Alive and kicking
Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara

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Abbreviations and conventions

It is necessary to specify some of the conventions used in describing the examples which are numbered in this work.

- The first line represents Pitjantjatjara sentences. They appear in italics, hyphenated into separate morphemes. Some derivations, especially compound verb stems, are segmented only when relevant — that is, where necessary to illustrate a specific point of the discussion. Verbs are segmented, as in Table 3.4, showing augmented stems only when required. 'Zero' morphemes are not shown. Parentheses on this line represent vowels or syllables which are elided in fast speech (see Chapter 2). An asterisk (*) in front of a word indicates that the word occurs in a form (typically, lacking a suffix) which is unusual in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara and which would be ungrammatical in Traditional Pitjantjatjara.

- The second line is the interlinear gloss, segmented morpheme by morpheme, and aligned with the appropriate Pitjantjatjara word from the first line. Capital letters are used to illustrate grammatical morphemes (see below). Inflectional categories expounded by a zero morpheme are glossed in parentheses.

- The third line is the English translation in single inverted commas. Added elements necessary for easy comprehension are given in square brackets, with the exception of 'the', 'a' and 'some'. The main problem encountered with translation is to know how free one could be in order to avoid mechanical, literal translation. I attempted to stay as close as possible to the original text, except that I did not always translate repetitive elements such as *kunyu* QUOTE and the CONTRastive *ka/kaa* unless they were pertinent. The genders of third person pronouns are based on the context of the original text.

Interlinear GLOSS	Grammatical category
ABL	ablative case marker
ABL.NAME	name-status ablative case marker
ACC	accusative case marker
ACC.NAME	name-status accusative case marker
ADD	additive connective
ALL	allative case marker
ALL.NAME	name-status allative case marker
ASSOC	associative nominal-deriving suffix

AUG	augmentative suffix (on consonant-final stems)
BUT	introductory particle, contrast
CAUSE	deverbal causativiser
CHAR	characteristic verb suffix
CIRCUM	circumstantial suffix
CONTR	contrastive connective
DEF	definite nominal
DOUBT	suffix indicating doubt
ERG	ergative case marker
ERG.NAME	name-status ergative case marker
EMPH	emphatic
EVIDENT	adverb-deriving suffix
FUT	future tense
GEN	genitive use of the purposive case
HARM	denominal causativiser
HAVING	'having' suffix
IMP	perfective imperative verb suffix
IMP.IMPF	imperfective imperative verb suffix
INCHO	inchoative verbaliser
INTENT	intentive relator
INTEREST	suffix indicating interest
LOAN	transitive relator
LOC	locative case marker
LOC.NAME	name-status locative case marker
MAKE	transitive verbaliser
NEG	negative marker
NOM	nominative case marker
NOM.NAME	name-status nominative case marker
NOML	action/state nominaliser
NUM.PRED	predicative past verb suffix
PAST	perfective past verb suffix
PAST.IMPF	imperfective past verb suffix
PERL	perlative case marker
PL	plural marker
PRED	predicative adjective suffix
PRES	present verb suffix
PURP	purposive case marker
PUT	'put' suffix
QUOTE	quotative
REFLEX	reflexive
SEQ	sequentive relator
SIMILAR	nominal-deriving suffix

Interlinear glosses for the Directional Prefixes

ngalya-	THIS.WAY
ma-	AWAY
para-	AROUND
mi-	SLOWLY.AWAY
wati-	ACROSS

Other abbreviations

S	subject of an intransitive sentence
A	subject of a transitive sentence
O	object of a transitive sentence
NP	noun phrase
V	vowel
C	consonant
SAE	Standard Australian English
NSAE	Non Standard Australian English
pers. comm.	personal communication

Other conventions

" "	direct speech in free translations (not used in interlinear gloss)
*	(at beginning of sentence) ungrammatical sentence
*	hypothesised historical form
Ø	a 'zero' or morphologically null morpheme
[ ]	inserted words and phrases
/	alternative material
(…)	point of ellipsis; omission of material

1 *Introduction*

The goal of this work is to describe the changes occurring in the Pitjantjatjara speech of teenagers in Areyonga, a Central Australian community, from both a grammatical and a sociolinguistic point of view. The study is based on data collected from September to December 1994 and from February to December 1995. One key question of this work is the extent to which Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara is being influenced by contact with English.

Pitjantjatjara and its neighbouring dialect Yankunytjatjara are spoken by approximately 1600 people. They are two of the many dialects of Western Desert language, which currently has more than 5000 speakers. The Western Desert language is classified as a Pama-Nyungan language, meaning that it is agglutinating along with suffixal case marking. Historically speaking, amongst the 250 languages identified as being spoken on the continent before the arrival of Europeans,[1] the Western Desert language (Central Australia region) was perhaps the most widely spoken:

> Within the total Australian land area of about 3 million square miles it seems that the multi-tribe Western Desert Language was the largest both in terms of geographical extent — some 500,000 square miles — and also in number of speakers — perhaps 6,000. (Dixon 1980:18)

In 1994–95, the period when the data was collected, the Areyonga community had about 200 inhabitants, more than half of them under 25 years of age. The study group was mostly composed of teenage girls, both for practical and for cultural and social reasons. Various methods were used to establish a corpus that would be large and diverse, including an elicitation test as a first point of reference. Finally, these long stays allowed me to be a participant-observer within the community (Labov 1972a, b, d). Notes taken during my sojourn and drawn from personal observation proved to be extremely useful in detailing speech habits and in adding richness to the data. Amongst other examples, the notes include snatches of conversations heard at football matches, in the classroom, and at the basketball court, which are areas where tape-recording was difficult because of background noise and overlapping interaction between people.

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[1] Before the first contact with Europeans, it has been estimated that there were about 600 tribes speaking between 200 and 250 distinct languages (Dixon 1980). As a result of disease, conflict and displacement of Aboriginal people from their original Dreaming lands, there are now only 20 languages which can be considered 'in a healthy state' in the sense that they are transmitted from elders to youngsters and are still spoken as a first language' (Schmidt 1990:1).

1

The different methods used provided a substantial corpus covering a large set of diverse settings. The stories collected range from Dreaming and *mamu* 'monster' stories to casual conversations about everyday life, and recordings that, I believe, reflect most aspects of the life of Pitjantjatjara teenagers nowadays.

In order to identify changes in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara — as compared with the speech of their elders — I am fortunate in being able to rely on several independent descriptions of Traditional Pitjantjatjara (and similar neighbouring dialects). Indeed, Traditional Pitjantjatjara is one of the most extensively described of all Australian languages (see Goddard 1985; Eckert & Hudson 1988; Bowe 1990). The work of these researchers provides a 'baseline' against which to identify changes in young people's speech. I have also drawn on my personal observations of and discussions with older Pitjantjatjara people at Areyonga.

1.1 Areyonga community profile

1.1.1 Geographical situation

The Areyonga community is located about 230 km west-south-west of Alice Springs, in the Northern Territory. It is set in a narrow rocky valley of the James Ranges, adjacent to the Areyonga creek. This distinctive geographical feature gave the community its Pitjantjatjara name *Utju* (lit. 'narrow'). The community is fairly easily accessible from Alice Springs by way of a sealed road to Hermannsburg, the closest community, then by way of a dirt road known as 'the Mereenie loop' road. In the last couple of years, many tourists have taken this road to gain access to Kings Canyon and Uluṟu (Ayers Rock). Nonetheless, as Areyonga is located about 25km off the Mereenie loop road turnoff, the community avoids the flow of tourists who pour through Hermannsburg each year. As a result, contacts with Europeans are limited to the odd trip to town and to the Europeans working at Areyonga (teachers, shopkeepers, office workers). In short, the community has remained fairly isolated.

The unusual physical setting of Areyonga is not the only feature that distinguishes it from other Aboriginal communities. The township is set on the western limit of the traditional tribal lands of the Western Aranda (Arrernte)[2] and on the northern limit of Pitjantjatjara land. The proximity of the two groups makes the delimitation of the exact land boundaries very difficult to establish. A Pitjantjatjara woman once commented: 'Aranda people, they say it is Aranda land here. We say "*wiya* " ['no'] it is Pitjantjatjara land'. Intrigued by this unsolicited remark, I asked a woman with an Aranda background whether Areyonga was on Aranda or Pitjantjatjara land. She answered that it was definitely Aranda land.

The delimitation of tribal boundaries and land ownership is a difficult task (Sutton 1995). According to Davis's map reproduced by Sutton (1995:70), Areyonga would be on 'Western Arrarnta' land (Davis's spelling). However, Hobson's map shows the extensive overlapping of language groups, and Areyonga is shown to be at the crossroads of Luritja, Pitjantjatjara and Western 'Arrernte' (Hobson's spelling). As far as is known, the Land Claim states that the Areyonga community is on Pitjantjatjara land. However, doubt will remain in people's minds because the Areyonga community is not on its traditional land, as its historical background will explain.

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2   Both spellings are in use. Aranda (the older spelling) is used in this work because this is the version favoured by the Aboriginal people of Areyonga.

1.1.2 Historical background

In Aboriginal communities, knowledge, tales, and Dreaming stories have always been transmitted orally from one generation to another. History as such appears in *tjukurpa* ('story', 'Dreaming', 'Law'), varying from one person to another according to the teller's background and sensibility. While trying to sketch an historical framework of the Areyonga community, it seems appropriate to acknowledge centuries of oral tradition and reproduce here a *tjukurpa* told many times before. The following extract was published in the Areyonga newsletter *Tjakulpa mulapa* (October 1996). The story was told to Judy Brumby[3] by Joseph Mantjakura.

> This is the story about the old times, long time ago when old men and old women were not living here. Nobody was living here, this area was all bush. When I was young I lived at Manyiri. Old McNamara was living there and he looked after us.
>
> Then we went to Amulda. We stayed at Amulda not at Areyonga. Areyonga was a dangerous place, a fierce watersnake was living at the waterhole at Areyonga. The people were living at Amulda.
>
> At Christmas time we went to Hermannsburg. After Christmas we all went back to Manyiri. We were living at Manyiri for a long time. When Christmas came, again we went to Hermannsburg.
>
> Then one day Old McNamara told us to take the goats to Amulda. We took the goats to Amulda. Then one day we brought the goats to Areyonga. There was a lot of grass here and there was some springs — the water was running down the creek. Before we brought the goats, other people had brought the cattle into Areyonga and the watersnake killed all the cattle and ate them. The men ran away.
>
> Then we came with the goats. Then we made a camp — just where the school buildings are. And there the watersnake almost killed us. It blocked the entrance where you come into the valley at the west. We were scared but the two witch doctors made the watersnake go back into the waterhole. Very early for the sunrise, maybe it was six o'clock we went back to Amulda with the goats. We kept the goats at Amulda, then we took the goats back to Manyiri. We lived at Manyiri for a long time then one day we were sent to Haasts Bluff.
>
> Haasts Bluff was a new mission station. Lots of people went to live at Haasts Bluff. That was the time when people were getting ration. We stayed at Haasts Bluff for a long . time.
>
> During the World War they made a new mission station here at Areyonga. Pastor Albrecht brought the people here. He went to the waterhole and saw that this was a good place for the people to live. The watersnake saw that the people were coming to live at Areyonga and it went into its hole in the waterhole.
>
> There were no houses here then. There was only one tin shed for the rations. Old men went hunting for euros among these hills. Every Friday we went to the tin shed to get our rations. All the other days the people went hunting. Those days were the happiest days — when people lived and hunted game together. And one by one they passed away here at Areyonga. A lot of Pitjantjatjara people lived and died here at Areyonga.

This story is rich in information and clues about the Aboriginal way of life before the founding of the Areyonga community. It acknowledges their travelling from one community to another, the important role of the elders ('Old McNamara was living there and he looked after us') and of the *ngangkari*, the traditional doctor ('we were scared but the two witch doctors made the watersnake go back into the waterhole'). The watersnake, the *wanampi* as it is called, is still said nowadays to be hiding in its waterhole, though it has not been seen for

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3   Judy Brumby is a RATE student from Areyonga. She was a very valuable and knowledgeable source of information during my stay.

a very long time. However the time frame remains extremely vague. The community convergence on Hermannsburg every Christmas testifies to the long importance and influence of the Lutheran Church in the lives of Aboriginal people in the area. The first event that can definitely be dated is the move to Haasts Bluff, presumably connected with the 1940 drought. Official documents (NTA, March 1961) date the opening of the Haasts Bluff ration depot to the beginning of 1941, though the settlement had been open from the 1930s. By 1936, Haasts Bluff had 300 people (Horton, ed. 1994).

The end of the story is easier to corroborate as Pastor Albrecht himself wrote about the early days of Areyonga (Albrecht 1977). It seems that, driven away from their traditional communities by the long drought that touched the Territory around the 1940s, Pitjantjatjara people from the Petersmann Ranges ventured out of their boundaries in search of food for survival. Some found refuge in other communities, but most of them gathered around Alice Springs. At that time, with the railway line completed, the town had become an important military centre, strategically positioned for the Pacific war. As a result, the Alice Springs population had grown rapidly and food was abundant due to the need to sustain the troop effort. For many starving Aborigines seeking safety, Alice Springs was an ideal haven.

Their growing numbers soon became a problem. The authorities were summoned to intervene as 'hordes of Aboriginals surrounding troop-trains at sidings or other stopping-places South of Alice-Springs' (Albrecht 1977:60) started to disturb the machine of war at work. In order to prevent a larger population drift, the Finke River Mission of Hermannsburg was consulted about establishing a ration depot away from Alice Springs, but still in Pitjantjatjara tribal country. Pastor Albrecht thought Areyonga would be the perfect spot. Its geographical position was ideal, being just at the limit of Pitjantjatjara and Aranda land and fairly close to the Hermannsburg mission and to Haasts Bluff. Most of all, it had a permanent water supply and a pleasant waterhole.

There is no mention in Pastor Albrecht's memoirs of having to fight or scare the *Wan̲ampi* in order to establish camp, but he remembered an overwhelming response amongst Pitjantjatjara people to the opening of the depot. He recalled an episode during a trip to Areyonga,[4] where Pitjantjatjara people at the point of exhaustion were waiting for him.

> They all felt deeply that they were going to have a place they could call their home from which nobody could move them and where they would be protected and cared for. Not one of them came and asked for anything, such as meat or food of any kind. (Albrecht 1977:62)

By 1944 a depot was fully operational. A store was built, followed in 1950 by a school and an administrative building. However, some concerns were voiced about Areyonga becoming a significant camp. The problem remained that '... the quantity of water was hardly enough for supporting a large settlement of people, let alone gardening — something I considered essential' (Albrecht 1977:62).

Areyonga never became a large settlement. The small water supply could not sustain larger development and the population remained highly mobile, with people travelling back and forwards to their community of origin as soon as the drought ended. In 1954 the Hermannsburg mission handed the community over to the Northern Territory administration, though the Lutheran church remained and its influence has never ceased.

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4   The name Areyonga remains a mystery. Albrecht's entries on the subject suggest that it is a Pitjantjatjara word: 'Areyonga, the name which the Aborigines had given this place' (Albrecht 1977:62). When asked, my consultants were all categorical that such a word does not exist in their language or any other languages they know.

Under the new management, Aborigines were encouraged to adopt a more European way of life. An infirmary with twelve beds, a laundry, a bathroom and a dispensary, completed the existing facilities. The Welfare Report (May 1961:38) even mentions that 'a market garden was being developed in the vicinity of a newly discovered water point and some degree of self-sufficiency was being achieved'.

Little by little the township grew. On one side of the valley was the European quarter with the church, the administrative buildings and the teacher's home; on the other side, the Aboriginal quarter. This area, 'the old Areyonga' as it is called today, still testifies to the segregation. As modernisation touched the community, the whole township was grouped together on one side to facilitate the water and electricity supply in the 27 conventional western-style houses built for all. In 1969 the first bilingual education project was started at the school and is still successfully operating to this day. In 1990, due to lack of funds, the church stopped operation. At about the same time, the Aboriginal population assumed control over the town and became an incorporated community.

1.1.3 The population

At the time of the study, Areyonga had a population of approximately 200 inhabitants. The figures, displayed below, were recorded in April 1995. A group of people (seven to be exact), who were not residents of Areyonga and were only present in the community for 'sorry business' (i.e. mourning ceremonies), was omitted intentionally. These figures were accurate at the time. The method used to collect this information was very simple. In a little settlement like Areyonga, everybody knows everybody else. Therefore, the names of all the people I knew and the houses in which they were living were written down. With the help of an informant who knew many of the residents, the list was completed and compared with the council records (through lists such as social security, etc.). For fun, I sat outside the shop on 'big pay day' (the day when the social security cheques arrived) and counted the number of people going in and out for the three hours following the distribution of the cheques. This proved to be one of the most memorable experiences as the store is always a very busy and social place, being the most important centre of community life.

When matching the results with the numbers recorded in June 1991 (Department of Lands and Housing 1992), there were only very few changes in the names of the families present in Areyonga, which indicates that Areyonga has been a fairly stable community for some time. In fact, there is no real seasonal movement of population between communities or urban centres, although people do travel frequently to visit other communities such as Kintore, Docker River, and Mutitjulu. Aside from the fact that these communities share the same language, they have historical connections, as many Areyonga inhabitants or their families originally came from one of these communities.

Looking at the figures, and other available records, a number of observations about the Areyonga community can be made. On comparing the census numbers with the school roll, all the children of primary school age were effectively attending school. Their attendance in the first semester of 1995, according to the school, was excellent (the children missing were often children who were out of the community). Most of the teenage girls of an appropriate age to follow the secondary correspondence class were attending on an irregular basis (three days out of five). Various attempts to enrol teenage boys failed.

The community had a predominantly young population, as shown by the graph (1.1). Many women were working, either at the council, the shop, the clinic or the school. The rest of them took care of their large families but remained involved in community affairs (school and council meetings, women's centre, choir). The male population for the same age group was less involved. Some men worked at the council as handymen, and occasionally at the shop to unload trucks of food. This lack of work for young men is a real problem and inactivity is further evidenced by the little interest they show in community affairs.

GRAPH 1.1: Areyonga Community Census (April 1995)
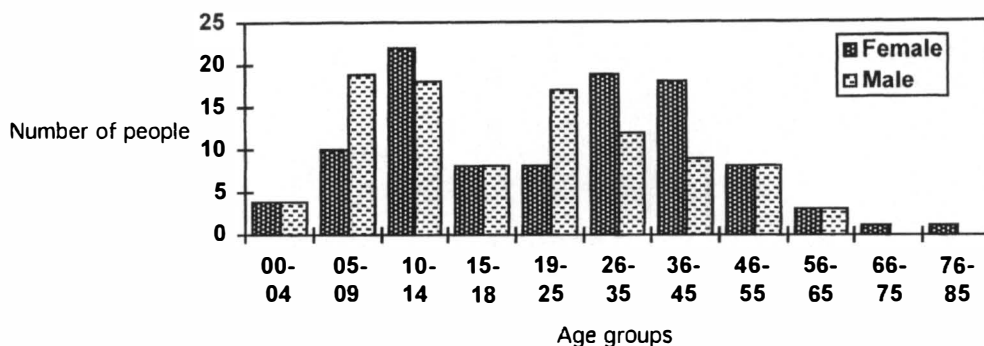
The absence of a large number of old people has had an important impact on the life of the community. In a culture where knowledge is passed from the older generation to the younger one, traditional ways have not been fully transmitted, which explains why Areyonga, despite being a very dynamic community, is not a ceremonial centre (see also §1.1.9). Diverse attempts to (re-)introduce traditional ceremonies, dances etc. have been successful, but because of the sporadic nature of these events, the traditional Aboriginal way is at risk of fading away.

1.1.4 *The church*

The Lutheran mission, first established in 1943, ceased operation in 1990 due to budget cuts. Nonetheless the community has remained strongly religious. Hermannsburg's non-Aboriginal Lutheran pastor visits Areyonga monthly. He also officiates, once a year, at confirmation and baptism ceremonies. He is a fluent speaker of Aranda and therefore performs the service in both English and Aranda, the last being understood by many Areyonga inhabitants, especially people over 30 years of age. Two Aboriginal pastors conduct services in Pitjantjatjara on a weekly basis. Every Sunday after the service the Aboriginal pastors also teach the children, and some of the teenagers, religious instruction. By community request, religious instruction is also taught at school in Pitjantjatjara. The church is the centre of many community activities. One of the most important is the choir that meets regularly. It is composed essentially of women of all ages but many teenagers and children take part in the rehearsals. The women are often asked to perform at religious ceremonies, such as the twice-a-year confirmation of the young boarders of the Aboriginal Yirrara College (in Alice Springs). Even though the women are usually the only performers in these ceremonies, the teenagers and the children do occasionally sing at other gatherings. Singing forms an important part of the Sunday service.

1.1.5 The council

The council consists of eight Aboriginal members who are elected annually by the community. They assume control of the township and decide any future changes. Two non-Aboriginal persons are employed by the community to supervise the administrative management of Areyonga.

