to see more clearly the ways in which the linguistic diversity of the languages spoken in the Maningrida area could affect the multilingual person's learning ability and competence in each of his or her languages.

3.10 Languages of Maningrida: Summary

A number of aspects of the languages of Maningrida have been considered in this chapter, in order to assess the typological diversity which exists between them, and in order to develop some understanding of the linguistic parameters of multilingual competence. From the material presented here, some understanding of what it means linguistically to be a first-language speaker and a second-language learner of the various Aboriginal languages of Maningrida should have been gained.

Two postulated classification systems for the languages of Maningrida gave some perspective of the relationships existing between the languages. O'Grady and Voegelin's (1967) classification hypothesised the existence of up to five different, but probably distantly related language families for the Maningrida area. This conclusion regarding their diversity was borne out in the comparative sketch grammars which followed. In the section on phonology, it was found that although Gunwinjgu, Rembarnga, Gunavidji, Burera and Djinang are relatively similar phonemically, substantial differences exist in terms of their phonotactics. These would present a number of problems to second-language learners. Six aspects of the morphology of the same languages were then discussed, again to highlight their diversity. These were: noun classification, grammatical case markers, locational markers, free pronouns, pronominal verb prefixes and verbal morphology. For some of the languages, the material was inadequate to cover these areas. However, in general, all the languages considered had systems of noun classification; only one language (Rembarnga) had grammatical case markers and a complete set of locational markers; all the languages had several sets of pronouns (although significant differences existed in what was considered relevant to be pronominalised); all the major languages (Gunwinjgu, Burera and Gunavidji, as well as Rembarnga), had complex sets of pronominal verb prefixes; and verbal morphology was complex and disparate in the languages considered. These would all present various problems to second-language learners. The section on syntax showed that the Gunwinjguan and the Bureran language family had free word order (despite the lack of grammatical case markers), while Djinang's word order was relatively fixed. The greatest linguistic diversity was shown to exist in the lexicons of the languages. Only a few cognates could be found between

any of the languages, while very few words could be shown to be related to the "Common Australian" word stock (Capell, 1940). Loan words from English and Macassan have the effect of breaking down the language's lexical diversity. Considerable variation exists within the one speaker's performance in at least one "second" language, English. Finally, some questions were raised about the linguistic effects of the languages' structural diversity on second-language learning, possible linguistic interference affecting competence in a second language, and the attitudes of first-language speakers to variations made in their language by second-language speakers.

CHAPTER 4

THE SOCIOLINGUISTICS OF MULTILINGUALISM IN MANINGRIDA

4.1 Introduction

Despite the considerable diversity of languages spoken in the Maningrida area, extensive multilingualism still exists. This suggests that the social need for interchange among the North Arnhem Land tribes, both prior to the establishment of Maningrida, as well as since, outweighs the difficulties involved in learning a number of typologically disparate languages. The social need for multilingualism has, if anything, been intensified by the much greater degree of contact between the tribal groups demanded by a centralised, artificial settlement. A large number of relatively small groups speaking diverse languages in a relatively closed environment (the Maningrida area) needs to develop a suitable mode of communication, whether a lingua franca or a degree of multilingual competence, or both, if they are to maintain or develop relationships outside their own immediate linguistic group. The directions of multilingual competence in Maningrida, and the types of language choices made by speakers in a multilingual situation, are associated with prevailing attitudes about one's "own" language and other languages and linguistic groups. The directions of multilingualism in the Maningrida area are determined, at least in part, by the differing tribal "personalities", and can be directly related to whether they are generally regarded as aloof, dominant and aggressive, or unaggressive and friendly. A study of the extremely complex multilingual situation in the Maningrida Area, is the subject of this chapter.

This chapter explores four aspects of multilingualism in Maningrida. First, a comparative survey is made of the language competence of members of each tribe. This is an index only, compiled from Aboriginal informants' self-reports of what languages they can speak. An attempt is also made to see whether there are differences in language competence between men and women, children and adults, and people living in Maningrida as opposed to people living on outstations. The status of father's first language, relative to mother's first language, is also considered. Language choice and language use in two types of multilingual situations in Maningrida, children at school and customers in Maningrida's shop, are then examined. This provides the basis for hypothesising what variables affect language choice in Maningrida. The attitudes of the various tribal groups to other languages, and to the use of their own language by members of other tribes, are explored. Factors such as age and relative kinship status, observed by all the tribes within the Maningrida area, can also determine certain special speech styles or social dialects, which should be an integral part of the multilingual speaker's language competence.

This study spans a number of wide-ranging aspects of multilingualism. Because of this, it must be regarded as a pilot survey only. The shortcomings of the material are discussed in the next section.

4.2 The Data

The fieldwork on which the following discussion is based was carried out in the two months of August-September 1977. Two main methods of gathering data were used. Video equipment was used to gather

information about language use in the school and in the shop. About 10% of the total population of the Maningrida area were interviewed about personal language competence, language use and language attitudes. Some information was gathered by personal observation.

Six factors must be borne in mind in a consideration of the following sociolinguistic analysis. First, the actual size of the total population and tribal numbers in the Maningrida area is not accurately known. Without a knowledge of the size and composition of the population being investigated, a thorough statistical study is not possible. Rather, this is a descriptive study in which the informants' answers can be taken to provide the most reliable index available of the overall multilingual situation. The validity of the study as an index stems from the relatively large number (between eight and ten percent of the total estimated population of the Maningrida area) and the range of people interviewed. The sample contains roughly equal numbers of boys and girls, and men and women, as well as members of all major and most minor tribal groups in the Maningrida area. The number of people interviewed from each group reflects simply the availability of people who knew the fieldworker sufficiently well to answer her questions willingly or confidently. People came and went from Maningrida continually, and the fieldworker's interviews were circumscribed by the number of people to whom she was introduced.

A bias in the data relating to language competence was that it was based on a sample of people who could speak at least some English. However, a number of children said that some of their older relatives knew no English. The informant who interpreted the material on the video-tapes suggested that as many as 50% of the people over the age of

TABLE 4.1

NUMBER OF PEOPLE INTERVIEWED BY TRIBAL GROUP, AGE AND SEX

First Language of People Interviewed	Estimated Number of First Language Speakers in the Maningrida Area	Total	Number Interviewed			
			Adults	Children		
			♂	♀	♂	♀
Gunavidji	100+	19	6	3	2	8
Burera	340-360	34	4	4	17	9
Nakara	75-100	7	3	0	2	2
Gunwinjgu	150-160	12	7	3	1	1
Djinang	100-110	16	4	4	5	3
Rembarnga	152	7	3	2	1	1
Gungoragone	300	1	1	0	0	0
Gupapuyngu	300	4	0	1	0	3
Gumatj	50	3	0	1	0	2
Wangurri	50	1	0	0	0	1
Maung	50	1	0	0	1	0

about 30 to 35, did not have even a functional command of English. Not only does this bias in the information grossly overestimate the proportion of people in the Maningrida area who can use English functionally, but it also prevents our making a comparison of the relative multi-lingual proficiency of those Aborigines in Maningrida who can speak English, and those who cannot. As it might be found, for example, that those who speak English are linguistically more, or less, able, information of this nature would have been helpful.

While general trends in patterns of language acquisition are very evident, many people's knowledge of languages is idiosyncratic in nature.¹ For example, two Rembarnga informants, a mother and her daughter, both spoke some Gupapuyngu, although this language is generally not learnt by Rembarnga people. As the daughter had married a Gupapuyngu man, she had learnt the language, and her mother, who was living with the couple periodically, felt it necessary to learn her son-in-law's language as well. As there is no reason to believe that the group interviewed was particularly unusual, beyond the fact that almost all could speak English, we can assume that these individual "peculiarities" may be multiplied for the population as a whole.

Some problems arose in obtaining self-reports about language competence. While most people appeared to answer questions regarding languages spoken or understood very truthfully, at least one small group of young adolescent boys, who were interviewed in each other's presence,

¹ The primary data from which this inference is drawn is summarised in Appendix E.

regarded the whole session as something of a competition. As a result, they claimed to be able to speak or understand a very large number of languages and it would not seem unlikely that for many of the languages claimed they would only know a few words. However, this happened only once, and the data obtained was not included.

Two groups are examined for language use. The first is a multilingual class of mainly nine-year olds examined during "reading" periods in the school library, when most of the children looked at pictures and talked.² The second is a random series of customers in Maningrida's shop, passing a checkout staffed by an Aboriginal man whose first language is Gunavidji. Language use in other situations was not examined, although this would have been valuable. Other types of situation which could be profitably explored are work situations which involve regular contact between Aboriginals, such as the Hasty Tasty (staffed by Gupapuyngu speakers), the hospital (this apparently is a major meeting place in Maningrida, and (apart from the four white nurses, it is staffed mainly by a group of Djinang speakers), the post office on pension day, and one of the multilingual groups who regularly play cards together.

The class studied was selected because it was more multilingual than any of the other classes.³ The children had two

² Very few children attend school regularly. During the Dry Season, average daily attendance at school is about 100, with 53 being Burera speakers, 12 Nakara speakers, 11 Djinang speakers, 9 Gupapuyngu speakers and only 5 Gunavidji speakers, with the balance being composed of very small numbers of "others" or children with at least two major language affiliations.

³ A school "register of regular attenders" by class, which listed the children's first languages, was made available by the headmaster.

half-hour visits to the school library each week. During these periods each child selected a book and spontaneously joined one of three or four groups within the class. The group would then proceed to look at pictures and talk. Twenty eight instances of multilingual interaction in the library were subsequently analysed. The advantage from a socio-linguistic viewpoint of concentrating on a group, homogeneous except for differing language competence, in the one situation, is that each interchange could be classed as linguistically "the same". This advantage existed for both situations chosen. A further advantage in the shop situation was that there is a constant element, the Gunavidji man on the checkout, who can be regarded as a linguistic and social control. Thirty eight series of interchanges were recorded in the shop, although several could not be regarded as multilingual.

A detailed investigation of special socially-motivated styles of speech in Maningrida, and the effects on various languages of frequent exposure to other languages was beyond the scope of this investigation, because of time constraints.

4.3 Language Competence

A quantitative study of the language competence of the people of Maningrida is undertaken in this section. The primary data for the study is summarised in Appendix E. This sets out information on the number of people from each tribe interviewed, their approximate age and sex, the first language of both parents, and the languages which the informants claim they can speak, the languages they can understand or "hear", and those languages which they feel they can speak or "hear" only to a limited degree. In addition, a geographical

breakdown of informants is provided for those whose homes are now on outstations.⁴

A person's "language competence", in this study, is regarded as the degree to which he or she claims to have a command of particular languages. On a rough basis, "competence" is defined as ability to "speak" a language completely fluently, or an ability to be able to speak a language for limited communicative purposes (being able to "speak some" of the language), or an ability only to understand (or "hear") what is said in a language, without being able to reply in it, or, at the lowest level of competence, an ability to understand only some of what might be said in a particular language. As each individual speaks more than one language, his or her total "language competence" might include an ability to speak some languages fluently (including, of course, the "first" language), an ability to "speak some" of a couple of others, and to be able to "hear" or "hear some" of a couple of others.

4

Outstations included in this study are Ngalaramba, a new Gunavidji outstation on clan territory on the western bank of the Liverpool River, very close to Maningrida; Cadell River Gardens (Godjandjindjirra), a unit of basically Burera people (with a couple of Rembarnga and Nakara as well), who run a government-sponsored co-operative, producing fruit and vegetables for Maningrida, on the lower Cadell River; Mormega, a large Gunwinjgu outstation (with a couple of Burera speakers) on the Darwin road, south-west of Maningrida, at the Mann River Crossing; (Mangallod (or more accurately, Ngangollod), a Rembarnga outstation (with a few Ngalkbon people), on the edge of the Arnhem Land Escarpment, near the headwaters of the Cadell River; Gadji, a new Djinang outstation on the eastern extremity of the Maningrida area, close to Nangalala and Ramingining; and Gamedji, another Djinang outstation, about 50 km upstream from the mouth of the Blyth River (see map).

4.3.1 Language Competence According to Tribe

The 105 Aboriginals interviewed in the Maningrida area speak, on average, between two and six languages, including English and their first language. The number of languages spoken by an individual is likely to be determined by the tribe from which he or she comes. (See Table 4.2.) Those tribes for which only one person was interviewed are not considered here.

Several reservations should be made regarding these figures (supplementary to the general reservations expressed in section 4.2). Of the seven Rembarnga interviewed, a very high percentage were adults, who, as will be shown below, generally have some knowledge of a larger number of languages than do children. The number of Gumatj and Gupapuyngu interviewed was also low, although in keeping with their numbers in the Maningrida area. These figures apply only to those people interviewed and not to the tribe as a whole. However, whilst these figures apply only to those people interviewed, from comments made by many of the people questioned about their own and other tribes' languages, it is likely that the ranking indicated in Table 4.2 can be regarded as applying more generally to the whole tribes.

The number of people from each tribe in Maningrida who speak particular languages as second languages is significant in two ways. First, it indicates the general patterns of inter-group multilingualism in Maningrida, which in turn is likely to reflect the directions of traditional and present good and bad relations between the various groups. Thus, from general trends in language competence in the Maningrida area, much can be inferred about general attitudes to

TABLE 4.2AVERAGE NUMBER OF LANGUAGES SPOKEN OR "HEARD" BY MEMBERS OF EACH TRIBAL GROUP

No. of People Interviewed	Tribe	Average Number of Languages
7	Rembarnga	6.1
4	Gupapuyngu	5.7
7	Nakara	5.5
16	Djinang	5.2
19	Gunavidji	5.2
3	Gumatj	4.2
34	Burera	3.2
12	Gunwinjgu	2.4

the groups' own first languages and others' first languages. Second, the number of people from each tribal group who learn particular languages as second languages, is an indicator of the potential of those languages to be regarded as lingua francas. Both of these questions are explored below.

The language most widely spoken as a second language in Maningrida (see Tables 4.2 and 4.3) appears to be English, although the doubts raised in section 4.2 about the reliability of the data relating to competence in English should be taken into consideration. If 50% of the adult population in Maningrida (about 300) does not speak English, then that means English is understood by between 700 and 900 people in the Maningrida area. Of the Aboriginal languages, Gunwinjgu has the highest currency as a second language, both in terms of absolute numbers,⁵ and the number of tribes whose members at least understand it as a second language. Burera follows very closely behind in terms of absolute numbers, although fewer tribes speak it as a second language. The most common second languages in Maningrida are summarised in Table 4.5 in descending order.

It was noted in Chapter 2 that Gunwinjgu has been traditionally considered something of a Western Arnhem Land lingua franca, and that Gupapuyngu could be regarded as a lingua franca in Eastern Arnhem Land. From Tables 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5 it is clear that Gunwinjgu is spoken by

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Of the 105 people interviewed the number of possible second language speakers of Burera was appreciably lower than for Gunwinjgu (71 and 93 respectively).

TABLE 4-3

80A

TOTAL NO. OF PEOPLE SPEAKING/HEARING LGS., IN ADDITION TO 1ST LG.
SPEAKERS, BY TRIBAL GROUP, I.E. 2ND LG. COMPETENCE, BY TRIBE

SPOKEN BY X NO. OF EACH 1ST LG. SPEAKERS

LGS. IN PANINGRIDA	CORE POPULATION							PERIPHERAL POPULATION				TOTAL	105 na of grps.
	GV(19)	B(34)	N(7)	RB(7)	GW(12)	DJ(16)	GG(1)	MG(1)	GP(4)	W(1)	GM(3)		
E	19	32	7	7	12	16	1	1	4	1	3	103	(11)
GV	S ₁	3	7	-	1	7	1	1	1	-	-	21	(7)
B	15	S ₁	5	3	-	13	1	-	3	1	-	41	(7)
GW	11	11	4	7	S ₁	9	1	1	1	-	-	45	(8)
GG	3	1	-	-	-	-	S ₁	-	-	-	-	4	(2)
GB	10	-	1	-	2	1	1	1	-	-	-	16	(6)
MG	7	1	1	-	-	-	-	S ₁	-	-	-	9	(3)
RB	3	2	-	S ₁	2	5	-	-	1	-	-	13	(5)
NG	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	(1)
G	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	(1)
N	14	8	S ₁	-	-	3	1	-	1	-	1	28	(6)
DJ	2	14	2	-	-	S ₁	-	-	1	-	-	19	(4)
GP	2	5	2	3	-	10	-	-	S ₁	1	3	26	(7)
DJA	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	3	1	2	7	(4)
DJI	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	(1)
GM	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	S ₁	4	(2)
W	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	S ₁	2	2	(1)
R	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	2	(2)
M	-	-	-	4	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	5	(2)
DJN	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	(1)
MA	-	?	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	(1)
GAN	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	6	(1)
WK	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	3	(2)
WAL	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	(2)

Legend: S₁ = 1st language speakers.

For abbreviations of language names, see List of Abbreviations, p. ix.

LGS. IN MININGRIDA	GV	B	N	RB	GM	DJ	GG	MG	GP	W	GM
N	most at least "hear" some, several speak, if N relatives	few speak, few understand	S ₁ everybody			few speak or hear	hears		adult knows some		1 speaks some (husband's language)
DJ	very little knowledge	few more speak and understand	few understand			everybody S ₁			adult speaks		
GP	2 children "hear" it (i.e. school) understand	very few speak	2 men know some	know only if GP relatives					everybody S ₁ speaks		all speak
DJA									children speak		some speak
DJI									most speak	hears	everybody S ₁
GM			1 ♂ (wife's language)							everybody S ₁ (1) speaks	adult speaks
N											
R	2 boys understand					1 knows (relatives)			1 child speaks		
M				adults only, some speak			speaks				
DJN				few adults							
MA			1 ♂ hears, because relatives								
GAN											
WK		2 children understand				some speak, 2 children "hear" few speak					
MAL			1 ♂ hears (travelled)	1 ♀ hears (travelled)							

TABLE 4-5

TOTAL NO. OF PEOPLE SPEAKING/HEARING LANGUAGES NOT AS
1ST LANGUAGE: BREAKDOWN BY AGE & SEX

	Total 1st lg. /balance	♂ Adult (28)				♀ Adult (18)				♂ Children (29)				♀ Children (30)				Total as non- first (105)			
		S	S some	H	DK	S	S some	H	DK	S	S some	H	DK	S	S some	H	DK	S	S some	H	DK
E	0/105	28	-	-	-	17	-	-	1	29	-	-	-	29	-	-	1	103	-	-	2
GV	19/86	3	1	5	13	-	-	5	10	2	1	1	23	-	-	2	20	5	2	13	66
B	34/71	7	9	-	8	8	2	-	4	4	-	3	5	4	2	4	11	23	13	7	28
GW	12/93	14	-	7	-	6	1	5	3	2	1	5	20	-	-	2	27	22	2	19	50
GG	1/104	1	-	-	26	-	-	-	18	-	1	1	27	1	-	-	29	2	1	1	100
GB	0/105	7	-	2	19	2	-	-	16	1	2	1	25	1	-	-	29	11	2	3	89
MG	1/104	4	1	-	23	2	-	-	16	1	-	-	27	-	-	-	30	7	1	-	96
RB	7/98	-	1	3	21	-	-	5	11	-	-	4	24	-	-	-	29	-	1	12	85
NG	0/105	2	-	1	25	2	-	-	16	-	-	1	28	-	-	-	30	4	-	2	99
G	0/105	3	-	-	25	-	-	-	18	-	-	-	29	-	-	-	30	3	-	-	102
N	7/98	1	3	5	16	-	2	4	12	2	-	4	21	4	-	3	21	7	5	16	70
DJ	16/89	1	-	4	19	2	-	3	9	-	3	1	20	3	-	1	23	6	3	9	71
GP	4/101	4	-	3	21	3	1	3	10	4	1	2	22	4	-	1	22	15	2	9	75
DJA	0/105	1	-	1	26	1	-	-	17	-	-	-	29	5	-	-	25	7	-	1	97
DJI	0/105	1	-	-	27	-	-	-	18	-	-	-	29	-	-	-	30	1	-	-	104
GM	3/102	1	-	-	28	1	-	-	16	-	-	-	29	2	-	1	24	4	-	1	97
W	1/104	-	-	-	28	1	-	-	17	-	-	-	29	-	-	1	28	1	-	1	102
R	0/105	-	-	-	28	1	-	-	17	-	-	-	29	1	-	-	29	2	-	-	103
M	0/105	3	-	1	24	-	-	1	17	-	-	-	29	-	-	-	30	3	-	2	100
DJN	0/105	1	-	-	27	-	-	1	17	-	-	-	29	-	-	-	30	1	-	1	103
MA	0/105	-	-	1	27	-	-	-	18	-	-	-	29	-	-	-	30	-	-	1	104
GAN	0/105	1	-	-	27	2	-	-	16	1	-	2	26	-	-	-	30	4	-	2	99
WK	0/105	-	-	-	28	-	-	-	18	2	-	1	26	-	-	-	30	2	-	1	102
WAL	0/105	-	-	1	27	-	-	1	17	-	-	-	29	-	-	-	30	-	-	2	103

11 languages
spoken as 1st
languages by
people living
in Maningrida

S = Speak
S
some = some spoken competence
H = "hear" (i.e. understand) language
DK = don't know the language

Total no. of lgs. S/H by people in Maningrida	18	5	12	13	4	9	10	6	12	10	1	8	21	10	18
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For complete total speaking each lg., (1st or non-1st lg.), add total 1st lg. to total non-first lg. under "S"

TABLE 4.6

MANINGRIDA'S PRINCIPAL SECOND LANGUAGES

Language	Total Possible Second Language Speakers	No. of Second Language Speakers	No. of Groups Who Speak it as Second Language
English*	105	103	Every group
Gunwinjgu	93	45	8 (GV, B, N, RB, DJ, GG, MG, GP)
Burera	71	41	7 (GV, N, RB, DJ, GG, GP, W)
Nakara	98	28	6 (GV, B, DJ, GG, GP, GM)
Gupapuyngu	101	26	7 (GV, B, N, RB, DJ, W, GM)
Gunavidji	86	21	7 (B, all N, GW, DJ, GG, MG, GP)
Djinang	89	19	4 (GV, B, N, GP)
Gunbalang	105	16	6 (GV, N, GW, GG, DJ, MG)
Rembarnga	98	13	5 (GV, B, GW, DJ, GP)

* The number for English is unreliable.

all the Western Arnhem Land tribes in Maningrida (Gunavidji, Nakara, Gungoragone and Maung), as well as by all the Rembarnga, with whom relations have also been traditionally close. Perhaps more suprisingly, Gunwinjgu has gained currency among the Djinang and the Gupapuyngu, as well as among the Burera, who, as was seen in Table 4.2, are less willing than most groups to learn other languages. They are keen to promote the image of Burera as the lingua franca in Maningrida. Despite the relatively low number of Gupapuyngu first-language speakers living in Maningrida, it has a relatively large following of second language speakers, particularly, among the young. However, Gupapuyngu's largest following is still amongs the Djinang, a neighbouring Eastern Arnhem Land group, with whom relations have been traditionally cordial. Djinang and Gupapuyngu are also relatively similar linguistically.

Burera's contingent of second-lanage speakers is more diverse, as it is spoken, at least to a certain extent, among both Eastern and Western groups.

Gunavidji and Nakara, both Western Arnhem Land groups with traditionally close relations, have a less diversified spread of second-language speakers. All the Nakara interviewed could speak or "hear" Gunavidji, while most of the Gunavidji could speak or "hear" Nakara. Nakara was slightly more prevalent among the Burera than was Gunavidji, but this position was reversed among the Djinang.

The number of people who could speak Djinang as a second language was limited mainly to the Burera, for whom it was their most favoured second language.

Gunbalang's relative prominence as a second language, at least among the Western Arnhem Land tribes, is anomalous as there are now

very few first language speakers of Gunbalang left. One possible reason for this is that the remaining Gunbalang have intermarried considerably, and the children of a mixed Gunbalang marriage may learn the language of the non-Gunbalang parent first.

Rembarnga, a language whose people do not fit the general anthropological division into Eastern and Western Arnhem Land tribes, has a small second-language following among both groups.

Thus, on the basis of language competence alone, English, Gunwinjgu and Burera would appear to be the most likely candidates for the position of lingua franca, among all the languages spoken by people in the Maningrida area. Burera and Gunwinjgu are the languages spoken by those groups considered by others to be the most dominant and most aggressive in the Maningrida area, and who themselves learn fewest languages.

4.3.2 Difference by Sex and Effect on Children

There is little significant difference in language competence overall between men and women (see Table 4.5). Those differences that do appear generally arise because of the different number of male and female speakers in Maningrida interviewed by each first language. Males speak and "hear" a greater variety of languages than females. All adult men at least understand Gunwinjgu, while a few women do not. More boys than girls at least understand Gunwinjgu. Generally, however, there is little difference in degree of multilingualism between men and women in Maningrida.

In mixed marriages, however, a definite trend emerges in which one of the parent's first languages is regarded as the first language by the child. If an individual's parents' first languages differ, the speaker is much less likely to consider his or her mother's language as first language, although it is often the first language learned. This occurs among both Western Arnhem Land (matrilineal) and Eastern Arnhem Land (patrilineal) blocs of languages.⁶ Only among the Rembarnga is the individual's tendency to regard the first language of the father as first language not apparent. Out of a total of 33 informants with parents speaking different first languages, in 28 cases the mothers' languages are not regarded as first languages by the informants. In only five cases are the fathers' first languages not regarded as the informants' first languages.

As the personal background of most of the informants was not investigated, the reasons for this preference for fathers' languages are not known. The evidence suggests two hypotheses. First even among the matrilineal Western Arnhem Land tribes, a married couple's place of residence is frequently among the husband's kin. As the rearing of children tends to be a communal matter, rather than limited to a child's natural parents, the father's first language would be heard more frequently than the mother's. A similar environmental factor may operate among the few people of mixed linguistic parentage who regard their mother's language as their own first language, if it were found, that for example, the mothers were widowed or divorced while the children were still young,

⁶ Among the 19 Gunavidji speakers, 12 came of mixed parentage. 9 out of 34 Burera had mixed parents, 3 out of 7 Rembarnga, 7 out of 16 Djinang, and the 1 Gungoragone and 1 Wangurri speaker both had mixed parents as well. There were no mixed parents among the Nakara or the Gunwinjgu interviewed.

and they returned to their own kinsfolk with their young children. The children would thus grow up regarding their mother's language as their own first language.

The second hypothesis which could explain why father's language is the one regarded by the individual as first language, despite the fact that mother's language is generally learnt first, relates to the possible perceived status of the woman's first language with regard to the father's, whatever the languages actually are. Within the local clan or family group, it is possible that long term first-language might be traditionally expected to pass from father to child, rather than from mother to child.

4.3.3 Differences between Children and Adults

Although some children have a smattering of a large number of languages, children in general speak fewer languages than adults. This conforms with the view, expressed by Milark Wununguj, one of the major informants, that Aboriginal people learn new languages as the occasion arises. This tends to be as their experience widens and they mature, rather than while they are very young. There is a marked difference in the acknowledged language competence of young children and adolescents, reflected in the primary data in Appendix E, where approximate ages are given. The threshold age beyond which language competence does not increase markedly, is not clear from the data, although it may be somewhere between 20 and 30.

One major difference in the language competence of children and adults is that, once a child has reached school age, he or she is likely to learn to speak English very quickly. By contrast, it was suggested in section 4.2 that up to 50% of adults in the Maningrida area may have little or no command of English.

The languages which more adults than children are likely to be able to speak as second languages in Maningrida are, not surprisingly, also those languages most likely to be learned in general as second languages (see Table 4.7). This table suggests that Gunwinjgu, in particular, has served communicative functions among adults that children are less likely to need. For example, some languages may have had particular functions in ceremonies and traditional exchange. This suggests that languages which have traditionally been important, such as Gunwinjgu, may be declining in significance. However, to the extent that they serve other functions, they need not necessarily decline. As this is a synchronic study, only the validity of this hypothesis cannot be established on the basis of the present evidence.