Since the early 1990s, the council building has housed a radio system allowing Areyonga people to broadcast their own programs on a frequency close to that of CAAMA radio.[5] The programs presented are usually musical and based on community-requested songs. The building also houses a satellite dish that permits everyone to receive the two TV channels available in the Northern Territory, Imparja (an Aboriginal-owned commercial station) and the ABC. Finally, the community has a BRAC system, allowing playing of video programs that can be watched by the whole community on their private television sets.

The council has authorised the visit of a tour company which every week brings a little group of tourists into the community. The tourists are shown around and go for a walk to the waterhole with one of the women who tells them the story of the *Wanampi*, the famous watersnake of Judy's story. There is also a project to renovate the old missionary house to allow visitors to stay overnight, following the model of Hermannsburg's facilities. The council plans to renovate an old historical building and to open a gallery within, where artefacts produced by the Areyonga people would be on display to sell to the eventual visitors or tourists. But there is, to my knowledge, no intention to develop tourism on a bigger scale.

1.1.6 The school

The school is government-controlled and has run a bilingual program since 1969. It has two full-time, non-Aboriginal teachers, and one non-Aboriginal teacher-linguist. There are two classroom levels, a junior class which cares for the children from 5 to 8, and a senior class for the older children up to 15. However the range of ages is somewhat variable, based essentially on the competence of the child. Each non-Aboriginal teacher is helped in the classroom by one or more Aboriginal Pitjantjatjara teacher aides (TA). A full-time Aboriginal literacy worker collaborates with the teacher-linguist in preparing the material to be used for the Pitjantjatjara lessons. All the Aboriginal staff are RATE (Remote Area Teacher Education) students, studying within the community to become teachers in their own right.

The school roll has approximately 35 children. Attendance, in contrast to many other school communities, is quite high,[6] as a core of more than 20 children attend regularly. A kindergarten has been set up at the clinic organised by the community council. Its aim is to familiarise the children with English before they begin schooling, as most of the children start school with little or no knowledge of English.

The school is very dynamic and is involved in many different projects. Every Thursday night the community gathers to watch a movie in the school's covered playground. The

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5   CAAMA stands for Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association. CAAMA is an Aboriginal-owned and controlled radio station that operates in Alice Springs and broadcasts mainly over the Northern Territory and South Australia. The broadcasting is done in seven languages, including Pitjantjatjara. 'CAAMA is the only radio organisation on the Australian mainland which broadcasts in Aboriginal languages' (Schmidt 1990:60).

6   Personal comment from teachers I met during my stay.

school staff sell food at the canteen as part of their fundraising. The money raised has allowed some outstanding achievements. In 1995, for example, the senior class was taken on a big adventure to Sydney and Canberra. They went on to Thredbo, in the Snowy Mountains, where they saw snow for the first time and learned how to ski.

The school also ran in, and twice won, the contest of 'the tidiest school of the Northern Territory' and also competed for the national title.

After primary education, the students have to leave Areyonga and board at the Lutheran Yirrara College in Alice Springs (under Lutheran control since 1993) or Kormilda College in Darwin. Both are residential colleges for Aboriginal students of the Territory. Their main goals are 'to provide experiences that enable students to cope with the western environment and to develop skills necessary for modernisation without devaluing their pride in their ethnic heritage and losing those values and skills which lie at the core of Aboriginal identity' (Sommerlad 1976:9). Despite cross-cultural education provided by the colleges, the students often get homesick and come back to their family and friends in their community of origin. Aware of that situation, the Areyonga school set up a secondary education class. Based on the material sent by the Northern Territory Secondary Correspondence School (NTSCS) in Darwin, and helped by a tutor, the teenagers can further their education without having to leave the community. The NTSCS installed some computers in 1995 and started regular electronic classroom sessions; that is, sessions where the student in Areyonga communicates 'live' with a teacher in Darwin through computer and telephone.

1.1.7 *Bilingual education*

As the Areyonga school is operating on a bilingual program, it might be appropriate to summarise what bilingual education is in Australia. The idea of bilingual education for Aboriginal people was approved on 9 March 1973, when the Australian government launched 'a campaign to have Aboriginal children living in distinctive Aboriginal communities given their primary education in Aboriginal languages' (Prime Minister G. Whitlam's declaration, reported in *Handbook for Aboriginal bilingual education in the Northern Territory*: 2).

This government initiative made bilingual education in Australia[7] official.

The Australian bilingual program follows the definition first formulated in the USA:

> Bilingual Education is the use of the 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 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 the legitimate pride in both cultures. (Bilingual Education Act (Title VIIESEA) 1967)

This definition remains the starting point of bilingual education,[8] and has been summarised as 'an academic program in which the two languages in both the oral and written forms are used as mediums of instruction where appropriate' (*Handbook for Aboriginal education in the Northern Territory 1985*).

There are four major official models of language use relevant to Aboriginal schools:

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7   Several attempts were recorded way back in 1838. Two years after the settlement of Adelaide, the Lutheran missionaries Teichelmann and Schuermann began teaching the Aboriginal children in Kaurna, their own. This example was followed by others but because of the lack of money and support (Governor Grey insisted on teaching Aboriginal children in English) were short-lived.

8   For a critique of the Title VII programs see Fishman (1985:51–52).

- **model 1.** Foundation in Vernacular Literacy (often called Maintenance model). The early schooling, oracy and literacy, is done in the local vernacular, bridging to English in Year 4 where 80% of the teaching is in English. This is the model followed at Areyonga school.

- **model 2.** Oral Vernacular. Classroom instruction is given in the vernacular, but literacy is only taught in English.

- **model 3.** Parallel Literacy. English and Aboriginal language are used both in oracy and literacy from the beginning of preschool. This model was attempted at the Alice Springs Yipirinya school in order to have the entire curriculum taught equally in each language.

- **model 4.** All English.

The Revised Aims of the Bilingual Education in the Northern Territory were published in 1983 in the previously mentioned *Handbook for Aboriginal bilingual education in the Northern Territory*. They can be summarised as follows:[9]

-   to develop competency in both English and the Aboriginal language, in reading and writing.
-   to develop a positive attitude toward Aboriginal language and other aspects of traditional Aboriginal knowledge.
-   to develop a positive attitude toward English and eventually develop oral skills in English by Year 5 when English becomes the major language of instruction.
-   to develop communication between the school and the community (to help improve the parents' attitude towards Education and school attendance).
-   to develop a better understanding of both cultures.

The bilingual education program is costly, especially if one considers the small number of speakers of some Aboriginal languages and the enormous logistic difficulties of obtaining trained staff (both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal) and good literature in the vernacular (Bavin 1989:268; Gale 1990:67, 1997:115). Also, the choice of one language for the school when a community has more than one vernacular can cause emotional and political problems. As Gale (1990:67) remarks 'bilingual education is not easy to implement'.

The bilingual education program is now used in approximately 35 schools all over Australia, of which 21 are located in the Northern Territory. The most impressive result is the Aboriginalisation of schools where Aboriginal people are educated through RATE at Batchelor College, and then become teachers in their own community, teaching both their language and English. This involvement from Aborigines augurs well for the maintenance of vernacular education and with it the Aboriginal culture. Bilingual education is also a way of trying to reduce the educational gap between Europeans and Aborigines, looking at 'bilingual education as a means of equal opportunity for ethnic minorities' (Gale 1990:42).

The bilingual education program has received the full support of the community in Areyonga. In an article about Both Ways Education, Carolyn Windy[10] wrote that even though teaching both ways is wanting to teach 'everything at once', it is the only way.

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9   The aims refer to the first three models of bilingual education.

10 Carolyn Windy is a RATE student and the literacy worker at the Areyonga school. She was extremely knowledgeable about the language and a very valuable source of information during my stay.

> I think the positive thing about Both Ways Education is that it helps children to develop
> their understanding of both worlds, Aboriginal and Western culture. (Carolyn Windy,
> *Tjakulpa Mulapa*, October 1996)

She also acknowledges the role of the school and the community in teaching traditional ways:

> To achieve Both Ways Education schools need strong support from elders and parents.
> If we don't have community people being involved in the school we won't share our
> knowledge to the young ones and that means our culture will slowly fade away. Some
> family groups are not teaching their children culture at home and therefore it is
> important that the school takes on this role. I believe Both Ways Education makes
> certain that Aboriginal language and culture are maintained for the future. (Carolyn
> Windy, *Tjakulpa Mulapa*, October 1996)

1.1.8 Way of life

The people of Areyonga live in thirty conventional three-bedroom houses. All households own a television and some of them also own a video machine. Two households have a private telephone. There are also two public telephone boxes used for private communication. The recreational facilities include a football oval, a basketball court, a playground, a concert hall and two waterholes. The basketball court is a strategic meeting point for teenagers where they hang around at night, especially in summer. It was also a difficult place to approach, a very private den, where data recording was nearly impossible.

The people of Areyonga are skilful artists. Their artefacts and canvas dot-paintings are on display at the community council shop. Silk painting is regularly housed in the women's centre where workshops are held annually. Most of the silk is sold at the community shop, but there have been successful displays of the women's work in Alice Springs.

Areyonga also has a couple of music bands. One of them, Areyonga Desert Tigers, has released several commercial cassettes, edited through CAAMA production. Concerts of local bands are held regularly at the community hall.

With the establishment of a well-supplied shop, traditional food gathering has been relegated to second place. People are keen to go for 'bush tucker' or hunting, but their collecting no longer provides the base for their subsistence. 'Bush tuckering' is time-consuming and the need for a car makes it even more difficult. Nowadays, people's diet consists of a mixture of healthy (flour, fruits and vegetables) and junk food (chips, pies, soft-drinks and lollies).

1.1.9 Teenage life

In the past, teenagers were taught Aboriginal ways by the old people. In an article about the importance of learning 'both ways', Carolyn Windy explains the reason for the weakening of this link in Areyonga.

> Dancing was the main traditional activity taught by the old people. During that time
> the children went on a cultural trip to Ernabella, Ayers Rock and Docker River to
> participate in *Inma*. The reason was to show the other communities that the old people
> of Areyonga [were] teaching *Inma*, the traditional dance. When the old people moved
> out of Areyonga to live at Mutitjulu (Ayers Rock) and Docker River, the community
> became small, not many old people, and some of them had passed away. That's why
> some of the people living in Areyonga can't teach the young ones to dance. But some
> people are still strong about teaching the children about traditional stories and bush
> foods. (Carolyn Windy *Tjakulpa Mulapa,* October 1996)

The camp fire has been replaced by electricity, *Tjukurpa* by television. As Judy Brumby wrote:

> When Aboriginal people were living together, at night they always have corroboree. Old people tell Dreamtime stories to young children. Stories were told to them to warn them of danger, to keep them out of trouble. Some stories were told about their country and their totem.
>
> Nowadays these things are not happening. People don't get together for corroboree but they still have ceremonies. Children don't sit around the campfire and hear the Dreamtime stories but they know some places have Dreamtime stories because they visit their friends and families at Mutitjulu, they see the Rock and ask the old people what the crack, caves and rocks around Uluru means. The children know that the stories around the Rock is for all the Aboriginal people. (Judy Brumby *Tjakulpa Mulapa*, October 1996)

Stories are still told around the campfire in Areyonga, but they are more and more a sporadic event. Similarly, Lee (1987:90) writing about the Tiwi of Melville Island, states: 'people spend their evenings around the television rather than around the camp fire telling stories'. During data collection, teenagers were sometimes asked to tell Pitjantjatjara stories and often answered they did not know any. The collection of stories gathered testifies to the western influence on traditional tales (see Appendix 1).

Nowadays, television and video watching constitute a major activity of the teenagers of Areyonga. *Melrose Place, Beverley Hills 90210, Lois and Clark: the new adventures of Superman* and *Home and Away* are among the most popular shows. The influence of these shows is great. When asked to write about their life in Areyonga, the teenagers told a story where they paired up with the heroes of *Melrose Place* to go swimming or 'bush tucker' gathering.

It seems impossible to try to quantify western influences on teenage speech and on the Pitjantjatjara society. Television viewing can be considered as a source of exposure to the English language that can be beneficial to the teenagers. However teenagers in Areyonga, as in western societies, favour action movies, with coarse language and violent depiction of the European world. This influence can be noted in the playground where swear words are usually borrowed from English. Action movie stars Arnold Schwarzenegger and Jean-Claude Van Damme and NBA basketball players are amongst the most popular people with teenage boys and girls. Teenage girls write their names on the actor they like when they see his picture in a magazine. They will put the name of a girl they do not like on the picture of an actor that they find laughable or repulsive.

In short, there is a very noticeable western influence on the speech and the way of life of Areyonga teenagers. Even so it does not seem to be as disastrous as that described by Kirton (1988) in relation to the Yanyuwa language at Borroloola, where she says that media pressure is one of the reasons for the death of the Aboriginal language. Reporting the work of the anthropologist Wayne Dye (on Asian, American and African minority groups), she writes:

> around the world, the advent of television and video has accelerated the process of language loss among the smaller minority groups. Through these media the national languages have gained in status and the indigenous languages have consequently suffered. Borroloola and several other Australian centres are providing evidence of this phenomenon in this country. Yanyuwa is a victim. (Kirton 1988:14)

Sport takes also a great part in teenage life. Australian Rules football is the community sport followed by all. Areyonga's team, 'The Tigers', wears the yellow and black colour of their professional counterparts in the AFL competition, the 'Richmond Tigers'. All the men, young and not so young, are avid players. Every year they take part in the competition that sees all the communities around Alice Springs playing. In 1995, Areyonga got to the final but lost in a very tight contest. It appeared that there was no-one left at Areyonga the day the final was played in Alice Springs. 'The Tigers' had all their supporters on the sideline and it was a very hot and memorable afternoon for everyone.

Sports carnivals and school carnivals are always well attended. The women have very strong A grade and B grade baseball teams. Basketball and volleyball are also played by both men and women. A cupboard full of trophies at the council office, and another at the school, are proof of the sporting prowess and dedication of the people of Areyonga.

The basketball court is the meeting point of all teenagers, especially at night, where they play basketball and *piṯingka* (a game that consists of throwing coins into a hole in the ground). As previously mentioned, it is a very private place and most teenagers resent any intrusion from strangers, probably because, according to the younger children, it is the 'make out' place. In summer, the party would never break up before the early hours of the morning. In summer also, swimming at the two waterholes is a very popular activity and is a mixed activity.

A 'nightclub', a 'disco' has been established in the community hall. The teenagers go there to dance and listen to music on the weekend. This is also where bands coming from outside the community perform on a regular basis. Each concert is well attended and allows the teenagers to dance and enjoy themselves. The Areyonga Desert Tigers perform only sporadically and despite their influence on the teenagers who love listening to them, few try to emulate them. Choir (a women's activity) and bands (a men's activity) are only a rare eventuality for them.

Despite the weakening of some traditions, Pitjantjatjara teenage girls are still showing great interest in Aboriginal ways. In their conversations, they prefer Pitjantjatjara to English. They are keen painters and very skilful artists, though dot painting seems to be an activity of only a few older women. During bush trips, I was able to observe their skills and knowledge of the bush. They knew the names of most of the plants around us and were astute in digging for *tjaḻa* (honey-ants), and in following the tracks of *tinka* (sand goanna). In contrast to many communities which are ravaged by petrol sniffing and other substance abuses, at the time of the study such problems were practically unknown in Areyonga.

1.1.10 *Teenagers and language use*

As infants, Areyonga children are raised in households where Pitjantjatjara is usually the only language spoken. Though some children may encounter other Aboriginal languages, their socialisation within the community remains in Pitjantjatjara. Before beginning school (at 5–6 years old), most of them would have attained a fair command of Pitjantjatjara (stage IV in Crystal 1976; see also Piaget 1959; Brown 1973). They would be able to produce sentences of four or more elements and make themselves understood. At that time, they are monolingual or at most have a partial receptive (Lyon 1996:48) knowledge of English through the radio or television which plays in every Areyonga household. At the age of five or six, they start school at the government school. The early schooling, oral and literacy, is done in the local vernacular, Pitjantjatjara, and English is introduced gradually, reaching

80% of the teaching by Year 4 (see earlier in this chapter). Therefore, English is learnt sequentially (in opposition to simultaneously; see Lyon 1996). Should these children be considered bilingual? The literature disagrees on that point. It is usually said that a child has acquired language bilingually if the infant is using a second language by the age of three (McLaughlin 1978). This is hardly the case in Areyonga, where English is mastered later and is restricted to European settings. To avoid a lengthy debate on the most appropriate terminology to use in the area between language acquisition and young second-language learners, the more general term 'childhood bilingualism' suggested by Lyon (1996:48) was used because it usually covers sequential and simultaneous learning of a second language.

By the time they reach Year 7, Areyonga teenagers are expected to have good speaking and writing knowledge of English. At that time they also enter what is known in western societies as the teenage years. Until then, the teenagers have been taught in a co-educational government school. However, Pitjantjatjara cultural tradition imposes the segregation of girls and boys at adolescence. With this segregation comes a difference in education and knowledge.

> The Pitjantjatjara approach to education, with its particular teaching/learning styles, implicit world view and powerful socialisation effects, is integral to the culture. Gender and age are critical; males and females become *ninti* (knowledgeable) in different areas and only the older peoples can acquire the highest forms of knowledge. Sacred knowledge is learned, not from anyone who has it but from the person who has custody of it and stands in the correct relationship with the person who receives it. (Folds 1987:20)

This segregation may result in some speech differences. Variations between female and male speech (Pauwels 1991; Milroy 1987; Thorne, Kramarae & Henley 1983) have been documented in various languages (including Aboriginal languages; see Dixon 1980; Kirton 1988; Bradley 1988). As the description in this work is based mainly on the speech of teenage girls, one could wonder if it is applicable to all teenagers in Areyonga. In this study it is assumed that it is. Many researchers have shown that in a community like Areyonga with a small group of adolescents the language development of each teenager would be similar, and language growth gradual (Karmiloff-Smith 1979; Perera 1984; Scott 1988). Teenage speech has been referred to in this work as **Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara.** However, it is well-known that 'in many societies women use speech variants closer to the standard and spearhead changes in the direction of a supra-dialectal norm' (Durand 1993:268; see also Romaine 1984:112–113; Lyon 1996).

1.2 Language situation in Areyonga

1.2.1 Language contact in Australia

Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara is in constant contact with Australian English. For this reason, before going into detail about the specific case of the Areyonga community, broader considerations need to be assessed. Language-contact phenomena such as acculturation, creolisation, and language shift, decay or loss, are intrinsically linked to the kind of contact occurring between two or more languages within the speech community. This is especially true in Australia, where contact did not occur in the same way everywhere. Broome wrote that:

there were approximately 300,000 Aborigines living in 1788 when the Europeans
arrived, divided into over 500 tribes, each with their own distinct territory, history,
dialect and culture. Thus there were over 500 variations on the single Aboriginal theme.
(Broome 1982:11)

It is also estimated that there were about 200 distinct Aboriginal languages in Australia
before the European invasion (Dixon 1980; Blake 1987). That estimate varies according to
the scholar. Walsh writes that:

it is thought that around 250 distinct languages were spoken at first (significant)
European contact in the late eighteenth century. Most of these languages would have
had several dialects, so that the total number of named varieties would have run to many
hundreds. (Walsh 1993:1)

Nowadays, the number has considerably narrowed to a point where 'today half of these
are extinct and only a few score of the remainder have enough speakers to survive for more
than another generation' (Blake 1987:1). An alarming report on Aboriginal language and
culture assesses the rapid death of most Aboriginal languages.

Of the surviving languages, only 20 of these (eight per cent of the original 250) are in a
relatively healthy state; in other words are being actively transmitted to and used by
children. The other 70 surviving languages face severe threat of extinction. The vital
language transmission link from generation to generation has been broken or severely
disrupted and these languages are no longer being transmitted to or actively spoken by
children. (Schmidt 1990:1)

The disappearance of so many Aboriginal cultures and languages is blamed on the
constant contact with Europeans that was often accompanied by violence. In addition, the
introduction of diseases such as smallpox led to the inevitable eradication of tribal groups,
exemplified by the disappearance of full-blood Aborigines in Tasmania, and ultimately of
their language (Crowley 1993:51). Contact in the Northern Territory took a slightly different
path. In contrast to the fairly small and easily accessible island of Tasmania, the Northern
Territory is vast, arid and inhospitable. As a result, the country stayed fairly isolated from
the main European centres.