The most interesting observation arising from Table 4.7 appears to be that, in relative terms, Burera is more popular than Gunwinjgu amongst children. The reason for this might be that Burera and Gunwinjgu serve different functions for children and adults. Thus Gunwinjgu might most commonly be acquired in adolescence or adulthood, while Burera might be increasingly useful to children at school.⁷

⁷ All the children interviewed who live regularly in Maningrida attend school fairly frequently. Very few outstation children were interviewed. As far more Burera children attend school than any other group, there is an incentive for non-Burera school children to learn Burera, so they can play together.

TABLE 4.7LANGUAGES WHICH MORE ADULTS THAN CHILDREN ARE LIKELY TO SPEAK AS SECOND
LANGUAGES

LANGUAGE	ADULTS	CHILDREN
Gunavidji	14/46	6/59
Burera	26/46	17/59
Gunwinjgu	33/46	10/59

To the extent that the functions of Gunwinjgu might be tribal and decaying, then Gunwinjgu might be declining in significance. To the extent that the functions of Burera might be associated with changing patterns of intertribal group behaviour, Burera might be growing in significance.

A similar study over a longer period would be needed to establish whether patterns of language acquisition in the Maningrida area have been significantly affected by the establishment of Maningrida, and the concomitant wider exposure to English, which has obvious potential as a lingua franca. At present we cannot say whether the children's lower language competence (in relation to adults) is usual, and will increase as they grow older (as was suggested by the Aboriginal informant), or whether exposure to English will reduce their multilingualism permanently, relative to their parents. This latter possibility appears the more likely in the longer term, unless each tribe can continue to maintain its independent identity.

4.3.4 Differences Between People in Maningrida and on Outstations

There is no reason to believe that there is a significant difference in language competence between people of the same tribe living permanently in Maningrida, compared to the outstations.⁸ This would be perhaps because Maningrida, and the outstations in particular,

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This can be established by an examination of the raw data for the study presented in Appendix E.

are relatively new, and neither have yet had a chance to produce a complete generation of multilingual speakers. Possible personality and social differences, which could affect willingness to learn additional languages, might exist between people who prefer to live in Maningrida, rather than on an outstation.

In the medium to long term it might be expected that English will assume a greater significance among the people who remain in Maningrida, at the expense of multilingual competence in Aboriginal languages. At the same time, the potential importance of knowledge of English could decline among those groups living on outstations. These are hypotheses which would need to be tested over a considerable period of time.

4.3.5 Sign Language

Sign language is an aspect of Aboriginal language competence which, while it has not been discussed before in this study, is of considerable importance. It is a feature of Aboriginal sociolinguistic culture which unfortunately has been little studied, although it is certainly worthy of further research. (The only readily available discussion referring to Arnhem Land sign language is West (1963)).

Sign language is known and used throughout Arnhem Land by every Aboriginal.⁹ The extent to which geographical or tribal "dialect"

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The information on sign language in this section comes largely from discussions with Sue Wills, the teacher of the deaf and handicapped children at Maningrida School. Two video tapes were made of the children in the classroom, signing as they looked at books or played with puzzles. All signs used by the children were Aboriginal, except for terms for colour and for "litter". The teacher has been careful never to introduce any other European signs to the children which might interfere with their traditional patterns of communication.

differences exist is not at present clear.¹⁰ However, among the Aboriginal groups represented in Maningrida, the one system of signing is traditionally used. It appears to be a system of where "key concepts" are signed more or less as they occur to the "speaker", generally in a logical time sequence.

Sign language is important for this study because it is regarded by the Aborigines as a traditional lingua franca among the people in the Maningrida area. It is understood and used by everyone at various times, for example: between relatives who are not permitted to speak verbally because of a taboo existing between them,¹¹ when communication is required over a distance, especially when silence is essential, for example, when hunting: to communicate with deaf people (who are thus not as socially isolated as is normally the case in white Australian society); as a way of introducing oneself to a stranger, and, equally, of finding out about that person; and, finally, when no other common language exists between people.

The extent of individual competence in sign language cannot be assessed on the available evidence. It is not at present known whether every Aboriginal, not just deaf ones, has complete fluency in it, and can use it to communicate the same number of ideas as in their first language. This could well be the case, as the situations for use outlined

¹⁰ Comparison of a few signs by the fieldworker with Frances Morphy, an anthropologist-linguist who has lived among the Aborigines at Yirrkala, on the Gove Peninsular, suggests that at least common concepts are signed in the same way. It is probable that only superficial differences exist between the sign languages in use in Maningrida and at Yirrkala.

¹¹ For example, a youth undergoing initiation may be forbidden to communicate orally with certain of his relatives, and severe restrictions on normal communication may exist between brothers and sisters, and between men and their mothers-in-law. These social constraints are discussed below.

above could cover a complete range of topics. It is likely, however, that individual fluency and articulateness vary from person to person in sign language, just as they do in the first spoken language. However, whether sign language for each individual can be regarded as a "complete" language, capable of expressing as many ideas as the speaker's first language, or whether for most people it is merely a pidgin, suitable only for limited communicative purposes in a restricted range of topics, is not at present clear.

Thus, while sign language is an important ingredient in multilingualism in the Maningrida area, the general extent and nature of its communicative functions needs considerable further research before an assessment can be made of its function in the multilingual community.

4.3.6 Language Competence: Summary

This section has explored the quantitative data available on the language competence of Aborigines in the Maningrida area. The average number of languages spoken by people varies considerably according to their tribal affiliations and their general age group (child or adult). However, no significant difference exists between men and women, or between people living in Maningrida and on outstations. The father's language was found to be more frequently regarded as the speaker's first language. While English appears to be the most common second language, the two main Aboriginal contenders are Gunwinjgu and Burera, the languages of the two groups regarded as the most dominant and aggressive in the Maningrida area. However, Gunwinjgu and Burera first-language speakers have a relatively low level of multilingual competence, in contrast to the members of other tribes regarded as less

dominant and more passive. Finally, sign language, for which individual competence cannot at present be assessed, appears to be the one unifying linguistic feature in a linguistically highly multilingual and socially fairly disparate community.

4.4 Language Use

With the background information on actual language competence established in quantitative terms, a study of what actually happens in a situation demanding multilingual interaction can now be undertaken. Video tape of the school and the shop, two entirely different contexts, was used for this purpose. Appendix F presents a summary of this data. For each instance of multilingual interchange, the speaker's age, sex and first language (and other languages known, where this information is available) are listed as well as those of the interlocutor. The topic, purpose and location of the interchange, the other people present who might influence the speaker's choice of language, the actual language chosen, and additional features relevant to the particular situation, such as the kin relationship between speaker and interlocutor, are all noted. Certain trends in a speaker's language choice become clear. Where the initial speaker knows the interlocutor can speak his or her first language, this language is used. If the interlocutor cannot speak the first speaker's language, either the interlocutor's first language or a common language is used. "Two-way" conversations occur between friends. A variety of motives trigger "mixed" conversations. While other social variables are also significant, the importance of the language competence of both speaker and interlocutor, relative to each other, in determining the pattern of the multilingual interchange, is demonstrated in this discussion of language use in Maningrida.

4.4.1 At School

Of the 26 interchanges recorded in the school library between children whose first languages are actually different, two types of language were most commonly chosen: the speaker's first language, or a common language. In this sample, language choice appears to be largely governed by the speaker's first language and general language competence, in comparison with the first language and general language competence of the person or group he or she is addressing.¹² If a group is mixed, the language of the majority is normally chosen, particularly if it is the first language of the speaker, and at least understood by the "outsiders". If the interlocutor speaks the first language of the initial speaker in an interchange, then the first speaker's language will frequently be used throughout the interchange. This occurs in eight cases in the school library.¹³

Choice of common language occurs eight times out of twenty-six in the library. In each case, neither speaker nor at least one interlocutor (in a group) speak or "hear" the other's language, although they speak at least one language in common.¹⁴

¹² In this context, "speaker" is regarded as the person who initiates a particular interchange. "Interlocutor" is regarded as the person or people addressed, who may or may not continue the conversation. "Outsider" refers to one or two people in a large group who do not speak the same first language as the majority of the group. For example, Queenie, a Djinang speaker, can be regarded as an "outsider" in interchange Number 1 (Appendix F), where she is the only person in a large group who does not speak Burera as first language.

¹³ Examples are cases 1, 10, 14, 19 and 23 in Appendix F.

¹⁴ This occurs in cases 3, 9, 11, 15, 16 and 21 in Appendix F.

A "two-way" conversation occurs only twice among the interchanges.¹⁵ In both cases, the two girls involved were "best friends". This suggests that this type of interchange might be regarded as casual and friendly by the Aboriginal participants, perhaps because neither person has a linguistic advantage over the other.

"Mixed" conversations, where two or more languages are used by the one speaker in the one interchange, occurred four times.¹⁶ This type of interchange in an Aboriginal context needs further study, as the reasons for the language mixture appear to be particularly revealing with regard to language attitudes, although at this stage no generalisations can be made.

In case 13, Queenie, a Djinang speaker who also speaks Burera and English, speaks a mixture of Burera and English to a group of Burera boys, whose only other language is English. The speaker's intermixed use of her two second languages possibly reflects either an equal lack of confidence in her use of them (particular with a group of boys, as boys and girls rarely mixed in this class), or a wish to make the boys suffer the same linguistic disadvantage as herself, or an equal dislike of both. The rare use of English among Maningrida's Aborigines (although they frequently swear in English when drunk), as well as certain comments made by informants, both imply that English may be resented. The Burera people are disliked by a number of the

¹⁵ Informants suggested, however, that this was a relatively common form of multilingual interchange in Maningrida, and that it was frequently more complex, with several languages being spoken and "heard" simultaneously. Cases 2 and 6 are the examples recorded in the school library in Appendix F.

¹⁶ Refer to cases 13, 18, 20 and 29 in Appendix F.

other groups, as they are considered to be arrogant trouble-makers. Among certain groups (particularly the Gunavidji), the perceived necessity of learning Burera is also strongly resented. Because the Burera are such a large group (relatively) and are influential in decision-making in Maningrida, most Gunavidji and members of most other tribes learn at least to "speak some" Burera.

The situation in case 18 is somewhat different. The mixture of Burera and Gupapuyngu results from the attempt of Kathy, the Gupapuyngu speaker, to include the Burera girl, Fay, who understands no Gupapuyngu, in the conversation. The rest of the group are all Gupapuyngu, Wangurri and Gumatj speakers, who all at least understand Gupapuyngu, although some of them do not know Burera. Thus this may be interpreted as a friendly gesture on the part of the speaker, who is trying to accommodate the relative linguistic weakness of one of her interlocutors, to make her feel linguistically at ease.

The reason for the mixture of Gunavidji, Nakara and English in case 20 is more difficult to interpret. Five Gunavidji girls and one Nakara girl, all good friends are talking about their health. Most, though not all, of the Gunavidji girls speak Nakara, while the Nakara girl speaks Gunavidji. The tape transcription is not sufficiently detailed for the actual conversation (with a note of who speaks what) to be completely recorded. It is possible that the Nakara speaker is using Nakara with her best friend in a two-way interchange. Motivation for the use of English is also not clear.¹⁷ As the question of general health may be considered to be a "Balanda"¹⁸ domain, English could be subconsciously

17 The English utterances include: (a) "I got a runny nose..."
(b) "Wrong one".

18 White people in Maningrida are referred to as "Balanda", a Dutch loan word, originally meaning "Hollander", but now meaning simply "white people".

considered more appropriate than an Aboriginal language.

The reason for the mixture of Gunavidji and Nakara in case 29 is also not clear. Gunavidji is the first language of the girl, who understands Nakara, while Nakara is the first language of the boy, who can also speak Gunavidji. As their conversation revolves around the pictures they are looking at in a book and does not involve either a change of subject or a change of mood, it seems that in this case language intermixture could be simply a sign of trust and friendship.

The children use English in the school library in three specific, but very limited, ways. Most commonly, English words which can be regarded as loans are used on their own or are incorporated into longer utterances in an Aboriginal language.¹⁹ Secondly, English is used as a suitable medium for a complete interchange only if no Aboriginal language at all is spoken in common by speaker and interlocutor.²⁰ Thirdly, English words which cannot be regarded as loans necessary to expand the conceptual capabilities of the Aboriginal language are occasionally used in basically Aboriginal utterances.²¹ This rare type of apparently unmotivated (partial) utterance in English could possibly be a long-term indicator of the eventual demise of the Aboriginal languages and the gradual acceptance of English as a suitable means of communication among the Aboriginal people of the Maningrida area. However,

19 For example, "poster! poster!", "[mɔɔɔbayik]"! Examples where English "loans" are used are cases 1, 4, 11, and 25 in Appendix F.

20 Examples are cases 3, 9, 12 and 15 in Appendix F.

21 For example, "kookaburra", "duck", "big fish", "catfish" and "big emu".

this is only speculation.

While English loan words appear to be readily accepted (see Section 3.7) English is rarely considered to be a suitable medium for a complete interchange. Even among the children, the only situation where this is likely to occur is when absolutely no Aboriginal language is "heard" or spoken in common. Thus, while English has a fairly wide currency in the Maningrida area, even the children rarely appreciate its use.

Among the school children, topic and purpose of the interchange and the other people present who are not direct interlocutors, seem to have only minimal influence on the languages the children choose to speak. The speaker's motivation appears to be significant in case 13, where a Djinang girl speaks a mixture of Burera and English to a group of Burera boys. The subject of general health could have triggered the use of English in case 20. In case 22, a Burera boy comments loudly, in Burera, that "these children are speaking baby-talk". While his comment is ostensibly directed to his two Burera friends, it is obviously made for the benefit of the two Djinang and Gunavidji girls speaking nearby, for whom Burera is the only common Aboriginal language. It is probable that the relative homogeneity of the type of interchange which takes place in the school library may account for the apparent unimportance of topic and purpose of the interchange for language choice among these school children in Maningrida.

It is difficult to say whether any language may be used more frequently than another in a situation of multilingual interaction in the school. The class which was studied is split into several well-established groups, and the frequency of any language being used tends

to reflect the extent to which each group was actively talking while the six video-tapes were being made. The apparently frequent use of Burera, Gunavidji, Gupapuyngu and to a lesser extent, English, reflects the tribal structure of the class²² (which is not representative of the population of Maningrida), rather than the possibility that these languages are favoured by everyone (or certain groups) as means of communication in multilingual situations in the community. These four languages all emerge, however, as lingua francas among particular groups in this multilingual class.

4.4.2 In the Shop

Thirty-seven interchanges in the shop are recorded. Eight of these are not "multilingual", as both speaker and interlocutor speak the same first language. In four cases the interchange took place between two or more customers. In the remaining 25, the interchange is between a customer and the Gunavidji man operating the cash register, who can thus be regarded as a constant.²³

Tommy Wokbara, the man who operated the cash register, speaks Gunavidji as first language. His language competence is "above

²² The number of children who regularly attended this class varied considerably. There seemed to be 12 Burera, 5 Gunavidji, 6 Djinang, 4 Gupapuyngu, 1 Gumatj, 2 Nakara, 1 Wangurri and 1 Maung. One complication is that boys and girls rarely mixed. The bulk of the Burera children were boys, while the bulk of the remainder of the class were girls. If the division had been more equal, it would have been easier to see whether the Bureras tended to influence language choice more than others, or whether they simply kept to themselves by choice, because of their access to a more limited range of languages.

²³ Although the customer was not always the one to speak first, the customer is generally referred to as the "speaker" and the checkout man as the "interlocutor".

average" for the Gunavidji, as he speaks seven languages: Gunavidji, English, Gunwinjgu, Gunbalang, Maung, Nakara and "some" Burera (probably sufficient to function efficiently in the shop with Burera customers). The languages he is likely to encounter in the shop, but which he cannot speak or "hear", are Djinang and Gupapuyngu. He also has no knowledge of Rembarnga, but could speak Gunwinjgu with any Rembarnga customer.

In general, the same types of language choice took place in the shop as the school. As in the school, the "speaker's" (customer's) first language was the most commonly used medium of communication. A common language (a second language for both customer and check-out operator) was generally used if the customer did not speak Gunavidji, the first language of the checkout operator. Only rarely was the customer expected to speak Gunavidji. A two-way conversation occurred only once. Occasionally, no comment passed between the customer and the check-out operator. In every case, the cost of a purchase and amounts of money were said in English. For the purpose of analysis, this is not counted as language "mixture", although the use of English is important for what it reveals about the overall context. Because the shop is associated with goods and money, it is a European (as opposed to Aboriginal) context, where certain forms of English (particularly discussion of money and reference to goods) are considered appropriate by the Aborigines. As with the school, the instances where a mixture of languages was spoken reveal a number of interesting aspects of motivation in language choice in multilingual interaction in Maningrida.

The majority of the people who went through the check-out were Burera. In every case but two, the customer's first language,

Burera, was the chosen medium of interchange.²⁴ In one case, a two-way conversation in Burera and Gunavidji took place. In the second case, the Burera woman concerned was married to the check-out operator's brother and knew Gunavidji.²⁵

The fairly consistent choice of Burera, rather than any other language, when customers were first language speakers of Burera, could be due to one of a number of factors which the available data do not reveal. For example, most Aborigines avoid a whole interchange in English whenever possible, so that except for essentials, like cost and necessary English loan words (like "dollar", "cent", "suitcase", "tea", "mandarine" and so on), English is rarely used, and would be an unlikely choice in this situation. As the data on language competence of the customers is extremely limited, the range of languages spoken by the Burera customers is not known. It is possible that many may have spoken neither English nor any Aboriginal language other than Burera, spoken by the Gunavidji check-out operator.²⁶ Burera may well have been the only Aboriginal language spoken in common.

²⁴ In some cases, the interchange was initiated by the customer. In others, it was initiated by the check-out operator.

²⁵ This interchange was initiated by the check-out operator. It was also the only instance where the check-out operator's language took precedence over that of the customer.

²⁶ In the previous section, it was shown that Burera speakers, who are unlikely to speak a large number of languages anyway, are more likely to speak one of the Eastern Arnhem Land languages, than a Western Arnhem Land language. Although the check-out operator speaks a large number of languages, all of them, except for English and "some Burera", are Western Arnhem Land languages.

A number of possible socio-psychological factors may also be advanced to explain the use of Burera, rather than Gunavidji, in these circumstances. It is possible that the Burera customers regarded the check-out operator, a Gunavidji (and therefore low status in the eyes of the Burera), as someone "merely" in a service position who should conform to their wishes. The general status of shopworkers (and workers in general) in Maningrida is not clear, so the importance of the status of the check-out operator in determining the language used in a multi-lingual situation cannot be gauged. The "service position" hypothesis is supported, however, by the fact that if the check-out operator spoke the other customers' first languages, then these languages were used in preference to Gunavidji. Thus, as a gesture of helpfulness to the customers, the check-out operator would speak their first language whenever possible, and wherever this did not conflict with other social factors.

Social factors appear to play a part in the two cases where Burera customers spoke or "heard" Gunavidji. In case 39, the young Burera man was one of the check-out operator's friends, and possibly a distant relative. In case 37, the young woman was married to the check-out operator's brother. Perhaps because of her status as a younger, married, female-in-law, the check-out operator may have been in an appropriate position to use his own language, Gunavidji, at the expense of the Burera woman. More knowledge about the social factors controlling linguistic behaviour and language choice is needed before the validity of this hypothesis can be tested.

As in the school, a common language (generally an Aboriginal one) is used in all the instances where either the customer's or the check-out operator's first language does not fall within the other's

linguistic repertoire. In case 41, where the customer is a Djinang speaker, English is the language used. This is the only example of a complete interchange in English among the recorded interchanges in the shop. As the two men both speak Burera and Gunwinjgu, and as the customer hears Gunavidji, the reason for the choice of English is not clear. It could be simply that both the men are well-educated, and that the customer felt more at home in English than in other Aboriginal languages.

"Mixtures" of languages occurred five times in the shop. Twice (cases 58 and 59, Appendix F), the two Nakara customers were friendly with the check-out operator. Both customers and check-out operator switched from Nakara to Gunavidji and back, with no apparent motivation, beyond a willingness to accommodate the other's linguistic repertoire.

The other three instances of language "mixture" also occurred with a Nakara speaker (cases 63, 64 and 65 in Appendix F). In cases 63 and 65, the old Nakara lady who is speaking begins in Nakara and then finishes her utterance in Gunavidji, the language of the check-out operator. The motivation for the switch appears to stem from the fact that on both occasions she is asking him a favour. In case 64, she starts speaking in Nakara to the old man who is with her, but changes to English for the "business" of her utterance: she urges him to hurry up and lend her some money. The reason for this switch could have been a wish to hide embarrassment at not having enough money to pay for the goods she wanted to buy.

English does play an important part in interchanges in the shop, as it is used to deal with money, a number of commodities and costs. English loan words are frequently used to describe articles

on sale for which no Aboriginal word exists. As we have seen, however, the place of English in normal interchange in the shop is limited.

As was the case in the school, it is difficult to assess the influence of topic, purpose and the presence of others on language choice. Most of the interchanges were very similar, being short utterances about prices and goods, with the purpose of giving or receiving a service. Only in cases 63, 64 and 65 does the purpose of the utterance, and perhaps the presence of other people, appear to significantly affect the language chosen by the speaker.

Although the check-out operator is Gunavidji, it appears that the most frequent language spoken in the shop is Burera, followed by Gunavidji, followed in turn some way behind by Nakara. It is difficult to assess whether this is typical, or whether it simply reflects the composition of the group of people who went through the check-out when the video-tape was made. As these groups are the biggest groups of (Aboriginal) people actually living in Maningrida, it is possible that these language choices are the ones most commonly made there.

4.4.3 Summary of Language Use: Variables Affecting Multilingual Interaction

A number of variables which affect the speaker's choice of language in a multilingual situation can be isolated from the data presented. The speaker's first language and complete linguistic repertoire, and the interlocutor's first language and total linguistic repertoire, are the primary catalysts determining what languages will be used in any multilingual interaction in Maningrida. Their importance

has been amply demonstrated in the analysis of the interchanges in both school and shop. The apparent importance of Burera, Gunavidji and Gupapuyngu in the school, and Burera and Gunavidji in the shop, bears witness to the significance of these variables, as these languages reflect the composition of the two samples studied.

In addition, informants suggested that the age and sex of both speaker and interlocutor are important in determining language choice, as is their relative kinship status. Among the Aboriginal people of Maningrida, it is customary for a man to speak before a woman, and for an older person to speak before a younger one. Thus, in a multilingual context, an old man will set the likely pattern of multilingual interaction. The language he chooses to speak will normally be used by his interlocutors, as a mark of respect. The exact effect of kinship status on linguistic behaviour is not clear, but it appears to be related to the effects of age and sex.

English tends to be used only when whites are being actively included in a conversation. It is probably almost never used in an "Aboriginal" context. Even among children, English is only used when there is absolutely no common Aboriginal language. Despite this reluctance to use complete English utterances, loan words from English appear to be freely adopted.

Topic, purpose and the other people present when an interchange takes place (but who are not direct interlocutors) also appear to affect language choice. The material is too limited to suggest exactly how they influence the speaker's choice. One case is clear, though. If the speaker wants to ask a favour of the interlocutor, he or she will use the interlocutor's first language, where possible, in

preference to his or her own.

The significance of these variables, particularly the language competence of both speaker and interlocutor, relative to each other, is manifested in the principal types of language choice evident in both school and shop. In both situations, the language of the first speaker was the chosen medium of communication in a multilingual situation, rather than the interlocutor's first language. Where either speaker or interlocutor could not understand the other's first language, a common language was chosen. Thus social variables, related to attitudes about language, determine the types of language choice made in a multilingual situation in the Maningrida area.

4.5 Language Attitudes

An idea of prevailing attitudes held by various groups towards each others' languages can be gained by comparing the data in the previous two sections, on language competence and language use, with the historical and social background of the tribes, discussed in Chapter 2. As language attitudes tend to be covert, this section must necessarily be qualitative and interpretative.

However, two trends appear to emerge. To the extent that a general "tribal personality" can be identified, it would appear that the more aggressive, aloof and dominating tribes are less willing to learn second languages.²⁷ On the other hand, the more easy-going, unaggressive

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Certain generalisations can be made on the basis of the informants' comments about the personal characteristics of particular groups. In a number of interviews, it was clear that the informants regarded certain groups as particularly friendly, aloof or arrogant.

and less dominant groups are willing to learn more second languages, thereby accommodating the more aggressive, dominant tribes. To some extent, the perceived difficulty of the languages overlays this pattern and reinforces it.

Geographically, the Gunavidji's traditional country (in which Maningrida is located) is the central area in North Arnhem Land. Traditionally, their close associates were other Western Arnhem Land tribes, while their relations with the Burera have always been fairly hostile. Although they are a large group in Maningrida, they are not a dominating, aggressive one, and tend to lack political motivation, particularly in comparison with the Burera. While they willingly learn other Western Arnhem Land languages, most of them express some resistance to the idea of learning Burera. (Most Gunavidji adults acknowledged a command of only "some Burera", although there are clear benefits to be gained in speaking the language of the most dominant group in the community.) Because of the supposed difficulty of the language and because the Gunavidji tend to learn other people's languages, Gunavidji is not a very common second language, except among the Nakara, their traditionally close associates.

The Nakara tend to be a "buffer people" in Arnhem Land, between East and West. Their affiliations are closer to the West, however, particularly the Gunavidji with whom there is extensive inter-marriage. The Nakara now number about one hundred in total and they seem to be regarded (both by themselves and by the other groups) as a group on the decline. Perhaps because of this they tend to look to other groups, rather than themselves, for pride and support. Most of them at least understand Gunavidji and most adults speak some Burera, while about half of them know Gunwinjgu. While they are willing to learn

a number of other languages, relatively few other peoples are willing to learn Nakara.

The Rembarnga are a large group from the inland of Arnhem Land. Perhaps because their territory is less rich in produce than the coastal areas, they have travelled widely and consequently speak a large number of languages. They have a reputation for warmth and friendliness. They appear to be liked by those who know them, although very few people in Maningrida speak Rembarnga as a second language. Gunwinjgu is spoken by all Rembarnga in the Maningrida area, but it is the only other "traditional" Maningrida language which they speak. The other Aboriginal languages they speak come from further south, and are now spoken predominantly in Katherine, Bamyili and Bulman, south of Arnhem Land.

The Djinang are a large but highly multilingual group on the eastern extremity of Maningrida. Although their traditional associations lie with the eastern groups they are regarded by everyone in Maningrida as friendly and outgoing. While most of them speak a large number of languages, very few other people bother to learn Djinang. While several Djinang speakers are involved in the interchanges summarised in Appendix F, there are no examples of Djinang being spoken. The Djinang speakers are far more likely to accommodate the linguistic desires of other people, than to expect others to accommodate them.

Although only a small number of Gungoragone are left now, they are regarded as a hardworking, astute, likeable group, particularly by the Western Arnhem Landers in Maningrida. The tribe appears to be declining and very few people speak Gungoragone as a second

language.²⁸ It is difficult to generalise about their language attitudes on the basis of a limited sample. It seems that the Gungoragone recognise the need for them to learn the languages of other groups as well as their own.

Maung, Gupapuyngu, Gumatj and Wangurri are all regarded by "traditional" Maningrida people as interlopers, though attitudes vary from group to group. The Maung are favourably regarded by the Gunavidji, Gunbalang, Gungoragone and Nakara section of the population, though not, it seems by the other Western Arnhem Land people, the Gunwinjgu. The Gupapuyngu and the Djinang regard each other very favourably, as they are closely affiliated, but the Gupapuyngu seem to be resented by the other groups. The Burera probably resent the threat to their present dominance presented by the forceful and outspoken Gupapuyngu. The Gunavidji probably resent the attempt of yet another major group to take their country from them. The Wangurri and Gumatj people are traditionally closely affiliated with the Gupapuyngu, and although there are very few of them in Maningrida, other tribes probably associate them with the Gupapuyngu. While the Gupapuyngu are an aggressive group, their dominance in Maningrida is circumscribed by the fact that they are "latecomers".