Anangu, unlike other Aboriginal groups in the south of the state, have never had their
law broken or swept away by forces of rapid and unchecked urban, pastoral or mining
development, mainly because of the limited commercial potential of the region ...
Anangu were the only human presence on most of the land and, even today, make up
most of the population. (Toyne & Vachon 1984:21)

There had been previous contact between Aboriginal people from the northern part of
Australia and other civilisations. At the turn of the seventeenth century, Macassan
fishermen and traders from Sulawesi established seasonal camps in Arnhem Land (Walsh
1993:6; Broome 1982:11). Many loan words in the Arnhem Land languages testify to this
early contact (Walker & Zorc 1981; Evans 1992). Later, but still prior to British
colonisation, navigators from Portugal, Spain and Holland anchored and fraternised with
some of the tribes of the 'Top End' of the Northern Territory.

These earlier encounters with the outside world were usually brief and transient. The
British incursion into Aboriginal soil diverged from the previous instances because Australia
was to become a new possession of the empire. Settlements were first established around the
Darwin area, but soon spread inland. In 1871, the gold rush around Pine Creek brought
miners, largely Chinese, who founded a precarious community around Alice Springs. By
1872 it had become a permanent settlement with the installation of the overland telegraph

line. In 1877 the first mission of the Territory, the Hermannsburg-Lutheran church mission, was founded. Pastoral occupation became one of the prominent activities of the Territory.

> By 1911, when the Commonwealth Government assumed the administration of the Territory, the estimated population was 1418 Europeans, 1331 Chinese, 281 Japanese and others, 280 so-called 'half-caste' Aboriginals, and 22000 Aboriginals. (Broome 1982:10)

Contact with the European population did not always go peacefully. Outbursts of violence between pastoralists, miners and the Aborigines were numerous. The extensive use of the land for pastoral purposes destroyed natural resources necessary to the Aboriginal way of life, forcing Aborigines to leave their tribal ground. Despite some attempts at resistance, Aboriginal people soon realised they had little chance of successful retaliation. Weakened by a high mortality rate, entire tribes soon gathered at missions such as Hermannsburg, at cattle stations or, in the 1940s, at ration depots such as Areyonga. The removal of 'half-caste' children from their parents also contributed to the disintegration of the familial cell and, as a result, the disintegration of the language.

In 1972, the self-determination law under the Whitlam government gave land rights to Aboriginal communities. Bilingual education was widely introduced into community schools, aiming to give Aboriginal people the possibility of educating their children in both English and their tribal language. It was believed to be the best way to let the Aboriginal people take charge of their own future and to preserve their language and culture. Despite being under threat in 1996, the bilingual education program is still the medium of education in Areyonga, and of most communities in the Northern Territory.

1.2.2 *Pitjantjatjara and English usages*

Aboriginal languages other than Pitjantjatjara in the community will be discussed later. This section focuses on the interaction between the two main languages of the Areyonga community: Pitjantjatjara and English.

Two varieties of English[11] can be distinguished:

(a) standard Australian English (SAE) spoken by the European staff at the school, the council, the shop, the clinic and sometimes at the church when the European pastor officiates,

(b) a non-standard Australian English (NSAE) spoken by most of the Aborigines but with a level of proficiency varying greatly according to the individual. This could possibly be viewed as a variety of Aboriginal English.

Two varieties of Pitjantjatjara can be distinguished:

(a) elders' Pitjantjatjara or traditional Pitjantjatjara: this has few English borrowings, and these are fully integrated into the phonological, morphological and syntactic system. The language has been well described by Goddard (1985), Eckert and Hudson (1988) and Bowe (1990). Some neighbouring dialects have also been investigated, such as Ngaanyatjarra (Glass & Hackett 1970) or Pintupi/Luritja (Hansen & Hansen 1978).

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[11] For the sake of convenience, Australian English is referred to as English.

(b) Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara: compared with traditional Pitjantjatjara it shows: (i) some morphological and syntactic simplifications, (ii) greater variation in verb-class assignment, (iii) some grammatical innovations, (iv) a large number of new English borrowings, most of which are not fully integrated into the phonological Pitjantjatjara system. All these features will be described in detail in the body of the work.

Within the community, the areas of use of each language variety are strongly delimited. English (SAE and NSAE) is spoken within European institutions such as the school, the clinic, the council, the shop (and sometimes the church, as previously mentioned) by the European people. In the same settings, Pitjantjatjara people may choose to speak English (NSAE), especially when addressing European people, but in general they would prefer to converse in Pitjantjatjara amongst themselves. This situation can be easily observed in the classroom. During class, children and teenagers speak to each other in Pitjantjatjara, but English is used when addressing or responding to the teacher. An opportunity was provided to observe school and council meetings. All these meetings were supervised by European people who guided the participants through the busy agenda. Each topic on the agenda was thoroughly discussed in English by the European staff in front of the assembly. Inevitably, the discussion would follow the same linguistic pattern. First, the topic was announced in English. A discussion among the Aboriginal people would then start in English. At the same time, some conversational groups would form among the people of the assembly but their discussion would be in Pitjantjatjara. Soon, the whole assembly would shift to Pitjantjatjara, a far more suitable language of discussion for most of the Aboriginal people, ensuring that everyone would have the opportunity to express their opinion. Finally, when a consensus would be reached, the chair of the council would turn to the European people and announce, in English, the decision reached by the assembly.

Contrary to reports of language changes taking place in other Aboriginal communities (Schmidt 1985), there is no evidence that the teenagers use a more traditional type of speech when talking to older people. It seems that Traditional Pitjantjatjara is used in any setting by elder Pitjantjatjara people to talk to any Pitjantjatjara person, younger or older,[12] and that Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara is used in any setting by Pitjantjatjara teenagers to talk to any Pitjantjatjara person, younger or older. The 'short-way language' (described in Chapter 8) is spoken only by teenagers for purposes of secrecy, usually to talk about their boyfriends.

It is obvious from the above description that Areyonga is not a diglossic community. The term 'diglossia', first proposed by Ferguson (1959/1972) refers to a single speech community 'where two varieties of a language exist side by side throughout the community with each having a definite role to play' (1959/1972:232). It is undeniable that the Pitjantjatjara spoken by the teenagers is different from the one spoken by older people — as shown in this work. It was not possible to investigate systematically to what extent teenagers adapt their Pitjantjatjara speech when speaking to older Pitjantjatjara people. However, this form of accommodation to one's addressee is no evidence for the existence of Low and High varieties of Pitjantjatjara, used according to the situation. What exists in Areyonga are two varieties of Pitjantjatjara, i.e. Traditional Pitjantjatjara and Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, on the one hand, and two varieties of English, i.e. SAE and NSAE, on the other.

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[12]   There is some evidence that people young and old adapt their language when speaking to very young children or babies. It was difficult to observe this language, except for a few words noted in conversation. In an effort to find out more about this language some people were consulted and in conclusion it is believed that Pitjantjatjara 'baby talk' is not as developed as Warlpiri 'baby talk' for example (see Chapter 8) and essentially consists of an adapted lexis.

Aboriginal people use English (i.e. NSAE) to speak to European people, except if a European person has some knowledge of Pitjantjatjara. It is also mainly heard in European related institutions such as the store, the council and the school. But here too, language choice seems to be linked to the interlocutor more than to the institution itself. Areyonga is not a diglossic community, there is no real sign of language shift and use of English remains fairly limited.

1.2.3 *The other languages of Areyonga*

Other tribes and language groups are represented in small numbers in Areyonga. One family is Luritja and one person is Ngaanyatjarra, both of these dialects being close to Pitjantjatjara, and a few Aranda and Warlpiri have joined the community through marriage.

The following graph shows language distribution in Areyonga where 28 households in Areyonga were studied. The columns represent the language spoken by the immediate family, i.e. father(s) and mother(s) (for a detailed description of the Pitjantjatjara kinship see Chapter 7), in each household. Not surprisingly, the leftmost column shows that Pitjantjatjara is spoken by all the members of the 28 households. The other columns illustrate languages other than Pitjantjatjara, if this language is spoken by at least one member of the immediate family. In the case of the Warlpiri language, out of the 28 households, 11 had a direct family member living with them who was a native speaker of the language (usually a male person). Four were of Arandic origin and spoke Aranda as the first tongue. Other languages include Luritja and Ngaanyatjarra, two related dialects of Pitjantjatjara. Finally, only one household had a member with English as the first language.

GRAPH 1.2: Languages of Areyonga
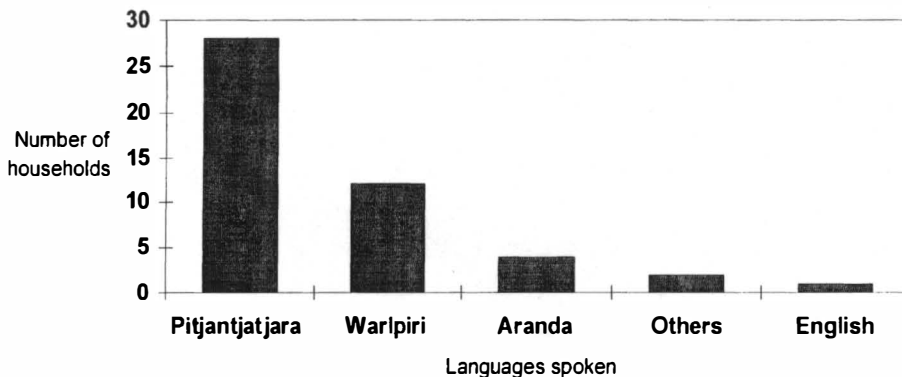
All mothers in the community are native speakers of Pitjantjatjara or a dialect close to Pitjantjatjara. Only one mother spoke a completely different language (i.e. Warlpiri). Most of the Warlpiri speakers belong to one of two distinct families. One Aboriginal man was a native speaker of English, brought up in Western Australia. His wife is Pitjantjatjara, and he was then learning Pitjantjatjara. The tradition that sees a wife living in the territory of her husband has been overlooked in these cases (Broome 1982:19).

All the Aranda speakers come from Hermannsburg. Despite the small number of Aranda speakers within the community, most people over 30 years of age understand Aranda, essentially because it was — and still is — the language used by the Church minister on the Sunday service. As mentioned earlier, historically the Pitjantjatjara people stayed in Hermannsburg before settling in Areyonga.

1.2.4 Competence in other Aboriginal languages

Four different Aboriginal languages other than Pitjantjatjara are found in Areyonga — Luritja, Ngaanyatjarra, Aranda, and Warlpiri. Determining the competence of the teenagers in these languages where applicable was difficult as it was necessary to rely exclusively on the opinion of the teenagers' parents. As a result, it is impossible to be definitive about the influence these languages have on the teenagers' Pitjantjatjara, but from observations, it is believed that the influence is minimal.

1.2.5 Competence in other Western Desert dialects

The term 'Western Desert' is a linguistic term used to describe both a multidialect language and the linguistic family to which this language belongs. Western Desert dialects are spoken by about 8000 people all around the Northern Territory, South Australia and Western Australia, covering about a fifth of the continent. There are about 20 varieties which include Pintupi, Luritja, Pitjantjatjara, Yankunytjatjara, Kukatja, Manjiljarra, Martu Wangka and Ngaanyatjarra (SSABSA 1996). Two of these dialects are found in Areyonga: Ngaanyatjarra and Luritja.

Ngaanyatjarra is spoken by, amongst others, the people of Warburton in Western Australia (Glass & Hackett 1970). As stated above, it is a dialect close to Pitjantjatjara, that shows, however, significant grammatical differences, especially in verbal system.

Luritja people are from the region west of the Palmer River and north to around Mount Liebig, located in the communities from Haasts Bluff and Papunya. Luritja too is linguistically close to Pitjantjatjara — so close that the Luritja speakers of the Areyonga community have difficulty in explaining what the differences are exactly between Pitjantjatjara and Luritja.

> 'I don't know. (pause) maybe some words.' (A., mother of K)

> 'Some words, like I don't say like ... I don't remember now.' (D.)

Hansen and Hansen (1978:18) also reported similar difficulties in demarcating the exact distinctions between Western Desert languages. They wrote that often 'the only difference recognised by the Aboriginal speaker is a difference of synonyms'. However, it was not the only variation Aboriginal people seem to perceive. During a trip to Darwin for the secondary correspondence residence school, Areyonga's mob met up with a group of Luritja teenage girls. As their chaperone was being questioned about the difference between Pitjantjatjara and Luritja language, she answered:

> 'some words and I speak slowly, not like these Pitjantjatjara people. They speak
> too quickly, not like us' (Papunya young woman)

Hansen and Hansen (1978:23) described the extensive influence of Pitjantjatjara on Luritja, where Pitjantjatjara free pronouns and vocabulary items have been recorded. This

illustrates the close links between the two dialects, which confuses the issue of which dialect is influenced by which and how. One channel of mutual influence results from the fact that when a person dies in a community, any words or names that sound like the name of the deceased person become taboo. In Pitjantjatjara, Luritja and Ngaanyatjarra, the substitute words *kumaṉa* and *kumaṉu* are used to replace names and other nouns respectively (these are the forms found in teenage speech; older speakers use *kunmaṉara* and *kunmaṉu*). But it may also happen that taboo words are swapped for their synonyms from another dialect (SSABSA 1996:71). This could explain the appearance of Luritja or Ngaanyatjarra words in the Areyonga community's lexicon. Indeed, the influence of Luritja or Ngaanyatjarra has been noted only in the lexicon.

1.2.6 *Competence in Western Aranda*

Western Aranda is a Pama-Nyungan language spoken by the people of the MacDonnell Ranges. A neighbour of Warlpiri (to the north-west), and to Pitjantjatjara and Luritja (to the south-west), the Aranda language has been widely described by researchers such as Strehlow (1965), who based most of his work at Hermannsburg.

Most Areyonga people over 30 years of age are said to speak or understand some Aranda. Here again, it was necessary to rely on what people said. Some Aranda mothers were asked if they were talking to their children in Aranda and they responded positively. All the teenagers who were involved in the study said that they could understand the language and speak it 'a little'. At least two girls would stay regularly in Hermannsburg with some family members, and they affirmed that they would be spoken to in Aranda during these times.

1.2.7 *Competence in Warlpiri*

The most important Aboriginal language represented in Areyonga (after Pitjantjatjara) is Warlpiri. This is due mainly to intermarriage. In all cases, in a family the father is a Warlpiri speaker and the mother is a Pitjantjatjara speaker. Warlpiri is a Desert region language, located north-west of Alice Springs. It is a neighbour of Luritja and Pintupi, amongst others. The drought of the 1940s forced Warlpiri people from the Mount Doreen area to settle in Haasts Bluff or in Tennant Creek and 'by 1955, two-thirds of the Warlpiri were living on the Yuendumu and Warrabri settlements' (Horton, ed. 1994:1155). The Warlpiri families living in Areyonga are originally from Yuendumu where they travel at least twice a year. The Yuendumu Sports Carnival is an ever-popular annual event and is attended by many, Warlpiri and non-Warlpiri alike.

In families where one member is a Warlpiri speaker, the home language is Pitjantjatjara, mainly because the competence of the other members of the family in Warlpiri is not good enough to sustain a conversation.

'I can understand when they — Warlpiri speakers — talk, but I can't speak it.' (Mother of D.)

'Me, wiya, wiya, I don't speak it.' (Mother of S.)

'I speak English to them (i.e. Warlpiri people) because I don't understand (Warlpiri).' (M., mother of V.)

Despite the fact that the mother does not speak the language, the teenagers have been in contact with it at some stage: through their father, his family, and during their stays in a Warlpiri community (principally Yuendumu). Their speaking abilities vary but they do understand the language and they can speak it to some extent if they have to. When their parents were consulted, they responded with:

'Yes, she speaks it, she can talk. Not like me.' (Mother of S.)

'They speak it with my husband, with their grand-mother too.' (Mother of V. and Va.)

When the father, a native speaker of Warlpiri, was asked about their children's abilities in the Warlpiri language, the answer was always: 'She can speak'. However, it was not possible to learn from them whether their knowledge of the language was poor, good, or excellent. They could understand and speak it 'if they have to'. Asking the students about the same topics, there was the same range of answers.

'I speak half way.' (V.)

'I can speak.' (D.)

'I speak it with my grandmother.' (S.)

1.2.8 People's attitude towards their own language

Only a complete and detailed sociolinguistic survey would allow comments to be made about the Areyonga people's attitudes towards their language. As there were neither the resources nor the time to do so, the information in this short section relies on a few observations and on what people related to me.

From a language point of view, the high level of involvement in the bilingual program is indicative of their concern for, and knowledge of, the importance of the Pitjantjatjara language. The high enrolment in the RATE Batchelor College course is also a sign of the interest from the population in having their children educated in their first language and by their own people. Community support for the bilingual program is apparent in the following conversation with one woman:

'It is very important for her children to learn both ways. Bilingual education is important. In South Australia bilingual education *wiya*. I don't know why ... because the children, they have to learn both ways.' (C., 30 years old)

People also make a real effort to reintegrate traditions, and to teach dancing to the children as part of the curriculum, which is also an indicator of the positive attitude of the people towards their language.

Then it's better for children to learn traditional way in school and to learn how to read and write in their own language to keep respect for their own culture. (Carolyn Windy, *Tjakulpa Mulapa*, October 1996)

When writing stories at the school, the teenagers would often use Pitjantjatjara instead of English. When asked why, one answered: 'I prefer Pitjantjatjara'. Indeed, Pitjantjatjara is always the language used by teenagers amongst themselves. 'Areyonga people are proud of their language', one woman said. They also know what is at stake in losing their culture and language — losing their identity. As Judy Brumby wrote:

Thinking about a sponge is a way of understanding the process of change and the effects of change. In the past the sponge was filled with knowledge and culture. The arrival of the invaders began to squeeze out the knowledge and culture until it was thin and dry like a wafer. People looked back and realize that something was missing in their lives but deep inside, the feeling was there, in the heart and mind, it was sort of telling them who they were, where they belong and how to get back. (Judy Brumby, *Tjakulpa Mulapa,* October 1996)

1.3 Methodology

1.3.1 Preliminary trip (June 1994)

I arrived in the Northern Territory for a preliminary trip in June 1994, seeking a Pitjantjatjara community in which to do my fieldwork. During the initial inquiries, the name Areyonga came up and it was soon evident that this community would be ideal. Areyonga is a Pitjantjatjara-speaking community, relatively easy to access, but fairly insulated from external linguistic and cultural influences.

I decided to investigate the possibility of undertaking fieldwork in this community and after the necessary procedures to allow a stay on Aboriginal-owned land were completed, the community was approached. The result was very fruitful, far beyond expectations. The project received the full support of the community council and the school. The Anangu people seemed interested in the project and were very cooperative. They were keen to show me places around their community and to teach some basic vocabulary. Their welcoming was a good omen for the success of the study. After I met some of the teenage girls and most of the children at the school, who were very open and friendly, it was evident to me that Areyonga was the ideal community for the project. After leaving Areyonga, I returned to Armidale for preliminary reading and preparation.

1.3.2 Field trip (September–December 1994)

In September 1994, I headed west with a backpack of belongings, a bag full of blank tapes, a tape-recorder and some notebooks. Regrettably the field study suffered some delay due to unrealistic expectations. In my inexperience, I had overlooked the first essential period of any research within a community: the settling-in period. It took time to settle and the small size of Areyonga did not shorten the waiting. The Anangu people proved to be extremely shy. I also had to fight my own shyness and impatience. Fortunately, after one month most of the women involved with the school or the RATE course became known and greeted me in Pitjantjatjara. I would wander around the community so the Anangu people would notice my presence, waving at them with a '*Wai, palya*' ('How are you?'). I made friends with many of the children who would come to my place to listen to music, read magazines (*Who Magazine* being, beyond a doubt, the most popular), play, or check the contents of my refrigerator. I would encourage them to speak Pitjantjatjara to me, even if this request seemed very strange to them at first. The fact that a whitefella would insist on speaking Pitjantjatjara should not have surprised them as other Europeans had lived in Areyonga and learnt the language. (Neil Bell, a former member of the Northern Territory Parliament, lived for several years in Areyonga and is a fluent Pitjantjatjara speaker. The teacher-linguists also spoke Pitjantjatjara). I believe my efforts and obstinacy in wanting to

speak Pitjantjatjara appeared laughable as my first attempts were terrible and certainly incomprehensible. However, all the children, teenagers or adults of the community were very supportive, even if some of my utterances made them laugh or puzzled them. I was aware that my French accent may have caused some comprehension problems. I have never been able to establish clearly if the teenagers noticed a difference in my speech compared to other Europeans.

After two weeks in the community, I took part in an intensive language course at the Institute for Aboriginal Development in Alice Springs. I then returned to the community and started to listen to as many conversations as I could. I soon wanted to speak and use the vocabulary I was painfully trying to memorise. Pronunciation was my main worry and I would repeat the same words endlessly, corrected by one of the women who proved to be extremely patient. After about six weeks, people knew that I was there to stay, and they started talking to me. But many events upset my learning plans. For some weeks it seemed that the community was completely empty. People travelled *en masse* to take part in a Land Claim meeting at Tempe Downs, or to attend funerals in other communities. In November it rained so heavily that the only access road to the community was flooded. This flood provided great entertainment for the whole community and lasted for four days. The school sports carnival kept everyone busy for a week and soon it was so hot that people would entrench themselves inside their air-conditioned homes. It was then very difficult for me to have a fruitful conversation on a regular basis as I had hoped to do when I first arrived in Areyonga.

I realised that I would not be in an immersion-learning situation. I was in an Aboriginal community with people speaking their language among themselves but dialogue with European people would be in English (more accurately, Non-Standard Australian English). The only source of Pitjantjatjara knowledge was the Anangu themselves, but their extreme shyness made communication very difficult. At first, it was easier to practise speaking with the children, despite their impatience and their embarrassed laughter that greeted most of my early attempts.

After four months in Areyonga, with very little data, I left the community, hoping to escape the dreadfully hot Central Australian summer. After six weeks away from the community, I was ready to go back and start collecting data.

1.3.3 *The participant-observer*

The decision to go and live in the community of Areyonga was made for two reasons. Firstly, I wanted to learn Pitjantjatjara in a language-immersion situation where there would be contact with native speakers of the language and the language itself. Secondly, coming from Europe, I also wanted to experience the life of an Aboriginal community, located in a remote area, in the hope of gaining a better insight into a culture I did not know.

Living in the community was beneficial for the research as it was possible to take part in everyday life. I was able to become what Labov (1972a,b) refers to as a participant-observer, where the fieldworker is part of the setting s/he is studying and is then able 'by emphasising deeper studies of and social networks ... [to] gain the possibility of explaining linguistic behaviour' (Labov 1981:25).

The living-in situation also broadened the study into other fields of research. The first of these was anthropological linguistics, and more specifically the 'ethnography of communication' (Saville-Troike 1982), in which language is studied in conjunction with the

investigation of other types of cultural behaviour. The second was sociolinguistics, more specifically interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz 1982a, b), in which the linguistic identity of a social group, social attitudes to language, use of standard or non-standard forms, and language variation are studied in order to enlighten aspects of the relationship between language and society.

There are some disadvantages in this method. The 'participant-observer' studies a small group and, as Labov noted during the Philadelphia neighbourhood studies, 'however good the data there is no way in absence of a supplementary broader study of locating it in a wider sociolinguistic context' (Labov 1981; Milroy 1987:78). Milroy also pointed out that the method is 'extremely demanding in tact, energy, persistence, time and emotional involvement'. She also considered it 'somewhat wasteful' methodology, given that 'more hours of speech are usually recorded than can ultimately be analysed' (Milroy 1987:79).

Certainly, participant-observation is demanding. The first four months of the stay were spent on developing relationships with the people of the community. It was an emotional involvement especially when sitting with some people who, out of shyness, would not talk to me or not talk at all at first. Being prisoner of an ideal of high productivity, it was very difficult for me to cope with the apparent inertia and lack of results especially when some weeks showed no apparent achievements. However, the insight gained by living within the community was essential to understand the relationship between the language and its speakers. By observing the life of the community it was possible to know how to collect relevant data and which topics would bring forth interesting and pertinent discussions, using Labov's 'conversational networks' as a starting point (Labov 1981).

1.3.4 *The 'observer's paradox'*

By becoming involved in the community, the fieldworker would come across several problems associated with the participant observation method. The most important has been described by Labov as the observer's paradox (Labov 1972d). Labov advances the idea that efforts to observe the vernacular may be frustrated by the fact that direct observation may in itself change the use of the studied vernacular. That is, in the presence of the linguist, the speaker, conscious of being recorded, may tend to switch away from the vernacular.

It is evident that the presence of an observer changes not only the linguistic behaviour but also the non-linguistic behaviour of the person being recorded. This applies to a perfect stranger arriving in the community. It seems, however — and I experienced this myself — that after some time the person whose speech is studied becomes accustomed to the constant presence of the tape-recorder and as a result of this forgets about the machine. As is well known, to be efficient the participant observer must build trust and endeavour to ensure that the respondent is not constantly aware that s/he is in the presence of a researcher.

To get around the observer's paradox, some fieldworkers have chosen to use candid recording, where the language is recorded without the knowledge of the person being taped. Dixon (1983:80) said that he obtained considerable amounts of very interesting material through candid recording. However, I consider this an ethical issue and agree with Milroy (1987:88) that as the fieldworker records an event, he or she is also recording 'a permanent record of behaviour ... [and] the subject is entitled to be aware that such a permanent record is being made'.

In this study it was clear from the start that people knew that I was studying their language and that I would use a tape-recorder to do so. This never seemed to be a problem for anyone, and more often than not they were happy to collaborate by letting the tape-recorder be turned on during their conversations. Initially, I would walk everywhere with it and it was permanently on the classroom desk. However, because of the length of the study and my involvement in the life of the community, it became a problem knowing when to stop being a researcher and when to start being just the friend or the tutor. The result was having periods when the recorder or notebook were put away, to avoid the feeling around the community that every moment of their life was under scrutiny. It was very difficult, at these moments, to forget about the study. A number of times, especially when out gathering 'bush tucker', the urge arose to get the notebook out of the bag to write down some utterances, but I felt that it would be inappropriate. Although the need to be a researcher never stopped, I tried to be more discreet about my behaviour.

To avoid any rivalry and protect people's privacy, original names were replaced by fictitious ones and confidential data were excluded from this work. No reference to actual persons from Areyonga is intended or should be inferred.

1.3.5 *The study group*

I worked nearly exclusively with female informants and teenagers.[13] This choice was more or less imposed upon me by the cultural tradition in Aboriginal communities where one's role in the community is defined by one's sex. The secrecy surrounding men's business and the severe punishment encountered by any women who break the secret ceremony reinforces the division of the sexes. Similarly, women's business is followed only by *minyma* (mature women) and no man would think of trespassing the boundaries.

As stated in §1.1, some methodological considerations arise from the fact that my group consisted only of female teenagers (Pauwels 1991; Milroy 1987; Thorne, Kramarae & Henley 1983 for gender studies in general, and Dixon 1980, Kirton 1988, Bradley 1988 in Aboriginal languages). In an article on gender differences in the Yanyuwa language, Kirton (1988) states that 'it is not unusual to find certain differences in the use of any language by men and by women speakers. It is the nature and the extent of these differences which vary from language to language'.

It is then likely that the Pitjantjatjara of teenage girls in Areyonga varies from the Pitjantjatjara spoken by the teenage boys. To what extent this is so it is impossible to say, as very few contacts were made with teenage boys. However, it is most likely that such gender distinctions occur primarily after the boys' initiation. Not only does initiation redefine their social identities, but this is the time when they stop coming to the mixed school and therefore stop interacting with girls on a 'neutral' level.

The Areyonga population is predominantly young. Most of the older people have left the settlement to return to their community of origin. As a result, many traditional ways of living have not been transmitted fully to the following generation. However there is an undeniable striving to reintegrate traditions into the community and the teaching of the children. Consequently, there is a constant effort to educate the children in their first language. What then is the state of Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara? This book aims to answer this question.

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[13]   For the complete description of the study group, see Chapter 6.

2 *Phonology*

This chapter deals with the distinctive phonetic and phonological features observed in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara. Some of these changes are directly linked to English 'cross-linguistic influence' (see Chapter 4 for a discussion of this term), while others do not have any straightforward correlation with language contact. The chapter begins with an outline of Traditional Pitjantjatjara phonology, then details a number of elision phenomena which seem independent of language contact before turning to a detailed discussion of phonetic cross-linguistic influence in loan words in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara.

2.1 Phonology of Traditional Pitjantjatjara

2.1.1 *Consonant phonemes*

The Traditional Pitjantjatjara phoneme system has 17 consonants. Many features of Pitjantjatjara's phoneme inventory are typical of Australian languages generally, as described by Dixon (1980). Like most Australian languages, Pitjantjatjara lacks fricatives and has a nasal corresponding to each stop. It also does not make the distinction between voiced and voiceless stops. Orthography symbols are used in this section.

Table 2.1: Consonant phonemes of Traditional Pitjantjatjara; symbols given in practical orthography as in Goddard (1985)

	Non-Peripheral			Peripheral	
	apical		laminal	bilabial	dorsal
	alveolar	post-alveolar (retroflex)	(dental)		
stop	*t*	*t̠*	*tj*	*p*	*k*
nasal	*n*	*n̠*	*ny*	*m*	*ng*
lateral	*l*	*l̠*	*ly*		
tap	*r*				
glide		*r̠*	*y*	*w*	

As the table shows, Traditional Pitjantjatjara has five series of articulations. Following Goddard (1985), who appealed to both phonetic and phonotactic considerations, post-

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alveolar continuant $\underline{r}$ is included as a semivowel or glide. Dixon (1980:144) classified post-alveolar $\underline{r}$ as a rhotic, but he noted the phonetic similarity of articulation between retroflex $\underline{r}$ and glide in that 'with /$\underline{r}$/ the air flows continuously over the tongue producing a resonant sound, similar in phonetic type to the semivowels /w/ and /y/'. It will be demonstrated later that the retroflex $\underline{r}$ is undergoing the same change as the glides *y* and *w*, which further supports the classification.

2.1.2 *Vowel phonemes*

Traditional Pitjantjatjara has three contrastive vowels: *a*, *u*, *i*. Each of them can be either short or long, giving six vowel phonemes. Their realisation is wider than that in Indo-European languages. As Dixon remarks, 'with only three contrasting vowels [qualities], Australian languages can afford to allow each a wider range of phonetic realisation' (Dixon 1980:130).

Table 2.2: Vowels in Traditional Pitjantjatjara

	high front	low central	high back
short	*i*	*a*	*u*
long	*ii*	*aa*	*uu*

Long vowels are found only in the initial syllable of lexical roots (Goddard 1985:11), such as, *tjaa* 'mouth', *kaana* 'garden', *uuḻinanyi* 'tease', *uutju* 'horse', *tjiilpa* 'tap root', *miita-miita* 'husband, wife'.

2.2 Phonetic realisation of Traditional Pitjantjatjara phonemes

2.2.1 *Consonants*

Dixon (1980:135) notes that 'Australian languages normally make a clear distinction between 'tip' and 'blade' sounds', i.e. between apical and laminal obstruents and 'between 'alveolar' and 'dental' articulation'.

There are two series of apicals. With *t*, *n*, and *l* the tongue tip touches the forward part of the alveolar ridge. With $\underline{t}$, $\underline{n}$ and $\underline{l}$, the tongue tip is turned slightly back so that the region just beneath the tip touches the post-alveolar region. In this study the apico-postalveolar sounds will be referred to as retroflex.

The articulation of the Pitjantjatjara phonemes *tj*, *ly* and *ny* is lamino-dental with associated palatalisation. The IPA does not provide any dedicated symbols for sounds with this articulation. In this chapter, they are represented with the palatal symbols, that is:

tj	represented by	[c]
ly	represented by	[ʎ]
ny	represented by	[ɲ]

Stops are unaspirated and generally voiceless, but voiced allophones occur after a nasal or a lateral, and 'sometimes in intervocalic position' (Goddard 1985:12). This is typical of Aboriginal languages, as noted by Dixon (1980) and Lee (1987), amongst others.

[tɪnkʌ]	*tinka*	'goanna'
[itɪpɪ]	*itipi*	'on the other side of'
[kɑpɪ]	*kapi*	'water'
[pinʌ]	*pina*	'ear'

but

[kʊlbɪrpʌ]	*kulpirpa*	'Western grey kangaroo'
[kʊnkʊnbʌ]	*kunkunpa*	'sleeping, asleep'
[mʊndʌ]	*munta*	'sorry'
[ʌldʌrpʌ]	*altarpa*	'mallee eucalypts'

Pitjantjatjara laminals are pronounced the same way as most lamino-dentals in Australian languages (Dixon 1980:135; Walsh & Yallop 1993:vii); that is, the blade of the tongue makes contact with both upper and lower teeth, the tip of the tongue touching the lower ridge of the teeth. The realisation differs somewhat in non-homorganic clusters such as *ntj*, *ltj*, *rtj*, *l̪tj* and *ṉtj*: in these clusters the laminal release occurs in the region of articulation of the preceding sound, i.e. alveolar or postalveolar.

The phoneme *r* is usually realised as a tap, sometimes as a trill.

There is little to remark on the realisation of the remaining consonants.

2.2.2   *Vowels*

It is not the intention here to describe in detail the phonetic realisation of vowels and their variations in Traditional Pitjantjatjara. However, for the purposes of the study, it is necessary to adopt some conventions of representation. As previously stated, Traditional Pitjantjatjara has three phonemically distinct vowels (and vowel length).

For each of the short vowels, two allophones will be noted, which will be designated as tense and lax.

Table 2.3: Vowel allophones

high front	low central	high back
i ɪ		*u* ʊ
	a ʌ	

The difference between tense versus non-tense vowel sounds can be described as follows:

> Tense sounds are produced with a deliberate, accurate, maximally distinct gesture that involves considerable muscular effort; nontense sounds are produced rapidly and somewhat indistinctly. (Chomsky & Halle 1968, cited Ladefoged 1975:245)

In the same study, Ladefoged (1975) notes that the distinction between tense and lax vowels is often connected with stress. The same applies in Pitjantjatjara. For example, the low central unrounded vowel *a* is often realised as allophone [ɑ] in stressed syllables, and as [ʌ] when word-final, a position in which vowels are unstressed.

[ɑlʌcɪ]	*alatji*	'like this'
[mɑmʌ]	*mama*	'father'
[pɑpʌ]	*papa*	'dog'
[rɑwʌ]	*rawa*	'for a long time'
[rɑpɪtʌ]	*rapita*	'rabbit'

However, some stressed syllables show a lax vowel realisation, especially when the vowel is followed by a cluster (i.e. in a closed syllable) or after [c].

[mʌntʌ]	*manta*	'earth'
[kʌmpʌ]	*kampa*	'side'
[cʌnʌ]	*tjana*	'they'
[pʌrkʌ]	*parka*	'narrow leaf'

In unpublished work, John Hobson (pers. comm. Goddard 1998) described vowel allophony in Luritja (a neighbouring dialect) as follows: (a) lax before a retroflex consonant, a nasal consonant, *ly* or *rr* and in closed syllables (b) tense elsewhere. To this description, it could be added that a vowel is realised as a lax vowel when preceded with [c], or in word-final (unstressed) position. For example, the high back *u* that it is usually realised as [u] in stressed syllables (tense), and as lax ['ʊ] in word-final (unstressed) position or as described above.

[pulʌ]	*pula*	'they two'
[kucʊ]	*kutju*	'one, alone'
[mukʊlbʌ]	*mukulpa*	'hook'
[cʊlʌ]	*tjula*	'knife'
[mʊnʊ]	*munu*	'and'
[kʊʟʊ]	*kulu*	'also'
[mʊʎʌ]	*mulya*	'nose'
[urʊnbʌ]	*urunpa*	'taking a short cut'

Similarly, high front *i* is usually realised as [i] in stressed syllables (tense), and as lax [ɪ] in word-final (unstressed) position or as described before.

[ilʌ]	*ila*	'close'
[pikʌ]	*pika*	'sick'
[cɪʈʊ]	*tjitu*	'louse'
[pinʌ]	*pina*	'ear'
[mɪlkʌ]	*milka*	'milk'

To generalise, it seems that, in Pitjantjatjara, stressed vowels are usually tense and unstressed vowels are usually nontense. Long vowels are always tense as they only occur in stressed positions. However, short stressed vowels can be realised as lax before a retroflex consonant, a nasal consonant, *ly, rr,* in closed syllables; and after [c].

2.3 Phonotactics of Traditional Pitjantjatjara

In describing Pitjantjatjara phonotactics, the term 'mora' (pl. morae) will be used and needs to be explained. In this work, when a syllable (i.e. a unit consisting of a nucleus, possibly an onset and/or coda) has a short vowel, it is said to have one mora, while a syllable with a long vowel is regarded as having two morae. (For the mora concept, see Trubetzkoy 1969:172ff.; for arguments regarding its applicability to Pitjantjatjara, see Goddard 1985).

In Traditional Pitjantjatjara, words always consist of at least two morae. Unlike most other Western Desert dialects, the phonotactics of Traditional Pitjantjatjara allow words beginning with either a vowel or a consonant. The syllable follows these patterns:

(C) V (V) (C) for initial syllables:

mulapa	'true, real'
alatji	'like this'
iili	'drizzle'
tjuulpa	'mound'

(C) V (C) for non-initial:

kata	'head'
punytju	'blunt'
kulunypa	'little'

In a word-initial position, the apical contrast (i.e. alveolar vs. retroflex) is neutralised (Goddard 1985:12). Initial apicals tend to be realised as mildly retroflex, but for convenience they are spelt using the plain (i.e. non-underlined) letters. The laminal lateral *ly* does not occur word-initially. All other consonants can appear word-initially (though words starting with *y* are rare).

In Traditional Pitjantjatjara all words end with a vowel. The AUGmentative suffix *-pa* is added to any word which would otherwise be consonant-final (i.e. to consonant-final stems which are not suffixed by any grammatical marker). For example, in (2.1) and (2.2) *-pa* is not required because the stems *mingkul* 'wild tobacco' and *mankur* 'three' are suffixed (with PURPosive *-ku* and ERGative *-tu* respectively). The AUGmentative suffix is required, however, in (2.3) and (2.4), where these words occur without inflectional suffixes.

(2.1)   *Ngayulu mingkul̲-ku   a-nu.*
        1SG.NOM wild.tobacco-PURP go-PAST
        'I went for wild tobacco.'

(2.2)   *Minyma man̲kur-tu tinka   tjawa-n̲u.*
        woman   three-ERG goanna.ACC dig-PAST
        'Three women dug [for] goanna[s].'

(2.3)   *Ngayulu mingkul̲-pa   tjut̲a-ku   a-nu.*
        1SG.NOM wild.tobacco-AUG PL-PURP   go-PAST
        'I went [to get] a lot of wild tobacco.'

(2.4)   *Minyma   man̲kur-pa   a-nu   tinka-ku.*
        mature.woman three-AUG.NOM go-PAST goanna-PURP
        'Three women went [to get some] goanna[s].'

2.3.1 *Consonant clusters*

In a C1–C2 cluster, C1 can be any consonant aside from a stop or a glide, and C2 can be any consonant except for laterals or *r*. Both homorganic and non-homorganic clusters are possible, but follow some restrictions. In homorganic clusters, C1 has to have a different manner of articulation from C2. One of the consequences is that there are no double consonant clusters or geminates.

nt	*nyuntumpa*	'your, for you'
lt	*altar(pa)*	'mallee eucalypt'
n̲t̲	*kun̲t̲a*	'respectful, shame'
lt	*multuny(pa)*	'fragile'

nytj	nyanytju	'horse'
lytj	tjaalytju	'whispering'
mp	kampa	'side'
ngk	mingkiri	'mouse'

In non-homorganic clusters, C1 must be non-peripheral and C2 must be non-apical.

nk	mankukati-∅	'pick up while moving'
nk	kaanka	'crow'
nyk	panyka-l	'stalk'
np	nyinpin(pa)	'eyelash'
np	nyanpi-∅	'do a women's style dance'
ntj	papuntju-n	'beat with cupped hands'
ntj	ngantja	'a type of mistletoe'

lk	kulkari	'forehead, face'
lk	alkara	'axe'
lyk	ilykuwara	'witchetty grub'
lp	alpiri	'type of bush'
lp	kalpuru	'a man's rival'
lyp	ngalypa-ngalypa	'pretending, as a joke'
ltj	mapaltji-ng	'cause sharp pain'
ltj	paltja	'full stomach'

Nasal–nasal clusters are possible only if C2 is non-laminal.

nng	kunngal(pa)	'talking aloud'
nng	nyinnga	'ice, frost'
nm	nyaanma-n	'asking *nyaa* ? asking what?'
nm	wanma	'far'
nym	anymatjara	'hungry'

r as a C1 can followed only by a non-apical C2.

rp	ngurpa	'I don't know'
rk	nyurka	'thin'
rtj	nyurtji-∅	'sneeze'
rm	nguurma-n	'snore'
rng	arnguli	'wild plum'
rny	warnyu-l	'stripping leaves off'

2.3.2 Stress

Most commonly in Australian languages, primary stress (´) goes onto the first syllable of the word. There is then often secondary stress (`) on the third, fifth etc. syllables, excepting that the final syllable of a word does not usually bear stress (Dixon 1980:128). Pitjantjatjara does not differ from this description and the initial vowel has primary stress.

In the case of verbs prefixed by a directional prefix, both the prefix and first syllable of the verb have primary stress.

| [máːpícʌ] | *maa-pitja* | 'AWAY-go(IMP)' |
| [ŋáʎʌpícʌ] | *ngalya-pitja* | 'THIS.WAY-go(IMP)' |

In case of dimoric and polymoric suffixes, the initial vowel of the suffix receives a secondary stress.

| wáŋkʌɲcɪkícʌ | *wangka-nytji-kitja* | 'talk-NOML-INTENT' |

2.4 General phonological changes in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara

Various phonological changes have been observed in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara which appear to be independent of English cross-linguistic influence. They apply generally across the lexicon (i.e. they are not confined to loan words).