In contrast to the groups previously mentioned (with the exception of the Gupapuyngu, whose aggressiveness is counterbalanced by their few numbers) the Burera are a large aggressive and dominant group who on the whole are unwilling

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Nothing is known about the history of the tribe. It is probable that at one time it was much larger than it is at present. Disease is the most likely cause of their disappearance, as no massacres have been recorded in the area.

to learn other languages. A number of them understand Gunwinjgu, a Western Arnhem Land lingua franca, probably because it is considered to be both useful and easy. A number of them also speak Djinang, the language of a large, neighbouring eastern group. Their hostility to the Gunavidji, the traditional landowners in Maningrida, is expressed by their contempt for the Gunavidji themselves, and their unwillingness to learn their language. Because of the Bureras' general linguistic attitudes, most other tribal groups find it necessary to learn Burera, if relations are to be maintained between them.

The Gunwinjgu have had a chequered career in Maningrida. Those who used to live in Maningrida were among the first to establish outstations, and while they now visit Maningrida frequently, they never stay long. They are regarded as an aloof, arrogant group of people, even by the other Western Arnhem Land people who are traditionally close to them. Gunwinjgu is considered something of a lingua franca in Arnhem Land, and as was shown in section 4.3, it is acknowledged as being widely spoken or understood as a second language in Maningrida. It is thus perhaps not surprising that the Gunwinjgu only rarely learn other Aboriginal languages. The only other Aboriginal languages likely to be spoken by a Gunwinjgu in the Maningrida area are the languages of actual blood relatives. In this case, the attitudes of the Gunwinjgu towards themselves and other groups reinforce their tendency to learn only English, in addition to Gunwinjgu, and the tendency of other groups to find it expedient to learn Gunwinjgu.

The only attitudes actively expressed about the languages themselves (rather than the speakers) were about Gunavidji and Gunwinjgu. A number of people who answered "no" to the question "do you speak or

hear Gunavidji" commented that "(Gunavidji is) a rough one that - very hard". By contrast, several people volunteered the information that Gunwinjgu is (relatively) easy. Thus the perceived difficulty of the actual languages themselves appears to be a significant factor in people's willingness to learn the languages concerned. One reason that Gunavidji was not a "popular" second language was because it is considered by all the non-Gunavidji to be very difficult. Thus attitudes to the actual languages (whether "difficult" or "easy") possibly reinforce social attitudes which encourage or deter people from learning certain languages as second languages. [Although an overt aspect of multilingualism in Maningrida, language attitudes appear to be sufficiently strong to circumscribe the number and identity languages a person is likely to learn, and the language he or she is likely to use in a given situation of multilingual interaction. Members of tribes, such as the Burera and the Gunwinjgu, which are regarded as aggressive and dominant, speak a relatively limited range and number of languages, while their languages are favoured by others as second languages. Members of tribes considered to be unassuming, unaggressive and perhaps relatively passive (Gunavidji, Nakara, Rembarnga, Djinang, Gungoragone, Gumatj, Wangurri and Maung) tend to learn a relatively large number and range of languages, and their languages are not favoured second languages in the Maningrida area, particularly if the languages are generally considered to be difficult to learn. While the Gupapuyngu are generally considered to be dominant and aggressive, there are too few of them in Maningrida for their language to be a favoured second language at present. Language attitudes are clearly a significant aspect of multilingualism in Maningrida, although the exact nature of their influence cannot be precisely determined on present evidence.

4.6 Kinship and Special Speech Styles in Maningrida

Special socially-determined speech styles appear to be a part of every language spoken in the Maningrida area, and as such, should be an integral component of the multilingual speaker's total knowledge of his or her second language. Nevertheless, we know little about them.

Of all the tribal groupings, traditionally represented at Maningrida, only the Gunwinjgu (Berndt, 1970; Berndt, 1971), the Burera (Hiatt, 1965, (specifically the Gidjingali, one of the Burera clan groups; Hamilton, 1970)), and to a lesser extent, the Gunavidji (Armstrong, 1973) have been documented in detail by anthropologists.²⁹ Anthropologists mostly leave details of linguistic behaviour to linguists, and rarely draw linguistic inferences from the social behaviour of the people they describe. For this reason, our knowledge of intratribal social constraints on linguistic behaviour is scanty, although suggestive. Further, the anthropological literature does not consider the presence or absence of extratribal or intertribal social or linguistic mechanisms for accommodating "outsiders" in the speech community.³⁰ Drawing on both

29

Warner (1937) describes the "Murngin" in North-East Arnhem Land in great detail, but never specifies where exactly they come from, or which group(s) the term "Murngin" designates. He includes Yarnangu and Burera people among the "Murngin", but rarely refers to them, and makes it clear that he is concentrating on people living further east.

30

Berndt (1976:160) states that in Northern Arnhem Land, dialect differences do not necessarily impose social barriers. This is consistent with Fishman's findings (1968: 44-45) which suggest that not all linguistic differences are noted, let alone idealised by the peoples concerned. Thus significant differences, in linguistic terms, between peoples might be ignored completely. This is the nearest an anthropologist of Australian Aborigines comes to discussing the correlation between extratribal social and linguistic relations of this nature. We have already seen the extent to which language attitudes play a part in determining which linguistic differences are likely to be highlighted, and which are likely to be minimised, in terms of the willingness of the various groups to learn each other's languages.

the literature and informants, this section briefly explores the constraints imposed by intra-tribal social structure on linguistic behaviour and how these social constraints might operate in a multi-lingual situation.³¹

The question of who is allowed to speak to whom, and in what manner, in Aboriginal tribes in Arnhem Land is largely dictated by the norms of the kinship system. Throughout Arnhem Land, the tribes are divided into two moieties, Dua and Yirritja (the major social division in these tribes), and four subsections.³² Among the eastern tribes, one's father's kinsmen should belong to the same moiety (although different subsections), while one's mother's kinsmen should belong to a different moiety. It is probable that the reverse occurs among the Western Arnhem Land tribes, which are matrilineal. "Wrong marriages" do occur, so this description should be regarded as normative, rather than what always does occur. Evidence from informants suggests that the number of "wrong marriages" may be increasing.

Moiety, and to a lesser extent, subsection affiliation of two people determine the way they behave and communicate to each other. If two people belong to the same moiety, they can be friendlier and more linguistically intimate than if they belong to different moieties. This

31 The information on kinship structure among the Arnhem Land tribes was provided by Geoffrey Bagshaw, a fourth-year honours student in anthropology at Adelaide University, and his father, Glen Bagshaw. The Bagshaw family have been residents in Maningrida since 1969.

32 Subsection names differ slightly from tribe to tribe.

moiety dichotomy influences the way a person approaches all older members of his or her mother's kinsmen. As the Dua and Yirritja moieties, and their accompanying subsections, span all of the Arnhem Land tribes and everyone is a classificatory relation of everyone else, if not an actual blood relation, the Aborigines in the Maningrida area know exactly how they must behave to other Arnhem Land people, once they learn their moiety even if they are total strangers, speaking different first languages. Thus, as the one kinship system encompasses all the tribes in the Maningrida area, people considered "linguistic outsiders" by a person (that is, people speaking different first languages) are immediately accommodated socially by their kinship relationship to that person, and linguistic behaviour is moderated accordingly.

Four intra-tribal social constraints operate to influence linguistic behaviour. The special speech styles produced are "mother-in-law" or "cousin" language, initiands' language, brother-sister taboo and the joking relationship. In addition, certain lexical taboos may exist.³³ It appears that all these special social dialects operate in all the languages of Maningrida, although very little is known about most of them.

Of the "mother-in-law" styles, only that of the Gunwinjgu has been documented (Capell, 1962: 520; Harris, 1970) in the Maningrida area. "Gunkurrng", the "cousin" or "mother-in-law" language of the Gunwinjgu must be used when a male speaks in the hearing of his mother-

33

All of these special speech styles have been documented elsewhere in Australia (for example, Dixon, 1972; Havi land, forthcoming; Capell, 1962; Thomson, 1935; Hale, 1971; Hart, 1930; are among the more recent sources). However, relatively little is known about these special speech styles. It is probable that they were far more widespread than the documentation would indicate.

in-law, or directly to her, or vice versa. The Gunwinjgu "mother-in-law" language uses identical morphology, pronouns, particles, conjunctions and compass points as the ordinary language. Most of the adverbs and some of the kinship terms are also identical. Only lexical items in common use differ (Capell, 1962: 520).

Hiatt (1965:72) refers to a similar mother-in-law constraint among the Burera (Gidjingali), but does not describe it. Nothing is known about any of the other "mother-in-law" styles used in Maningrida, but it is likely that they all differ substantially from the ordinary dialect, at least in common lexical items.

An "initiands' language" is noted by Capell (1962:516) as another example of the effect of social constraints on linguistic behaviour among the Gunwinjgu. Unfortunately he does not elaborate on its nature or use. "Initiands' languages" appear to be still widely spoken in the Maningrida area, by all tribes, but the fieldworker, being a woman, was unable to establish anything more than that they existed.

The brother-sister taboo is a major social constraint on behaviour, including linguistic behaviour, among all the tribes represented at Maningrida (Warner, 1937; Berndt, 1971; Hiatt, 1965; Armstrong, 1967), although its manifestations have not been described in detail or for all tribes. Among the Gunwinjgu (Berndt, 1971) small brothers and sisters are discouraged from being together once the boy has reached five or six, and this constraint is gradually enforced as he grows older. The constraints include a prohibition on physical contact of any sort, including direct visual (eye-to-eye) contact, and unspecified linguistic constraints. Case 54 in Appendix F is an example of the brother-sister taboo as it operates at present among the Gunavidji

in Maningrida. It demonstrates the avoidance of direct visual and physical contact.

Among the Burera (Gidjingali) a man cannot "utter the name of anyone he calls sister" (Hiatt, 1965:53). A Gidjingali man might attack his true or classificatory sister if he heard anyone swear at her, or mention her with reference to sex or childbirth. This brother-sister constraint appears to be the strongest social constraint currently operating in Maningrida (Dan Gillespie, manager of the Outstation Resource Centre, Maningrida, personal communication).

The joking relationship (referred to by Hiatt, 1965, for the Gidjingali) also occurs in every tribe. Like the joking relationship in other parts of Australia, it is a special relationship between an old man and young man in a grandfather-grandson relationship to each other. It consists of highly sexual comments and sexually explicit behaviour (such as grabbing the other's penis). For a certain period after the young man's initiation, he cannot say anything at all to the old man and must smilingly accept the sexual jokes and taunts of the old man, without retaliating. This behaviour is a public display and is never carried out in private.

Aboriginal languages undergo a high rate of lexical change (Schebeck, n.d.:57). When a person dies, his or her name is taboo for a certain period afterwards. The taboo often extends to words which sound similar to the deceased person's name. This constraint occurs among all the tribes of the Maningrida area. At present it generally lasts no longer than four months, but may last considerably longer if the person who died was important. Unfortunately, the origin of the words which replace the tabooed words is not known.

The "mother-in-law" style, "initiations' language", brother-sister taboo and joking relationship, are all special speech styles, the use of which is triggered by certain relationships existing between the people concerned. As they appear to be universal among the Arnhem Land Aborigines, and as the same kinship system operates throughout Arnhem Land, these constraints are not waived if the people concerned happen to speak different first languages. Information is at present inadequate to estimate which language, in a given situation, would be chosen for expression of a particular social constraint. It seems likely that the variables which affect any multilingual interchange in Maningrida, outlined in section 4.4.3, would operate when a special speech style needs to be used. Thus part of the multilingual's language competence should include some knowledge of the special speech styles he or she may need to use.

The rate at which lexical taboos spread to second-language speakers of a language is not at present known. It is likely that pressure to conform to new lexical taboos would place considerable pressure on the multilingual speaker in Maningrida.

4.7 The Sociolinguistics of Multilingualism: Summary

Multilingual language competence and language use in the Maningrida area are related to the attitudes held by the various tribes to each others' languages, and to their own. Special socially-determined speech styles, use of which is generally triggered by intra-tribal kinship, organisation, should also be integral aspects of the multilingual speaker's total language competence.

We have seen that certain generalisations can be made about inter-tribal and intra-tribal attitudes affecting language competence.

Members of the dominant tribes in the Maningrida area (Burera and Gunwinjgu) speak a relatively low number of languages, while other tribes accommodate them by learning Burera~~or~~ Gunwinjgu, as well as a number of other languages. Those tribes whose members tend to speak a relatively large number of languages are generally considered to be unaggressive, friendly, less dominant people. These trends aside, second-language learning still tends to reflect traditional associations between geographically contiguous languages.

Language competence of speaker and interlocutor relative to each other are the principle variables affecting language use in Maningrida's school and shop. Gunavidji, English, Gupapuyngu and Burera tended to be the languages most commonly used, though this certainly reflects the tribal composition of the groups recorded, rather than a generalisation about all language choices in multilingual situations in Maningrida.

This chapter has shown that social factors make multilingualism a necessity in the Maningrida area. Despite considerable linguistic diversity, social pressures demand that everyone have a knowledge of at least one Aboriginal language and English. Social pressures compel most Aborigines (except the Burera and the Gunwinjgu) in the Maningrida area to learn several languages (English is not necessarily one of them), even though the languages may be linguistically diverse.

CHAPTER 5

MULTILINGUALISM AND LINGUA FRANCAS

INTRODUCTION:

5.1 Social Prerequisites for a Lingua Franca

When regular and extensive contact between multiple linguistic groups has become inevitable in various parts of the world and wherever the social need is recognised, at least one language has tended to emerge as an accepted lingua franca. Linguistic barriers alone do not necessarily create a widely felt social need to learn one common language. Desires for political, economic, religious, educational or cultural unity generally cannot be satisfied by linguistic diversity, and thus provide positive motivation for the generation and development of a lingua franca. Lingua francas may evolve naturally out of a multilingual situation, or may be imposed by planning authorities.

Different "types" of languages can fulfil varying social needs for a lingua franca. Where social need is entirely or primarily economic, the lingua franca could well be a pidgin. "Pidgins" are incomplete languages which have arisen as a result, frequently, of economic contact between peoples speaking different languages (U.N.E.S.C.O., 1968:689). Usually formed from a mixing of languages, they generally have simplified morphologies, syntax and lexicons. Pidgins are regularly used only in a limited range of domains and so cannot be described as "full" lingua francas, although they may well satisfy every perceived need for a lingua franca. Such a pidgin is Tok Pisin (referred to as Neo-Melanesian) in the New Guinea Highlands (Sankoff, 1972). A "pidgin" becomes a "creole" when it acquires a body of speakers who have learned

it as their first language. Accompanying this process, it expands in linguistic complexity, so that the creole acquires the characteristics of a "full" language, in which a comprehensive range of topics can be discussed. A creole, however, does not become a lingua franca unless it satisfies the social and linguistic needs for one in a multilingual community.

Most lingua francas are already complete languages in themselves. However, the range of competence of the people who use it as a lingua franca varies from virtually a "pidginised" usage (with a limited range of vocabulary and phrases to cover minimal communicative purposes) to complete fluency in all situations. Some lingua francas of this nature are Russian in the Soviet Union (Comrie, forthcoming), Hebrew in Israel (Herman, 1968), Swahili in the East African countries (Whiteley, 1971) and Spanish in the Philippines (Sibayan, 1971). In each of these cases, the existence of a number of first languages in a community or nation, combined with a perceived social need, has compelled the population to accept the use of at least one language as a lingua franca.

This has not yet happened in Maningrida, and, on available evidence, is unlikely to do so in the immediate future, as the social need for a spoken lingua franca does not seem to exist at present. Deep-rooted attitudes held by the various linguistic groups partially determine what language members of those groups are most likely to learn, and may actively preclude the use of certain languages in some multilingual situations. While Chapter 4 suggests that at least three spoken languages, Burera, Gunwinjgu and English, possibly have good reason to claim status as lingua francas for Maningrida, on the basis of each having relatively large numbers of second-language speakers, it appears that none of them

would be accepted at present by certain large sections of the population of the Maningrida area. There is in fact only a non-spoken language, sign language (a traditional lingua franca, whose present status in Maningrida has not been clearly assessed) that seems to fulfil the linguistic and social criteria for a lingua franca.

Whilst the question of a lingua franca for Maningrida is treated as a theoretical one here, it has important practical consequences. So far, the Aborigines in the Maningrida area have not demonstrated a social need for a spoken lingua franca, despite their linguistic diversity. Thus, if present trends were to continue, a spoken lingua franca would be unlikely to evolve spontaneously. However, administrative and planning authorities, particularly in the field of education, could feel the linguistic complexity of the community to be a problem. A spoken lingua franca would solve these problems, but one would have to be imposed and actively promoted. This chapter discusses the possible acceptability as an imposed lingua franca of certain languages in the Maningrida area, and the implications of the findings for administrators and planners.

5.2 The Quest for a Lingua Franca for Maningrida

If a language is to be acceptable as a lingua franca for the Maningrida area it must fulfil certain linguistic as well as social requirements. It should have a large number of first-language speakers. Although lingua francas in many parts of the world do not have large numbers of first-language speakers (for example, Esperanto and Amharic Persian), this requirement would be necessary in Maningrida because of the lack of a perceived social need for a spoken lingua franca on the part of the

people concerned, and the likelihood of a negative reaction unless the language chosen fulfilled reasonable communicative needs at present. Perhaps more importantly, there should also be a large number of people who have learned it or are willing to learn it as a second language. These people must recognise a need for a lingua franca, and be prepared to use it actively.

The first requirement, large number of first-language speakers, is satisfied by several languages in the Maningrida Area. Gunavidji, Burera, Gunwinjgu, Rembarnga, Djinang and English (whites only) all have over one hundred first language speakers living in the Maningrida area. One hundred is a "large" number in the Australian Aboriginal context, as very few tribes now have more than one hundred people left. Sign language is known and used by every Aboriginal. One factor militating against both Gunwinjgu and Rembarnga is that very few people speaking either of these as first languages now live in Maningrida itself, so that regular contact with other groups is more limited. Djinang is also affected by this factor, as at present only about one-third of the Djinang speakers in the Maningrida area actually live in Maningrida during the Dry Season. Thus Gunavidji, Burera and English are possible candidates for the status of lingua franca, on the basis of number of first-language speakers actually living in Maningrida.

The second criteria for acceptance as lingua franca, a large number of second-language speakers, is possibly best satisfied by English. Of the Aboriginal languages with a reasonable number of second-language speakers, Gunwinjgu and Burera have the largest number, followed some way behind by Nakara, Gupapuyngu and Gunavidji. Of these, Nakara and Gupapuyngu can immediately be discounted, as neither of them have a very large number of first-language speakers. Thus English,

Burera, Gunwinjgu and Gunavidji all appear to be possible candidates for the status of lingua franca on the basis of the number of people speaking them as second languages.

The third criterion for acceptance as a lingua franca, that the people recognise a need for it and are prepared to use it, is the major source of difficulty in establishing which language or languages spoken in the Maningrida area, if any, could be considered to be or are likely to become, lingua francas. At present, any need for a lingua franca is met by sign language. The problem of language attitudes, to which the question of language use is related, has already been briefly considered. It is appropriate to consider the implications of these language attitudes again, in greater depth, as they have a major bearing on the likely acceptance of the imposition of one of these languages as a lingua franca in the Maningrida area.

5.2.1 The Case for Gunavidji

Gunavidji's claim to being a lingua franca is not very strong, relative to that of some of the other languages in the Maningrida area. Its main claim is that it is the language of the group on whose land Maningrida was built. This claim is recognised by the Department of Education as being legitimate. It is currently employing a linguist to describe the Gunavidji language. (At one time it was hoped that when this work was completed, it would be possible to introduce a bilingual education programme in Gunavidji in the Maningrida School.) However, although the Gunavidji are the landowners in Maningrida, they are not a particularly large group. Nor does Gunavidji have a very large number of second-language speakers. One reason for this is the feeling, wide-

spread among the Aborigines of Maningrida, that Gunavidji is a particularly difficult language to learn. The reasons for this, however, are not clear. It is spoken by very few of the Gunwinjgu and by none of the Rembarnga. As the future of the eastern newcomers (Gupapuyngu, Wangurri and Gumatj) in Maningrida is probably short-term, their general ignorance of Gunavidji does not count necessarily against it.

Perhaps the main factor against Gunavidji as a lingua franca in the Maningrida area is the widespread antipathy often expressed towards the Gunavidji people by the Burera, and to a lesser extent the Gupapuyngu. This attitude is largely the result of apparently long-term traditional hostilities between the Gunavidji and the Burera, the reason for which are at present unknown, but which appear to have been perpetuated, despite settlement living. Its main linguistic effect is that very few Burera speak Gunavidji, and most would be hostile to the thought of being compelled to learn it. Thus, while the Burera continue to live in Maningrida, Gunavidji cannot be regarded as a present or possible candidate for Maningrida's lingua franca. It could not be successfully imposed and is highly unlikely to evolve naturally as one.

5.2.2 The Case for Burera

Burera's claim to being a lingua franca in the Maningrida area is much stronger than that of Gunavidji. It is spoken by the largest number of people, both on Maningrida's outstations and on the settlement itself. It is also learnt as a second language by at least some members of every group in the Maningrida area, except for the Gunwinjgu. As the Gunwinjgu now live mostly on outstations, and have very close connections with Gunwinjgu speakers west at Oenpelli, they would

probably not be particularly adversely affected by the use of Burera as a lingua franca in the Maningrida area.

The main factor against the acceptance of Burera as a lingua franca is, again, their (reciprocated!) hostility towards the Western Arnhem Land groups in Maningrida, and the Gunavidji in particular. While most Gunavidji can speak "some" Burera, it is evident from the responses of Gunavidji informants that that is the extent to which they accept pressures to learn the language of a people who regard them sometimes with open contempt. A number of incidents demonstrate the constraints this mutual dislike places on the Gunavidji and the Burera. The major division in living space in the settlement is between the Burera and the Gunavidji, whose camps are separated and quite distinct. Within the school, the disbanding of a class composed entirely of Gunavidji children a couple of years ago, and their dispersal into mixed (largely Burera) classes, led to the withdrawal of almost all the Gunavidji children from the school. Now only five or six Gunavidjis attend the school on a regular basis, and they almost never mix with the Bureras. Within work groups, a mixture of Burera and Gunavidji led to so many problems that the Maningrida Progress Association (which runs the bakery, the shop and the Hasty Tasty) refuses at present to employ Bureras. At one time earlier, Gunavidji check-out operators would refuse to serve Burera customers and vice versa. Friction between the Bureras and Gunavidjis has led to the present ineffectiveness of the Tribal Council. While the Bureras would be happy to see their language used by everyone else,¹ considerable resistance among other sections of Maningrida's population

¹ Note that in Appendix F, most Bureras expected the check-out operator, a Gunavidji, to speak Burera.

would probably prevent this ever being a realistic possibility. Thus, despite a large first-language population, and a relatively large number of second-language speakers,² Burera is unlikely at present to be considered acceptable as a lingua franca for the Maningrida Area.

5.2.3 The Case for Gunwinjgu

Of all the Aboriginal languages spoken in the Maningrida area, Gunwinjgu is the one most likely to be acceptable as a spoken lingua franca. Although the Gunwinjgu's large number of first-language speakers live on outstations some considerable distance from Maningrida for most of the year, it has a fairly large number of second-language speakers living everywhere in the Maningrida region, among both "Eastern" and "Western" Arnhem Land tribes. The Gunwinjgu's own apparent unwillingness to learn other Aboriginal languages does not appear to be reciprocated by any group as a whole, in the Maningrida area, though among the "newcomers" it is not spoken or "heard" yet by the few Wangurri or Gumatj speakers. While the Gunwinjgu are considered by other people to be aloof (probably because very few of them speak any languages but Gunwinjgu and English), there is no open antipathy expressed towards them. A large number of first-language speakers, a fairly large number of second-language speakers,³ and reasonably positive attitudes towards the Gunwinjgu language (in particular, that it is easy to learn), suggest that Gunwinjgu would probably be acceptable to most people as a lingua franca in the Maningrida area.

2 28 people out of the 105 interviewed (see section 4.3.9 and Appendix E) could speak or "hear" no Burera. Despite what the whites and the Bureras like to believe, Burera is far from understood by everyone in Maningrida.

3 It should be noted, however, that 48 people out of 105 interviewed in Appendix E were unable to speak or "hear" Gunwinjgu.

Other practical considerations also contribute to the possible use and acceptance of Gunwinjgu as a lingua franca, at least by planning authorities. It is something of a lingua franca in Western Arnhem Land, so its use in Maningrida would be simply an extension of a position it already holds elsewhere. The language has been analysed completely by linguists, and literary materials are steadily being produced. Bilingual education in Gunwinjgu has been under way at Oenpelli for a couple of years (NT. Education, Dept. of, 1974:40). Of all the Aboriginal languages spoken by a "large" number of people in the Maningrida area, Gunwinjgu has been used the most in European domains, such as education and literacy.

However, while these factors suggest that administrative authorities might be delighted if Gunwinjgu became a formal Aboriginal lingua franca, there is little evidence at present that the Aborigines would feel similarly delighted. At present it cannot be regarded as a lingua franca, because it appears that a little under half the population of the Maningrida area neither speak nor "hear" it. Its future as a second-language in the Maningrida area is particularly insecure. Almost all the people who speak or "hear" Gunwinjgu as a second language are adults, and while it is possible the children may learn it as they grow older, it is probable that the place of Gunwinjgu as a major second language within the Maningrida area could be replaced in the future by English or Burera, even without the deliberate imposition of one of them as lingua franca. Further, the data in Appendix F shows only extremely limited use of Gunwinjgu in the shop, and it is not used in the school at all.

Thus, while Gunwinjgu appears on theoretical grounds to be a viable lingua franca in the Maningrida area, it certainly cannot claim that status at present, and is unlikely to be able to do so in the future by a process of evolution.

5.2.4 The Case for English

At present, English cannot claim to be a lingua franca in the Maningrida area. None of the Aborigines speak it as a first language, and they are unlikely to do so while each of the tribal groups remains strong and the languages are viable means of communication. Even the groups whose languages have virtually disappeared, like the Gunbalang, do not speak English as first language. As the Gunbalang have intermarried extensively, mainly with the Gunavidji, many of them learn Gunavidji as a first language, while maintaining Gunbalang as a second language. Although a large number of people do speak English as a second language, perhaps up to half of the adults have no functional knowledge of it, and young children do not speak it until they go to school. Perhaps more significant, however, is the present extreme reluctance felt by most Aborigines, whether children or adults, to use English among themselves, when they are not specifically addressing whites. In each of the cases in Appendix F where English was used as a medium for an entire interchange, there was no common Aboriginal language which could be used instead. Among adults, and to a lesser extent, among children, there appears to be a marked tendency to avoid situations with other Aborigines where English might have to be used. A marked exception to this situation exists between Aboriginal teaching assistants and the children in their classes. In every case, the classes contain only

one or two children, at most, who speak the same language as the teaching assistant. The fieldworker never heard an Aboriginal language being spoken by any teaching assistant to any child or group of children in his or her class. This may be merely coincidental. This tendency to avoid English appears to be stronger among the "traditional" Maningrida people than among the newcomers (the Gupapuyngu, Gumatj and Wangurri, in particular). The only time English was spontaneously used among Aborigines in Maningrida, when an Aboriginal language could have been used, was when the Aborigines concerned were drunk and swearing (Elwell, personal observation). This could be indicative of a feeling of resentment felt towards the intrusion of English into Arnhem Land. This attitude of resentment militates against the use of English as a lingua franca at present.

While English could be regarded by some people as the most suitable potential lingua franca for the Maningrida area, the fact that it is not widely spoken with a great degree of competence and is used as little as possible suggests that there is at yet no social need for a lingua franca like English. It is likely that the attitude towards English could change very fast if the perceived social need for it increased. This could happen, for example, if the economic motivation to learn English were to increase markedly.

5.2.5 The Case for Sign Language

As was indicated in section 4.3.5, sign language appears to be a traditional lingua franca in the Maningrida area. Known and used by everyone from an early age, it appears to cut across all verbal differences between tribes. The range of individual competence, and the

extent to which it can be used to talk about any topic is not at present known. The only overt use of sign language in a complete conversation noted by the fieldworker occurred with the deaf and handicapped children in the school's "special" class. However, this is probably a comment on the fieldworker's failure to recognise culturally "different" forms of communication, rather than proof of the "fact" that sign language was "never" used in two-way interchanges between people with normal hearing. It is likely that the existence of a common sign language in Arnhem Land has already long ago satisfied the perceived social need for, and created the communicative unity normally fulfilled by, conventional spoken lingua francas. Lack of social need provides an explanation of how a situation of extraordinarily complex multilingualism, such as exists in the Maningrida area, can last without the development of a conventional spoken lingua franca. While sign language fulfills every perceived social and linguistic need for a lingua franca and remains an accepted and universally-known language in the Maningrida area, the Aboriginal people are unlikely to recognise or develop a need for any other lingua franca.

5.3 Some Implications for Administrative Planning and Language Policy

The discovery that no spoken language exists as a lingua franca in the Maningrida area, and that none is likely to be accepted as one while the traditional sign language satisfies every social and linguistic need to alleviate the problems of multilingual diversity, without conflicting with traditionally-established inter-tribal hostilities, has a number of significant implications for planners and administrators. However, the complexity of the multilingual situation

makes it essential that any planning be carried out only in consultation and agreement with all the tribal elders. The rapid rate of social change in the Maningrida area also poses considerable problems for planning and would necessitate close monitoring of the sociolinguistic situation before any plan affecting language use be accepted.

The introduction of bilingual education in the Maningrida School, a literacy programme in the vernacular, as well as English, for adults, and the possible introduction of a local radio station, are three areas where the use of one Aboriginal language, administratively and financially the most economical solution, would cause serious problems and jealousies among the Aboriginal people. Not only would large sections of the people in Maningrida Area feel "left out" in such a situation, but the whole *raison d'être* for establishing these types of programmes in the vernacular, rather than English first, would be nullified. The domain of use for sign language, the one socially acceptable lingua franca in the Maningrida area, is possibly too restricted for it to be used for education purposes in a non-Aboriginal context. There is insufficient evidence to assess this at present. The effect of this lack of a spoken lingua franca in the Maningrida area on administrative planning and language policy is discussed below with regard to bilingual education.

Bilingual education was introduced into Aboriginal schools first in 1973 by the Whitlam Labor Government.⁴ The Australian schemes

⁴ A large body of literature on the philosophy, policies and development of bilingual education in Australia has since been developed, including: Australia, Dept. of Education, Tandy, Watts, McGrath Report, 1973; Australia, Dept. of Education, 1975; McGrath, 1974a; Edmunds, 1975; Harris, 1975; Glass, 1973; Glass, 1974; Leeding, 1973; Lewis, Russo and Warren, 1975; McGrath, 1974b; N.T. Dept. of Education, Bilingual Consultative Committee, 1974; N.T. Dept. of Education, 1975; N.T. Dept. of Education, Bilingual Education Section, 1974; O'Grady and Hale, 1974; Tryon, 1975; Manydjarri, 1973.

have substantially followed the pattern of bilingual education developed overseas.⁵ "Bilingual education" was defined by the U.S. Bilingual Education Act (Title VII, E.S.E.A.) as "...the use of two languages, one of which is English, as mediums of instruction for the same pupil population in a well-organised program which encompasses part or all of the curriculum and includes the study of the history and culture associated with the mother tongue. A complete program develops and maintains the children's self-esteem and a legitimate pride in both cultures" (quoted in Australia. Dept. of Education (The Tandy, Watts, McGrath Report), 1973:7). The aim of complete bilingual education programmes is to introduce children to literacy in their own language before expecting them to read in the foreign language, English in this case. It has been possible to establish programmes of this nature in a number of centres in Australia, such as, for example, Mulbulwar, where the main Aboriginal language spoken is Nungjubyu, Arøyonga (Pitjantjatjara), Garden Point (Tiwi), Goulburn Island (Maung), Milingimbi (Gupapuyngu), Angurugu (AnIndilyau gwaa), Oenpelli (Gunwinjgu), Yirrkala (Gumatj), Yuendumu (Walbiri) (N.T. Dept. of Education - Bilingual Education Section, 1974). Even in those communities mentioned above which have some degree of multilingualism, one language is acceptable to the whole community as a lingua franca suitable for the education of every child. Where literacy materials in the relevant vernacular have not been prepared, a modified model of bilingual education has been accepted in some areas

⁵ Literature dealing with overseas bilingual education programmes includes U.N.E.S.C.O. (1968); Modiano, (1968); Fasold, (1975); Anderson and Boyer (1970); Lambert and Tucker, (1972); Harris, (1971) and Gorman, (1968).

in Australia. This modified programme involves only oral instruction in the Aboriginal language and English, before the introduction of literacy in English (Australia. Dept. of Education (Tandy, Watts, McGrath Report, 1973:15-18).

In Maningrida, one bilingual programme, whether or not it involved literacy in the Aboriginal languages, would be inadequate. The purpose of bilingual education is defeated if the vernacular language used for instruction is a foreign language to a large number of the children. As we have seen in Chapter 3, the "traditional" languages of Maningrida are in no sense dialects of the one language. Chapter 4 has shown that there is no Aboriginal language spoken or understood by every person in Maningrida, let alone the Maningrida area. While Burera is understood or spoken by a fairly large number of people, it is not well known as a second language among all children, particularly the Gunavidji children. There are almost as many Gunavidji in Maningrida itself as there are Burera, although at present very few Gunavidji children go to school regularly. It would appear to be totally unjustified to introduce a bilingual education programme into the school in Burera only, on the grounds that "all the school children speak Burera" when in fact the children of a whole group at present refuse to come to school because they do not speak Burera and want to have as little to do with the Burera as possible.

If bilingual education could be introduced to the school in all the major languages spoken on the settlement (Burera, Gunavidji, Djinang, Nakara and Gupapuyngu at least), then it could be a feasible and worthwhile, if costly, project. At present, initial literacy in the vernacular (Aboriginal) language, could be introduced only in

Gupapuyngu.⁶ A bilingual education programme in Maningrida at present could only involve oral instruction in the various Aboriginal languages.

This in effect, is already what happens in schools on the outstations in the Maningrida area. Outstations contain people who speak the same first language, although often there are "outsiders" who have married into the group, or different peoples who have had a long and close association, and speak each other's languages fluently. The eight outstation schools in the Maningrida area in August 1977, were each staffed by one local teacher. Education from outstation to outstation is coordinated by two white outstation teachers, based in Maningrida, who prepare graded booklets in English every fortnight for the children to work through with their teacher. Instruction by the children's Aboriginal teachers is generally in their own language, the outstation's "lingua franca" while they are gradually introduced to reading, writing and counting in English. The results to date appear to compare favourably with education in the Maningrida School where education has never been, and at present cannot be, bilingual (Judy Connolly and Mark Farrer, Maningrida Outstation teachers, 1977: personal communication)..

5.4 Multilingualism and Lingua Francas: Summary

The absence of an oral lingua franca in the Maningrida area,

5 Bilingual education involving literacy in the Aboriginal language has so far only been feasible for Gupapuyngu, of all the languages cited. Some literacy materials have been produced for Burera. Gunavidji and Djinang have been insufficiently analysed by linguists for literature production to go ahead, while Nakara has as yet received no large-scale linguistic analysis.

a region of considerable linguistic complexity, and a high degree of functional multilingualism, is of more than merely theoretical interest. Too little is known about the social and linguistic functions of sign language, the one apparently viable lingua franca, for costly educational programmes based on it to be started. On the other hand, sign language at present fulfils both the social and linguistic needs of the community for a lingua franca. No other lingua franca is likely to emerge within the foreseeable future and it is unlikely that one could be successfully imposed, unless language attitudes and current patterns of language competence and language use are substantially changed. In addition, a spoken lingua franca would have to fulfil desired social and linguistic needs not satisfied by sign language. This situation raises a number of practical problems for educators and language planners in the Maningrida area.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

Multilingualism among Australian Aborigines, and the effects of settlement and mission station living on the use of language by Aborigines, is a field of study which has so far scarcely been broached. The linguistic consequences of rapid social change, involving the enforced intermingling of a number of diverse languages and peoples whose previous contact has been intermittent and on the terms of the speakers involved, rather than an outside authority, has not been explored in the context of the Australian Aboriginal. Generally, administrative authorities have assumed that the Aborigines involved automatically "must" speak the same language, "and if they don't, then they soon will, and that language will be English". The assumption has been that, in the case of a highly multilingual community, a new lingua franca will somehow spontaneously develop. This assumption has so far underlain most policies including bilingual education, aimed at inducing rapid change into the traditional Aboriginal way of life. The change in administrative philosophy from "assimilation" to "self-determination" for the Australian Aborigines has partially recognised the enormous complexity of the Aboriginal linguistic situation, and the tensions this produces if Aborigines are forced to live in continuous close proximity to one another. While the traditional Aboriginal social milieu can accommodate a high degree of multilingualism, a spoken lingua franca, spanning disparate tribes and social systems, has generally been unnecessary in the past. It appears that, at least in Arnhem Land, any social need for a lingua franca has been satisfactorily filled by sign language. Thus, pressure brought to bear on Aborigines

on government and mission stations to adopt one language, whether English or one Aboriginal language, could be interpreted as an exertion of official pressure against the social viability of Aboriginals' traditional means of communication, their own languages and their multi-lingual competence. Sociolinguistic studies of bilingualism and multilingualism overseas, have found that pressures of this nature weaken a people's pride and confidence, and is the source of a considerable number of social and educational tensions and problems. In addition, negative attitudes towards the new languages frequently develop among the people concerned.¹ Thus the linguistic effects of rapid social change on a linguistically complex community are of considerable relevance for all aspects of planning involving language use.

This study has examined aspects of multilingualism in Maningrida, a government settlement for Aborigines in Arnhem Land. Despite an extremely high level of linguistic complexity existing in the settlement, the only lingua franca for which any social need exists appears to be sign language. No spoken language can at present claim the status of lingua franca.

Chapter 2 explored the demographic structure and the history of Maningrida, the settlement chosen for study. At least eleven tribes or linguistic groups live either in Maningrida itself or in the Maningrida area. Maningrida is an artificial community, established by whites. Its history reflects the instability of the relationship between the two

¹ These issues are discussed in, for example, Lambert, Gardner, Olton and Tunstall, 1968; Fasold, 1975; Botha, 1970; Gorman, 1968; Bourhis, Giles and Lambert, 1975; and Findling, 1972.

major groupings represented in the community, the Western Arnhem Land tribes and the Eastern Arnhem Land tribes. While this division is a theoretical construct produced by anthropologists to classify the major difference in social system between the tribes in Northern Arnhem Land, it is also useful when applied in a sociolinguistic context. It mirrors the major sociolinguistic division affecting language attitudes and major second-language affiliations between the tribes represented in Maningrida.

An important recent development in Maningrida is the establishment of a large number of outstations (decentralised, predominantly single-language units) within the general area. The effect of this development on multilingualism in the Maningrida area and the possible emergence of a spoken areal lingua franca is not at present clear.

Chapter 3 provided a sketch study of all the languages spoken as first languages in the Maningrida area, highlighting their linguistic diversity. All the languages, except for Djinang and the Yolngu dialects (Gupapuyngu, Wangurri and Gumatj), are classified as non-Pama-Nyungan languages. This group comprises a number of linguistically very dissimilar groups of languages and is very different from the Pama-Nyungan languages, the languages found over the bulk of the Australian continent. Up to five different language "families" appear to be represented by the languages spoken as first languages in the Maningrida area (O'Grady and Voegelin, 1967:30-31). They are the Gunwinjguan language family (represented by Gunwinjgu, Gunbalang, Rembarnga and Maung); the Gunavidjian and Nakaran language families, both of which on present evidence appear to have only one member each, Gunavidji and Nakara respectively and their dialects; the Bureran language family, with two main members, Burera and Gungoragone, and their dialects; and the Pama-

Nyungan Yolngu languages and dialects (Djinang, Gupapuyngu, Wanguurri and Gumatj). These linguistic groupings do not correspond to the sociolinguistically useful social groupings of Eastern Arnhem Land and Western Arnhem Land tribes. The social distinction cuts across the boundaries drawn by language families. English, the other main language spoken in Maningrida, is phonologically, morphologically, lexically and syntactically totally different from any of the Aboriginal languages. "Aboriginal English" displays a range of registers or styles, varying from a pidginised, very "Aboriginal" variety, to a register only slightly different from Standard Australian English. The number and diversity of languages spoken in Maningrida render the multilingual situation extraordinarily complex and would pose considerable problems for second-language learners.

Chapter 4 discussed the results of a preliminary survey of the sociolinguistic aspects of multilingualism in Maningrida. Four general aspects of multilingualism were explored. They were: language competence, language use, language attitudes and the effect of kinship and intra-tribal social constraints on multilingual interaction. From information gathered from interviews and video-tapes it was possible to make some generalisations (valid at least for the population actually studied) about multilingual interaction in Maningrida.

A number of variables were found to affect patterns of language use. Among these were the first language and language competence of both speaker and interlocutor, their age, sex and kinship status relative to one another, whether the interaction was in a European context or an Aboriginal context, and the topic and purpose of the conversation. The function of these last two in determining patterns of language choice are still imperfectly understood.

Primary tribal affiliation is, however, the most significant factor affecting a person's language competence. Members of more dominant tribes are less likely to speak a large number of languages than members of less dominant tribes, but their languages (specifically Burera and Gunwinjgu) are likely to be favoured second languages among the less dominant tribes. Despite syncrasies, knowledge of a person's first language and age could enable reasonably accurate predictions to be made about the average number of languages he or she speaks, as well as which languages these are. The person's sex is only marginally significant in affecting language competence. Language competence is not affected by whether the person lives normally in Maningrida or on an outstation. In situations of multilingual contact, the first person to speak normally chooses his or her own first language, unless the interlocutor has no knowledge of it. Two-way conversations occur occasionally, as do the use of the interlocutor's first language and language mixtures. If either speaker or interlocutor has no knowledge of the other's first language, a language spoken in common is selected. English is never used between Aborigines, except as a last resort, when there is no common Aboriginal language. There is no Aboriginal language which appears to be a "preferred" language for use in certain situations. Sign language, a phenomenon little studied, appears to be used by everyone in the Maningrida area. It appears to satisfy every social and linguistic need for a *lingua franca*. While all the Aborigines use it, the conditions for its use in Maningrida itself are not at present clearly understood. The only instances where complete conversations were demonstrably carried out in it were when the people involved were deaf. None of the spoken Aboriginal languages could claim to be used "more often than others" as a language for use between people whose first languages are different.

Linguistic and social attitudes are primarily responsible for patterns of both language competence and language use. Members of Eastern Arnhem Land tribes are most likely to speak Eastern Arnhem Land languages, while members of Western Arnhem Land languages are more likely to speak Western Arnhem Land languages. A number of Western Arnhem Landers have learned "some Burera", while a number of Eastern Arnhem Landers speak or at least "hear" Gunwinjgu. The Rembarnga, who do not fall under the social classification used here, mostly speak other Gunwinjguan languages. Traditional hostilities exist between certain members of the two "blocs" and these do not seem to be diminishing, although members of the two groups now live side by side in Maningrida.

Intra-tribal social constraints on language use and behaviour, mostly determined by kinship associations operate equally in a multilingual situation. They must comprise part of every fluent multilingual's second language competence. As the same moiety and subsection systems operate throughout Arnhem Land, and these determine patterns of social and linguistic behaviour, linguistic "outsiders" are accommodated socially by their moiety and subsection affiliations. Special speech styles must be used if demanded by kinship status. As the same social constraints produce special speech styles throughout Arnhem Land, members of mixed-language marriages know already how and when they must use a special "mother-in-law style", brother-sister taboo and a joking relationship and perhaps the system of tabooing of names and the initiands' language. These special speech styles are merely part of the body of linguistic and social data which must be absorbed by a person learning another language.

Chapter 5 examined the social and linguistic criteria necessary for the establishment of a regional lingua franca in Maningrida, and examined the claims to this special status of the various languages spoken in the Maningrida area. English can be discounted at present, although its status can be expected to change in the medium to long term. Because of conflict between Burera and Gunavidji speakers, neither of these languages are likely to be accepted as lingua francas at present. Gunwinjgu, the language most likely to meet with the least resistance, and therefore the most likely Aboriginal candidate, does not have a large enough body of second-language speakers. More importantly, its future as a second language in Maningrida is uncertain. Very few children speak it, and while this could be normal (as part of a development process) its place as a large-scale second-language may have been, or be about to be, usurped by English. Sign language appears to be the only language which fulfils the social and linguistic need for a lingua franca in the Maningrida area. Unfortunately this study was unable to produce corroborating evidence for this hypothesis.

As a result of this linguistic complexity, language and educational planning authorities for the Maningrida area can expect no easy solution to their problems. Not only would the linguistic situation have to be closely monitored before the establishment of any programme, but the agreement of all the tribal elders would have to be received. If the outstation movement continues to flourish on the present scale, as appears likely, at least in the short and medium term, projects like bilingual education could be established. The difficulty is that such projects would have to be established in at least five different languages as each outstation tends to operate as a linguistically distinct, though unified, unit. However, as yet, some of these languages have been barely

studied by linguists. Multilingualism in Maningrida has not yet led to the acceptance of any one language as a lingua franca, and at present it appears unlikely to do so.

Inevitably, this study raises more questions than it answers. It has, however, provided a comprehensive and unified framework in which to view these questions and to assess their importance for further sociolinguistic work.

The most important issue and potentially the most productive, is the nature, purpose and function of sign language in Aboriginal multilingual communication. This study has suggested that sign language, apparently a traditional lingua franca in Arnhem Land, may well satisfy every perceived social and linguistic need for a lingua franca at present. Further study is necessary to ascertain what these needs are, and how they are fulfilled by sign language.

This study suggests that the role of English in a multilingual Aboriginal community may be limited because of the resentment with which it is regarded. Future work might attempt to establish whether the generally negative attitudes expressed about English in Maningrida are more widespread in Aboriginal communities.

The long-term future of Aboriginal languages in communities such as Maningrida is an important issue which needs to be studied over time. In other communities in Australia, where use of the vernacular declined substantially before the growth of the outstation movement (for example, Hopevale in Northern Queensland, (Haviland, forthcoming); Bamyili in the Northern Territory (Steffenson, 1975); and communities where various creolised languages are spoken, such as Roper Mission), there does not appear to be a resurgence of the original vernaculars.

Whether the vernaculars remain as strong in Maningrida as it is expected they will in the outstations is another question which could prove rewarding.

Similarly, as Maningrida and the outstations draw upon the same population (in the sense that the outstation people left Maningrida) it would be interesting to see if linguistic abilities in the two diverge over time, and the role of English in any such possible divergence.

The function of topic and purpose in determining language choice in multilingual Aboriginal communities should be fully examined. Other factors relating to kinship status of speaker and interlocutor, which appear to affect language choice, could also profitably be examined, as Aboriginal social structures appear to place significantly different emphases on those than do other communities overseas, for which socio-linguistic studies have been carried out. In this regard, social constraints which necessitate one's using special speech styles could also be thoroughly examined for all the languages spoken in the Maningrida area, together with their ramifications for multilingualism.

Another area of research which could prove rewarding is the attitude of first language speakers to variation in their language introduced by second-language speakers.

The role of each language spoken in the Maningrida area should be examined in depth. This study has necessarily assumed, for the purpose of theoretical simplicity, that the function of each language spoken in Maningrida is static in relation to the functions of the others. A detailed assessment of the possible changing functions of the major languages, particularly Gunwinjgu, would be essential before long-term projects

affecting linguistic behaviour could be put into operation.

Finally, systematic studies of interaction in multilingual Aboriginal communities could provide valuable insights into the theoretical and practical components of sociolinguistics. As a relatively new field of research, sociolinguistics lacks a well-established methodology and theoretical framework.

This study of multilingualism and lingua francas in Maningrida is exploratory only. Nevertheless, it has attempted to document how the range of languages spoken by various Aboriginal tribal groups in a new artificial community is actually used by the members of the community concerned. It has been shown conclusively that at present no spoken lingua franca exists throughout the Maningrida area, despite the extreme linguistic diversity of the region, and the high degree of multilingualism among the population.

CHART 1 : GUNWINGU FREE PRONOUNS: (CARROLL, n.d.b.)

		SUBJECT	OBJECT	OBLIQUE	REFLEXIVES
MINIMAL : (SINGULAR)	1 (excl.)	ngaye			ngayeman
	1/2 (incl.)		ngarduk	ngarduk	
	2	nguda	ngarrku	ngarrku	yŋgan
	3 m	nungka	nguda ke	nguda ke	nungan
	f	ngaleng	nuye	nuye	
	unspec.		ngarre	ngarre	
AUGMENTED :	unspec. 1				
	1 (excl.)				
	1/2 (incl.)				
	2				
	3				
	1 unspec.				
UNIT AUGMENTED : (DUAL)	1 (excl.)		ngarrewoneng	ngarrewoneng	
	1/2 (incl.)		karrewoneng	karrewoneng	
	2		ngurrewoneng	ngurrewoneng	
	3		berrewoneng	berrewoneng	
	1 unspec.	ngad			ngadman
DEFINED	1 (excl.)		ngadberre	ngadberre	
	1/2 (incl.)		kadberre	kadberre	
AUGMENTED (PLURAL)	2	nguda	ngudberre	ngudberre	ngudman
	3	beda	bedberre	bedberre	bedman

CHART 2: REMBARNGA FREE PRONOUNS

		SUBJECT & OBJECT REMBARNGA McKAY (1975 : 103)	OBLIQUE REMBARNGA McKAY (1975 : 107)	EMPHATICS REMBARNGA McKAY (1975 : 112)
MINIMAL	1	ɲɪnta	ɲanə	ɲɪʔkanəʔ
	1/2	yɪraparaʔ yɪntapparaʔ	yəkka	yɪʔkanəʔ
	2	tanta	kə	ɲɪʔkanəʔ
	3 m	nɪʔtanta	nawə	
	f	ɲatʃuʔtanta ɲayɪʔ- tanta	ɲatə	nɪʔkanəʔ
AUGMENTED	1	yanta	yarə	yarkanəʔ
	1/2	ɲakunta	ɲakorə	ɲakurkanəʔ
	2	nakunta	nako ə	nakurkanəʔ
	3	punta	parə	purkanəʔ
UNIT AUGMENTED :				
	1	yantapparaʔ	yarpparaʔ	yarkanəʔpparaʔ
	1/2	ɲakuntapparaʔ	ɲakorpparaʔ	ɲakurkanəʔpparaʔ
	2	nakuntapparaʔ	nakorppara	nakurkanəʔpparaʔ
	3	puntapparaʔ	parpparaʔ	purkanəʔpparaʔ
DEFINED				
AUGMENTED	1	yantakappul	yarəkappul	yarkanəʔkappul
	1/2	ɲakuntakappul	ɲakorəkappul	ɲakurkanəʔkappul
	2	nakuntakappul	nakorəkappul	nakurkanəʔkappul
	3	puntakappul	parəkappul	purkanəʔkappul

(KILHAM & MCKAY)

FREE FORM : CARDINAL		POSSESSIVE		DATIVE	
	KILHAM (1963)	MCKAY (1976)	MCKAY (1976)	MCKAY (1976)	
S I N G U L A R	1	ŋayæpa	1 'ŋa:yapa	1 'ŋapa	1ŋa'bu:yaja
	2	ni:ndzæpa	1/2... 'ŋa:rapa 2 ŋiŋgapa	1/2 'nata 2 ŋgā	1/2 yi'ha:ra 2 yi'ko:yaja
	3m	neygɛp ^h a	3m na'ge:pa	3m na	3m 'ya:na
	f	ŋaiyap ^h ʌ	f ŋa'ya:pa	f 'ŋaya	3f 'ya:na ya:ŋaya
D U A L	1	ŋaʔip ^h ʌ	1 'ŋiri'ge:pa	1 'ŋadana	1 'yiŋere'ge:yaja
	1/2	niʔigɛpa	1/2 'ŋiri'ge:pa	1/2 'ŋadana	1/2 'yiŋere'ge:yaja
	2	ŋæʔiyapaña	2 'niʔi'ge:pa	2 'nadana	2 'yiŋere'ge:yaja
	3m	biʔigɛpa	3m 'biʔi'ge:pa	3m 'badana	3m 'yiʔere'ge:yaja
	f	baʔiyapaña	f 'bara'ya:papa	f 'bada'yujpa	f 'yiʔere'yaja
P L U R A L	1 excl. (1)	ñi:ʔapa	1 'ŋi:rapa	1 'ŋata'bira	1 yi'ŋi:ra
	1 incl. (1/2)	ŋuwuʔapa	1/2 'ŋu:rapa	1/2 'ŋata'bira	1/2 yi'ŋ'u:ra
	2	ñuʔapa	2 'nu:rapa	2 'nata'bira	2 yi'nu:ra
	3	baʔɛp ^h a	3 'bara'yapa	3 'bata'bira	3 yi'be:ra

CHART 4 : NAKARA PERSONAL PRONOUNS

(ALPHER : 1977 = III, IV.)

		SUBJECT INTR. PREFIXES (ADD TO VERBS)	FREE PRONOUNS
MINIMAL	1 excl.	ŋa-	ŋa:Rapa
	incl.		
	2	n ^y a-	n ^y e:yapa
	3 m	ɸ-	na:gapa
	f	ki-	ŋi:gapa
	imp. (2)	ŋa-	
	neg. imp. (2)	ŋan ^y ā-	
UNIT AUGMENTED	1 m. excl.	ŋi-	ŋenayapa (? ŋinayapa)
	1 f. excl.	ŋi ^ĩ -	ŋaŋiyāgapa
	1 incl.	ĩa-	ŋa:rapa
	2 m	nu-	nunāyapa
	f	nāĩ- (? nur-)	naŋuyagapa
	3 m	pana-	panāyapa
	f	paĩ-	paŋiyāgapa
	imp. (2) ^m f	pana- par-	
	neg. imp. (2) ^m f	nāŋ- nur-	
DEFINED AUGMENTED	1 excl.	ŋirpa-	ŋipé.rapa
	incl.	ŋurpā-	ŋupérapa (... pe:r...)
	2	nurpa-	nupé.rapa
	3	(arā)pa- (? (parā)pa-)	papé.rapa
	imp. (2)	parāpā-	
	neg. imp. (2)	nurpa-	

CHART 5 : BURERA PRONOUNS

GLASGOW, K. (1964a : 115)

PERS. & TOPIC	CASE	SG. HONOURED ELEM.	DUAL HON. ELEM.	PLURAL HONOURED ELEMENT.
SPEAKER & HEARER	Nom.	ng-adi-ppa	ng-a-ti-ppa	ng-ay-pu-di-ppa
TOPIC 1ST INCL.	Caus.	ng-ada-kku	ng-a-te	ng-a-da-pu-de
1/2	Acc.	ada-kku-la	a-ti-la	a-da-pu-du-wu
	Poss.	ada-ku	a-te	a-da-pu-de
SPEAKER TOPIC	Nom.	ng-ay-ppa	ng-a-ti-ppa	ng-ay-pu-di-ppa
1ST EXCL.	Caus.	ng-a-ppa	ng-a-te	ng-a-da-pu-de
1	Acc.	a-ppu-la	a-ti-la	a-da-pu-du-wu
	Poss.	a-ppa	a-te	a-da-pu-de
HEARER TOPIC	Nom.	ngi-nyi-ppa	ana-ko-ti-ppa	ana-koy-pu-di-ppa
2ND	Caus.	ng-ku	ana-ko-te	ana-ko-da-pu-de
	Acc.	ng-ku-lu	ana-ko-tu-la	ana-ko-da-pu-du-wu
	Poss.	ng-ku	ana-ko-te	ana-ko-da-pu-de
OTHER	Nom.	ni-ppa	pu-ti-ppa	pu-di-ppa
TOPIC	Caus.		pu-te	pu-de
	m.	nu-yu		
	f.	ng-aj-ji		
	Acc.		pu-tu-lu	pu-du-wu
	m.	nu-yu-lu		
	f.	aj-ji-la		
	Poss.		pu-te	pu-de
	m.	nu-yu		
	f.	aj-ji		

Nom. = nominative

Caus. = causative

Acc. = accusative

Poss. = possessive

APPENDIX B:

BOUND PRONOUNS IN MANINGRIDA'S LANGUAGES.