2.4.1 *Elision of certain glide-initial syllables*

The most thorough-going phonological changes involve four-mora words in which the last two morae consist of a C1 V C2 V sequence, where C1 is one of the glides *r̲, w* or *y*, and C2 is the apical postalveolar *r̲* or the apical alveolar *r*. In such sequence, the first syllable (i.e. C1 glide+V) is often elided in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara. One can interpret this syllable loss as initiated by the loss of the glide. This brings together a vowel–vowel combination which is simplified, according to regular processes, by deletion of the first vowel in the sequence.

Traditional Pitjantjatjara	**Teenage Pitjantjatjara**
-r̲ara	
wilur̲ara 'west'	*wilura*
[wilʊɽarʌ]	[wilʊrʌ]
kakar̲ara 'east'	*kakara*
[kɑkʌɽarʌ]	[kɑkʌrʌ]
-r̲iri	
ulpar̲ira 'south'	*ulpara*
[ulpʌɽirʌ]	[ulpʌrʌ]
-r̲uru	
tjukar̲uru 'straight'	*tjukaru*
[cʊkʌɽurʊ]	[cʊkʌrʊ]
-war̲a	
wat̲awar̲a 'tall, long'	*wat̲ar̲a*
[wʌt̪awʌɽɑ]	[wʌt̪ʌɽɑ]
kungkawar̲a 'young woman'	*kungkar̲a*
[kʊŋkʌwʌɽɑ]	[kʊŋkʌɽɑ]
-war̲i	
utuwar̲i 'overcast weather'	*utur̲i*
[utʊwʌɽɪ]	[utʊɽɪ]

-wuru

  waḻawuru 'wedge-tailed eagle'   *waḻaru*

  [wʌ|ʌwurʊ]   [wʌ|ʌrʊ]

-yira

  nyitayira 'male, boy'   *nyitara*

  [ɲitʌyɪrʌ]   [ɲitʌrʌ]

This kind of elision has been observed in Traditional Pitjantjatjara, but only in very fast and casual speech. I have to acknowledge that it is possible that, when talking to me, the older women may have been speaking in a more careful style, and therefore avoided elisions. However, it remains true that in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara these elisions are systematic, and happen even in careful, formal speech.

During the word-list elicitation (see Chapter 6 and Appendix 2), it was noted that some children varied the length of the vowel preceding the elided glide (compensatory lengthening); for example, saying *kakaara* [kaka:rʌ] instead of the traditional pronunciation *kakaṟara* [kakʌɽarʌ] 'east'. In the same setting, some children would pronounce the vowel preceding the elided glide if this vowel differed from the following vowel; for example, *tjukaṟuru* as [cʊkʌurʊ]; *wiluṟara* as [wiluarʌ]. Despite the retention of the vowel, the glide was never realised.

Traditional Pitjantjatjara	**Teenage Pitjantjatjara**
tjukaṟuru 'straight'	*tjukaru*
[cʊkʌɽurʊ]	[cʊkʌrʊ] ~ [cʊkʌurʊ]
wiluṟara 'west'	*wilura*
[wiluɽarʌ]	[wilʊrʌ] ~ [wiluarʌ]
kakaṟara 'east'	*kakara*
[kakʌɽarʌ]	[kakʌrʌ] ~ [kaka:rʌ]

As stated above, the loss of glides (and usually, the entire syllable) is quite regular in words of four morae. The glide elision sometimes happens in words of three and five morae also, but the unelided forms are still heard.

Traditional Pitjantjatjara	**Teenage Pitjantjatjara**
kuwari 'soon'	*kuwari*
[kuwʌrɪ]	[kuwʌrɪ] ~ [kuarɪ]
wiluruwara 'bush tomato'	*wiluruwara*
[wilʊruwʌrʌ]	[wilʊruwʌrʌ] ~ [wilʊruwʌrʌ]

Another environment where a related change has occurred concerns the final sequence *raṟa*. This is found in only a handful of trimoric words. Sometimes the final syllable *-ra* is probably a reflex of a previously productive morpheme (as in *ngura-ra* 'inhabitant', from *ngura* 'place'). Some formations may be the result of compounding (as in *waraṟa* 'first, to begin with', possibly from *waara-ara* 'first-time'). In any case, in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara the final syllable *-ṟa* is lost.

Traditional Pitjantjatjara	Teenage Pitjantjatjara
ngurara 'inhabitant of a place'	*ngura*
[ŋurʌɽa]	[ŋurʌ]
warara 'first, to begin with'	*wara*
[warʌɽa]	[warʌ]

In this section the phonological changes which have taken place within lexical roots have been discussed, and are, for the most part, complete. That is, teenagers consistently pronounce the roots in their changed forms differently from older speakers. It should also be pointed out, however, that elision of glides, and consequent loss of entire syllables, are also found as a dynamic process in connected speech. This is treated in the next section, along with a number of other characteristic elisions found in rapid speech.

2.5 Elisions in connected speech

In September 1995, I accompanied a group of five teenage girls to a residential school at Darwin's Secondary Correspondence School. There, a mob from Papunya, TiTree and other Pitjantjatjara-related language speakers were met. As a conversation was taking place with one of the chaperoning Luritja women, I noted that I could understand most of what she was saying in her own language. When I shared this observation with her she immediately replied:

> 'Luritja, Pitjantjatjara — it is the same. But we talk slow. This Pitjantjatjara mob they speak too fast, you don't understand.'

This observation sounded very similar to that experienced during the learning of the Pitjantjatjara language. Traditional Pitjantjatjara casual speech is rapid and sometimes difficult to comprehend. Therefore, it is no surprise to find that many vowels or syllables in fast Traditional Pitjantjatjara casual speech are elided. This phenomenon is not confined to teenagers. Goddard (1984a) described the phenomenon in an article about contractions in Yankunytjatjara, a dialect close to Pitjantjatjara. Lee (1987) and Schmidt (1985), among others, have reported vowel and syllable elision in Dyirbal and Tiwi respectively. Lee (1987:45) writes that 'in normal fast TT [Traditional Tiwi] speech, vowels and even syllables are elided'.

Nonetheless, a couple of times some Areyonga women pointed out that some of the elisions heard in teenagers' speech were unusual. They stressed that this was not 'their way' of speaking, but a *tjitjiku wangka* 'children's talk'. This observation triggered the need to look carefully at elision in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara.

2.5.1 Vowel elision

Elision of vowels is frequent when a word ending with a vowel is followed by a word starting with a vowel. (a) represents normal speech, (b) normal fast speech and (c) the Pitjantjatjara orthography.

(2.5) a   [kuŋkʌ uʈŋkʌ]

   b.   [kuŋkʌʈuŋkʌ]

   c.   *kungka uṟu-ngka*
        woman   waterhole-LOC
        'woman at the waterhole'

(2.6) a.   [kuŋkʌ alʌcɪ wʌŋkʌɲi]

   b.   [kuŋkʌlʌcɪ wʌŋkʌɲi]

   c.   *Kungka   alatji   wangka-nyi.*
        woman.NOM   like.this say-PRES
        'The woman speaks like this.'

(2.7) a.   [uʈa paaluʈu ŋayuɲa atuṉu]

   b.   [uʈa paluŋayuɲatuṉu]

   c.   *Uṉa   paluṟu   ngayu-nya   atu-ṉu.*
        rotten DEF.ERG   1SG-ACC   hit.with.a.stone-PAST
        'That rotten [girl] hit me with a stone.'

(2.8) a   [ŋaʎa mulʌpʌ alʌṉu]

   b.   [ŋaʎa mulʌpalʌṉu]

   c.   **Ngalya   mulapa   ala-ṉu.*
        forehead.ERG   really   open-PAST
        '[His] forehead was really [cut] open.'

   Goddard (1985) enumerates cases when syllabic elision occurs, such as when the loss of a weak vowel results in a homorganic consonant cluster or in a cluster of two identical consonants. This kind of elision is very frequent in teenagers' fluent speech, as shown in the following examples.

(2.9) a.   [anɪɲa cʌnʌ]

   b.   [anɪɲcʌnʌ]

   c.   *Annie-nya   tjana.*
        Annie-NOM   3PL
        'Annie and [her] friends.'

(2.10) a.   [ŋayʊkʊ kuɲʊ]

   b.   [ŋayʊkuɲʊ]

   c.   *Ngayu-ku   unyu.*
        1SG-GEN   QUOTE
        'Mine, they say.'

   As previously stated, the loss of the weak vowel is a common phenomenon in Traditional Pitjantjatjara. However, some innovations have been noted in teenage speech. For example, teenagers often elide medial vowels in reduplicated words.

(2.11)

English	Traditional Pitjantjatjara	Teenage speech
'husband'	*miita-miita*	
	[miːtʌ miːtʌ]	[miːtmiːtʌ]
'uncomfortable'	*nyiri-nyiri*	
	[ɲiɽi ɲiɽi]	[ɲiɽɲiɽi]
'unpleasant'	*walyku-walyku*	
	[wʌʎku wʌʎku]	[wʌʎkwʌʎku]
'look (around)'	*nyirki-nyirki*	
	[ɲiɽki ɲiɽki]	[ɲiɽkɲiɽki]

This is not the only change observed with reduplicated words. In Chapter 3, it will be shown that reduplicated words and morphemes often lose their reduplicated structure in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara.

The words retain primary stress (marked as ´) on the initial morae of each root (` indicates secondary stress). For example:

(2.12)   [ŋáyukù míːtmíːtʌ]
          Ngáyukù míit(a)-míita
          'my husband'

To get an idea of the frequency of elision a list of all words which were elided was compiled in a sample of five stories recorded in casual surroundings and five snatches of conversation. It was evident that elision was not confined to nouns and to verbs. Of 25 adverbs in the sample corpus, 14 showed elision. Of 83 pronouns, 12 showed elision; and of 75 nominal inflections, 9 showed elision. The vowel /a/ is the most likely vowel to be elided, while /u/ and /i/ are rarely omitted.

(i)   Among the adverbs, *watalpi* 'almost' and *mulapa* 'really' are often found to have their final vowel elided (12 times out of 14), i.e. [wʌṯalp] and [mulʌp].

(ii)   *Ngayulu* 1SG.NOM 'I' and *ngayu-nya* 1SG-ACC 'me' are the pronouns most likely to have their final vowel elided, along with *palu-nya* 3SG-ACC 'him/her' and *palu-mpa* 3SG-GEN 'his/hers', i.e. [ŋayul] and [palump]. It is necessary to note that only trimoric pronouns appear to have a devoiced final vowel.

(iii) The NOMinative marker for names *-nya*, when added to dimoric or trimoric stems, is susceptible to having its final vowel elided. It is interesting to note that despite the fact that the NOMinative marker for names is identical to the ACCusative marker for names, the latter seems only rarely to have its final vowel elided.

(iv)   The PERLative marker *-wanu* when suffixed to the adjective *maḻa* 'after' is often pronounced without its final *u*, i.e. [mʌḻawʌn] (3 times out of 4).

(v)   Similarly, the English borrowed suffix *-wana* PREDicative 'one' is often found pronounced [wʌn] a closer pronunciation to its language of origin.

In this work, the elided vowels will be represented in parentheses, as illustrated above.

(2.13) *Ngayulu   Melrose-anya*   *muku-ri-nyi   mulap(a).*
                                                                          [mulʌp]
        1SG.NOM   Melrose.Place-ACC.NAME   like-INCHO-PRES really
        'I really like [to watch] Melrose Place.'

(2.14) *Paluṟu   painting   palya-ṉu waṯalp(i).*
                                                            [wʌʈalp]
        DEF.ERG   painting.ACC do-PAST   almost
        'He has almost done [i.e. finished] the painting.'

2.5.2 *Environments for elision*

As mentioned earlier, vowel elision is more likely to happen with trimoric words than with dimoric words. This is because of stress placement rules in Traditional Pitjantjatjara. The primary stress (´) goes on the first mora, and in case of trimoric words, a secondary stress (`) goes on to the third syllable. However, a secondary stress can be 'reduced' if it is immediately followed by a stressed syllable in the following word. This is the environment which Goddard (1985) refers to as a 'weak syllable'. For example, in a phrase such as the following the final vowel of the first word is a so-called 'weak syllable'.

(2.15) [ŋáyulu ánu]
        Ngáyulu ánu.
        'I went.'

The linkage between stress and elision is very noticeable when words are pronounced with emphatic stress. An emphatic stress on the first syllable of a trimoric word often leads to the elision of the final vowel. For example, on one occasion some teenagers were looking at pictures in a magazine. Every time they saw something that they fancied, they cried: [ŋáyul] for [ŋáyulù] *ngayulu* 'mine'.

Dimoric derivational morphemes have an initial stressed vowel, a fact which creates weak syllables in another context. Consider the transitive verb loan suffix *mila-* LOAN, for example. When it follows a trimoric base, the final syllable of the base is a weak syllable. In Traditional Pitjantjatjara many bases become trimoric for phonotactic reasons; for example, English words like 'paint' and 'count' become *piinta-* and *kaanta-* (*piinta-milaṉi* 'drive' and *kaanta-milaṉi* 'count, do arithmetic'). In Traditional Pitjantjatjara, the final (weak) vowel in bases like these is generally not subject to deletion, presumably because the resulting consonant cluster would be phonotactically unacceptable. In teenage speech, however, where this constraint does not apply, elision is common enough. For example:

English	Traditional Pitjantjatjara	Teenage Pitjantjatjara
paint-LOAN-PRES	*piinta-mila-ṉi* [piːntʌmilʌɳi]	*paint-mila-ṉi* [piːntʌmilʌɳi] ~[peintʌmilʌɳi] ~ [peintmilʌɳi]
count-LOAN-PRES	*kaanta-mila-ṉi* [kɑːntʌmilʌɳi]	*kaant-mila-ṉi* [kɑːntʌmilʌɳi] ~ [kɑːntmilʌɳi]

A similar phenomenon can be seen in relation to the loan morpheme *-wana* (from English 'one'). As well as the loss of the final vowel of the base, as mentioned above one very often hears the loss of the word-final vowel too.

English	Traditional Pitjantjatjara	Teenage Pitjantjatjara
'green'	*griina-wana*[1] [griːnʌwʌnʌ]	*griin-wan(a)* [griːnʌwʌnʌ] ~ [griːnwʌnʌ] ~ [griːnwʌn]
'red'	*raida-wana* [rɑidʌwʌnʌ]	*raid-wan(a)* [rɑidʌwʌnʌ] ~ [rɑidwʌnʌ] ~ [rɑidwʌn]
'pink'	*pingka-wana* [pɪŋkʌwʌnʌ]	*pingk-wan(a)* [pɪŋkʌwʌnʌ] ~ [pɪŋkwʌnʌ] ~ [pɪŋkwʌn]

Elision of 'weak' vowels happens not only word-internally, but also across a word boundary, when the words in question belong to a close-knit phrase. Generally speaking, a following pause tends to inhibit elision. This kind of tendency is widespread in languages. For example, in his study of vowel deletion in Latvian, Karins notes that:

> When the candidate vowel occurs in a word before a pause (either in an open or closed syllable), there is a lower probability of deletion than when the word with the candidate vowel is followed by another word ... a following pause inhibits vowel deletion for all speakers. (Karins 1995:23)

The same applies in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, especially when dealing with (trimoric) pronouns and with nouns suffixed with the GENitive morpheme *-ku/-mpa*. When a personal pronoun is followed by a verb without a pause, the final vowel is often elided regardless of whether the verb starts with a vowel as in (2.16) or not as in (2.17).

(2.16) *Iṯi   palu-nya kunyu   palur̲(u)   ampu-r̲a*
                                         [palʊr̲ʌmpʊr̲a]
         baby   DEF-ACC QUOTE   DEF.NOM   embrace-SERIAL

        kutitjaka-ngu kuḻpi-ku.
        run-PAST   cave-PURP
        'After he [the monster] took the baby in his arms, he ran off to the cave.'

(2.17) *Munu tjilpi   palur̲u   paka-ṉu.*
                                     [palʊpakʌṉu]
         ADD   old.man   DEF.NOM   get.up-PAST
         'And that old man got up.'

Within an NP, the GENitive morpheme is suffixed to a pronoun and is followed by the possessed object, usually without a pause. In this context, the final vowel is often elided.

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[1]   The marker *-wana* is explained in Chapter 3.

(2.18) *Nyuntu   ngayu-k(u)   walytja, nyuntu   ngayu-k(u)   kanguṟu.*
              [ŋayʊkwaʎcʌ]   [ŋayʊaŋʌɽu]
        2SG.NOM 1SG-GEN   family 2SG.NOM 1SG-GEN   senior.sister
        'You are my family, you are my sister.'

(2.19) *Palu-mp(a)   kaar-angka   nganaṉa   ana-nyi maku-ku.*
        [palʊmpkaraŋkʌ]
        DEF-GEN   car-LOC   1PL.NOM go-PRES witchetty.grub-PURP
        'We are going in his car to [get some] witchetty grubs.'

But when the possessive pronoun follows the possessed object at the end of the NP (another, less common, syntactic option), there is usually no elision.

(2.20) *Paluṟu   mangka palu-mpa   nya-ngu   glatja-ngka.*
              [palʊmpʌ]
        DEF(ERG)   hair   DEF-GEN   see-PAST mirror-LOC
        'He saw his hair in the mirror.'

(2.21) *'Miita-miita   ngayu-ku   wiya-ri-ngu'   alatji   wangka-ngu*
        [miːtmiːtʌ   ŋayʊkʊ]
        husband   1SG-GEN   end-INCHO-PAST like.this tell-PAST

        kaaṉka-lu.
        crow-ERG NAME
        '"My husband died" the crow said like this (to the people).'

Common and widely used expressions also tend to be shortened. For example, *paluṟu kunyu* DEF(NOM/ERG) QUOTE 'he/she, they say', often appears as *paluṟ(u) kunyu* [palʊɽkuɲu], and *nyitara tjuṯa* boy PL 'boys' is found as *nyitar(a)tjuṯa* [ɲitʌrcʊʈa]. Some of these instances have been noted in Traditional Pitjantjatjara to a far lesser degree than in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara.

2.5.3 *Elision of glides and glide-initial syllables*

As described in the previous section, glides and glide-initial syllables have been permanently lost from various lexical roots.

The weakening of glides has also been observed as a dynamic phenomenon in teenage casual speech. In the following examples, the first utterance (A) is as found in teenage speech, the second (B) as in Traditional speech. Note that the loss of the syllable *wa* in the sequence *-wara* has already been noted word-internally.

(2.22) (A)   *Ampi-nya-ra*
                [ʌmpiɲarʌ]

        (B)   *Ampi-nya   wara tjarpa-ngu   ngura-ngka.*
                [ʌmpiɲawarʌ]
                Ampi-NOM.NAME first   enter-PAST   house-LOC
                'Ampi entered the house first.'

The next pair of examples both concern the PERLative suffix *-wanu*. Its first syllable is an obvious candidate for weakening, and this is, in fact, what has been observed. In the words *nyara-wanu* 'yonder-PERL' and *pala-wanu* 'that-PERL' *-wanu* is reduced to *-nu*, i.e. the glide-initial syllable *wa-* has been lost.

(2.23)   *Ka*   *paluṟu*   *wangka-ngu:*   '*Wiya, ngayulu*
       CONTR DEF.NOM say-PAST   NEG 1SG.NOM

       Wiya *nyara-nu*   *ana-nyi.'*
                [ɲarʌnʊ]
       NEG   yonder-PERL go-PRES
       'And he said: 'No, I am not going through this way over there'.

(2.24)   *Ngayulu* *wiya* *pala-nu*   *ana-nyi.*
                    [paplʌnʊ]
       1SG.NOM NEG   that-PERL go-PRES
       'I am not going [through] that way.'

Another commonly heard elision involves the third person pronoun *paluṟu* [palʊʈʊ] 'he/she'. In most casual speech this is reduced to *palu* [palʊ], i.e. the glide-initial syllable *-ṟu* is lost.

(2.25)   *Munu* *wati-pitja-ngu,*   *a-nu*   *palu*   *airaplaina* *kulupa-ngka*
                               [palʊ]
       ADD   ACROSS-come-PAST go-PAST   DEF.NOM airplane   little-LOC

       simetri-ngka *palu*   *pituplaa*   *tjunku-la*   *a-nu.*
                     [palʊ]
       cemetery-LOC DEF.NOM pretty.flowers   put-SERIAL   go-PAST
       'And [he] came across, he went [i.e. got into] a little plane, [that was where the]
       cemetery [is], [and] after putting [some] pretty flowers [on a grave], he went.'

Others similar examples can be found. Here are a short list of the most common occurrences.