LEGEND FOR APPENDICES

min	=	minimal
ua	=	unit augmented
aug	=	augmented
m	=	masculine
f	=	feminine
V	=	verb
N	=	noun
NP	=	noun phrase

APPENDIX B

CHART 1
 GUNWINJGU TRANSITIVE &
 INTRANSITIVE VERB
 PREFIXES

GUNWINJGU TRANSITIVE PRONOMINAL VERB PREFIXES			CARROLL (n.d.b.)	
1st person object with Minimal Unit Augmented		2nd person object with Minimal Unit Augmented		Augmented
SUBJECT	Augmented	SUBJECT	Augmented	Augmented
2 min kan-	kanbene-	1 min $\emptyset$ -	benbene-	$\emptyset$
3 min m ngan-	kanbene-	3 min m ngun-	ngunbene-	ngun-
3 min f ngan-	kanbene-	3 min f ngun-	ngunbene-	ngun-
2 ua kandi-	kandi-	1 ua ngundi-	ngundi-	ngundi-
3 ua m ngandi-	kandi-	3 ua m ngundi-	ngundi-	ngundi-
3 ua f ngandi-	kandi-	3 ua f ngundi-	ngundi-	ngundi-
2 aug kandi-	kandi-	1 aug ngundi-	ngundi-	ngundi-
3 aug m ngandi-	kandi-	3 aug m ngundi-	ngundi-	ngundi-
3 aug f ngandi-	kandi-	3 aug f ngundi-	ngundi-	ngundi-

INTRANSITIVE			
1	ngarr-	ngane-	karri
1/2	nga-	kane-	ngarri-
2		ngune-	with present
		ngone-	with past
3 m	ka-with pre-sent	kabene-	kabiri-
	$\emptyset$ - with past		
f	ka - / $\emptyset$ -	kabene-	kabiri-

REMBARNGA TRANSITIVE PRONOMINAL VERB PREFIXES

GUNWINJGU: with 3rd person object

Minimal	Unit	Augmented
Minimal	Unit	Augmented

(McKay, 1975: 143 ff)

SUBJECT	Minimal	Unit	Augmented	Minimal	Unit	Augmented	Augmented
1 min	nga- /ø-	ngabenbene-	ngaben-	gan-	ganpa-	ganpa-	ganpa-
1/2 min	ngarr-	ngarrribenebene-	ngarrriben-	yan-	yanpa-	yanpa-	yanpa-
2 min	yi-	yibenbene-	yiben-	giŋi- ~ nan-	giŋipa-	giŋipa-	giŋipa-
3 min m	kabi-	kabenbene-	(ka) ben-	ka-, ø, par-	par-	par-	par-
3 min f	kabi-	kabenbene-	(ka) ben-	ka-, ø, par-	par-	par-	par-
1 ua	ngane-	nganebenbene-	nganeben-	yappaŋ- yaranparraŋ	yappaŋyaranpaŋ pparaŋ-	yappayaranpa- pparaŋ-	yappayaranpa- pparaŋ-
1/2 ua	kane-	kanebenbene-	kaneben-	yappaŋgaran-	yappaŋgaranpa- pparaŋ-	yappaŋgaranpa- pparaŋ-	yappaŋgaranpa- pparaŋ-
2 ua	ngune - pres	ngunebenbene - pres	nguneben-	yappaŋnaran-	yappaŋnaranpa- pparaŋ-	yappaŋnaranpa- pparaŋ-	yappaŋnaranpa- pparaŋ-
	ngone - past	ngonebenbene - past	ngoneben-				
3 ua m	(ka) bene-	(ka)bindi-	(ka)bindi-	yappaŋparan-	yappaŋparanpa- pparaŋ-	yappaŋparanpa- pparaŋ-	yappaŋparanpa- pparaŋ-
3 ua f	(ka) bene-	(ka)bindi-	(ka)bindi-	yappaŋparan-	yappaŋparanpa- pparaŋ-	yappaŋparanpa- pparaŋ-	yappaŋparanpa- pparaŋ-
1 aug	ngarri-	ngarribenebene-	ngarriben-	yappaŋyaran-	yappaŋyaranpa- kappul-	yappaŋyaranpa- kappul-	yappaŋyaranpa- kappul-
1/2 aug	karri-	karribenebene-	karriben-	yappaŋgaran-	yappaŋgaranpa- kappul-	yappaŋgaranpa- kappul-	yappaŋgaranpa- kappul-
2 aug	ngurri-	ngurribenebene-	ngurriben-	yappaŋnaran-	yappaŋnaranpa- kappul-	yappaŋnaranpa- kappul-	yappaŋnaranpa- kappul-
3 aug m	(ka)birri-	(ka)bindi-	(ka)bindi-	yappaŋparan-	yappaŋparanpa- kappul-	yappaŋparanpa- kappul-	yappaŋparanpa- kappul-
3 aug f	(ka)birri-	(ka)bindi-	(ka)bindi-	yappaŋparan-	yappaŋparanpa- kappul-	yappaŋparanpa- kappul-	yappaŋparanpa- kappul-

REMBARNGA: TRANSITIVE & INTRANSITIVE VERB PREFIXES				MCKAY (1975 : 143ff) with 2nd person object				INTRANSITIVE	
SUBJECT		Minimal	Unit Augmented	Augmented	SUBJECT	Minimal	Unit Augmented	Augmented	M I N I M A L
2 min	1st person object	ya-	-	-	1 min	tan-	yana-	yana-	1 ya-
3 min m	1st person object	ya-	yar-	yar-	3 min m	ta-	na-	na-	1/2 ya-
3 min f	1st person object	ya-	yar-	yar-	3 min f	ta-	na-	na-	2 non-past
2 ua	2nd person object	yappa?na?ya-	yappa?nayar-	yappa?nayar-	1 ua	yappa?yara-	yappa?yaran-	yappa?yaran-	3 m ka- / 1st past
		ppara?	ppara?	ppara?		ppara?	pappara?	pappara?	f ka- / 2nd past
3 ua m	2nd person object	yappa?pa?ya-	yappa?payar-	yappa?payar-	3 ua m	yappa?para-	yappa?pana-	yappa?pana-	1 yappa?yara ppa?
		ppara?	ppara?	ppara?		ppara?	ppara?	ppara?	1/2 yappa?yara ppa?
3 ua f	2nd person object	yappa?pa?ya-	yappa?payar-	yappa?payar-	3 ua f	yappa?para-	yappa?para-	yappa?para-	2 yappa?nara ppa?
		ppara?	ppara?	ppara?		ppara?	ppara?	ppara?	3 m yappa?para ppa?
2 aug	2nd person object	yappa?na?ya-	yappa?nayar-	yappa?nayar-	1 aug	yappa?yara-	yappa?yaran-	yappa?yaran-	f yappa?para ppa?
		kappul-	kappul-	kappul-		kappul-	pakappul-	pakappul-	1 yappa?yara ppa?
3 aug m	2nd person object	yappa?pa?ya-	yappa?payar-	yappa?payar-	3 aug m	yappa?para-	yappa?pana-	yappa?pana-	1/2 yappa?yara ppa?
		kappul-	kappul-	kappul-		kappul-	kappul-	kappul-	2 yappa?nara ppa?
3 aug f	2nd person object	yappa?pa?ya-	yappa?payar-	yappa?payar-	3 aug f	yappa?para-	yappa?para-	yappa?para-	3 yappa?para ppa?
		kappul-	kappul-	kappul-		kappul-	kappul-	kappul-	1 yappa?yara ppa?
with 1/2 person object				Augmented					1/2 yappa?yara ppa?
2 min	1st person object	ya-	-	-					2 yappa?nara ppa?
3 min	1st person object	ya-	ya-	ya-					3 yappa?para ppa?
2 ua	2nd person object	yappa?pa?ya-	yappa?nayar-	yappa?nayar-					
		ppara?	ppara?	ppara?					
3 ua	2nd person object	yappa?pa?ya-	yappa?nayar-	yappa?nayar-					
		ppara?	ppara?	ppara?					
2 aug	2nd person object	yappa?pa?ya-	yappa?nayar-	yappa?nayar-					
		kappul-	kappul-	kappul-					
3 aug	2nd person object	yappa?pa?ya-	yappa?nayar-	yappa?nayar-					
		kappul-	kappul-	kappul-					

CHART 3
REMBARNGA TRANSITIVE &
INTRANSITIVE VERB
PREFIXES

Blanks indicate unchecked forms.

INTRANSITIVE:

M	1	ɟa-
I	1/2	ka-/ya-/yi-
N	2	ɟa-/ɟana-
M	3 m	ka-
A	f	ɟa-/ya-/yi
L		
A (UNIT)		
U	1	ɟiri-
G	1/2	ɟiri-
M	2	niri-
E	3 m	biri-
N	f	bara-...-ɟa
T		
E		
D		

1 para-
1/2 nabarar.

1	nara-
1/2	gabara-
2	nara-
3	bara-

3 bara-

3 bara-

CHART 5: GUNAVIDJI TRANSITIVE VERB
PREFIXES, cont.

GUNAVIDJI TRANSITIVE PRONOMINAL VERB PREFIXES: II *postulated on basis of regular paradigm, but not checked. Blank = not checked.

McKAY (1976)

with 3rd person feminine OBJECT
Minimal Unit Augmented Augmented

SUBJECT	Minimal Unit	Augmented	Minimal Unit	Augmented
1 min	ja-	gabandi-	gabanda-::ja	gabanda-
2 min	ga-/jana-	gabandi-	gabanda-::ja	gabanda-
3 min m	ka-	bindi-	banda-::ja	banda-
3 min f	ka-	bindi-	banda-::ja	banda-
1/2 min	ka-(yi- _{4t})	gabandi-	gabandi-::ja	gabandi-
1 ua	jiri-	gabandi-	gabandi-::ja	gabandi-
2 ua	niri-	gabandi-*	gabandi-::ja	gabandi-
3 ua m	biri-	gabandi-*	gabandi-::ja	gabandi-
3 ua f	bara-::ja	gabandi-	gabandi-::ja	gabandi-
1/2 ua	jiri-	gabandi-	gabandi-::ja	gabandi-
1 aug	jara-	gabandi-	gabandi-::ja	gabandi-
2 aug	nara-	gabandi-	gabandi-::ja	gabandi-
3 aug m	bara-	gabandi-	gabandi-::ja	gabandi-
3 aug f	bara-	gabandi-	gabandi-::ja	gabandi-
1/2 aug	gabara-	gabandi-	gabandi-::ja	gabandi-

OBJECT

	In.s	1.s	2.s	3.s	In.d	Ex.d	3.d	In.p	Ex.p	3.p
S	-	-	-	ay-	-	-	adapu-	-	-	adapu-
U	-	-	ngi-	ngu-	-	ajidi-	ngujidi-	-	ada-	nguwuda-
B	-	nguna-	-	nyi-	-	njidi-	pujidi-	-	nyida-	puda-
J	ada-	nguna-	pi-	(cl)	ajidi-	njidi-	pujidi-	ada-	nyida-	puda-
E	-	-	-	adi-	-	-	adapu-	-	-	adapu-
C	-	ngunapidi-	pudi-	nyidi-	-	nyidapu-	nyidapu-	-	nyidapu-	nyidapu-
T	adapu-	ngunapidi-	pudapu-	(cl) wudi-	adapu-	nyidapu-	pudapu-	adapu-	nyidapu-	pudapu-
In.d	-	-	-	nguwu-	-	-	adapu-	-	-	adapu-
Ex.p	-	ngunawu-	puwu-	ngiwu-	-	nyidapu-	nyidapu-	-	nyidapu-	nyidapu-
3.p	adapu-	ngunawu-	pudapu-	(cl) wu-	adapu-	nyidapu-	pudapu-	adapu-	nyidapu-	pudapu-

In.s

1.s

2.s

3.s

In.d

Ex.d

3.d

In.p

Ex.p

3.p

INTRANSITIVE VERB PREFIXES (for details, see Glasgow & Kerr, 1964 : 120-121)

s = singular
 d = dual
 p = plural
 cl = classifier
 in. = inclusive
 Ex. = exclusive

Person prefix + Number Prefix = Intransitive pronominal prefix
 Dual (Plural) + (Singular) (dual masculine) (dual feminine) (non-dual)
 /wu/

APPENDIX C: VERB CONJUGATIONS IN MANINGRIDA'S LANGUAGES.

CHART 1: KUNWINJKU CONJUGATIONS (Carroll, 1976: 113)

Verb. cl.	Suffix (base form)	Imperative	Non-pst	Past Completed	Past Continuous	Past Negative
1	-me	+n	∅	+ng	-mi	+ninj
2	-ke -nje -ye -we	+men	∅	+ng	+yi	+meninj
3	-ka -na -wo -ngu	∅	+n	} +ng +neng	+ni	+yi
4	-bu -wa	∅	+n	+m	+ni	+yi
5	-du -ru -lu -dju -do -de -dje -ma	∅	+ng	} +y -di -dji -mey	+ngi	+yi
6	-da -rra	∅	+n	+nginj	+nj	+ngimeninj
7	-rri -ni -di	+n	∅	∅	∅	+wirrinj
8	-yo	-yun	∅	+nginj	+y	+wirrinj
9	-re	-ray	∅	-wam	+y	-rawinj
10	-rre	+men	∅	-rrinj	+ni	+meninj
11	-mak -djare -babang	+nin	∅	+ni	+ni	+niwirrinj
12	-men	-mimen		-minj	-meni	-meninj
13	-we	+men	+n	+ng	+ni	+meninj

∅ indicates base form used in this category.

+ indicates addition to base form.

- indicates replacement of base form.

CHART 2: REMBARNGA VERB CLASSES (TENTATIVE) (McKay, 1975: 132)

Class	Pres.	Fut.	Past Punctual	Past Continuous	Past C.F.	Infinitive
1	- ϕ	-Ca	-mij	-məŋ	-mə	- ϕ
2	yinə?	yin ² na	yinij	yinəməŋ	yinəmə	yinə?
3	-ra	-ra	-pa	-pəŋ	-pə	-pə
4A	-n	-na	-wa	-nij	-nə	-nə
4B	-n	-na	- ϕ	-nij	-nə	-nə
4C	-n	-na	-wij	-nij	-nə	-nə
4D	-n	-na	-ŋij	-nij	-nə	-nə
4E	-n	-na	-ŋ	-nij	-nə	-nə
5A	- ϕ	-ŋara	-eŋ	-ŋij	-ŋə	-ŋə
5B	- ϕ	-ŋara	-ya	{ -ŋij -ŋij	-ŋə	-ŋə
6A	poru	-iŋana	-iyi	-iŋanij	-iŋanə	-iŋanə
6B	{ -uru -aŋan	-iŋana	-iyi	{ -iŋanij -aŋ	-iŋanə	-iŋanə
6C	{ -ura -aŋan	-iŋana	-iyi	-iŋanij	-iŋanə	-iŋanə
6D	-uru -aŋan	-iŋana	-uwa	{ -iŋanij -uweŋ	-iŋanə	-iŋanə
7	-man	-miyana	-mi	-miyanij	-miyana	-

C.F. = Counterfactual

CHART 3: GUNAVIDJI CONJUGATIONS (VERB CLASSES)
(CARROLL, n.d. & 1976).

Verb Classes	Tenses		
	Future	Past 1	Past 2
I: (principally transitive)	ya- $\emptyset$	- $\emptyset$	-ŋa
II: (principally intransitive)	ya- $\emptyset$	- $\emptyset$	-na
III: (all intransitive)	(-eya/d-) ya-aya	(eya/d-) -aya	-iyina (stress on root final syllable shifts to suffix)
IV: (predominantly transitive)	ya- $\emptyset$	-na	-ra
V: (all intransitive)	ya- $\emptyset$	-ra	-ŋa
VI: (both transitive)	ya-last 2 syllables of root C ₁ i:C ₂ a	last two syllables of root become: C ₁ a:C ₂ a	last 2 syllables of root become = C ₁ a C ₂ e:ra
VII: (both transitive)	ya:ga- $\emptyset$	-:na	-:da
VIII: (Root form C ₁ VC ₂ a)	ya- $\emptyset$	- $\emptyset$	C ₁ V'C ₂ e:la
IX:	ya- $\begin{cases} \text{ba} \\ \text{pa} \end{cases}$	-bo	-be:ra
X:	ya- $\emptyset$	- $\emptyset$	-ya
XI:	ya- $\emptyset$	-ŋa	-na

CHART 4 NAKARA VERB PARADIGMS : INTRANSITIVE

	nʸdʷo:n 'come back'	pu(:)ŋǎy(a) 'fall'	te:wǎy(a) 'die'
PAST	nʸdʷó:ŋ̣ ḍ (a)	pú:ŋǎyan(a)	te:wǎyan(a)
NEG. PAST	yanʸdʷó:ŋ̣ndam(a)	yapúŋǎyam(a)	
FUTURE	yanʸdʷó:ŋ̣(a)	yapúŋay(a)	yaťé:wǎy(a)
NEG. FUT.	kanʸdʷó:ŋ̣ḍ(a)		
IMPERATIVE	-nʸdʷó:ŋ̣(a)		

-ṭ past

-n past

ya - 'unsubstantiated'

-∅ nonpast, future

CHART 5: DJINANG VERB CLASSES (Christie, n.d.a. : 7).

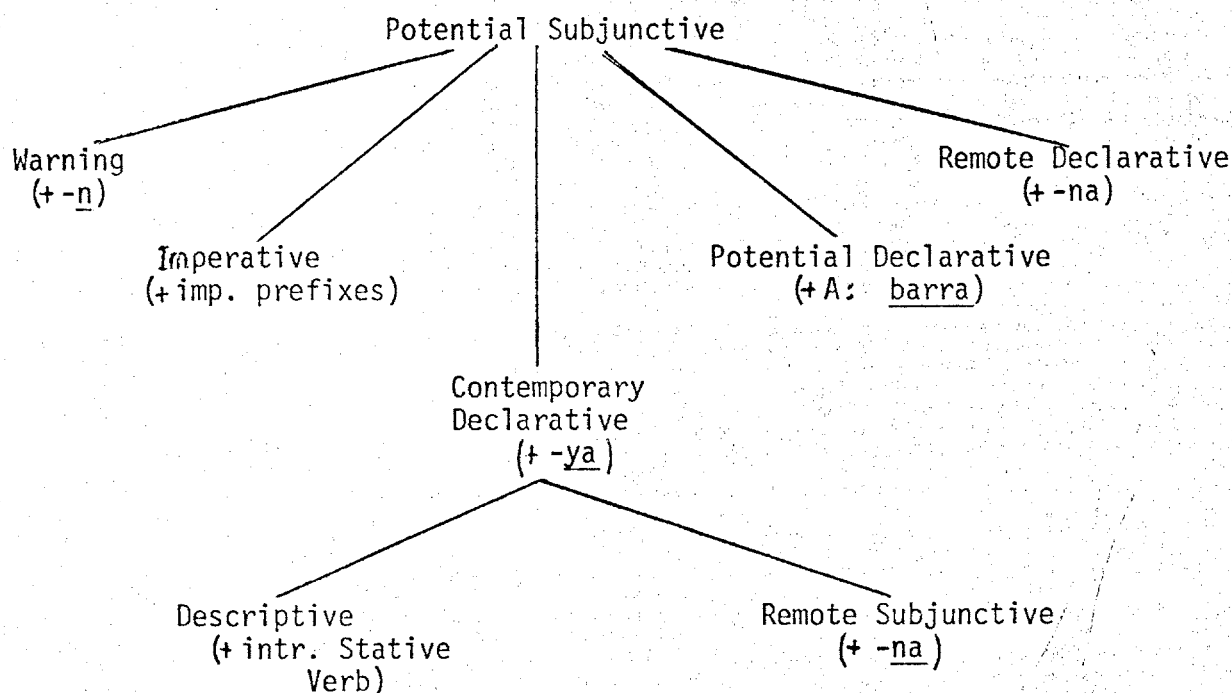
Class	Remote pst & present	Future	Past	Neg.	Infinitive	Imperative & Negative Present
1	-nyi	-ji	-nyi	-nyiri	-nyiri	- $\emptyset$
2	-mi	-gi	-nyi	-nyiri	-nyiri	-wi
3	-mi	-ngi	-nyi	-nyiri	-nyiri	-wi
4	-mi	- $\emptyset$	-nyi	-nyiri	-nyiri	-wi

CHART 6:2 BURERA TENSES: (Glasgow, 1964 : 118)

-nga 'contemporary' ('today' & 'before today')

-de 'remote' ('today' & 'before today')

BURERA VERB FORMS: Glasgow & Gärner, 1976 : 1)



APPENDIX D COMPARATIVE LEXICONS

ABBREVIATIONS USED: SOURCE CODE FOR COMPARATIVE LEXICON

A77	=	Alpher, 1977
C40	=	Capell, 1940
C66	=	Capell, 1966
C76	=	Carroll, 1976
Ca.n.d.	=	Carroll, n.d. (c)
C.n.d.	=	Christie, n.d.
E77	=	Elwell, 1977
G66	=	Glasgow, 1966
G76	=	Glasgow and Garner, 1976
G67	=	Glasgow and Garner, 1967
H70	=	Harris, 1970
K63	=	Kilham, 1963
M75	=	McKay, 1975
M76	=	McKay, 1976
M.n.d.	=	McKay, n.d.
O66	=	Oates, 1966
O67	=	Oates, 1967
Cp.n.d.	=	Capell, n.d.

APPENDIX D: COMPARATIVE LEXICONS

ANIMALS, FISH, BIRDS, INSECTS.

English Gloss	Gunwinjgu	Gunbalang	mɪs Rembarnga	Gunavidji	ḤḤḤ Nakara	Burera	C. n. d. Djinang	ḤḤḤ Gunaondqone	C. n. d. CA
"kangaroo"	g-nɔb:ɪ (C40) kunj (C76)	go:in (C40)		gudjbara(C40)	bálm-ni- n ^y d ^y			gundela	G, W, GB poss. cog.
"opossum"	dje:bui(C40) djebuyh(C76)	gundärbu (C40)	Mattawara (male)	malada(C40)	kubara- bũlkak-a				
"emu"	gurugaiju (C40) kurdokadji (C76)	mandeb(C40)	wurppan kulppanpan? (youngs)	n ^y inamul- abann(K63)	nakó:ba	wudppan (G67)			R, B -cog.
"crow"	wa:g(C40) wak(C76)	djida:wun (C40)		ḡainjaunganj (C40)				ḡalɪɪɪ	*waga- G, W, CA cog.
"barramundi"	namarnkol (land)	bilimo (Cpnd)	mulili tyirmar			rajada (G66)		ḡanmalɪɪɪɪɪ	GB, R. Cog.?
"stingray"						yuluk (G66)			
"sandfly"	mudmud (G64)			ḡakala		mingkka (G66)		maɪɪ	
"frog"	kordbolpok (C76)	djadi (Cpnd)		batpəḡəra (K63)		pokpada (G66)			
"dragon fly"						worɪpu (G66)			
"dog"	turuk(H70) duruk(C76)	do:rdog (Cpnd)		baḡabáya (K63)	nakamana	wartunga (G66) kulukkulu (G67)	buchi	ḡungḡung	GW, GB cog. loan? DJ-loan (Eng.?)
"horse"		djaran (Cpnd)		d ^y aḡan (K63)		yadaman (G66)		ḡaran	GB, GV - cog. loan B
"catfish"		arabulju (Cpnd)	kalkki?	i:bara (K63)		jinkupurta (G67)		ḡsnamɪɪɪɪɪ	
"small shark"	wampa(H70)			d ^y āpanboka a(K63)		nokkodo (G67)			
"type shellfish"						tiyama (G67)			
"mud whelk shellfish"						nornto (G67)			
"bat"	walarg (G64) walan(G64)		tampalk			kanapɪnpin (G67)			
"leech"						pɪlmuda (G67)			
"goose"	manimurak (land)			manupaḡ (K63)	nāmvraka	manakarda (G76) kopo(G67)	gurrumba	ḡōbɪ	
"type pigeon"					kolotok	lumpuk (G67)			
"type goanna"						wakkate (G67)			
"spoonbill"						kanada (G67)			
"bird"	mayh(C76)	ḡargan (Cpnd)		djoḡaga (K63)	nat ^y o:la	purdajji (G67) (borrow- ing?)			

English Gloss	Gunwinjgu	Cnd Gunbalang	In75 Rembarnga	Gunavidja	A77 Nagara	Burera	Cnd Djinang	A77 GUNGORAGONE	CA
"type fish"	kuluybirr (C76)					marlang (G67)	dʒʌmbiyan buliya		
"type insect"						jinku- patpatja (G67)			
"frog mouth bird"						padakpadak (G67)			
"flying fox"		ɲibergudʔ				kalku(G67)			
"water goanna"			tjarkka- katjɪ-ɲk- kura(big)			jadɲka (G67)			RB, Borrow/ Cog.
"moth"						purnppo (G67)			
"snake"	nayin(C76)	ɲaɲɲ		gaɲwaleya (K63)		nguyuma- ula(G76)	miɲaɲ	maɲaɲɲɲɲɲɲɲɲ	
"mouse"						yuɲpi (G76)			
"monkey"							rɪrɪrkiyan		
"fish"	djenj(C76)			yɔ:kara	ɲomə		guyɪ		
"wallaby"	kornobolo (C76)		tjaruttu				ngarrku	ɲonabab	
"blue tongue"							gurngibimi		
"hawk"							gurtʃirtʃir ɲamili		
"crab"				bɪ: pɔ	napartja		ɲiɲa		
"wren"				mala ɲya (K63) ɲjuraga (K63)					
"little bird"				tʃurɲaga (K63)					
"ant type"			tjappu, pampork pampork						
"lizard type"	loklok (C76)		kalkkalk						cog?
"ladpole"			kalkka						
"chicken-hawk"		djigargarg	tjaraparkka						
"black cockatoo"		gaɲrag	tarapiya						
"large freshwater crocodile"	giɲa(064)	golomomo	nawultjɲaɲi	ganbeya (K63)			giɲe		
"bird type"	kikik- boliblik (C76)		matjin? matjin?						
"wedge-tailed eagle"			piyaɲtuɲka?						
"beeswax"			piɲi						
"big hornet"			tjukere						
"ant type"			teittel						
"lookaburra"		gaɲlurg	korowkkorow	guraɲa					
"land goanna"			meren?						
"female Agile wallaby"			tjaruttu						

English Gloss	Gunwinjgu	Cpnd Gunbalang	m=5 Rembarnga	Gunavdij	Burera	Djinang	E77 Gungomgane	CA
'duck'			tjilikuypf	manuparu (K63)				
'mele rock kangaroo'			murppunkuja					
'butterfly'			melemele?					
'plains turkey'			walppurungku					
'flat-tailed wallaby'			gulugulu					
'all kinds of wall animals'			kamumokamomo					
'scale'	kunngedlk (H70)							
'death adder'	bek(C76)							
'bandicoot'	yok(C76)							
'tree snake'	karnbow (C76)							
'spider'	kardab (C76)							
'mussell'	kanubirr (C76)							
'lily'	kernalk (C76)							
'rock python'	nawaran (C76)							
'white ant'	borlborl (C76)							
'inimal'	mayh(C76)							
'kildna'	ngarrbek (C76)	gudjun		kalami ndyf ba(K63)				
'elly fish'				maphala(K63)				
'sw'				bulikhaŋ (K63)				
'tckens'				kalakalak (K63)				
'wef'				ydgangara (K63)				
PARTS								
				Nakara	Burera	Djinang	Gungomgane	
'red'	gungoidj (C40)	goldjgoidj (C40)	tjara (na)	juwunga (C40)	māk-ara ŋak-aŋaya	pama kujida (G67)	bamageri	*gada GW, G. B. (R), B-cog. E. C.A.
'te'	gunmin(C40) mim(C76)	wumu	mama	dɪ:li(C40)		mipala (G76)	mebslageri	*mirin GW, GB, R. (GV, B- poss. cog. E. C.A.
'te'	gungeb(C40)	wume:li (C40)		maŋu(C40)	lōmbara	kuyu (G67)	guyageri	*mura
'uth'	gunda (C40)	dja:der (C40) dja: dere (Cpnd)	tala	djūbara(C40)	ŋa.kə		*dawaŋ *da	Al' cog.