Teenage speech	Traditional speech	English
ngayuku faivritana	*ngayuku faifritawana*	'my favourite one'
palu kunyu	*paluṟu kunyu*	'he, they say'
wiyangkara	*wiyangka wara*	'nothing'
tjingu nyuntu	*tjinguṟu nyuntu*	'maybe you'
tjingu palu anu	*tjinguṟu paluṟu anu*	'maybe he went'
ngurpaṉarakuna	*ngurpaṉa warakuna*	'I don't know how to sing'

2.6 Some other simplifications

Ferguson (1982:60) notes that phonological simplifications are usually of two kinds: (a) consonant clusters are reduced to CV monosyllables, and (b) polysyllabic words become CVCV disyllables. Some examples of cluster simplification are visible in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara and are illustrated below. As one can see, this limited data set makes it impossible to establish if some clusters are more prone to simplification than others.

Traditional Pitjantjatjara		Teenage Pitjantjatjara
wa̲ṯalpi	'almost'	*wa̲ṯapi*
watarku	'absent-minded'	*wataku*
ngapartji	'in return'	*ngapatji*
minyma	'mature woman'	*minya*
kulunypa	'little'	*kulupa*

2.7 Background to loan phonology

Areyonga teenagers live in a bilingual community. Even though their first language is Pitjantjatjara, they come into contact with English early, e.g. through the media or the school. Therefore, it seems necessary to review some of the issues outlined by the literature on childhood bilingualism.

Language acquisition studies have shown that, in a bilingual situation, the development of language ability, both monolingual and bilingual, is reached fully around the age of 11 (Lenneberg 1967). Early childhood bilinguals are more likely to master both phonological systems at a native-like level than late bilinguals (Asher & Garcia 1982; Oyama 1982). As Baetens Beardsmore summarises:

> Beyond this age [puberty] decreased plasticity of that area of the brain utilized in phonological processing leads the late bilingual to interpret and reproduce sounds of L2 according to relatively atrophied patterns developed for L1, hence bringing *phonological interference* in L2.   (Baetens Beardsmore 1986:71)

Whether or not the two languages are learnt at an early age, cross-linguistic influences occur and are usually more salient if the phonological and morphological systems of the two languages are close (Romaine 1989:204). Being able to distinguish the two different systems has been regarded by Arnberg and Arnberg (1985) as a sign of being 'truly bilingual'. It seems that such distinction happens around the age of 3 (Imedadze 1978; Taeschner 1983; Pye 1986), and is triggered by the increasing development of language pragmatism and awareness in the bilingual child (Arnberg & Arnberg 1992; McLaughlin 1978; Ball 1988). Ronjat (1913) who talked to his son Louis only in French while his wife would address the child exclusively in German, records that at the age of three Louis would protest when his father would answer his questions in German. At that age, he had already recognised French as being his father's language.

In language contact studies, phonic cross-linguistic influences have often been linked to extensive lexical borrowing. In general terms, when a word is borrowed from a language (L1) into another (L2), this loan is usually assimilated to the phonetic and phonotactic system of (L2). This was the case in Traditional Pitjantjatjara, but it has become less and less true of Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara. With a greater exposure to the English language through school and the media, Pitjantjatjara teenagers tend to use loan words without applying the full process of assimilation, resulting in the appearance of new phonetic features in the language. This is not a novel phenomenon in Aboriginal languages. Sandefur (1979), Schmidt (1985) and Lee (1987) have noted the emergence of fricatives (lacking in most Australian languages) in Ngukurr-Bamyili dialects, Dyirbal and Tiwi respectively. However, it would be wrong to assume that any language change, decay or loss in contact situations, is directly attributable to cross-linguistic influence, despite the abundance of examples in the literature. For example, Dressler (1988:186) has shown that 'the decay and loss of Breton

initial consonant mutations ... have no counterpart in French'. Rankin (1978) reached similar conclusions when studying Quapaw in contact with English. It would also be wrong to assume that phonetic distinctions which are not drawn in English are necessarily at risk. Eades hypothesised that retention of certain sounds in Dharawal and Dhurga may be linked to the fact that they do not have equivalents in the contact language, English:

> ... certain crucial sounds such as /ḏ/, word-final /ɲ/, which do not occur in English have been preserved with some of the Dharawal and Dhurga speakers. (Eades 1976:14)

Changed or retained, studying phonics in a language-contact situation is hardly an easy task, as was experienced during the fieldwork. Weinreich (1953:19) cautiously noted that some phonemes are 'too complicated to be identified with a single one of the four basic types'. He particularly stressed the possibility that 'hypercorrectness, which may operate both in listening and in speech, and which is subject to experimental testing, must always be allowed for'. The concept of hypercorrectness is defined by Crystal (1980:167) as 'the movement of a linguistic form beyond the point set by the variety of language that a speaker has as a target'. This phenomenon occurs in language contact studies and in second-language learning (Gumperz & Hymes 1972). This fact has been taken into consideration throughout this chapter. It was especially noted when teenagers were asked to repeat a word that I did not understand. If that word was an English borrowing, the teenagers would usually tend to repeat it with a pronunciation closer to Traditional Pitjantjatjara. These variations were excluded from the data.

The greatest problem was to characterise a continuum of phonetic realisation, especially with English borrowings. This phenomenon has been often mentioned in the literature of language contact (Sandefur 1979, 1986; Lee 1987). For instance, on one occasion a teenager could pronounce 'TV' as [tivɪ], close to English pronunciation, but later as [tipɪ], according to the Traditional Pitjantjatjara system, without any apparent indications to motivate one pronunciation or the other. Those variations were noted within the speech of the same speaker, but also between speakers.

Sociolinguists have looked at phonetic variations as indicators of social groups and identifications. Labov (1972a, b) extensively documented the social stratifications of some sounds in New York. In her article, 'Boston short a : social variation as historical residue', Laferriere (1977:100) notes that 'each alternation has a different subjective value label for speakers of the dialect'. The backed [ɑ] has become a sign of the Boston identity for most of the people in Laferriere's study.

In a paper given at the Australian Linguistic Society Conference in Armidale in September 1997, Jane Warren reported how second-generation Australians of non-English speaking background have adopted a shared accent and speech pattern to distinguish themselves from both their parents and their 'anglo' host values (see also Eckert 1988; Beebe 1980; Clyne, ed. 1976, amongst others).

An adequate sociolinguistic description of the phonetic variations in the teenage community of Areyonga would take a PhD in itself, and the explanation of the variations according to sociolinguistic parameters will not be attempted. However, such studies would be relevant to distinguishing those teenagers prone to use a phonetic system close to English from those who conform to a more traditional system, putting forward reasons other than age, education or laziness as an explanation for the variations (see Donaldson 1980; Lee 1987).

2.8 Assimilation of English loan words in Traditional Pitjantjatjara

In Traditional Pitjantjatjara, English loan words were fully assimilated into the Pitjantjatjara phonemic and phonotactic system, as illustrated by the following examples.

English		Traditional Pitjantjatjara	
'office'	['ɒfɪs]	*uputju*	[upucʊ]
'store'	[stɔː]	*tjuwa*	[cʊwʌ]
'bus'	[bʌs]	*paatja*	[pɑːcʌ]
'blanket'	['blæŋkɪt]	*pulangkita*	[pulʌŋkitʌ]
'blue'	[bluː]	*puluwana*	[puluwʌnʌ]

As the examples show, English fricatives are replaced with their closest equivalents in the Pitjantjatjara phonetic system; that is, a stop as in *tjuwa* 'store', *uputju* 'office' or *paatja* 'bus'. Final vowels are added to avoid consonant-final words. English voiced stops lose their voicing in Traditional Pitjantjatjara; for example, [b] becomes [p] as in *paatja* 'bus', *puluwana* 'blue' or *pulangkita* 'blanket'. The last examples also illustrate the breaking up of non-permissible clusters by inserting a vowel between the two consonants.

To summarise, the Traditional Pitjantjatjara phonetic system was fairly untouched by its contact with English as most of the English loan words were fully assimilated to the Pitjantjatjara phoneme and phonotactic system. This is not the case in teenage speech, where phonetic innovations can be observed. As Maddieson noted in an article about borrowed sounds:

> when one language is affected by another, one possible result is an adaptation to the phonemic inventory; new contrastive sounds may enter the affected language via the process of lexical borrowing. (Maddieson 1986:1)

This is partly what is happening in teenage speech.

2.9 Phonetic innovations in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara

At the beginning of his *Languages in contact*, Weinreich (1953:14) warned 'since actual sounds produced by bilinguals lie, as it were, in the structural no man's land between two phonemic systems, their interpretation in functional, i.e. phonemic, terms is subject to special difficulties'. English cross-linguistic influence on Aboriginal languages has been widely described (e.g. Schmidt 1985; Lee 1987), and studies on Australian creole (Kriol) have pointed out extensively the influence of one language on another (Sandefur 1979).

In the realm of loan words, Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara has, more or less, the features of both English and Traditional Pitjantjatjara sound systems, 'a continuum of sounds with an Aboriginal type sound sub-system at one end and an English type sound sub-system at the other' (Sandefur 1979:29). The main features include the appearance of fricatives, of 'subphonemic' voicing of initial stops, and of new clusters along with the loss of the final vowel.

2.9.1 Appearance of fricatives

Traditional Pitjantjatjara lacks fricatives. The most flagrant change in the phonetic system of Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara is the appearance of English fricatives (as

reported also in some other studies on contact-induced change in Australian languages, e.g.
Schmidt 1985; Lee 1987):

Teenage Pitjantjatjara	English
[brʌðʌ]	'brother'
[sʌksʌ]	'socks'
[siː]	'sea'
[zuː]	'zoo'
[iːzɪ]	'easy'
[ʃawʌ]	'shower'
[wʌʃmilʌi]	'wash-PRES'
[ʃapɪŋ]	'shopping'

2.9.2 *'Subphonemic' voicing of initial stops*

In Traditional Pitjantjatjara, stops are unaspirated and voiceless when consonant-initial,
even if, as previously stated, voiced allophones may occur elsewhere. In teenage speech,
stops are sometimes voiced when word-initial, as exemplified by the alternative
pronunciations of English loans listed below.

'bed'	[pidʌ]	~	[bidʌ]
'dollar'	[talʌ]	~	[dalʌ]
'dance'	[tʌncirinaɲi]	~	[dʌncirinaɲi]

Are the two pronunciations becoming phonemically distinctive? Are potential minimal
pairs such [talʌ] and [dalʌ], for example, perceived as two different morphemes? What
happens in the case of pairs such as 'bin' and 'pin' or 'dry' and 'try'? As far as I know, there
are no minimal pairs distinguished solely by this difference in pronunciation. I can illustrate
from personal experience. A group of teenagers were once playing at my place when one of
them asked for the 'pin'. I thought that the teenager had dropped a pin and I started looking
everywhere for it, afraid that a barefoot child would step on it. She reiterated her request
and I became even more frantic. Another child then got up and opened the door of the closet
where she knew there was a 'bin'. Evidently, the other teenagers understood in context what
was meant. But what I know is that both pronunciations, [bɪn] and [pɪn], were heard to refer
to the 'bin', which indicates that the phonetic distinction is subphonemic.

Similarly, in case of 'dry' (adjective) vs 'try' (the noun, as in football), both appear
appears as both [draɪ] and [traɪ] and there is no evidence of any phonemic distinction. (The
case of 'dry' and 'try' as a verb is slightly different because 'dry' is a transitive verb, and
therefore is suffixed with *-mila/ma* LOAN, while 'try' is an intransitive verb and is suffixed
with *-ri* INCHOative.)

In short, though voicing can be heard in initial stops, there is no evidence that the voiced
sounds are yet distinct phonemes.

2.9.3 *Loss of final vowels*

Traditional Pitjantjatjara does not permit words ending with a consonant. C-final loan
words had a final vowel added so that they would conform to this pattern. However,
teenagers seem to dismiss the traditional rule and one can hear English loan words being
pronounced without any final vowel. For example, the following alternatives are found:

'pencil'	[pɪncɪlʌ]	~	[pɪncɪl]
'milk'	[mɪlkʌ]	~	[mɪlk]
'canteen'	[kʌntɪnʌ]	~	[kʌntɪn]
'finish'	[pɪnɪcɪ]	~	[pɪnɪc]/[fɪnɪc]

2.9.4 New clusters

As Maddieson (1986:1) notes, 'it is not unusual for borrowing to bring about some phonological realignment in the recipient language. Such a realignment might be one which affects only phonotactics, for example, introducing previously impermissible clusters'. In Traditional Pitjantjatjara, C1 can be anything but a stop or a glide and C2 anything but a lateral or *r*. In Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, new clusters are found.

(a)   Stop–lateral clusters: these clusters can be found with both voiced and voiceless stops, depending on the teenager and the setting. However, some words always show the same pronunciation in their clusters. This is the case, for example, with the *kl* cluster.

'plaster'	[plʌstʌdʌ]
'blunt'	[plʌntʌ] ~ [blʌntʌ]
'glass, mirror'	[klacʌ] ~ [glacʌ]
'clean'	[klɪn]

(b)   Stop–*r* clusters: again, the clusters vary as to whether the stop is voiced or voiceless. New borrowings seem to show a more stable voicing than old ones.

'price'	[preɪs]
'trip'	[trɪp]
'drink'	[trɪŋkɪ] ~ [drɪŋkɪ]
'dry'	[traɪ] ~ [draɪ]
'cream'	[kri:m]
'green'	[gri:nwʌnʌ] ~ [gri:nwʌn]

(c)   Fricatives: the appearance of fricatives in teenage speech has resulted in the appearance of fricative clusters. Again, some variation between voiced and voiceless pronunciation can be noted.

'flower'	[plɑ:]
'friend'	[prɛntʌ] ~ [frɛntʌ]
'school'	[ku:lʌ] ~ [sku:lʌ] ~ [sku:l]
'sport'	[spɔt]
'smoko'	[smoukou]
'sister'	[sɪstʌ]
'street-LOC'	[strɪtʌŋkʌ]
'start-INCHO-PRES'	[sta:ʈʌriɲaɲi] ~ [ca:ʈʌriɲaɲi]
'slip-INCHO-PRES'	[slɪpɪriɲaɲi]

2.10   Realisation of English vowels and glides in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara

As previously stated, it is not the intention to describe the realisation of all the vowels in teenage speech. However, in the following section, the realisation of the most common English vowels and English glides are exemplified as found in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara.

(1)   The high front vowel *i* in either its tense [i] or nontense [ɪ] allophones, can range over English [i], [ɪ], [eɪ] and [ə].

English phoneme and examples		Traditional Pitjantjatjara pronunciation	Conventional Pitjantjatjara orthography
[i] as in 'liver'	[ˈlɪvə]	[lipʌ]	*lipa*
[ɪ] as in 'race'	[reɪs]	[ricʌ]	*ritja*
[eɪ] as in 'naked'	[ˈneɪkd]	[nikɪtɪ]	*nikiti*
[ə] as in 'lazy'	[lezi]	[leɪci]	*laitji*

Its long version [iː] covers English vowels such as [ɛ] and [ɛə].   It also covers some diphthongs such as [ɛə] and [eɪ].

[ɛ] as in 'wet'	[wɛt]	[wiːtʌ]	*wiita*
as in 'cheque'	[tʃɛk]	[ciːkʌ]	*tjiika*

[ɛə] as in 'chair'	[tʃɛə]	[ciː]	*tjii*
[eɪ] as in 'paper'	[ˈpeɪpə]	[piːpʌ]	*piipa*

(2)   The central vowel, as either tense [a] or nontense [ʌ], can range over the English [æ], [ɒ], [ʌ], [ɛ], [ɔ], [ɜ] and [ə]. Note that 'soccer' and 'mother', two new borrowings, are transcribed here in an orthography close to their pronunciation.

[æ] as in 'camel'	[ˈkæməl]	[kamʊlʌ]	*kamula*
[ɒ] as in 'soccer'	[ˈsɒkə]	[sakʌ]	*saka*
[ʌ] as in 'jump'	[dʒʌmp]	[cʌmp]	*tjamp*
[ɛ] as in 'help-PRES'	[hɛlp]	[ʌlpʌmilʌɲi]	*alpamilani*
[ɜ] as in 'work'	[wɜk]	[waːkʌ]	*waaka*
[ə] as in 'mother'	[ˈmʌðə]	[maːðʌ]	*matha*

It also covers some diphthongs such as [aʊ] and [oʊ].

[aʊ] as in 'outside'	[ˈaʊtsaid]	[acaidɪ]	*atjaiti*
[oʊ] as in 'boat'	[boʊt]	[paːʈu]	*paatu*
as in 'yellow'	[ˈjɛloʊ]	[yalʌwʌnʌ]	*yalawana*

Its long version [ɑː] often covers the English [a]. 'Father', a new borrowing, is spelt according to its pronunciation.

[a] as in 'half'	[haf]	[ɑːpʌ]	*aapa*
as in 'father'	[ˈfɑːðə]	[fɑːðʌ]	*faatha*

(3)   The high back vowel, as either [u] or [ʊ], can range over the English [u], [ʊ], [ə], and [ɔ].

[ʊ] as in 'pull-PRES'	[pʊl]	[pulumilʌŋi]	*pulumilaṉi*
[ə] as in 'awkward'	[ˈɔkwəd]	[ukʊtʊ]	*ukutu*
as in 'office'	[ˈɒfəs]	[upʊcʊ]	*uputju*
[ɔ] as in 'door'	[dɔ]	[tuwʌ]	*tuwa*
as in 'store'	[stɔ]	[cuwʌ]	*tjuwa*
[u] as in 'pool'	[pul]	[pulʌ]	*pula*

However the English vowel [u] is more often found as the Pitjantjatjara long vowel [uː]. It also covers the English diphthong [oʊ].

[u] as in 'room'	[rum]	[ruːmʌ]	*room*
as in 'shoes'	[ʃuz]	[puːʈʌ]	*puṯa*

[oʊ] as in 'rope'	[roʊp]	[ruːpʌ]	*ruupa*
as in 'motorcar'	[ˈmoʊtəka]	[mutukʌ]	*mutuka*

(4)   The English diphthong [aɪ] is found as [ɑɪ] in Pitjantjatjara. Pitjantjatjara [ɑɪ] can also cover the English vowels [æ] and [eɪ].

[aɪ] as in 'side'	[saɪd]	[cɑɪdɪ]	*tjaiti*
as in 'white'	[waɪt]	[wɑɪtʌwnʌ]	*waitawana*
[æ] as in 'bag'	[bæg]	[bɑɪgɪ]	*paiki*
[eɪ] as in 'table'	[ˈteɪbəl]	[tɑɪpulʌ]	*taipula*

(5)   The English semivowels or glides [y] and [w] are fairly similar to the Pitjantjatjara semivowels.

[w] as in 'winner'	[ˈwinə]	[wɪnʌ]	*wina*
as in 'anyway'	[ˈɛniweɪ]	[ɪnɪwɑɪ]	*iniwai*
[y] as in 'yellow'	[ˈjɛloʊ]	[yalʌwʌnʌ]	*yalawana*
as in 'yabby'	[ˈjæbi]	[yɑbɪ]	*yapi*

This description is, of course, not exhaustive. It is obvious that the realisation of the English vowel [ə], for example, as [i], [a] or [u] in Pitjantjatjara is linked with the environment of the vowel [ə] in the English word, which influences how it is perceived by the teenagers. This is a very interesting issue that would warrant further investigation.

2.11 Continuum of phonetic realisation in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara

The loan words described are a mix of old, established loans (e.g. 'glass', 'three', 'school') and more recent loans (e.g. 'brother', 'chips'). There is another phenomenon occurring in Areyonga which concerns established loan words. Older speakers pronounce them following the rules of the Pitjantjatjara phonemic system, but teenagers pronounce the same established loan words with new clusters, fricatives, voiced initial stops, or loss of final vowels, tending to approximate the English phonemic system.

Table 2.4: Continuum of phonetic realisation of consonants and consonant clusters

Traditional Pitjantjatjara	Teenage Pitjantjatjara	English
palipula [palɪpulʌ]	[palɪpulʌ] ~ [valɪpulʌ] ~ [valɪpul] ~ [valɪbɔːl]	'volleyball' [ˈvɒlibɔːl]
tjapulta [cʌpultʌ]	[cʌpultʌ] ~ [sʌpultʌ] ~ [sʌfbʌl] ~ [sʌfbɔl]	'softball' [ˈsɒftbɔl]
tjaaka [caːkʌ]	[caːkʌ] ~ [sakʌ]	'soccer' [ˈsɒkə]
Puluwana [puluwʌnʌ]	[puluwʌnʌ] ~ [pluwʌnʌ] ~ [bluwʌnʌ] ~ [bluwʌn]	'blue' [bluː]
pulangkita [pulʌŋkitʌ]	[pulʌŋkitʌ] ~ [plʌŋkitʌ] ~ [blʌŋkitʌ] ~ [blʌŋkit]	'blanket' [ˈblæŋkət]
kilinamila<u>ni</u> [kilɪnʌmilʌɳi]	[kilɪnʌmilʌɳi] ~ [klɪnʌmilʌɳi] ~ [klɪnmilʌɳi]	'clean' [kliːn]
paatja [paːcʌ]	[paːcʌ] ~ [baːcʌ] ~ [baːs]	'bus' [bʌs]

As the continuum shows, there is in effect a 'second wave' of borrowing in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara. The teenagers have 're-borrowed' terms which have already been borrowed by older speakers. They tend to pronounce these English loan words with a pronunciation close to the language of origin, while older people pronounce the same established English loans following the Pitjantjatjara phoneme and phonotactic system.

Interestingly, however, not all established English borrowings have undergone changes. This is the case of the English noun 'motorcar' which has been assimilated in Pitjantjatjara as *mutuka* [mutukʌ] and is found as such in teenage speech. Quite possibly, the teenagers do not recognise *mutuka* as an English word because 'motorcar' is hardly used in English anymore. The term is near-synonymous with words such as 'car' [kaː], 'toyota' [tɔɪɔtʌ], 'truck' [trak], which are more readily identified as English loans. Similarly, Pitjantjatjara *tjitapain* is still used as such in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara to refer to corrugated iron because it bears little resemblance to its word of origin, the English phrase 'sheet of iron'.

The continuum phenomenon is similar to what is referred to in creole studies as (phonological) 'decreolisation'. It is customary in creole studies to identify creole varieties: (a) the acrolect, a variety close to the standard, (b) the mesolect, an intermediate variety, and (c) the basilect, a variety close to the original creole. One could, in a similar fashion, identify three levels of loan word pronunciation:

Trad. Pitj	Teenage Pitjantjatjara			English
paatja [paːcʌ]	[paːcʌ] ~ [baːcʌ] ~ [baːs]			'bus' [bʌs]
	'basilect'	'mesolect'	'acrolect'	

As for the consonants, new or established English loan words are showing a continuum of phonetic realisation that tends to go closer to the English pronunciation.

Table 2.5: Continuum of phonetic realisation of vowels

Trad. Pitj	Teenage Pitjantjatjara	English
riidawana [riːdʌwʌnʌ]	[riːdʌwʌnʌ] ~ [riːdwʌnʌ] ~ [riːdwʌn] ~ [rɛdwʌn]	'red' [rɛd]
airupula [eirupulʌ]	[eirupulʌ] ~ [eiruplʌn] ~ [eirpulʌn] ~ [eirplein]	'aeroplane' [ˈɛərəplein]
taimi [taɪmɪ]	[taɪmɪ] ~ [taɪm] ~ [taɪm]	'time' [taɪm]

Some new borrowings show hardly any variation from the English words of origin.

English	Teenage Pitjantjatjara
'lightning' [ˈlaɪtnɪŋ]	[laɪtnɪŋ]
'rainbow' [ˈreɪnbou]	[reɪnbou]
'draw' [drɔ]	*drawmilani* [draːmilʌɲi] ~ [drɔmilʌɲi]

As one might expect, there appears to be a link between the English proficiency of a teenager and the way he or she pronounces English loan words. The more fluent the teenager is in English, the more closely English loan words are pronounced according to the English phonology. There is a lack of a large enough corpus to conclusively substantiate this hypothesis. However, the following examples tend to indicate that it has some substance.

The first example (2.26), taken from a conversation of a secondary school student, shows the English word 'naked' pronounced as in English. The second example (2.27) belongs to the speech of a primary school girl. As can be seen, she uses the assimilated Pitjantjatjara version *nikiti*.

(2.26) *Ngali   taunu-kutu   a-nu,   ngali   sii-kutu,   naked,*
                                                    [neikɪd]
        1DU.NOM town-ALL   go-PAST 1DU.NOM sea-ALL   naked

        biitja-kutu   ngali   a-nu.
        beach-ALL   1DU.NOM go-PAST
        'The two of us went to town, we [went] to the sea [and went] skinny dipping, we went to the beach.'

(2.27) *Minyma*   *kutju*   *nyina-ngi*   *nikiti.*
                                                   [nikitɪ]
        mature.woman one.NOM sit-PAST.IMPF naked
        '[We were at the beach and] one woman was sitting [next to us, completely] naked.'

2.12 A mixed orthography

The phonologically 'mixed' character of Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara creates a problem so far as orthographic representation is concerned, to which there is no easy solution. In the remainder of this work a mixed set of conventions are employed, as follows:

(a) English orthography to transcribe new borrowings whose pronunciation is close to English, with the phonetic description next to it if necessary; this is the case in sentence (2.26) with the word 'naked';

(b) an orthography close to the standard Pitjantjatjara orthography but including the main teenage phonetic innovations ([s], [b], etc.), e.g. *sii* 'sea', *biitja* 'beach' in (2.26);

(c) established spelling for unchanged elements, e.g. *taunu* 'town in (2.26).

This choice has been guided by the fact that most of the Anangu people have chosen this path when writing for *Tjakulpa Mulapa*, the Areyonga community newsletter. In issues of this publication between 1993 and 1996, new orthographic practices can be seen, different from those found in earlier *Tjakulpa Mulapa*, and different also from the *Pitjantjatjara/ Yankunytjatjara to English dictionary* (Goddard 1992). Alongside conventional spellings of assimilated loans, there are many examples of loan words spelt either in normal English orthography or in a mixed orthography based on the conventional Pitjantjatjara system, but with the addition of various English consonants (especially fricatives).

The following table gives examples of loan words with established Pitjantjatjara spellings which were ignored in favour of the English spellings.

Table 2.6: Examples of English spellings in *Tjakulpa Mulapa*

Edition	Attested spelling	Meaning	Conventional spelling
April 1993	*blue*	'blue'	*puluwana*
	white	'white'	*waitawana*
	TV	'TV'	*tipi*
	warkaringu	'work.LOAN.PRES'	*waakaringu*
March 1994	*Christmas*	'Christmas'	*Kritjimitji*
	biscuit	'biscuit'	*pitjikiti*
September 1994	*teacher*	'teacher'	*tiitja*
Winter 1995	*airport*	'airport'	*airuputa*
	football	'football'	*palupula*
	photo	'photo'	*puturu*
	checkmilani	check.LOAN.PRES	*tjiikamilani*

In addition, there were many examples of English words without any established Pitjantjatjara spellings being used. For example: 'Thursday', 'Friday', 'Batchelor College', 'rollerblade' (April 1993), 'danger', 'sideways', 'airway', 'pulse', 'Sydney Cricket Ground', 'Swan', 'Captain' (Winter 1995), 'painting', 'course', 'secondary correspondence class'

(September 1994), 'airline', 'tourist', 'whale', 'dolphin', 'octopus', 'sports', 'generator', 'K-mart', 'shopping', 'video', 'dentist' (March 1994).

These and other examples show that (a) when the pronunciation in both languages is close, English orthography is often preferred to the Pitjantjatjara, as with 'teacher' vs *tiitja*; (b) in the case of established loan words which were once assimilated to the Pitjantjatjara phoneme and phonotactic system, but have been observed varying in teenage speech with a pronunciation closer to the English, there is a strong preference for an English spelling, for example 'photo' vs *puturu*, 'football' vs *palupula*; (c) new English borrowings, such as 'video', 'dentist' or 'airline', are written as they are in English.

2.13   Discussion

2.13.1   *Borrowing, switching or mixing?*

Should unassimilated or partially assimilated English words found in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara be regarded as borrowing? This question needs to be assessed as many linguists consider that only items fully assimilated into the receiving language should be considered as borrowings. As Trager (1972:113) put it: 'a word or phrase has not been 'borrowed' until it has been adapted — phonologically and in other ways'. Other researchers followed the same path. Poplack, Sankoff and Miller (1988) have added to the debate by distinguishing two kinds of loans: 'established' ones that are assimilated and nonce borrowings which are single occurrences of a word, integrated only momentarily or not at all. These unassimilated items are often thought about as code-switching (see further and Chapter 9) and not as borrowing. Haugen has argued that unassimilated loanwords are instances of language shift:

> It is not necessary nor even usual to take over a word with all its sounds, forms and meanings intact. To do so would involve a complete shift of language, which most speakers avoid by substituting some of the habits of their own language.   (Haugen 1953:38)

As Romaine (1989:59) notes, 'borrowed items tend to have an uncertain linguistic status for some time after they first adopted'. Dismissing unassimilated or partially assimilated English items found in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara as not being loanwords on the basis of their lack of phonological integration seems to be hasty. I do not believe that these unassimilated items should be considered as nonce borrowing (Poplack, Sankoff and Miller 1988) as they do not appear to be single occurrences, momentarily borrowed into Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara. They were recorded many times over the 18 months period of the study. They were not seen as being examples of language shift either, as they showed no syntactical modifications.

It could be suggested that these borrowings may represent some examples of code-switching or code-mixing. In many cases, the level of phonological adaptation of an item has been used to distinguish borrowing (usually assimilated) from code-switching/code-mixing (usually unassimilated). However, other factors have been considered in order to differentiate code-switching/code-mixing[2] from borrowing. Firstly, borrowing is common to the speech of both monolinguals and bilinguals, when code-switching/code-mixing is specific to bilingual speaker. Secondly, and perhaps most importantly, borrowing is usually linguistically motivated: a specific lexical item is introduced into a language to fill a lexical

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2   The difference between code-switching and code-mixing is detailed in Chapter 9.

gap, while code-switching/code-mixing is motivated by social and psychological factors. The same can be said about mixed languages such as pidgins that are restricted to functional domains, e.g. business.

In Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, unassimilated or partially assimilated items are not restricted to particular functional domains; nor are they, in my view, socially and/or psychologically motivated (see also Chapter 9). They are (by and large) words borrowed to fill lexical gaps (as exemplified in Chapters 6, 7 and Appendix 3). This is why they should be regarded as loan words. They also attest to the importance of the flow of new western concepts into the community.

Finally, Heah Lee Hsia (1989:100) reports in Bahasa Malay that the 'intactness' of unassimilated or partially assimilated words is 'the first step, before they go through the eventual process of transformation and metamorphosis' (see also Haugen 1953). It is possible that unassimilated loans will eventually become assimilated later on. On the other hand, the fact that old, established loans (once fully assimilated) are now being pronounced in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara according to a phonological and morphological system closer to English, as shown in this Chapter, would seem to run counter to this hypothesis.

2.13.2 *Summary*

The phonetic innovations observed in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara can be classified into two categories: (a) changes which are due to English cross-linguistic influence, (b) changes which are not.

The introduction of English loan words has resulted in the appearance in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara of new phonetic elements and of phonotactic innovations. New loans are being transferred into Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara with relatively little phonological assimilation. Even many well-established English loans are now used with a more English pronunciation. For many words, there is a continuum of realisation in teenage speech, with more or less fully assimilated forms being used alongside more anglicised ones. These variations have been observed both between speakers and within the speech of the same speaker.

The large number of non-assimilated English loans have resulted in the appearance of fricatives, stop voicing, and new clusters. Consonant-final loan words have also been observed. These phenomena are different from the elisions observed in teenage connected speech, in that they appear also in non-connected speech.

The current situation raises issues concerned with orthography. Conventional spelling of Traditional Pitjantjatjara seemed to be inappropriate for rendering the new borrowings found in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara. It was decided that in this work, in order to acknowledge these variations, new loans showing a pronunciation close to English would be transcribed with an English orthography (i.e. showing fricatives, clusters etc.), established English loans showing little or no variation would be spelt as in standard Pitjantjatjara spelling, while loan words showing standard Pitjantjatjara pronunciation with some English phonetic features (e.g. [b], [s]) would acknowledge these features in their orthography.

Importantly, all the changes just mentioned are confined to the realm of loan words. None of the phonemic and phonotactic features found in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara appear to be affecting the way traditional Pitjantjatjara words are pronounced.

On the other hand, there have been various changes which are not linked to English cross-linguistic influence and which apply across the whole (traditional) lexicon. In particular, there has been loss of glide-initial syllables in some environments. Elisions in connected speech were also documented. Although similar phenomena appear in Traditional Pitjantjatjara, these elisions are far more widespread in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara.

3 *Morphology*

This chapter deals with the morphological changes in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara. It is recognised that morphology (word structures) and syntax (rules governing word combinations in the sentence), are intrinsically linked and should be studied together, as taken for granted in generative linguistics. However, the two will be distinguished in this chapter for no other reason than to facilitate a clearer presentation of the findings. I will concentrate on the two main domains of inflectional morphology, i.e. nominal and verbal inflection, and on the most productive derivational process in the language — the formation of inchoative verbs.

To anticipate, the main finding is that substantial simplification has occurred in case-marking allomorphy and in aspects of inchoative verb formation but that the system of verbal inflection remains essentially untouched. To what extent are these changes induced by contact? To what extent are they indicative of incipient language loss?

As noted by Ferguson (1982:60), morphological simplification is common in language-contact situations. He identifies two main kinds: (a) an extensive inflectional system tends to be simplified in favour of fewer or no inflections at all, (b) allomorphy of stems is replaced by invariant stems. In the Australian context, studies such as those of Donaldson (1980), Schmidt (1985), and Lee (1987) have all documented morphological simplification in languages which are under severe contact pressure, or even at the brink of extinction. (For studies outside Australia, see especially Dorian 1973, 1978 and Dressler 1988).

On the other hand, as Calvet notes, all languages simplify as part of the normal process of language change:

> et l'on voit très bien, en vieux français ou en vieil anglais par exemple, comment le nombre de cas des déclinaisons se réduit peu à peu au profit de l'ordre syntaxique fixe et des propositions, en bref comment la langue se "simplifie", c'est-à-dire tout bêtement se systématise. (Calvet 1987:19)

Certainly the changes observed in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara are less drastic and traumatic than those observed by Schmidt (1985) or Lee (1987). It is by no means obvious whether or not they are symptomatic of a language under threat. I will return to this issue at the end of this chapter.

3.1 Nominals

3.1.1 Nominals in Traditional Pitjantjatjara

Dixon (1980:271ff.) has described the word classes (or parts of speech) commonly found in (Pama-Nyungan) Australian languages and this description can be applied to Pitjantjatjara. Dixon considers nouns and adjectives to belong to a single category (i.e. nominals) because they 'generally show identical morphological possibilities' and 'take the same set of inflections and also the same derivational suffixes'. This is true of Pitjantjatjara. An interesting peculiarity of Pitjantjatjara (Western Desert dialects), however, is that the case system differentiates common nouns from proper nouns.

Nominals declined in the same way as 'common nouns' include both count and non-count nouns (concrete or abstract), adjectives, days of the week or months, the demonstratives (*nyara* 'yonder', *pala* 'that', *nyanga* 'this', *panya* 'that known'), and the interrogative pronoun *nyaa* 'what'. Nominals declined in the same way as 'proper nouns' include all names (whether of people or places), nouns (usually terms for animals) which name personae in Dreaming stories, adjectives used as nicknames (e.g. *Tungkunya* 'Shorty') and the interrogative pronoun *ngana* 'who'. Kin terms and terms indicating a special time or stage of one's life can be declined in either way with the expected nuance of meaning difference (cf. Goddard 1985:25). Some examples:

(3.1) *Nganana   Jula-ngka ana-nyi   Canberra-ku.*
       1PL.NOM   July-LOC   go-PRES   Canberra-PURP
       'We are going to Canberra in July.'

(3.2) *Ngayu-ku   birthday May-ngka ngara-nyi.*
       1SG-GEN   birthday May-LOC   stand-PRES
       'My birthday is [stands] in May.'

(3.3) *Kaa   Nyii-nyii-lu   wangka-ngu Kaanka-nya   'A-ra'.*
       CONTR   zebra.finch-ERG.NAME   tell-PAST   crow-ACC.NAME   go-IMP
       'And Zebra Finch told Crow: "Go!".'

Nine cases can be identified — three 'core' syntactic cases (nominative, ergative, and accusative), and six peripheral cases (purposive/genitive, locative, ablative, allative, perlative, aversive). As far the core syntactic cases are concerned, there has been a tendency in Australian linguistics to describe such cases on the basis of their forms, rather than according to their functions. In particular, Dixon (1976, 1980) bases his description on the idea of a split case system in which pronouns are inflected for nominative and accusative cases, whereas nouns are inflected for ergative and absolutive cases (see also Silverstein 1976; Comrie 1981). Goddard (1982a) has argued against this interpretation, and has questioned the necessity of the absolutive case. According to him, 'if we stick with the traditional concept of a case as a substitution class, most Australian languages have a system of THREE (core) cases: nominative, ergative, and accusative' (1982a:194). The matter is still undecided, though several other researchers have adopted Goddard's view (Blake 1985; Wilkins 1989; see also Wierzbicka 1981). In this work we will also adopt Goddard's view, and assume that there are three core case categories — NOMinative, ERGative, ACCusative — which have different marking patterns for pronouns and for nouns.

The main peripheral syntactic case is the purposive/genitive case (the aversive case is minor and will not be considered further here). From a theoretical point of view, it is probably correct to say that there is only a single case (with different allomorphs marking

nouns and pronouns), but like Goddard (1985) in interlinear glosses I will gloss the two functions (genitive and purposive) differently: GENitive for 'possession' and PURPosive for 'goal or direction'. The other peripheral cases, glossed as LOCative, ABLative, ALLative, PERLative, can be grouped together as 'local' cases. Some of them cover several functions, as is often the case in Australian languages (Dixon 1980:293); for example, LOCative case covers an instrumental function (when there is physical contact between the instrument and the patient, cf. Goddard 1985 and Blake 1987).

Despite the relatively small number of case categories in comparison with some other Australian languages (Dixon 1980; Blake 1987), the Pitjantjatjara system of case marking is fairly complex due to the way that 'morphological, phonological and semantic factors interact to determine the distribution' of the markers (Goddard 1985:24). First, as mentioned, most cases distinguish between 'common' and 'proper' (i.e. names or other words in name-like function). Second, there is phonological allomorphy conditioned by the final segment of the stem, which can be: (a) vowel-final, as in *papa* 'dog', *pituri* 'wild tobacco', (b) laminal-final (*-ny* or *-ly*), as in *utjany* 'ironwood', *malany* 'younger sibling', (c) retroflex-final (*-n̠* or *-l̠*), as in *miran̠* 'angry', *pal̠tjul̠* 'foot', or (d) alveolar-final (*-n*, *-r*, *-l*) as in *piran* 'white person', *ngalkil* 'protector'. Where there are consonant-final allomorphs, they invariably commence with a stop which is homorganic to the stem-final consonant. The proper noun forms of the three local cases are all based on the proper noun LOCative form. The overall system (for nouns) is summarised in Table 3.1.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, Traditional Pitjantjatjara disallows consonant-final words altogether. To remedy any exceptions, the AUGmentative morpheme *-pa* is used: 'in one sense the *-pa* syllable is not part of the word, but can be seen as a special syllable added to words to prevent them ending in a consonant' (Eckert & Hudson 1988:16). As all case markers end with a vowel, *-pa* occurs only on 0-inflected words such as those in NOMinative or ACCusative case as in examples (3.4) and (3.5). It is not needed in examples like (3.6)–(3.8) because the case markers *-tju* (ERGative), *-ku* (PURPosive) and *-tja* (LOCative), respectively, ensure that the inflected words are vowel-final.

Table 3.1: Case markers for nouns in Traditional Pitjantjatjara (plain font represents 'common noun' inflections and bold font represents 'proper noun' inflections)

stem	NOM	ACC	PURP/ GEN	ERG	LOC	ALL	ABL	PERL
vowel final	*-∅* **-nya**	*-∅* **-nya**	*-ku* **-ku**	*-ngku* **-lu**	*-ngka* **-la**	*-kutu* **-lakutu**	*-nguru̠* **-languru̠**	*-wanu* **-lawanu**
-ny, -ly final	*(-pa)* **-nga**	*(-pa)* **-nga**	*-ku* **-ku**	*-tju* **-tju**	*-tja* **-tja**	*-kutu* **-tjakutu**	*-nguru̠* **-tjanguru̠**	*-wanu* **-tjawanu**
-n̠ or *l̠* final	*(-pa)* **-nga**	*(-pa)* **-nga**	*-ku* **-ku**	*-t̠u* **-t̠u**	*-t̠a* **-t̠a**	*-kutu* **-t̠akutu**	*-nguru̠* **-t̠anguru̠**	*-wanu* **-t̠awanu**
C-final *-n, -l, -r*	*(-pa)* **-nga**	*(-pa)* **-nga**	*-ku* **-ku**	*-tu* **-tu**	*-ta* **-ta**	*-kutu* **-takutu**	*-nguru̠* **-tanguru̠**	*-wanu* **-tawanu**

(3.4)   *Ngayu-ku maḻany-pa   Kormilda-la   nyina-nyi.*
         1SG-GEN   junior.sibling-AUG.NOM Kormilda-LOC.NAME live-PRES
         'My young sister lives at Kormilda [college].'