ENGLISH GLOSS	GUNWINJGU	GUNBALANG	M75 REMPARNGA	GUNAVIDJI	A77 NAGARA	BURERA	C77 DJINANG	E77 GUNGERAGONE	CA
"tongue"	gundjen(C40)	na:g(C40)		djan:ɪ(C40)					*dalaɪ GW, GV, cog., perhaps c CA
"stomach"	gunjan(C40)	mugmandi (C40)		dja:lema(C40)		gochula (G76)			
"vine"	gunmurun (C40)	ge:geg (C40)	ɲarkka (na)	ida(C40) ɲamarara(K63)	ɲmũ.ma		ɲirki	ɲumvur	
"blood"	gungulba (C40)	molobin (C40)		ganbili:- bala(C40)			budi		
"forehead"	kunmilh (C76)					pukkulu (G66)			
"finger"	kunbid (C76)	gunbid (Cpnd)		gudja(K63)	gaRtɲgak	murna (G66)	binin miriyiɲ	wɔkɔdɛri	*maraj GW, GB, Cog. (loan)
"tail"	kunberd- kimuk(C76)		molona			marda (G66)		ɟamalɔdɛri	
"body"	kunkuk (G76)	ge:burg (Cpnd)	ku?tura (na)			koma(G66) (an)bucha (G76)		adɛriwu	R, GW, (B?) Cog.
"back"	kunbodme (C76)		palma(na)			puyma(G66)		bobɔlɛdɛri	R, B, (GW?) cog.
"leg"	kunkare (C76) kundad (G64)		tarama (na)			panta (G67)			GW, R? cog.
"arm"			kanam(na)			keleme (G67)		ɟerɲmɔdɛri	*binaj
"skeleton"						anmarpat (G67)			
"foot"	major(H70) denge(C76)	djana	tja:ga(na)		ngunawa ɟeba	deppura (G67) reparra (G76)		wɔkɔdɛri	dinaj GB, R, (GW?) cogs. (loan)
"kitticks"						pada(G67)			
"liver"	kundiw (G76)	juwunaɪ				anpirlirle (G67)			
"shoulder"		mo:lɪng	pete?	neyara (K63)		wakarpu (G67)	bapi		
"throat"		mabilɟor- ɟor				jawu(G67)			
"eye"						nganardangr- dang(G67)			
"tongue"	kundad (C76)				yarabada	darnpa (G67)		ɟalmɔdɛri	
"ear"	kunberɪ (C76)		manak(na)		menda	mernte(G67)		ɟondaɲɛdɛri	
"ankles"				maɲam, ɲa (K63)		jarraɪ(G76)		ɟaɲan	
"tooth"	kunɲidme (C76)	ge:ɲaj			miɲa		diɲpaɪ		*ɲiraj
"nose"	kunkulɔh (C76)		kula?(na)	gouta(K63)					GW, R-cog.
"neck"	kundjud (C76)	ma:bun		madpa ɲagareyn- dɟeya(K63)					
"hair"	kunbard (C76)	bilɲar		ɲama(K63)	ɲma:kuk				
"finger"				ragai(K63)					

ENGLISH GLOSS	GUNWINJGU	<i>Cand</i> GUNBALANG	<i>m75</i> REMBARNGA	<i>Gunawidji</i> GUNAWIDJI	<i>977</i> NAGARA	BURERA	<i>Cand</i> DJINANG	<i>E77</i> GUNSORAONE	CA
"lower leg"		be:ja	kanta	nakala (K63)					
"side"	kundjorh (C76)		lirina						
"bladder"			lanpak						
"plumage"			ku:ku:tu						
"upper arm"		bu:ru	manak						
"nape of neck"	kundjud (C76) (nape)		kuwan		mand'ada				
"rib bones"			panapana						
"breast milk, mother"			pippi	baba (C66)					*bibi R, (G) cog. E CA
"bird's wing"			palppalna						
"sweat"			ku?pi(na)						
"tendon"	manyoin (C76)								
"elbow"	kunney (C76)							ginmanmangapv	
"heart"	kunrdurdu (C76)	marudud							GW, GB. cog.
"ankle"	kunbun (C76)	mandemda i							

COLLOQUIAL EXPRESSIONS

"right", "o.k."	ma (Cand)	mandjad	ma				manymak (G66)		GW, GB, R, B prob. al cog.
"no"	burgya:a (O64)			kama (K63)			ngikka (G66)	?igki galv	B, DJ - prob. cog. (metathesi)
"I have it"	rargame (O67)								
"Hi, look at that, hey!"			witi						
"you" (masc.)			poy	yey (K63)			alay (G67)		
"yes"	yoh (C76)	goro	wo	gawa (K63)			ngaw (G67)	gi gawa	GB, R, GV, B, DJ (?) cog.
"I will go for you"							ngumung- puyppe (G67)		
"you" (fem.)			poy	yey (K63)			a'jay (G67)		GV, B. cog
"What is he doing?"							a-yenmeya (G67)		
"what"	minj (O64)						gala (G76)	galv	
"you, no" (masc) addressee			malak				ala (G76)		
"you, no" (fem)			malak				ga-ja (G76)		
"indeed" (m.)							ngaja (G76)		

ENGLISH GLOSS	GUNWINJGU	GUNRALANG	REMBARNGA	GUNAVIDJI	NAGARA	BURERA	Cand DJINANG	E 77 GUNGORARONE	CA
'and so"						rraka (G76)			
'dad"							maļu		
'It's a..." (masc.)				nanéyapha (K63)					
'It's a..." (fem.)				ñaneyapha (K63)					
'knock off"				yelawa (K63)					
'look! over there!"			tjug						
'bang"			tow						
'I see..."			tja?						
'shoo! go away!"			tjopoy						
'sh! keep quiet"			kap						
'woops"			ken						
'any luck?"			ŋa'tu						
'come here!"			way					guwa	

CONJUNCTIONS - CONNECTIVES

'and"	dja (C76)		ka'ra'pa (K63)	rrapa (G76)	ga				GV, B. (DJ?) (GW?) cog.
'and so"	galug (G64)			rraka (G76)					
'but"	bad (C76)			wurra (G76)	yamban				
'and then"	galug (G64)			lika (G76)	ga yili				
'so that"		gab			maŋ				
'for"			ñena (K63)						
'change of subject"		warkka							

WIBT, TIME, NUMBERS, MOOD

'maybe"	yiddok (C76) kunubeywu (C76)			waykiji (G66)					
'again"	yawoy (cand)		bakandja (K63)	moŋo (G67)	yili				
'just now"				kippe (G67)					
'later"	kaluk (C76)			padaye (G67)	mali?- mali	nivi			
'long time" (to)	kunkarre (C76) korroko (C76)		babawoyak ^h a (K63) garagariba (G63)	kokkokko (G67)					GW. (GV?), B-pos. cog.

ENGLISH GLOSS	GUNWINJGU	Cand GUNRALANG	mæs REMBARNGA	GUNAVIDJI	NAGARA	BURERA	Cand DJINANG	E77 GUNGORAGONE	CA
'one'	nakudji (C76)			w rap ^h ana (K63)		an-ngard- appa (G67)	wurpmi	gereyapv	
'morning'	kukabel (Cand)	gulamngulam				ngulam (G76)		mokol	GB, B - cog. (loan)
'supposedly'						jimarna (G76)			
'soon'	bolg (064)		parppu	ban ^h mandja (G63)		birrich (G76)		giyiraga	
'today'				yena (K63)		geka (G76)		giyiraga	
'evening'						yí-rrana (G76)		mokol	
'night'	kumunum (C76) -gag (064)					munya (G76)			
'two'	bokenh (C76)	ga:burg		kanfyéd- j ^h apa (K63)		awurri- jurrapa (G76)	bininggili	dawurimukupu	*buladj *gudjara
'can he?' (ability?)						yama (76)			
'mustn't'						(gala)yapa (G76)			
'even so'						wurpiya (G76)			
'by contrast, rather'						jarra (G76)			
'its like but'						mitpa/ minpa (G76)			
'it's all the same as; because'						ngardawa (G76)			
'even though'						marrban/ wurpiya (G76)			
'yesterday'	-gag (064)	benbe bargid		naba?lo:bala (Mnd)		yí-rrawa (G76)	gadžiri	balibala	
'if, isn't it'						minja (G76)			
'at, in case'						gala yapa (G76)			
'tree'							warrungguli		
'with'	rowg (064)						mirrpili		
'near'							mala		
'way'	nawern (C76)	gidbadaie		ka ^h owa (K63)		jaranga (G76)	galbi	-muka	
'right'	mandi (064)						marrf		
'afternoon'		gadugadu		næ y ^h il (K63)			balgilli		GW, B. poss. cog.
'on'	wanjh (C76)						guli		
'at night'				weykana (K63)					
'before now'				kubeneyena (K63)					
'early morning, breakfast'	kukabel (C76)			weykana ^h ana (K63) ye: na (Mnd)					

ENGLISH GLOSS	GUNWINJG	Gund GUNBALANG	m15 REMBARNGA	GUNAVIDJI	AG7 NAGARA	BURERA	C:nd DJINANG	E77 GUNJARAONE	CA
'dinner time"				djéydjira (K63)					
'mid afternoon"				kagáakuwa- kana (K63)					
'tomorrow"		malaidji		wék:nápha (K63)				ḡunwɔ́ɔ́pɔ́	
'not yet"				mæ d (K63)					
'next week"				ḡæ náwulu (G63)					
'every morning"				ḡanæ nigí: ba (G63)					
'always"	munḡoyh (C76) munḡi bereboyen (064)			ḡanánakaiña (G63)					GW, GW - cog. loan
'after" (wards)	mag (064)		wata	naga (G63)				nigi	
'time"				waḡawaḡa (G63)					
'little time"				ḡenamanda (G63)					
'middle of the day"			tjarant al- ttal					dɔ́ɔ́rɔ́	
'year"	mandjewk (C76)								
'some time ago"	kunkare (C76)								
'when"	bu (C76)								
'four"				gantit ^y owa		kantijjawa (G66)		mitɔ́	GV, DJ- cog./loan
'good"	manme (C76)			yelába (K63)		paíji (G66)			
'Zindanus sit"		mangudjed				j ingka (067)		yɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́	
'is"	wilarg (064)	gegulug	kalag (na)	baḡawúra (K63)		kiya (G67)			
'ice"						pidajji (G67)			
'light one, "red"						munngie-lad ngulad (G67)			
'is"				gagaḡa (K63)		tea (G76)		ti	
'wood"						jichicha (G76)			
'is"	kunkayn (cand)	giga:gin	tarjku (na)			mayp11		aḡkalɔ́	
'green plum"			takiritɔ́						
'red from Zindanus white"			malppatj						
'is"			pippi	gaíɔ́la (K63)					

ENGLISH GLOSS	GUNWINJGU	GUNBALANG	REMBARNGA	GUNAVIOJI	NAGARA	BURERA	DJINANG	GUANGORAGONE	CA
"honey"	mankung (C76)		tata						
"lucker, vegetable pod"		ne-jaŋ	me					mita	*majl R-CA cog.
"fish"	karreparte (H70)	gunba:reŋ							
"cooked meat"	djoleng (C76)								
"fruit"				kalabarabara (K63)					
"lugan"				k/gāyæ la (K63)				ankawə	
"coconut"				kalugu (K63)					
<u>INTERROGATIVES, DEMONSTRATIVES, PLACE WORDS GENERAL PRONOUNS</u>									
"what"	ba-le(067) njate(C76)								*minag
"where"	gunmegbe (067) bu:ga(064)	ginda		nani (K63)	(an)gapa (G76)	nuŋakŋi ŋidzilkŋi	-gara gabi		
"how"	rowug(067)								
"first one"					tadāngap (G67)				
"there"	kondah(C76)	gindabon		ŋaya (K63)	gurda(G76)	dzili	-gani ŋuŋu		GW, B. - poss. cog.
"this"					yamu(G67)				
"his one"					ankuna (G67)				
"above"	kaddum (C76)				waykkun (G67)				
"little one"					ankoŋmpuk- oŋmpu(G67)				
"at one"					kunarra (G67) ankapi				
"how?" "what?"	nangale(Cand) ngaingale (C76)				anŋe(G67)	war	gabi nŋagani		*ngana G, W, B- CA cog.
"it one"					ku-nartpa (G67)				
"other"					kurdo(G67)				
"thing"					nyagara (G76)		gapanalŋ		
"whom?" "what?"					ana-nga nula(G76)				
"who?"	bale?(064)	bilin.la?			gu-yinpa (G76)				GB, GW, poss. cog.
"many"	bale?(064)				gu-yinmiyapa (G76)				
"what place?"					yina gaya (G76)		yandu		
"what place?"					yinaŋangaya (G76)				
"where is the"					(gun)an. gaya(G76)				

ENGLISH GLOSS	GUNWINJGU	Cnd GUNDALANG	m35 REMPARNGA	GUNAVIDJI	A77 NAGARA	BURERA	Cnd DJINANG	E77 GUNDORAGONE	CA
'tell me (where)'						yinda (G76)			
'hence, from wh. place?'						yinagaya- wenja (G76)			
'how? by what means?'	bale?	bilin?				gu-yinga, gu-guyn- miya (G76)			
'which'						yina (G76)			
'this, close and visible'						jini			
'this, not visible on that'						ngunu			
'half-way'						manbiri			
'inside'	ganjdji (G64)					nambirdi			
'this'						džiniŋi			
'that'	naka (cand)					gunuŋi			
'where'	baleh(cand)							yandv	
'this way'	kurih(cand)								
'why?'	njalekah (cand)	bili?							
'that' (fem)	ngalka (cand)								
'below'	kandji (C76)								

MINSHIA (moiety, subsection, section) TERMINOLOGY

'name of subsection'	nabulanj (C76)					pulany (G66)			GW, B - cog.
'name of eminine subsection'						peleny (G66)			
'name of mlety'						jowunga (G66)			
'name of mlety'						yiddijjinga (G66)			
'name of subsection'						pangardi (G67)			
'name of subsection'						wamut (G67)			
'name of subsection'						keyla(G67)			
'name of subsection'	nakodjok (C76)					kojok(G67)			GW-B-cog.
'subsection'						ma1k(G67)			
'name of eminine subsection'						kojan(G67)			

ENGLISH GLOSS	GUNWINJGU	GUNBALANG	REMBARNGA	GUNAVIDJI	NAGARA	BURERA	DJINANG	GAAGORAGONE	CA
'his sub-action'						an'kurn (G67)			
'plan name'	danek		taworo						
'neric'									
'laworo name'			palpp:lŋa						
'laworo name'			waray?ŋu						
'question'			MISCELLANEOUS NOUNS: NON-CONCRETE			tiya/eywo (G67)			
'desire'						jal(G67)			
'child oath'						ngaja (G67)			
'understanding'						marnki (G67)			
'language'		te:ŋ				wengga (G76)	wetj i		
'work'						jama(G76)			
'plan'						joborr (G76)			
'readiness'						nawanawa (G76)			
'trouble'						mari(G76)			
'certainty'						waypa (G76)			
'story'			yaŋ,kanta			janguny (G76) jaruk (G76)	janguny	wetj i	R, B, DJ - cog. B, DJ -Ioan
'sickness'						gu-derda (G76)			
'fishing'							rakumi		
'thinking'							gtj iŋ		
'power'							gañdžar		
'dreaming'									
'animals'				baŋandja (K63)					
'dreaming place'			djaŋ(na)						
'song'			tulu(na)					wugugabiya anmurkatgal	
'nothing'	purŋkyak (H70) minjale (064)								

NATURAL ENVIRONMENT, PLANTS

'sun'	gundug(C40)	ga:nag (C40)		warwara (C40) warawara (K63)	marn nga (G67)	walir	ginmurka		GU, DJ - - cog.
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ENGLISH GLOSS	GUNWINJGU	GUNDALANG	m75 REMBARNGA	GUNAVIDJI	A77 NAGARA	BURERA	C. and DJINANG	GUNJURAIKANE	CA
"moon"	dɪ.ɪ(C40) dɪd(064) dɪrd(C76)	wurana (C40)		digilgara (C40)		ranku (G67)		gɔŋkɔwɔ	GW, GV cog?
"fire"	gunrag(C40)	wididj (C40)		juwija(C40) yuya(K63)		pol(666)	gɔŋgɪnɪŋ	gɔŋgɔ	*waru
"smoke"	gundɪɪ(C40) kunkawɔ (H70)dial.	wungawu (C40)		golɪɪandjara (C40)		jolngo (G67)			*burin *buriny
"water"	gunrɪɪn(C40) -ba(C76) kuku(land)	njunjug (C40)	mɪɪɪ tjula	ga:ba(C40) gaba(K63)	ku.ka	pukulu (G66) bugula (G76)	gapi	gɔŋmɔnɔ bɔmɪ	*gugu GW, CA cog.
"cloud"	kungol (C76)	gɔjunu		manapa (K63)		nguppad (G66)			
"type of tree"			watpar			watpar (G66)			R, B-cog /loan
"star"		manilgar (Cpnd)				kats(G66)	gudɪtsɪmɔ	gɔŋmɔnɔ	
"grass-lily"						kulaj (G66)			
"type oak tree"						watpar (G64)			
"nest"	rednamen (064)	dje:nge							
"cave"	gunrurg(067) kuwɔrde - kururk	-la:ɣai							
"ground"	djab(C76) kunrore (064)					tyæɪ/(G67) jeɪ		deɪ	*gurarɔ
"long stick"			polo(na)			munkupekka (G67)			
"dawn"	-gabel (064)					kunakeppa (G67)			
"water-lily"				djawulara (K63)		jɪdɪjɪ (G67)			
"upland grass"						podija (G67)			
"rice grass"						podijjal (G67)			
"cypress pine"		gandargen				jarpad (G67)			
"fluff"						raman(G67)			
"sand"		waidjbud		kayæ:la (K63)	ngæ:ɔ	jaranga (G67)			
"tree"	kundulk (C76)	gundulɔ	polo?	gu:la(K63)	ngurɪɪaɪ	kunjong (G67)		gɔlmɪrɪ	GW, G3 cog/lo
"rain"	mandjewk (C76)			malɪɪɪa (K63)		yod(G67)	mayurk		GW, DJ cog?
"rock"	warde(C76)			dʲanaminɪba (K63)		janada (G67)		bɔɪɪɪ	GV, B-
"high ground"						jodɪnyjudo (G67)			
"grassland"						kappal(G67)			

ENGLISH GLOSS	GUNWINJG	Gnd GUNBALANG	m75 REMCARNGA	GUNAWIDJI	ᲡᲗᲗ NAGARA	BURERA	Cand DJIHANG	E77 GUNGORAGONE	CA
"early dry season"			maɭwuru			yekka (G67)			
"sky"				manapa (K63)	nge:nd- yara				
"day, light"	godjge (064)					dengadenga (G67)		mokɔl	
"wind"	-mayorg (064)	dugule	mana	bæ lag ^w oŋa- gura (K63)		palmadk (G67) wati			
"seed of type palm"						ngajju (G67)			
"jungle"						mannga (G67)			
"wood, log"	rerrng					jal mudu (G67)			
"river mouth"						an-pada (G67)			
"dry, bare, dead wood"						kun-korlo (G67)			
"mud"		gerdjur	kolɔ	nagapiriba (K63)		kuna-kor/kada (G67)		gɔdɔslpi	
"salt"						joɭp (G67)			
"fog"		miwad				jidngurk (G67)			
"shade"	kundjurle (C76)		tun	gagaŋ (K63)		birlapirla (G76)			
"north wind"						lunggurma (G76)			
"place, country"	manbolk (C76)		tawal			gaya (G76)		wipa	
"swamp"							ragɪ		
"pond"							ganingajili		
"mangroves"							laŋtsa		
"tin"	djabilana (064)						ɖandaŋa		
"bush"	kurral (Cand)						guyugmirpmi		
"charcoal"		marinbir					gibilbaɪ	gɔladalɔŋgeri	
"stone"			nalwat	wulɛrkuŋa (K63)	wunɔ- a:ʒɔɭɔ			bɔlpi	
"salt water"	kurruɭa (C76)			wariwara (K63)	ku-ɭo nd- yirpvRk			gɔdɔɣapɔk	
"shell"				nenamaya (K63)					
"lily leaf"				nenagulabana (K63)					
"grass"	-dalk (C76)	milag		makuɭa (K63)	namo.nbaɭɔ			gɔɭbaɔ	
"mountain"				maley/ manapa (K63)	nge:nd'ara				
"leaf"	kun-worr (K70)	madjule		gagara (K63)	napparta			gɔɭban	

ENGLISH GLOSS	GUNWINJGU	CAND GUNBALANG	N 75 RENGARANGA	GUNAVIDJJI	N 77 NAGARA	BURERA	Cnd. DJINANG	E 77 GUNGAHAGONE CA
'full moon'				diligaŋa d'apaŋamayuna (K63)				
'half moon'				diligaŋa gand'inaŋa ta(K63)				
'new moon'				moya nana (K63)				
'paper bark tree'				waŋinŋinpaŋa (K63)				
'pandanus'	-belg(064)	guija	tayar	ŋaragaŋ(K63)				galiri
'tree root'		manimdjal- birin		maŋakuŋa- kaŋaŋdjeya (K63)				
'seed'				maŋuka(K63)				
'timber'	kundulk (Ca=nd)			ŋaninŋidjeya (K63)				galmini
'island'			kampana					
'woolly butt tree'			kunuru?					
'cleared area'			roropo?					
'grass type'			worogomolo parer					
'well'			yorom					
'stringy bark tree'			kataykka					
'path, track'			molona					boŋini
'red-ochre'			manar					
'itchy tree'			mapar					
'type palm tree'	-gulurudj (064)		kulwiri					
'intbed'	-boy(064)	galbelem	kulppi					malini
'cabbage palm'			tjatjak					
'white ochre'			kamunufku?					
'river'	mankabo (Cand)	gundjolg						
'foliage'			tjal?					
'black soil area'			konto					
'firewood'			pal(na)					
'fork of tree'			palttar (na)					
'flower'	-suwi (064)		puŋu(na)					
'large leaf'			kaŋama (na)					
'creek'	-ga-bo(064)		konto(na)					
'slope'			ŋalk(na)					

ENGLISH GLOSS	GUNWINJGU	epol GUNBALANG	m75 REMCARNGA	GUNAVIDJI	A77 NAGARA	BURERA	col DJINANG	E77 GUNGORALONE	CA
'hole'	kunnagad (C76)		wila(na)						
'plain'	kabal (Ca.nd)	ga:bal							GW, GB- cog loan
'banyan'	miBORnde (Ca.nd)								
'billagong'	kulabar1 (Ca.nd)	jugubalmi							
'dust'	kundjuding (H70)								
'wet season'	mandjewk (C76)		tjuwalkka						
'end of wet season'	bangkerreng (C76)								
'bark'	do1obo(C76)								
'water hole'	kunnagad (C76)								
'fresh water'	kunwinjku (C76)							ganmana bami	
'north'	kakbi(C76)	guriliwili							
'east'	koyek (C76)	dji:muru							
<u>PEOPLE</u>									
'man'	binin (C1940) bininj (C76)	gidimarg (C1940)		j:dja(C40)	wunakæ - yalay	wudu (G67)	yul	wōri	
'woman'	taluk(H70) mulimuli (C1940)	baramimba (C40)		nara m (C40)	kin nak:æ =læ:ya	meyelk (G67)	miyilk	gāmi	B, DJ. -cog
'child'	djedjen (mother's) (C76) wurdyaw (C76)					telippa (G66) ngalanga (G76)	'ijipili		
'subsection name'						pulany (G66)			
'sister'	yabok (Ca.nd)	ja:bolg				jale(G66)	gaditi	dapa	
'old woman'			wur?wurura	ñagabula (K63)		pampay (G67)		baymbayi	
'good hunter'						anjampaj (G67)			
'spirit'	kunmalng (C76) mimih(C76) nakidjkidj (C76)	giwatjug		baromaya (K63)		wangada (G67)			
'son, father'	ngabad (Ca.nd)		pappa(M75) nara(na)	baba(K63)		apa(K63)	gunjirri	paba	R, B
'sister's son'						ngalanga (G67)			

ENGLISH GLOSS	GUNWINJGU	GUNDALANG	REMDARNGA	GUNAVIDJI	NAGARA	BURERA	DJINANG	GUNGERAGONE	CA
'mother's (mother's father')	mamman (C76)	gaga mamam	mamam?	gudjae la (K63)		mamam (G67)			GW, GB, B-cog.
'sibling'		nanadjaŋ- an		djaba (K63)		worlo (G67)		dipa	
'husband, wife's brother'				nananaba (K63)		yedme (G67)	[ŋinipi]		
'mother'	karrad (Ca.nd) karrang (C76) (voc)	garaid		gi:ga (K63)		ama (G67)		geka	GW, GB,
'single man'	yawurriyn (H70) nadjadmud (O64)			maladya (K63)		yawudiny (G67)		yawurin	GW, B - /loan
'mother's sister' ('aunt')				ŋanya (G67)		jinumudu (G67)			
'(his) father'	ngabbard (C76)					nyanyappuniyu (G67)			
'native man'	bininj (C76)			ŋagalagaŋa (K63)		ankukaliya (G67)		ankagaliya	
'middle-aged'						muduppuj adiya (G67)			
'initiate'						anjapi (G67)			
'your mother'						mamppadaku (G67) mamppungku (G67)			
'one of marriage- able kinship'						kalikkali (G67)			
'wife'	ngalbinin- jkobeng (C76)	-galidja ŋatgɔ ban				mengke (G67)		gami	GW, GB - cog.
'young one'						wata (G67)			
'male'	narangem (C76)			ŋa- (K63)		an-nudu (G67)			
'mother's uncle'	ngadjadj (Ca.nd)			djadja (K63) ("uncle")		jachacha (G76)			GW, GV, B cog./loan
'men'		birimarg				wurra (G76)			
'old man'	nako?payn (H70)		wur?wurugu	gabuia (K63)		an-jarra (G76)		ankuwara bay-ja	
'boss'						bunggawa (G76)		agāliŋa	
'boy'	narangem (C76)	djararalan					guŋkinŋ		
'brother'							wowl		
'little boy'				ŋanabelabla- la (K63)					
'little girl'				ŋenabelabla- la (K63)					
'baby boy'	yaw (C76)			nanamanda (K63)		pip.it ^y			
'baby girl'	yaw (C76)			ŋanamanda (K63)		pip.it ^y			
'big boy'				baŋabaŋa (K63)					

ENGLISH GLOSS	GUMWINJGU	Cpr GUMDALANG	m15 REMBARNGA	GUNAVIDJI	n77 NAGARA	BURERA	Cnd DJINANG	E77 GUNAGARONGE	CA
'big girl'				nabaŋabaŋa (K63)					
'grandfather'	mamam (C76)		kokko	kalikali- mamam (K63)					GW, GV, cog.
'cousin'				djɔŋɔk (K63)					
'son, daughter'	djedje (ca.nd) nalyawyaw (D64)			yaŋa (K63)					
'dead man, evil spirit'				moya (K63)					
'little baby' (masc.)				garŋardya (K63)					
'native-woman'				ŋgalagaŋa (K63)					
'white man'	balanda (C76)			ŋanararama (K63)					
'white woman'				ŋinaŋarama (K63)					
'thief'				andagawya (K63)					
'everyone'				baragarwa (K63)					
'Gunavidji'				dyaepae na (K63)					
'son'			walkkur						
'mother's brother'	ngadjadj (C76)	jadja	kap, ŋala						GW, GB, cog.
'father's sister'		belbelu	damarpan						
'young boys (seeing ceremony for 1st time)'	y3wɔrin		kulawLitti						
'murderer'			munugu						
'son-in-law'	nakurrngh (C76)								
'younger brother'	rdarda (C76)								
'man c leprosy'	nangordo (C76)								
'older brother'	kokok (C76)								
'devil'	namarnde (C76)								
'old people'	daborrabok (C76) kobakobanj (C76)								
'clever man' (native doctor)	marrkidj (C76)								
'mother' (dreamtime creator)	ngalbadjan (C76)								

ENGLISH GLOSS	GUNWINGGU	cpnd GUNBALANG	m75 REMBARNGA	GUNAVIDIJI	A77 NAGARA	BURERA	cpnd DJINANG	E77 GUNGERAGONE	CA
"tired"							dadadēim		
"red"	-gulba(064)								
"black"	-bule ri			nanāruña (K63)					
"cool"			pilyi						
"wounded one"			katpur(na)						
"skinny"			kan kan	nanawōra- maya(K63)					
"untouched" (of game)			poy(na)						
"sacred, taboo"			tjuk						
"dead"	doweng(H70)								
"new"	kerrnghkerr- ngnge(C76)							-kegv	
"sick"	karrown (C76)							-mutiga	
"thick"	lodkimuk (C76)								
"full"	ahmeng (C76)								
"soft"	kakih(C76)	-gelg							
"sore"	babang (C76)								
<u>TOOLS, CLOTHES, CULTURAL ITEMS</u>									
"hook"						kalang (G66)		bikanma	
"rope", "string"	-yarl(C76)			bañiwaŋa (K63)		muntun (G66)	riwi		
"house"	kunrurk (C76)	godjbari		weiba(K63) wurambalk (K63)		pala(G66)			
"road"	manbolh (C76)		rut(na)	galagōŋapa (K63)		jalakkad (G66) kupurdo (G67)			GV, B, poss. cog
"fire-making stick"	kundjakol (C76)	gungeba	tarttar			ngurtku (G66)			
"bag"	kunmaydj (Ca.nd)					paliiji (G66)			
(long) "pipe"				laŋawa (K63)		pajjikala (G66)			
"axe-handle"						anpirey (G66)		gondagiyeri	
"cup"	djabbilana (064)					jappalana (G66)		dapilana	GW, B - loan
"shovel spear" (head)	lama(C76)		yaw	lama,d'ena- ubudi(K63)		lama(067)		lama	GW, GV, B cog.

ENGLISH GLOSS	GUNWINJGU	Cpal GUNGALANG	M75 REMDARYGA	GUNAVIDJI	R77 NAGARA	BURERA	Cnd DJINANG	E77 GUNGORAGONE	CA
"axe"	karramalk (Ca.nd) kuriburru (C76)	garamalg		ti:tpuak (K63)		kalamag (G67) titpudk (G67)		didpuk	GW, GB, cog. GV, B, co
"table"	balabala (C76)			balabala (K63)		/pæ lapila/ (G67)			GW, GV, B - loan
"armlet"						nganypak (G67)			
"didjeridoo"	mako(Ca.nd)		littun?			ngorlo (G67)			
"paper", "book"	djurra (C76)			djura (K63)		juda(G67)		durān	GW, GV, B loan
"personal possession"	madj(064)					kukoppodo (G67)			
"ship"				kapala (K63)		mijjiyan (G67)		kapala	
"feather fan"	medjeg(064)		palppal			mejjak (G67)			GW, B - cog./loan
"hat"						jongka(G67)			
"it's rear, stern"						pada mujida (G67)			
"prong"						jitapata (G67)			
"swag"	kunmadj (C76)		nul?			korlk(G67)			
"camp"	kured (Ca.nd)	jalgbi		wiba,wipara (K63)		dawu(G67)		wīpa	
"paddle"	miri(064)			wanaŋ/ yindidj (K63)		pījJay(G67)			
(tapping) "boomerang"		birgala		galigali (K63)		kalikali (G67)			(GB), GV, cog./loan
"plate, can" billy						mampart (G67)			
"hook"(fish)			pikka			kalang (G67)		bikanma	
"woomera"			mangal	nanamuna- waka(K63)		marngkurī (G67)			R,B,-cog.
"skid mark"						mun-porlkij (G67)			
"tobacco"	bakki(C76)		tampakku	bagi(K63)	baki	jambakka (G76)		bāki	GW, R, GV, B-Eng. lo
"canoe"	-bu:nj(064)			wōboin (K63)		lipalipa (G76)			
"aerodrome"						aerodrome (G76)			
"money"	kunwardi (C76)			rupiyā (K63)		rrupiya (G76)	riŋkiyan	rupiya	GN, B-loan from Indian?
"spear thrower"						borndok (G76)			
"stick" (walking) ē						burr-jong (G76)	džibidi		
"knife"				mandʷa- walk(K63)		gujarrcha (G76)			
"drum"						japalana (G76)			

ENGLISH GLOSS	GUNWINJGU	GUNBALANG	REMBARNGA	GUNAVIDJI	NAGARA	BURERA	END DJINANG	E77 GUNAWAGONE	CA
"spear"				djae lakia yak(K63)			/guɾbi/	wipt	
"spear"				djae lakia yak(K63)			jarak		GV, B. cog.
"spear"	mankole (Ca.nd) mankole (C7E)	mal:1	poti	di(t)baŋa (K63)			baŋtsi ranggiri	galpi	GV, DJ.-cog?
"things"							giri giriipili		
"cor"				ŋakatiyæ la (K63)					
"ndage"				buŋudʔa1 (K63)					
"in"				ŋe1etpi: ŋa (K63)					
"error"				paŋuma(K63)					
"elbow log, poo"				ŋæ ŋabu1 idya(K63)					
"trousers"	dadji(064)			dʔæ 1waŋa (K63)				galwara	
"ards"				kat(K63)				kat	
"som"				djedjola (K63)					
"arroboree, gsoŋ"				gein(ya) mayæ lwiya (K63)					
"illy bag"				bēya(K63)				ber	
"of"				baŋuwaŋa (K63)					
"liquor"				ŋanidji (K63)					
"motor car"				mutikaŋ (K63)					
"motor bike"				mutabaik (K63)					
"dinting sk"				ŋamukanba (K63)					
"sticcoat"				pandi. kut (K63)					
"fire"	djala:g:rayd (064)			waya(K63)					
"elt"				kelk(K63)					
"stones cooking"			tjampal						
"ear head"	lawug(064)		ŋipna, tapkan manakuman						
"in from te"			maŋa?						
"up sticks"			pa1mer						
"at end of ur"		gibab	kana(na)						
"stoirs"	kunkayn- jkenh (Ca.nd)								

ENGLISH GLOSS	GUNWINJKU	Cpnd GUNBALANG	m75 REMBANGA	GUNAVIDJI	A17 NAGARA	BURERA	Cnd DJINANG	E77 GUARICORONE	CA
"humpy"	gunrrurrk (H70)								
"mythological site"	djang(C76)								
"digging stick"	kinbarikbu (C76)								
VERBS									
"fly"	b34d(C40)	mog(C40)		manjimindja (C40)					
"get it!"(imp.)	yima(ca.nd)		ma			ma(G66)			GW, R, B -cogs.
"speak!"(imp.)	yiyimen (ca.nd) wogdi(O64)	abilagw- gdjagan (cp.nd)	yine	nug (mnd)		wengka (G66)			*wagga B, CA-cog
"close your eyes"(imp.)						palamukju (G66)			
"hunt"	-warl(H70)	-jawa (Cpnd)	natjalimij			worlppu (G66)			GW, GB, F -poss.cogs
"hits him"	bu(C76)	-bu(cpnd)	pu	pu(Mnd)		a-purnto (G66)	bu		*bu GW,GB,GV, R,B,CA- cogs.
"search!"(imp.)	-yawa(C76)					wejjawejja (G66)	milini		GW,B- poss.cogs
"hold it!"(imp.)	-garne (O64)			'ri:ma(Mnd)		dime(G66)	gatširi		*ga GV,B-cog. GW,DJ,CA- cog.
"write"						wokkudiji (G66)			
"I will go"	wa(Cand) ngare re(C76)	-ga(Cpnd) -ganoru (cpnd)	ra	yae ta(K63) (fut)		ngu-poy (G66)	giri (infin)	gurb3go	*jan(a)
"get on ĕ it!" (imp.)	ma(O67)								
"finish"	yagmin (O67) yak(C76)	bunbun (Cpnd)		wale:ka(M76) mu:yawa (M76)					
"I go"	hare(O67) wa(cand) re(C76)	-ga -ga:oru (Cpnd)	ra				gri giri (infin.)		*jan(a) GW,GB,R, GV, DJ. cog.
"keep silent"	-nudmime (O67)								
"skin a kangaroo"	-ronbu(O67)								
"I will return"	-durnde (C76)					ngujekka (G67)			
"I am strong"						nguterte (G67)			
"he hit him" /"kill"	-pun(H70) -bu	-bu -leme	pu	bu:ya(Mnd)		apuno(G67)	bu	abundi	*bu cog.
"gave to him"	(y1)won(Cand)	-ladjun		wuna(K63) (pst.)		awuno(G67)	gu(infin)	wu	*wu GW,G,B, GV,B,DJ. *ju -CA cogs *u

ENGLISH GLOSS	GUNWINJGU	Cand GUNDALANG	m75 EMBARNGA	GUNAVIDJI	NAGARA	BURERA	Cnd DJINANG	L77 GUNUGORAPONE	CA
"he arrived"		-buYaji		ba'laaka (Mnd)		apene(G67)			
"he spoke"			yina2			a-wene(G67)			*waga B, CA- cog.
"pours it"						kujerijedi- jingu(G67)			
"it flows"	-bo:re(064)					kuyediyedij- inga(G67)			
"you tease"						nyolkkiya (G67)			
"you do habitually"						nyorkkiya (G67)			
"lift it up"						jadakkada (G67)			
"will throw him"	-we(064)					a-yadinyji (G67)			
"he will grow up"						awadiji (G67)			
"he sits down"	yierrka (Cand)		nura	n ra(K63) yagana		arakkiya (G67)			*ni(n) R, GV, (CA?) cogs.
they returned"	-durnde(C76)					apudf jekkade (G67)			
"pour"						jedijediji (G67)			
"cave"						jadijja (G67)			
"he went"	-re(C76)					apono(G67)			*bu
"builds it"						kukuppudo (G67)			
"I will spill"						nguwidippi (G67)			
"he goes up"						awadijja (G67)			
"he watches corroboree"						awodija (G67)			
"will hold him"	-garne(064)					adimu(G67)			*ga GW, CA- cog.
"will hammer him"						aremu(G67)			
"speared him"	-rranjbu (C76)		mara			adane(G67)			
"he thirsted, burned"	-ru(C76)					adonga(G67)			
"will break him"				panadortja (Mnd)		adumu(G67)			
"he blows"	-puk(H70)	-bu				apippijja (G67)			*bu GW, GB, CA-cog.
"holds him"	-garne(064)			r'ima(Mnd)		adimunga (G67)			*ga GW, GV, B, CA- cog. *ma
"he will sit"	-ni(C76)			(go:)na (Mnd)		ani(G67)			*ni(n)
"he will dodge"						akedekpawu (G67)			

ENGLISH GLOSS	GUNWINJGU	Cnd GUNDALANG	mas REMBARANGA	GUNAVIDIJI	NAGARA	BURERA	Cnd DJINANG	E 77 GUNGEKAGONE	CA
got him"	-ma (C76)			ma (Mnd)		amenge (G67)			GW, GV, B- cog.
go back!" (imp.)	-dumeng (C76)					jekka (G67)			
he will get to go wanting"						ajewiji (G67)			
he searches"	-yawa (C76)					awejjawe- jjinga (G67)			GW, B, -cog.
wash!" (imp.)	jirrit (H70)			djama (K63) (stem)		weppa (G67)			
it dawns"						kunakeppa (G67)			
it gives birth"						angejjinga (G67)			
it will rest"						ngungekka (G67)			
it will pass"	burriwe (C76)					ngupeypu (G67)			
it will bring"						anaka (G67)			*ga/ *ma
took it"	-kinje (C76)	-bu-	niyanjin	'joraba (Mnd)		yalppu (G67)	bachin	ngdjipili	GB, B, (DJ?) - cog.
it broke" (intr.)	ba gme (O64)					kuwajjina (G67)			
it will dry"				ka:dja (Mnd)		kukajji (G67)			GV, B, -cog.
it burns"	-ru (C76)					mudonga (G67)			
it will write"				'piyin- biba (Mnd)		nguwokk- udiji (G67)			
it will burn"	-ru (C76)					mudo (G67)			
broke it"						mudu munga (G67)			
it hit it"	pun (H70)	-bu lieme	pu	pu (Mnd)		kupu (G67)			*bu GW, GB, R, GV, B, CA, -cog.
it cool it"						akukkukk- uwa (G67)			
it hit myself"	pun (H70)	-bu	pu	pu (Mnd)		ngupuyana (G67)			*bu GW, GB, R, GV, B, CA, -cog.
it will complete"						ngumungpu (G67)			
how me!"	-bugga (O64)	-gali	muttu			ngunakuy- pukka (G67)			GW, B, -cog.
it'll get him"	-ma (C76)		ma			a'ma (G67)			GW, R, B, cog.
it will spear			mara	ra (Mnd)		ngunada (G67)			R, GV, cog. (B?)
it it"	pun (H70) bu (C76)	-bu	pu	pu (Mnd)		kupuno (G67)	bipini		*bu GV, GB, R, GV, B, DJ (?) CA, cog.
it will see	nang (C76)	-djagbu	na	na (K63) (fut.)	na	kupuna (G67)	nya (inf. n.)		*na GW, R, GV, B, DJ-CA-cog.
it goes down"	kolu (C76)			la: b (Mnd)		kupuppi- jinga (G67)			

ENGLISH GLOSS	GUNWINJGU	Gnd GUNBALANG	m75 REMDARNGA	GUNAVIDJI	P77 NAGARA	BURERA	Cnd DJINANG	E77 GUNGCARONE	CA
will pull						nguruduk- akka (G67)			
hey will carry me"		-damgrra wa		maŋa (K63) (Pst.)		ngunapidi- ka (G67)			*ma *ka
you go"	(ka)re		ra			nypoya (G67)	giri (infin.)		GW,R,DJ- cog.
*walks"	bale(C76)					apampuda (G67)			
*arrives"		bujajfi		bula;ka (Mnd)		apeya (G67)			
*will go for food"						among- puyppe (G67)			
hey will carve on"						pudupuj- adijja (G67)			
res him"	nang(C76)	-djagbu	na	na (Mnd)		anajje (G67)	nya(infin.) na		*na GW,R,GV,B, DJ,CA-cog.
*listen."						jarl (G67)	nuny- jirri (infin.)		
*runs/trots"						akutkut- jinga (G67)			
hit down"						rakka (G67)			
hey 2 will hit" (fem.)						apudiny- nyekka (G67)			
you 2 (fem.) ask it"	kinje	-bu-				pidiny- yalppu (G67)			GB,B-cog.
all complete						a-mungpu (G67)			
you and I will eat"	nun(C76)		ŋu	ba(1a)K63 (pst) moya		ay-pay (G67)	diŋadʒigi		*da/ *a GW,R,GA. cog.
you and I make		manbu				ay-jala- ppudo (G67)	jamifi (infin.)		*na GB,DJ,CA- cog.
you and I will eat"	yimey (Cand) -ma		ma	ma (Mnd)		ay-ma (G67)			GW,R,GV,B cog.
you and I will eat"	nang(C76)	-djagbu	na	na (Mnd)	na	ay:na (G67)	nya (infin.)		*na GW,R,GV,B, DJ cog.
you and I turn						ay-ngukkud- injinga (G67)			
you and I ask it"						ay-rudaka- kkije(G67)	dʒitimi (infin.)		
you and I will ask it"	kinje (C76)	-bu	niya			ay-yalppu (G67)			GB,B-cog.
ask it"	kinje (C76)	-bu				yalppu (G67)			
bring it up"			pari,poru			m-paljjide (G67)			
sticks to						pi-palkkiji (G67)			

ENGLISH GLOSS	GUNWINGU	Cnd GUNDALANG	R75 REMSARNGA	GUNAVIDJI	NAGARA	BURERA	Cnd DJINANG	E77 GUNSORAGONE	CA
"run" (imp.)	rlobmeng (C76)	-gawulguig	yutmin kutkut			yurcha (G76)	nundžirim nunyjirri (infin.)		
"he vomits"		-ve:djug				a-kurljinga (G76)			
"he got up"				ki'miya (Mnd)		a-karl'muno (G67)			
"you will hasten"						nyjarl(G67)			
"t-y"						martka(G76)	jinikeyi		
"to be" (standing)	yirrolka (Cand) kabenedi (C76)	-dja	ta, tura	ki'miya (Mnd)		ji(G76)	džirdži		GB,R,GV -cog. B,DJ-co
"to be" (sitting)		-na	nura	(go:)na (Mnd)		ni(G76)			*ni(n) B,CA-co
"to be" (lying)	yu-yo(C76)		yuru	yu-ra(K63) (ko:)ya (Mnd)		yu(G76)			GW,R,GV B-cog.
"to run"	rlobmeng (C76)			džrakrajaya (K63)		yurjji(G67)			
"to go steadily"						bamba(G76)			
"to do habitually"						workiya(G76)			
"do like (this)"			yina?			yinanga(G76)			R,B-cog.
"outline"						yopa(G76)			
"I saddle" (cont.)						ng-garlajinga (G76)			
"he builds it"				raya(K63) (pres)		gu-gupurda (G76)			
"he speared me"			mara	džrakra (K63)		nguna-rrana (G76)	dzamadžimi		
"he took it"	(yi)kan (Ca nd) kang(C76)		ka			gu-ganja (G76)			*ga GM,R,B,C -cog.
"to make" (to be)	marnbom (C76)					nega(G76)			
"help"						helpim(G76)			loan
"teach"		-dudug- bandji				teachim (G76)			B-loan
"he saw him"	nang(C76) -na	-djaibu	na	na (Mnd)		a-nana(G76)	na:mi (infin.)		*na GW,R,GB,E DJ,CA-co
"he came down"						a-bupiyana (G76)			
"send it"	munkewe (C76)					jerrmama (G76)			
we(incl.) "gave to him"	-wo(064)			wu(Mnd)		ay-wuna(G76)			*wu GW,GV,B,C -cog.
"I think (it)"						ngu-borruja (G76)	kingt king_in		

ENGLISH GLOSS	GUNWINGU	Cpd GUNBALANG	m75 REIMBARINGA	GUNAVIDJI	NAGARA	BURERA	Cnd DJINANG	E77 GUNGOROGONE	CA
"he returned"	durade (C76)					a-jeknga (G76)			
"he entered"						a-barrnum- iya(G76)			
"we 2(excl.) will leave it"	kurrme (C76) -bawo (C76)		pa			nyirri- bawa(G76)			R.B.GW, -cog.
"to speak"				judjeya (K63/pres)		wengga (G76)	wangi		
"to give to"	-wo(C76)		ma			wu(G76)			*wu GW,B,CA cog.
"might get"	mang(C76)			ma(Mnd)		gu-many (G76)			GW,GV,B -cog.
"he will show us"(de exc.)	bukkan (Ca nd)		muttu			njirri- guybuka (G76)			GW,B.-c
"he hit him"	-bu	-bu	pu			a-burnda (G76)	bipini		*bu GW,GB,R DJ,CA-c
"he cooked it"	-kinje	-bu	niya			a-yalpurda (G76)			
"I write"				pinbiba (K63)(F&C)		ngu-wukurr- jinga(G76)			
"stop"						ganapa(G76)			
"I cut it"	dadjke (C76)			wungulyna (K63)(pst) korJa (Mnd)		ng-gornda (G76)			
"we(ind.) shall cook it"	-kinje	-bu				ngubi- yalpa(G76)			
"I fix it"						ngu-jaripa (G76)			
"he could have her stabbed"						jinda(G76)			
"to do"	yima(C76)		yina?				jamajim		*ma GW,DJ,C -cog.
"to cry"	nalkbu (C76)	-lu	ru	ni:ndjana (K63) niyinda (Mnd)			ngaji		GB,R-cog
"to fish"							rakumi		
"wait!"(imp.)	kanmadbu (C76) med(C76)			ni :ga(Mnd)			bidak		
"tell"(a story)	marnayime (H70) yolyolm (C76)		yolyol	nuq (Mnd)			buldzigi		
"to search"	yawa(C76)						milini		
"shift, move"		bilaf		(ka)mankuwa- keya(K63)					
"drink"	bongu			(ga)yagaya (K63)(pres)					
"put (inside)"	kurrme (C76)		kotto	pandXr a (K63)(Pst) 'banga(Mnd)					

ENGLISH GLOSS	GUNWINGU	Cnd GUMBALANG	M75 REMBANGA	GUNAVIDIJI	M77 NAGARA	BURERA	Cnd DJINANG	CA
"finish(up)"				wuleikeya (K63)(pst)				
"chop"	djobke (C76)			buŋˈna (K63)(pst)				
"build"				raya(K63) (pst)				
"come back"	durndeng (C76)			bulaka (K63)(F&C)				
"shoot"				rana(K63) ra(Mnd)				
"tight"				buya(K63) (stem)				
"dance"	-melme(064)			nabera(K63) (pst) ŋa:rawaya (Mnd)				
"take away"	-ga(064)			djoʔrakā (K63)(pst)				
"swim"	djuhmeng (C76)	-idjalubulub	natura	n iŋimula (K63) n'maramalo (Mnd)				
"stand"	yirrolka (Cand) kabenedi (C76)	-dja	ta	reyndejya (K63)				
"throw"	-we(064)		watmɪŋ	(na)waka (K63)(fut)				GW,R.GV, -cog.
"make"				reya(K63) (pres)				*ma
"look"	yɪna(Cand)			naydja (K63)(pres)				
"come on!" (imp)	yimray (Cand)			baʔabɪliyuʔa (K63)				
"go away!" (imp)				baʔiyuʔa (K63)				
"listen!"(imp)				malalaya (K63)				
"it got blocked"			tapmɪŋ					
"he shaped it"			tapmɪŋ					
"he frightened it"	kelehme (C76)		kappa					
"fall"	-manga (064)		ʔuŋ?	po (Mnd)	puŋa			
"he knew it"		-burbu	mɪŋtippuwa					
"I wanted it"	-djaremen (C76)	mabulu	ŋatyaɪmɪŋ					
"sing (magic)"			warpun					
"it fell short" (spear)			tɪjupmɪn					
"it went out" (fire)			mukmɪŋ	dʒu:wa (Mnd)				
"he blew" (played didjer- idoo)		-bu	puʔmɪŋ					*bu GB,R.CA. -cog.

ENGLISH GLOSS	GUNWINJGU	Cpd GUNDALANG	m75 REMBARANGA	GUNAVIDIJI	HAGARA	BURERA	Cnd DJINANG	CA
"he put it down"		-dam	poto?mij					
"he crossed (river)"			potopmij					
"he rubbed himself"			patadij					
"pick up"			pat					
"Shape (to)"			tap					
"Shake one's head"			pata?					
"be at a loss to do anything"			tumpal?					
"bury"			kapu?	n'mara' bu:ya (Mnd)				
"turn over, round"			polet					
"sneak up"			tjan?wop					
"climb down"	bidbu (C76)		yara?ra?	a:b (Mnd)				
"sit ̄ head bowed"			pamku!ku!					
"not like to do"			yuwal?- wutj					
"frighten"			kappa					
"keep"			natta					
"go now"	yire(Cand)							
"go uphill"				'wa:la (Mnd)				
"climb (tree) (hill)"	barndi(C76)			wenda (Mnd)				
"paint self"				po:rbaya (Mnd)				
"split"	-djalkma (C76)			na'wa: raba (Mnd)				
"cause", "repair", "make"				ŋodpa (Mnd)				
"send"				mksa (Mnd)				
"look for"				ga'ra:wa (Mnd) je:na (Mnd)				
"tell lie to"				ku:wa (Mnd)				
"ask"				nawa (Mnd)				
"he thanked him"	manjbom (C76)							
"he threw it away"	birriweng (C76)							

ENGLISH GLOSS	<i>cpnd</i> GUNWINGGU	GUNDALANG	REMBARNGA	GUNAVIDJI	NAGARA	BURERA	DJINANG	CA
"he was sleeping"	yoy(C76)							
"I said it"	ngayimeng (C76)							
"paint"	bimbo(C76)							
"come"	bebme(C76)							
"bite"	baye(C76)							
"hear"	bekka(C76)							
"talk"	yolyolm (C76)							

APPENDIX E

LANGUAGE COMPETENCE IN MANINGRIDA

ABBREVIATIONS USED

For abbreviations of Language and Dialect names, please refer to List of Abbreviations.

F	=	Father's first language
M	=	Mother's first language
Sl	=	1st language of speaker
S	=	2nd language - "speak fluently"
S some	=	2nd language - "speak some"
H	=	2nd language - "hear"
H some	=	2nd language - "hear some"

GUNAVIDJJI SPEAKERS

	F	M	E	GV	B	GM	GG	GB	MG	RB	NG	G	N	DJ	GP	DJA	DJI	GM	W	R	M	DJI	MA	GM	WK	WAL
Helen ♀ 21 Ngalaranda	GV	GB	S	S1	S	S	S	S1	S	S	H		H													
Robert ♂ 30s	GV	GM	S	S1	S	some				S	some		S	some												
Willy Djameri ♂ 30	GG	GV	S	S1	some	S	S	S	S	S			H	H												
Vanessa ♀ 8	GV	N	S	S1	S								H													
Lucy ♀ 13	GG	GV	S	S1	S	some	S						S													
Annette ♀ 15	GV	N	S	S1									S													
Willy ♂ 25	GV	GB	S	S1				S					S	some												
Nicolllette ♀ 8	GV	GP	S	S1	H								H													
Ambrose ♂ 14	GV	GV	S	S1		H		S	some																	
Naureen ♀ 9	GV	GV	S	S1	S								H													
Fiona ♀ 10	GV	N	S	S1	S								S													
Heather ♀ 9	GV	GB	S	S1				S																		
Nancy ♀ 9	GV	GV	S	S1																						
Gracine ♂ 16	GV	N	S	S1	S	S	S	S	little	S	S		S	S	H											
Jocky ♂ 50s	GV	GV	S	S1	S	some	S	S	S	S			H													
Joseph ♂ 50s	GV	GV	S	S1	S	some	S	S	S	S			H													
Laurie ♀ 30	GV	GB	S	S1	S			S	S	S			H													
Carol ♀ 20	GV	GV	S	S1	S	some	S																			
Tommy ♂ 35	GV	N	S	S1	S	some	S	S	S	S			S													

BURERA SPEAKERS

Ray ♂ 25ish	B	B	Sv, good	H	S1	H																					
Mary ♀ 13	B	B	S		S1																						
Pansy ♀ 13	B	N	S		S1								S														
Tommy ♂ 14	B	B	S		S1																						

DOIHANG SPEAKERS

	F	M	E	GV	B	GW	GG	GB	MG	RB	NG	G	N	DJ	GP	DJA	DJI	GM	W	R	H	DUN	MA	GM	WK	WAL
Fred ♂ 14	DJ	B	S	S	S									S1										S	S	
Alan ♂ 14	DJ	DJ	S	H	H	H		H		H			H	S1										H	H	
Danny ♂ 13	DJ	DJ	S		H									S1	H									H	H	S
Margaret ♀ 25 (from Raeinginting)	DJ	B	S	H	S	H		H		H			H	S1	S						S					
Charlie ♂ 25	DJ	B	S	H	S	H								S1	S											
Dick ♂ 60s Gadji	DJ	B	S	H	S	S							S	S1	H	H										
Bridget ♀ 30 Gadji	DJ	DJ	S	H	S	H							some	S1	H											
Jack ♂ 60 Gakedi	DJ	DJ	S		S	S		H		H				S1	S	S	S									S
Judy ♀ 40 Gareudi	DJ	DJ	S		S	S		H		H				S1												S
Nellie ♀ 21 Gareudi	DJ	DJ	S	H	S	H		H		H				S1	H											S
Jill ♀ 9	DJ	DJ	S											S1												
Queenie ♀ 10	DJ	B	S		S	some								S1												
Jimmy ♂ 8	DJ	DJ	S		H									S1	S											
Julie ♀ 8	DJ	DJ	S											S1												
Richard ♂ 8	GP	DJ	S											S1	S											
Toby ♂ 30	DJ	B	S	H	S	H								S1	S											S

GUNGORAGORE SPEAKERS

Jacky ♂ 30	GG	M	S	S	S	S	S1	H
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MAUNG SPEAKERS

Alfie ♂ 10	MG	MG	S	S	some	S	S1
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GUPAPUYIGU/WANGURRI SPEAKERS

Helen Baker ♀ 9	W	GP	S		H																						
Betty ♀ 25	GP	GP	S	H	S	H		H	some				H	S	S1												
Kathy ♀ 9	GP	GP	S		S										S1	S											S

GUPAPUYHGU/WANGURRI SPEAKERS (Cont'd)

	F	M	E	GV	B	GM	GG	GB	MG	RB	NG	G	N	DJ	GP	DJA	DJI	GM	W	R	M	DUN	MA	GAH	WK	WAL
Jennifer ♀ 8	GP	GP	S		H										SI	S										
Selina ♀ 8	GP	GP	S												SI	S		S								

GUWATJ SPEAKERS

Beth ♀ 25	GM	GM	S										S		S	S	SI	S								
Rita ♀ 9	GM	GM	S										some		S		SI									
Dalwuy ♀ 9	GM	GM	S												S	S	SI	H								

APPENDIX F:

ANALYSIS OF VIDEO-TAPES OF MULTILINGUAL INTERACTION

ANALYSIS OF VIDEO TAPES OF MULTILINGUAL INTERACTION

APPENDIX F

SPEAKER NAME AGE SEX	1ST LG & OTHER LGS WHERE KNOWN	TAPE NO. PLACE SITUATION	CONTROL INTERLOCUTOR NAME AGE SEX	1ST LG & OTHER LGS WHERE KNOWN	TOPIC	PURPOSE	OTHERS PRESENT	ACTUAL LG USED	COMMENTS
Colin John ♂ 9	B, E,	Library V2	Other B. boys, B. Boys B, E. Queenie, Fay - same age	Queenie, DJ, some B, E. Fay, B, E.	pictures in books	general chit chat	group mainly B - 1 DJ	B, with E word 'poster'	1 outsider assumed to understand
a) Vanessa ♀ 8	GV, spk B & N, E	"	a) Miriam ♀ 8	N, E, GV	books, pict- tures	"	-	a) GV	NB - 2-way conversatio
b) Miriam ♀ 8	N, E, GV	"	b) Vanessa ♀ 8	GV, spk B, E, N.				b) N	
a) Queenie ♀ 9 b) Jennifer ♀ 9	DJ, E, some B GP, hears B, spks DJA, E	"	This group	as for 'speaker'	pictures in books ... 'this one' ... 'What's this one's name?' 'They've got this mat it's O.K.' 'Dey've got some fish' 'Look!' 'He's playing hard one.' 'There's another one.' 'Nothing' 'What that fish?' 'No food.' 'They're eating.' etc.	"	Closed group	E	Rare occas- ion where girls speak very differ ent lgs are talking. Use E, as only common lg.
c) Vanessa ♀ 8	GV, spk B, N, E	"							
d) Fiona ♀ 10	GV, spk B, N, E								
e) Miriam ♀ 8	N, E, GV								
f) Fay ♀ 8	B(MA), DJ, E								
g) Judy ♀ 9	DJ, E,								
a) Colin John ♂ 9 b) David ♂ 9 c) Steven ♂ 8 d) Lewis ♂ 9	B, E B, E B, E B, E	Library V3	This group	as for 'speaker'	Talking about their books. fighting. "This is mine" "No, it's mine"	general chit chat fighting	-	B, except for 'poster' isolated word.	"Poster" used as isolated word.

V = number of video cassette

SPEAKER NAME AGE SEX	1ST LG & OTHER LGS WHERE KNOWN	TAPE NO. PLACE SITUATION	CONTROL INTERLOCUTOR NAME AGE SEX	1ST LG & OTHER LGS WHERE KNOWN	TOPIC	PURPOSE	OTHERS PRESENT	ACTUAL LG USED	COMMENTS
a) Joanne ♀ 9	GP, E, GM,	Library V3	a) Selina ♀ 9	GP, E, GM, DJA,	Talking about books, pic- tures on wall	general chit chat	-	GP	Ab 1g used
b) Selina ♀ 9	DJA		b) Joanne ♀ 9	GP, E					
a) Helen ♀ 9	W, E, GP, DJA, hears GM, B	"	a) Daliwuy ♀ 9	GM, GP, E, DJA, hears W	Talking about photos on wall	"	-	a) W	NB. 2-way conversation tho' have com- mon spoken 1g & only hear other's 1st 1g
b) Daliwuy ♀ 9	GM, GP, E, DJA, hears W.	"	b) Helen ♀ 9	W, E, GP, DJA, hears GM, B			b) GM		
Helen ♀ 9	W, E, GP, DJA, hears GM, B	"	Joanne ♀ 9	GP, E,	Photos on wall	"	'Milingimbi' girls. Rest of class some distance.	GP	spkr's 2nd 1g interloc's 1st 1g
Daliwuy ♀ 9	GM, GP, E, DJA, hears W.	"	a) Helen ♀ 9	a) W, E, GP, DJA, hears GM, B	Talking about pictures still	"	'Milingimbi' girls	GM	spkr's 1st 1g other's 2nd 1g
			b) Joanne ♀ 9	b) GP, E, GM					
Rhonda ♀ 11	RR*, A*, E,	"	a) Daliwuy ♀ 9	GM, GP, E, DJA, hears W	Friends - Maningrida gossip	"	'Milingimbi' girls 19 yr olds, + 11 yr old white girl	E	Rhonda speaks none of the Maningrida Aboriginal 1gs, speaks English at home. (Father is important Ab. lawyer - high status)
			b) Helen ♀ 9	W, E, GP, DJA, hears GM, B					
			c) Kathy ♀ 9	GP, E, B, W, DJA, B					

SPEAKER NAME AGE SEX	1ST LG & OTHER LGS WHERE KNOWN	TAPE NO. PLACE SITUATION	CONTROL INTERLOCUTOR NAME AGE SEX	1ST LG & OTHER LGS WHERE KNOWN	TOPIC	PURPOSE	OTHERS PRESENT	ACTUAL LG USED	COMMENTS
a) William ♂ 12	MA, B, E,	Library V3	a) Dominic ♂ 11	B, E,	pictures in book on war films	general chit chat	Closed Group	B	MA boy speaki & understandi B
b) Dominic ♂ 11	B, E,		b) Colin ♂ 12	B, E,					
c) Colin ♂ 12	B, E,		c) -	B, E,					
d) -	B, E,		d) William ♂ 12	MA, B, E,					
1 a) Dalwuy ♀ 9	GM, GP, E, DJA, hears W	Lengthy conver- sation			looking at pictures, some general gossip about daily activities A little bit of 'fighting'	"	Rest of class some distance away	GP, with isolated E words	Everybody speaking GP for benefit of those wh don't spk D GM, W, etc. E for loan concepts only ('hun- dred, ' 'grape wine 'orange' 'nothing' 'tea' 'nanny goat
d) Selina ♀ 9	GP, GM, DJA, E	Library V4	Same group	As for 'speaker'					
e) Jennifer ♀ 9	GP, E, DJA, hears B								
f) Joanne ♀ 9	GP, E								
12 a) Helen ♀ 9	W, E, GP, DJA, hears	Library V4	Judy ♀	DJ, E,	question about books	elicit information	"milingimbi" girl's close	E 'I don't want'	very short strained conversatio
b) Dalwuy ♀ 9	GM, GP, E, DJA, hears W.								
3 Queenie ♀ 9	DJ, E, some B	"	a) Edward ♂ 11 b) Stephen ♂ 11 c) Oliver ♂ 11 d) Dino ♂ 11	B, E B, E B, E B, E	looking at picture book	general chit chat Element of 'show- ing off?'	GV & N children are close	mixture of B & E. 'fish' 'big emu' 'fish' this one like cat- fish.	Speaker's 2 2nd lgs - u of both pro ably refle cts lack of confidence equal disli of both? Wish to put boys on sam

SPEAKER AML AGE SEX	1ST LG & OTHER LGS WHERE KNOWN	TAPE NO. PLACE SITUATION	CONTROL INTERLOCUTOR NAME AGE SEX	1ST LG & OTHER LGS WHERE KNOWN	TOPIC	PURPOSE	OTHERS PRESENT	ACTUAL LG USED	COMMENTS
Fiona ♀ 10	GV, E, B, N	Library V4	Miriam ♀ 9	N, E, GV,	Books	general chit chat	Other GV children	GV	GV & N readily use each other's lg if speak both.
Nicodemus ♂ 9	MG, E, GV	"	Colin John ♂ 9	B, E	"	establish rights to book	Other B	E 'This is for me & him (N)'	Nicodemus new & doesn't know other boys very well. Only common lg is E.
Nicodemus ♂ 9	MG, E, GV	"	a) Heather ♀ 9 b) Miriam ♀ 8 c) Vanessa ♀ 8	GV, GB, E N, E, GV GV, B, N, E	Gossip activities happenings at Goulburn Island	Information swapping	Other GV & N children; B boys further away.	GV	Close trad- itional rela- tion between GV & MG & high degree of mutual multi- lingualism
Lewis ♂ 9	B, E	"	mainly B boys	B, E	Telling about death of Elvis Presley	dissemin- ation of information	GV, N, MG, B GP, DJ children some very close - all interested	B	Use of B even where not every inter- locutor would understand. Valued inform- ation.
Kathy ♂ 9	GP, B, E, W, DJA, R	"	a) Fay ♀ 9 b) Jenni-fer ♀ 9 c) Joanne ♀ 9 d) Helen ♀ 9 e) Dalwuy ♀ 9	B, DJ, E GP, DJA, hears B, E GP, E, W, DJA, E, GP, hears B, GM GM, DJA, GP, E	Books, pictures	Explanation	'Millingimbi' girls	Mix- ture of B & GP	When addressin Fay directly, speaks B - translation of what said in G

SPEAKER NAME AGE SEX	1ST LG & OTHER LGS WHERE KNOWN	TAPE NO. PLACE SITUATION	CONTROL INTERLOCUTOR NAME AGE SEX	1ST LG & OTHER LGS WHERE KNOWN	TOPIC	PURPOSE	OTHERS PRESENT	ACTUAL LG USED	COMMENTS
9 Nancy ♀ 8	GV, E	Library V4	a) Vanessa ♀ 8 b) Miriam ♀ 8	GV, B, N, E N, E, GV	Pictures in books	general chit chat	Other GV, N, MG children; B are further away	GV	loan concept 'apple'
10 a) Vanessa ♀ 8 b) Maureen ♀ 9	GV, B, N, E GV, B, E, hear N	"	This group	As for 'speaker'	swapping medical, histories medical one-up- manship, also about book.	"	B. kids are further away, ditto 'Milling- imbi' girls.	GV, E, N	Fairly mixed segment. Eng 'I got a run nose!' 'Wron one', other medical det- ails in GV 8 N.
1 Queenie ♀ 9	DJ, E, some B	"	Fiona ♀ 10	GV, E, B, N	Asked for book	Wanted something	Other GV, N children	B	Common Aboriginal language
2 Eddie ♂ 9	B, E	"	a) Dino ♂ 9 b) Lewis ♂ 10	B, E B, E	'These children are speak- ing baby- talk' Comment on Queenie & Fiona's B	Perhaps to provoke or taunt	Other B boys, also other GV, N	B	NB. B's atti- tude to others speak their language
3 Vanessa ♀ 8	GV, E, B, N	"	Miriam ♀ 8	N, E, GV	Books	general chit chat	Other GV children	GV	Speaker's 1st lg, interloc- utor's 2nd lg

SPEAKER NAME AGE SEX	1ST LG & OTHER LGS WHERE KNOWN	TAPE NO. PLACE SITUATION	CONTROL INTERLOCUTOR NAME AGE SEX	1ST LG & OTHER LGS WHERE KNOWN	TOPIC	PURPOSE	OTHERS PRESENT	ACTUAL LG USED	COMMENTS
4 Lewis ♂ 9	B, E	Library V4	a) Dino ♂ 9 b) Oliver ♂ 9 c) Fay ♂ 9 d) Colin John e) Queenie ♂ 9 f) Brian ♂ 8	B, E B, E B (MA), DJ, E B, E DJ, E, some B N, GV, E	Talking about Pictures	general chit chat	B, DJ, N & GV - all understand- ing B	B	Eng - Joan 'train' - described in B
5 Colin ♂ 9 John	B, E	Library V5	a) Dino ♂ 9 b) Eddie ♂ 9 c) Stephen ♂ 9 d) Oliver ♂ 9 e) Brian ♂ 8	B, E B, E B, E B, E N, GV, E	Long interchange about books pictures & researcher operating video	"	GV & GP children further away	B	Brian definite occasional fringe (no common Ab. lg) E words All others a (eg. B no. 1 (m bayik)
6 Fay ♀ 9	B(MA), DJ E	"	a) Eddy ♂ 9 b) Bill ♂ 9	B, E B, E	Telling story about hunting on out- station - pelicans, turtles	swapping news, telling stories	Other children seated else- where	B	All interchange occasional comments, questions are E words in B (Not MA eg 'chicken' dialect) Note 'duck' extensive 'kooka- burra'
7 Helen ♀ 9	W, E, GP, DJA, hears GM, B	"	Kathy ♀ 9	GP, B, W, DJA, R, E	Talking about books, pictures	general chit chat	other children seated elsewhere	GP	Spker's 2nd lg interlocutor's 1st lg
8 a) Kathy ♀ 9 b) Fay ♀ 9 c) Kathleen ♀ 9 d) Jennifer ♀ 9	GP, B, W, DJA, R, E B(MA), DJ, E B, E GP, DJA, E	"	this group	same as 'speaker'	"	"	B, N, GV children nearby	B	Only common aboriginal lg is B

NB: Cost is always given in E

SPEAKER NAME AGE SEX	1ST LG & OTHER LGS WHERE KNOWN	TAPE NO. PLACE SITUATION	CONTROL INTERLOCUTOR NAME AGE SEX	1ST LG & OTHER LGS WHERE KNOWN	TOPIC	PURPOSE	OTHERS PRESENT	ACTUAL LG USED	COMMENTS
29 a) Maureen ²⁹	GV, B, E, hears N	Library V9	a) Brian ⁴ 8	N, GV, E	Talking about books, pictures	general chit chat	B children further away	GV N	Intermixture of GV & N used by both children predominately GV
b) Brian ⁴ 8	N, GV, E		b) Maureen ²⁹	GV, B, E, hears N					
0 Anthony ⁴ 10	B, E	Shop V8	Tommy Wok- bara ⁴ 35	GV, E, G, W, GB, MG, N, some B	Exchange on goods cost	service	long queue	-	E cost (said b Tommy) was onl comment
1 Lena ⁴ 18	GV, E	"	"	GV	Talk about goods	"	Lena's mother & grandmother	GV	1st lg of both spker & inter- locutor
2 Lena's mother ⁴ 40	GV,	"	"	GV	"	"	Lena & her grand- mother	GV	1st lg of both spker (case) interlocutor (control)
3 Lena's ⁴ 60	GV,	"	"	GV	"	"	Lena & Lena's mother	GV	1st lg of both spker (case) interlocutor (control)
4 Mary ⁴ 40	B,	"	"	GV	"	"	Pat Gaman- angga - B	B	1st lg of shopper, Tommy only speaks sor B
5 Pat ⁴ 40	B,	"	"	GV	"	"	Mary	B	Partly talking to Mary, partly talking to Tom
Gamanangga									
George ⁴ 25	N,	"	"	GV	"	"	queue	N	1st lg of shopper used by both Tommy & shopper

SPEAKER NAME AGE SLX	1ST LG & OTHER LGS WHERE KNOWN	TAPE NO. PLACE SITUATION	CONTROL INTERLOCUTOR NAME AGE SEX	1ST LG & OTHER LGS WHERE KNOWN	TOPIC	PURPOSE	OTHERS PRESENT	ACTUAL LG USED	COMMENTS
37 Susan Ngali- ariti j 30	B, GV,	Shop V8	Tommy Wok- bara ♂ 35	GV	T. asks S to wait; & explains what certain things are	service	queue	GV	Susan is marr to T's brothe knows GV
38 Lucky Bulaka ♂ 25	B,	"	"	GV	T asks for more money	"	queue	B	1st lg of shopper used by T (initiating verbal contact
39 a) Ninggal ♂ 28 b) Tommy ♂	B, GV	"	a) Tommy ♂ b) Ninggal ♂	GV B	about goods	"	"	a) B b) GV	2-way conver- sation. Ninggal B - to Tommy Tommy - GV to Ninggal
40 MA ♀	40 B(MA)	"	Tommy Wok- bara ♂ 35	GV, E, GW, GB, MG, N some B.	torch battery	"	child, queue	B	2nd lg of both parties - tho' for its dialect of 1st lg
1 Toby Gabalga ♂ 25	DJ, B, GP, E, hears GV, GW	"	"	GV	ask about cost, Tommy answers	"	queue	E	2nd lg of both used despite common aborig- inal lgs. Bot are well educ- ated.
2 Johnny ♂ 60 Mundurk- mundurk	B	"	"	GV	little comment, Tommy asks for 'more'	"	"	B	Tommy speaks i B
3 Mary ♀ 35	GW	"	"	GV	asking about price for various things	"	"	B	1st lg of shopper 2nd for contro

SPEAKER NAME AGE SEX	1ST LG & OTHER LGS WHERE KNOWN	TAPE NO. PLACE SITUATION	CONTROL INTERLOCUTOR NAME AGE SEX	1ST LG & OTHER LGS WHERE KNOWN	TOPIC	PURPOSE	OTHERS PRESENT	ACTUAL LG USED	COMMENTS
♀ 60	GW	Shop V8	Tommy	GV	asking for more money, type of medicine. General chit chat	service	queue	GW	1st lg of shopper, who is Tommy's aunt, 2nd lg of control.
Betty ♀ 25	GP, B, E, DJ, G, R, hears GV, GW, RB, N	"	"	GV	talking about goods	"	"	B	2nd lg for both, B chosen by as only common Abor- iginal spoken.
Rose Narin ♀ 25	B, E, hears GW & DJ	"	"	GV	"	"	"	B	1st lg of shopper. Eng- lish words, '5 mandarines' (both loan)
Margaret Olsen ♀ 35	B	"	"	GV	talking about video camera, being photo- graphed	general chit chat	queue, Rose Narin, Margaret's sister	B	1st lg of shopper, 2nd lg of control
Margaret Olsen's sister ♀ 25	B	"	"	GV	Tommy said something low in B	"	queue	B	Control chose shopper's 1st lg
Betty's 50 mother ♀	B	"	"	GV	about goods	"	"	B	1st lg of shopper, 2nd lg of control
Alfie ♂ 12	N, GV	"	"	GV	"	"	Sister Rose	GV	2nd lg of shopper, 1st lg of control

SPEAKER NAME AGE SEX	1ST LG & OTHER LGS WHERE KNOWN	TAPE NO. PLACE SITUATION	CONTROL INTERLOCUTOR NAME AGE SEX	1ST LG & OTHER LGS WHERE KNOWN	TOPIC	PURPOSE	OTHERS PRESENT	ACTUAL LG USED	COMMENTS
1 Rose ♀ 11	N ,	Shop V8	Tommy	GV	no audible conversation	general chit chat	brother Alfie	-	Many abor- igines go through check out in complet silence. (personal observation)
2 Mary, ♀ 40 Pat's sister	B ,	"	"	GV, E, GW GB, MG, N some B	No audible interchange other than silence	Service	queue	-	went through in silence
Crusoe ♂ 15	GW , GV	"	"	GV	No interchange no exchange of looks	"	Crusoe's little brother and sister	-	Crusoe is Tommy's brother (same GV mother & they are not permitted to speak or look at each other. No mention of cost. Crusoe looked at till, paid and galloped through
Helen ♀ 38	GV	"	"	GV	No verbal interchange beyond asking for cigarettes and matches	"	Helen's brother queue	-	NB Brother- Sister taboo - minimal verbal contact-neither can look at or touch the other. Note cigarettes put on counter,

not directly passed to shopper - eyes to side.
passed to

SPEAKER NAME AGE SEX	1ST LG & OTHER LGS WHERE KNOWN	TAPE NO. PLACE SITUATION	CONTROL INTERLOCUTOR NAME AGE SEX	1ST LG & OTHER LGS WHERE KNOWN	TOPIC	PURPOSE	OTHERS PRESENT	ACTUAL LG USED	COMMENTS
Helen ♀ 38	GV	Shop V8	Tommy	GW	question about family members	general chit chat	queue	B	NB Use of B by GV (who almost certainly speaks GW) to a GW person. Probably (unknown) extenuating circumstances
Tim Mugabi ♂ 20	B	"	"	GV	talking about goods	service	"	B	Shopper's 1st 1g control's 2nd 1g
Pat Gamananga ♀ 40	B	"	"	GV	"she must like the camera"	general chit chat	"	B	Shopper's 1st 1g for benefit of anyone who heard or understood Control's 2nd 1g
Jim Abbaraka ♂ 25	N, GV	"	"	GV	talk about goods, money	"	queue Charlie Wokara N	mix N/ GV	Mixture GV/N in mid sentence. both shopper & control. Mutual lgs chosen - both 1g and other's 1st 1g
Charlie ♂ 25 Wokara	N, GV	"	"	GV	"	"	queue, Jim Abbaraka N	mix N/ GV	Mixture GV/N in mid-sentence by both shopper & control. Mutual lgs chosen - both speak own

SPEAKER	AGE	SEX	1ST LG & OTHER LGS WHERE KNOWN	TAPE NO. PLACE SITUATION	CONTROL INTERLOCUTOR NAME AGE SEX	1ST LG & OTHER LGS WHERE KNOWN	TOPIC	PURPOSE	OTHERS PRESENT	ACTUAL LG USED	COMMENTS
0	Willy	Djarkala	GV ,	Shop V8	Tommy Mok- bara ♂ 35	GV , E, GW GB, MG, N, some B.	about goods	service	queue	GV	1st lg of bot shopper & control. NB Willy is acknowledged head GV.
1	♀	50	N	"	♂ 60, ♀ 60	Both N	about child 's shoulders, also truck having flat tyre	general chit chat	queue Tommy	N	1st lg of bot speakers, personal con- versation.
	wife of	♂ 60									
2	a)	♀ 60	N , GV	"	a) ♂ 60 b) ♀ 60	N N	complaining that no one ever visits them on out- station. The child, other people, truck, petrol, drink	general chit chat dissemin- ation of personal information	whole shop! Tommy	N occas- ional E words ('petrol' 'drink')	1st lg of bot people in dialogue
3	♀	60	N , GV	"	Tommy	GV	asking for more goods than she can pay for (bought too much)	asking favour	queue ♂ 60 ♀ 50	starts in N stops & says whole thing in GV	shopper start talking in 1st lg but stops starts again in control's lg as she is asking favour
4	♀	60	N , GV	"	♀ 50, ♂ 60	Both N	imperative 'hurry up' come on!	gloss over whole embarrass- ment of not having en- ough money?	1 N word finishes in E		Use of E here could be to cover embarrass- ment - mixture

SPEAKER NAME AGE SEX	1ST LG & OTHER LGS WHERE KNOWN	TAPE NO. PLACE SITUATION	CONTROL INTERLOCUTOR NAME AGE SEX	1ST LG & OTHER LGS WHERE KNOWN	TOPIC	PURPOSE	OTHERS PRESENT	USED LG	COMMENTS
5 ♀ 60	N, GV	Shop V8	Tommy wok- bara ♂ 35	GV	asking for cigarettes for the old man.	service shop!	1 N word, 1 GV word, 1 E (loan) then fin- ishes in GV		Starts in N, 1st lg, but controls 2nd but switches belatedly to 1st lg of control.
6 ♀ 13	B, E,	"	"	GV	buying suit- case, price tag.	" queue	B		1st lg of shopper, 2nd lg of contro B spoken by both. E loan words.

APPENDIX G

THE AVAILABILITY OF LINGUISTIC MATERIAL DESCRIBING THE LANGUAGES OF THE MANINGRIDA AREA

The languages of the four "newcomers" to Maningrida (Maung, Gupapuyngu, Gumatj and Wangurri) are not discussed in this study, as the influence of their speakers in Maningrida is probably superficial or short term. Some reference is made to the Yolngu dialects (Gupapuyngu, Wangurri and Gumatj), based on the work of Morphy (1977) and Schebeck (n.d.).

Of the other languages which may be considered peripheral to the Maningrida situation, because of the small number of speakers living there, Alawa and Walang (Gunbalang) have been studied in some depth (cf. Margaret C. Sharpe's "Alawa Phonology and Grammar", A.I.A.S., 1972; Capell, (n.d.); Harris (1969a) and (1969b). This material is not discussed as these languages are not central to the problems of multilingualism and language attitudes on Maningrida.

No descriptive material at all appears to be available on Gungoragone¹, Gumauwurrk, Wulaki² or Yarnangu. For the purposes of this study this lack of material is not a serious disadvantage, as their small numbers suggest that they are relatively unimportant in the long term for Maningrida.

¹ The present writer did some fieldwork with a Gungoragone informant during the fieldwork period for this study. At the time of writing, linguistic analysis is incomplete. Where relevant and sufficient information is already available, limited comment is made on Gungoragone. The reference is: Elwell, Vanessa M.R., Gungoragone Fieldnotes, m.s., 1977.

² Wulaki may be a dialect of Djinang. If this is the case, comments made on Djinang will probably be applicable to Wulaki.

More serious, however, is the dearth of descriptive material on Nakara, the language of what is now one of the larger groups in the area, with about one hundred speakers resident on the settlement and in the region. Nekes and Worms (1953) mentioned that their information on Nakara (extremely limited) was derived from the work of Arthur Capell. This work does not appear to be readily available. The only material available at present is limited in scope: Alpher's fieldnotes (1977).

The grammar and phonology of Djinang have been studied by a student at S.I.L. (Christie, n.d.(a) and n.d.(b)). Both these studies appear to be class papers, and the material presented is sometimes less than explicit and not always very detailed.

The remaining languages (Gunwinjgu, Rembarnga, Gunavidji³ and Burera) are spoken by four of the largest groups in the Maningrida area. Substantial and reasonable comprehensive material dealing with phonology, morphology and syntax is available to Gunwinjgu (Oates, (1964); Carroll, (1976, n.d. (a), n.d.(b), n.d.(c), n.d.(d) and n.d.(e); also Harris, (1969a and 1970). A number of Gunwinjgu primes and texts are available as a bilingual education programme was established for Gunwinjgu at Oepelli in 1975.

³ "Gunavidji" (or "Gunibidji" is the name given to the tribe by the Gunwinjgu and Gunbalang. The "Gunavidji" refer to themselves as "Djeepana" (McKay, 1976:1). "Gunavidji" is used here, as this is the name used by the A.I.A.S. and which they are better known, outside their own area.

Ample material is available on Burera phonology and syntax, while somewhat less is available on its morphology (Glasgow, 1966; Glasgow and Glasgow, 1967; Glasgow, K., (1964a); Glasgow, K., (1964b); Glasgow and Kerr (1964); Glasgow and Garner (1976)). As with Gunwinjgu, no separate English-Burera lexicon was available, but vocabulary could be gleaned from the other linguistic material.

Detailed material on all aspects of Rembarnga, except its lexicon, is available (McKay, 1975).

As yet, only very limited material is available for Gunavidji. A word list was produced by Kilham (1963), but the words were written in phonetic script and no phonemic analysis was attempted. This was unfortunate, as it appears to be the most complex language in Maningrida phonetically, if not phonologically. The reliability of the glosses for many of the vocabulary items is also suspect, as Kilham sought Gunavidji words for a number of concepts which are unlikely to have direct parallels in an Aboriginal language. These include words expressing certain kin relationships. McKay's recent work on Gunavidji (n.d. and 1976) is as yet very limited and tentative. It contains an analysis of Gunavidji verb classes and verbal morphology, and an enumeration of Gunavidji pronouns and pronominal verb prefixes. He, too, does not analyse the phonology of the language, and he uses a "rough phonetic orthography" (McKay, 1976:1) as the status of such features as vowel length and stop-voicing was not at all clear when he compiled the material.

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