(3.5)   *Munga-ngka paluṟu   pula   mingkuḻ-pa   mantji-nu.*
         night-LOC   DEF.ERG 3DU.ERG wild.tobacco-AUG.ACC get-PAST
         'At night, he and his friend got some wild tobacco.'

(3.6)   *Ngayu-ku maḻany-tju   mutuka mantji-nu taunu-nguṟu.*
         1SG-GEN   junior.sibling-ERG car.ACC get-PAST   town-ABL
         'My young brother got a car from town.'

(3.7)   *Minyma tjuṯa   a-nu   Docker River-lakutu   mingkuḻ-ku.*
         woman   PL.NOM go-PAST   Docker River-ALL.NAME wild.tobacco-PURP
         'The women went to Docker River for wild tobacco.'

(3.8)   *Paluṟu   paṯa-ṉingi   ngana-mpa utjany-tja.*
         DEF.ERG   wait-PAST.IMPF 1PL-PURP   ironwood-LOC
         'He waited for us at the ironwood.'

Evidence suggests that the AUGmentative *-pa* is a relatively new innovation which has spread across the Western Desert region. Hale (1973) reports the syllable *-pa* as a feature of Pitjantjatjara and Luritja, Hansen and Hansen (1978) of Pintupi. However, the syllable *-pa* is not found in the neighbouring eastern Yankunytjatjara (Goddard 1985).

3.1.2 Common nouns (nominals) in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara

The preceding description of Traditional Pitjantjatjara sets the stage for my consideration of changes which have taken place in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara. The main innovation is the reanalysis of the AUGmentative *-pa* as part of the stem. In consequence, all nouns and adjectives become vowel-final. The phonologically conditioned variants in the traditional case-marking system are therefore obsolete as there is no use for any markers other than the vowel-final ones. Thus, the case-marking system of Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara has been reduced from its original four allomorphs per case to only one per case. This is illustrated below with ERGative case.

Environment	Traditional Pitjantjatjara	Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara
vowel-final	*wati-**ngku*** man-ERG	*wati-**ngku*** man-ERG
-ny or *-ly*-final	*maḻany-**tju*** junior.sibling-ERG	*maḻanypa-**ngku*** junior.sibling-ERG
-ṉ or *-ḻ*-final	*mingkuḻ-**ṯu*** wild.tobacco-ERG	*mingkulpa-**ngku*** wild.tobacco-ERG
-l, -n, -r-final	*nyuyur-**tu*** stepfather-ERG	*nyuyurpa-**ngku*** stepfather-ERG

The new paradigm for common nouns is shown in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: Case paradigm for common nouns (Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara)

Common nouns	NOM	ACC	PURP/ GEN	ERG	LOC	ALL	ABL	PERL
Any final	*-Ø*	*-Ø*	*-ku*	*-ngku*	*-ngka*	*-kutu*	*-nguṟu*	*-wanu*

The following examples illustrate the new case paradigm found in teenage speech. Note that since *-pa* is amalgamated into the traditional stem, there is no longer any reason to gloss it as AUGmentative.

(3.9) *Ngayu-ku maḻanypa-ngku   ngalya-kati-ngu   mai   ngura-kutu.*
       1SG-GEN junior.sibling-ERG THIS.WAY-bring-PAST food.ACC house-ALL
       'My young brother brought some food home.'

(3.10) *Iṯi   kulunypa-ngku waṉa-ṉi   palu-mpa   maama.*
       baby   little-ERG   follow-PRES DEF-GEN   mother.ACC
       'The little baby is following its mother.'

It is relevant for our purposes to note that *pa*-incorporation has been reported for at least one other Australian language. Hale (cited by Dixon 1980:209) reports this phenomenon in Warlpiri, a neighbouring language of Pitjantjatjara, where the AUGmentative *-pa* is now integrally part of formerly consonant-final words.

3.1.3 Proper nouns in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara

As background, it is necessary to note that the influence of religion and official administration have induced Aboriginal people to adopt European names, which are nowadays widespread throughout the community. Most of the people of Areyonga were known during the study under two or more different names: their 'Aboriginal name' and their 'English name' (see also Chapter 7) Dousset (1997:51) reports for Ngaatjatjarra (a dialect close to Pitjantjatjara) that people have 'a certain number of names from which he or she can choose to suit a specific situation'. The same applies for Pitjantjatjara. It seems that 'English names' were used mainly in European settings such as at the school or at the council office, and 'Aboriginal names' in any other situations. The daughter of my neighbour, for example, used the name Veronica at school but was called Tinkiri at home.[1] (Pitjantjatjara people also have a skin subsection name ('skin name'), but their kinship system (described in Chapter 7) is less elaborate than that of, for instance, the Warlpiri, and use of skin names is restricted to ceremonies (Dussard 1988).

Traditional Pitjantjatjara names ending with a consonant appear to be relatively rare (Eckert & Hudson 1988). When informants were asked if they knew any Aboriginal names finishing with *-ṉ* or *-ḻ*, they answered unanimously that such names did not exist within the community. However there are many place names ending with the sound *-l* or *-n* or *-r* such as Pine Hill, Fregon or Kintore. The data do not show any items ending in *-ny*, *-ly* or *-ṉ*, *ḻ-*, but it is likely that such items would follow the pattern described for any consonant-final proper nouns.

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[1] Special circumstances can alter the situation. For instance, if two or more people have the same name within the community, the English name of the youngest person will be the one used by all. In the case of somebody's death, people who share the same or similar first name as the deceased might choose to use their English first name instead of being called by the avoidance name *Kumana* (a shortened form of *kunmaṉara*).

With regard to European names, most of them are integrated into the Pitjantjatjara sound system. Names like 'Melissa' or 'Matthew' would become *Militja* or *Matju*. It is necessary to remain alert to the possibility that a European name may be spelt with a consonant which is not pronounced, in which case it is treated as vowel-final in Pitjantjatjara. This is the case with the English name Peter |piːtə|, for example. The integration of European proper nouns into Pitjantjatjara has been described by Eckert and Hudson (1988:108).

Now, recall that in Traditional Pitjantjatjara proper nouns have a vowel-final allomorph and several different consonant-final allomorphs for all cases (with the exception of the genitive/purposive). In Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, however, proper nouns now only have two sets of markers. The traditional marker *-lu* is retained for vowel-final proper nouns. Otherwise the traditional marker is simply preceded by an epenthetic vowel *-a*. This can be illustrated, for the ERGative case, as follows. The full paradigm is given in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3: Case paradigm in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara for proper nouns

	Proper nouns Vowel-final	Proper nouns Consonant-final
NOMinative	*-nya*	*-anya*
ACCusative	*-nya*	*-anya*
PURPosive/GENitive	**-ku**	**-ku**
ERGative	*-lu*	*-alu*
LOCative	*-la*	*-angka*
ALLative	*-lakutu*	*-alakutu*
ABLative	*-langu̱ru̱*	*-alanguru̱*
PERLative	*-lawanu*	*-alawanu*

Environment	Traditional Pitjantjatjara	Teenage Pitjantjatjara
vowel-final	*Utju-**lu*** Utju-ERG.NAME	Utju-**lu** Utju-ERG.NAME
-ny or *-ly*-final	*Kanginy-**tju*** Kanginy-ERG.NAME	*Kanginy-**alu**?* Kanginy-ERG.NAME
-n̠ or *-l̠*-final	*-n̠/-l̠*-final -**tu** *-n̠/-l̠*-final-ERG.NAME	*-n̠/-l̠*-final-***alu**?* *-n̠/-l̠*-final-ERG.NAME
other C-final	*Fregon-**tu*** Fregon-ERG.NAME *Lauren-**tu*** Lauren-ERG.NAME	*Fregon-**alu*** Fregon-ERG.NAME *Lauren-**alu*** Lauren-ERG.NAME

Examples (3.11) and (3.13) illustrate Traditional Pitjantjatjara while (3.12) and (3.14) show Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara.

(3.11)   *Iriti   ngayulu   Fregon-ta   nyina-ngi.*
          long.ago   1SG.NOM   Fregon-LOC.NAME   live-PAST.IMPF
          'A long time ago, I lived in Fregon.'

(3.12) *Iriti   ngayulu Fregon-ala   nyina-ngi.*
        long.ago 1SG.NOM Fregon-LOC.NAME live-PAST.IMPF
        'A long time ago, I lived in Fregon.'

(3.13) *John-tu   pau-nu   kuka.*
        John-ERG.NAME cook-PAST meat.ACC
        'John cooked the meat.'

(3.14) *John-alu   pau-nu   kuka.*
        John-ERG.NAME cook-PAST meat.ACC
        'John cooked the meat.'

3.1.4 Discussion

Summarising nominal changes in teenage speech, it can be said, firstly, that the distinction between common and proper nouns has been maintained. Second, since the AUGmentative -*pa* is now integrally part of the word it used to be added onto, the case-marking system for common nouns has been simplified down to the vowel-final marker for all cases. Third, even with proper nouns, there has been reduction in the case-marking paradigm. The traditional inflection for vowel-final proper nouns has been retained, and adapted for use with consonant-final stems by means of an epenthetic vowel -*a*.

When this drastic reduction of allomorphs was discussed with informants within the community, they did not seem at all surprised by the findings. On the contrary, they explained it with these little comments:

> 'We at Areyonga, we speak like Docker River and Mutitjulu. It is Pitjantjatjara and Aranda. But Ernabella, Fregon, Amata, Mimili, they are Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara.' (J., 35 years old)

> 'This is old people's speech. We know about it. At Ernabella they speak like that, but in Areyonga we prefer the easy way.' (C., 30 years old)

When looking closer at the Areyonga speech community, it is noted that the simplified case-marking system is used by most people aged under 35. Older women do not systematically incorporate the AUGmentative -*pa* as part of the noun or adjective, but may sometimes include it, especially in very casual speech. In a personal conversation, Michael Ellis. who taught in Areyonga in the mid-seventies, recalled hearing and being taught the more complex traditional system, which seems to indicate that the changes are fairly recent.

The new case-marking paradigms serve to differentiate Areyonga from other Pitjantjatjara communities, and appear to be part of Areyonga linguistic identity. Despite the fact that people acknowledge that changes are currently happening or have already happened, they do not consider these changes as alarming. As J. said, 'It is the way Areyonga people speak'.

We will return to the significance of these changes in nominal inflection after we have considered the situation with verbs.

3.2 Verbal morphology

The second major set of morphological changes observed in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara concerns conjugational classes and verb formation. To set these changes in perspective, a certain amount of detail is needed on Traditional Pitjantjatjara.

3.2.1 Verbs in Traditional Pitjantjatjara

From a syntactic point of view, Pitjantjatjara verbs are either transitive or intransitive — even though some verbs may be both, like *kuntjulpu-ng* 'cough' (intransitive) or 'cough up' (transitive). As is often the case in Australian languages (Dixon 1980:279), there is a correlation between verb class and transitivity, and some derivational processes effect a change in transitivity.

There are four conjugational classes (verb classes).

- **0-class:** verbs of this class are conjugated like *wangka-0* 'say'. Most are dimoric, and often intransitive. Verbs derived with the INCHOative verbaliser *-ari/ri* belong to the 0-class, if the derived verb has an even number of morae.

- **l-class:** verbs of this class are conjugated like *patja-l* 'bite'. This class contains mainly transitive verbs. English borrowed verbs suffixed with the transitive morpheme *-mila/ -ma* LOAN (see later) belong to this class .

- **ng-class:** verbs of this class are conjugated like *pu-ng* 'hit'. The stems of ng-verbs always have an odd number of morae, including some monomoric roots (unlike as in the 0- or l-classes). INCHOative verbs are of ng-class if the suffixed stem is of odd number of morae. Except for the derived inchoatives, ng-class verbs are usually transitive.

- **n-class:** Verbs of this class are conjugated like *tju-n* 'put'. Stems always have an odd number of morae, including some monomoric roots. As with ng-class verbs, n-class verbs are mostly transitive.

There are many ways of deriving verbs in Pitjantjatjara. Some verbs are based on nominals, with or without a derivational morpheme (3.15). Other formations use a verbaliser like the INCHOative *-ri/-ari* (3.16), or involve compounding with a morpheme like *-tju-* 'put' (3.17), or *-pu-* 'do forcefully' (3.18).

	non-verbal stem		verbalised form	
(3.15)	*wati*	'man'	*wati-l*	'put through the Law'
	ini	'name'	*ini-l*	'name'
	wiru	'nice'	*wiru-l*	'make nice'
	wara	'long, tall'	*wara-l*	'make tall, lengthening'
	ila	'near'	*ila-l*	'pull'
	patu	'apart'	*patu-l*	'make separate'
(3.16)	*wati*	'man'	*wati-ri-ng*	'become a wati '
	patu	'long, tall'	*patu-ri-ng*	'become separated'
	wiru	'nice'	*wiru-ri-ng*	'become nice'
	wara	'long, tall'	*wara-ri-ng*	'become tall'

(3.17) *ini*   'name'   *ini-tju-n*   'put a name'
        walka   'design'   *walka-tju-n*   'put a design, write'
        tjina   'foot'   *tjin-tju-n*   'release, set free'
        pita   'bed'[2]   *pita-tju-n*   'make the bed'

(3.18) *uḻu*   'flour'   *uḻu-pu-ng*   'make into flour'
        wiṟu   'nice'   *wiṟu-pu-ng*   'plane down'
        tjilpir 'splinter' *tjilpir-pu-ng*   'split, splinter'

The examples shown so far all involve verbs derived from nominals. Verbs can also be derived from other verbs by suffixation with morphemes such as the CAUSatives *-tjinga* (3.19) and *-lyi* (3.20), *-kati* PROCESS (3.21), or *-tju* 'put' (3.22).

	verb stem		**derived verb stem**	
(3.19)	*wangka-Ø*	'talk'	*wangka-tjinga-l*	'make talk'
	mira-Ø	'shout'	*mira-tjinga-l*	'make someone shout'
(3.20)	*ngari-Ø*	'lie'	*ngari-lyi-n*	'make sleep with one'
	ngaṟa-Ø	'stand'	*ngaṟa-lyi-n*	'make someone take a standing position'
(3.21)	*ngari-Ø*	'lie'	*ngari-kati-Ø*	'lie down'
	mira-Ø	'shout'	*mira-kati-Ø*	'shout while going along'
	ngaṟa-Ø	'stand'	*ngaṟa-kati-Ø*	'come to a halt in a standing position'
(3.22)	*ngari-Ø*	'lie'	*ngari-tju-n*	'put into a lying position'
	ngaṟa-Ø	'stand'	*ngaṟa-tju-n*	'put into an upright position'

Pitjantjatjara verbs have eight inflectional categories. There is no verbal concord between the subject and the verb. In French, for instance, the verb agrees in gender and number with the subject showing different declensions. In Pitjantjatjara, there is only one form per tense and that form applies to any subject.

The PRESent tense covers any event that is happening as one is speaking. No aspect differentiation, as for example in English between simple and progressive (or continuous) present, is found in the PRESent tense. Nevertheless, aspect exists in Pitjantjatjara and is found at the past tense and imperative mood. The PAST and the past imperfective (interlinear gloss PAST.IMPF) both refer to action that took place prior to one's speaking. However, the past imperfective indicates a different aspect of that past action, implying it happened over a certain period of time. Similarly, the perfective IMPerative is used to give orders or instructions. Its imperfective aspect (interlinear gloss IMP.IMPF) suggests a more lengthy period of realisation of the occurrence. This is usually rendered in English by the expression 'keep on doing something' (Goddard 1985:96–97).

The FUTure indicates the possibility or the likelihood of an action as in English. Finally, the CHARacteristic form has been defined as a form that 'does not present or depict an individual event', but 'presents an image of a subject performing an action, as typical of that subject' (Goddard 1985:98). No time frame is suggested but it is often understood from the context as in (3.23) and (3.24).

---

2   From English.

(3.23)   *Ngayulu   kuula-ngka   titutjara   tjarpa-pai.*
          1SG.NOM   school-LOC   always   go.into-CHAR
          'I always go to school.'

(3.24)   *Ngayu-ku   walytja   nyina-pai   Darwin-ala.*
          1SG-GEN   family   live-CHAR   Darwin-LOC.NAME
          'My family used to live in Darwin. [Now they live in Utju].'

Pitjantjatjara also has two non-finite verb forms — the SERIAL[3] verb form and the nominalised form (interlinear gloss NOML), the latter coming into the formation of complex clauses (described in Chapter 5).

Sample paradigms are given in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4: Traditional Pitjantjatjara verbal conjugations

	Ø-class *wangka-Ø* 'talk'	l-class *patja-l* 'bite'	ng-class *pu-ng* 'hit'	n-class *tju-n* 'put'
IMP	*wangka-Ø*	*patja-la*	*pu-wa*	*tju-ra*
PAST	*wangka-ngu*	*patja-nu*	*pu-ngu*	*tju-nu*
PRES	*wangka-nyi*	*patja-ni*	*pu-nga-nyi*	*tju-na-nyi*
IMP.IMPF	*wangka-ma*	*patja-nma*	*pu-nga-ma*	*tju-na-ma*
PAST.IMPF	*wangka-ngi*	*patja-ningi*	*pu-nga-ngi*	*tju-na-ngi*
FUT	*wangka-ku*	*patjal-ku*	*pu-ngku-ku*	*tju-nku-ku*
CHAR	*wangka-pai*	*patjal-pai*	*pu-ngku-pai*	*tju-nku-pai*
NOML	*wangka-nytja*	*patja-ntja*	*pu-ngku-nytja*	*tju-nku-nytja*
SERIAL	*wangka-ra*	*patja-ra*	*pu-ngku-la*	*tju-nku-la*

As one can see from examining Table 3.4, there are various overlaps in form between the different inflections. Eckert and Hudson (1988) and Bowe (1990) essentially ignore these and posit a single unanalysable suffix for each inflection. I must say this was the approach I myself first adopted but, in the view of data and the changes noted in teenage speech, I eventually rejected this hypothesis in favour of the more sophisticated analysis proposed by Goddard (1985), which posits the existence of three different verbal stems. As Goddard notes:

> with a complex set of morphological facts, there are various possible analyses of the verb paradigms, depending on the extent to which variation is described as morpholexically conditioned, or as resulting from morphophonemic rules operating on underlying forms. (Goddard 1985:89–90)

He concludes that the optimal description of the verbal paradigm is to be framed 'partly in terms of variation in stem form, and partly as allomorphic variation in suffix form' (Goddard 1985:91). Up to three distinct stem forms are used: a root, a neutral stem, and an augmented stem.[4] '[D]epending on verb class, a lexeme may have one, two or three distinct stem-forms' (Goddard 1985:91) as the following table illustrates.

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[3]   For a complete description of verb serialisation, see Goddard (1985:98–104).
[4]   Goddard (1985:90) called the augmented stem 'imperfective stem' because 'the relevant inflectional categories are all imperfective in aspect'.

Table 3.5: Traditional Pitjantjatjara verb stems

Verb class	Neutral stem	Root	Augmented stem
Ø-class		*nyina-*	
l-class	*atul-*	*atu-*	
ng-class	*pungku-*	*pu-*	*punga-*
n-class	*tjunku-*	*tju-*	*tjuna-*

As one can see from Table 3.4, the root is also used to form the perfective aspect and the PAST and IMPerative for all verb classes. The root is also used to form l-class verbs in the PRESent, past imperfective (PAST.IMPF) and imperative imperfective (IMP.IMPF) tenses. For the other classes, these three inflections are based on the augmented stem.

The neutral stem is used to form the FUTure, the CHARacteristic and the nominalisation (NOML) for all classes. It is also used to form the SERIAL form for ng-class and n-class verbs; Ø- and l-classes form their SERIAL forms directly on the root.

3.3 Inchoative verbs

3.3.1 The formation of INCHOative verbs

As in most languages that have a very limited set of verbs, derivational processes and compounding are widely used in Pitjantjatjara. The INCHOative verbaliser *-ari/-ri* is one of these processes. It is suffixed to nouns, adjectives and spatial qualifiers, and enters into the composition of loan verbs. Allormorph *-ari* is used with consonant-final bases, and allomorph *-ri* with vowel-final bases. The conjugational class of the INCHOative verb depends upon the morae parity of the stem. If it has an odd number of morae, it will belong to the ng-class. If it has an even number of morae, it will be Ø-class. For example:

odd number of morae: ng-class verb

kura	'bad'	*kura-ri-ng*	'become bad'
tjungu	'join'	*tjungu-ri-ng*	'join or come together'
rituwana	'red'	*rituwana-ri-ng*	'become red, go red'

even number of morae: Ø-class verb

yaaltji	'what?'	*yaaltji-ri-Ø*	'what happens'
mungartji	'late afternoon'	*mungartji-ri-Ø*	'get late'
alatji	'like this'	*alatji-ri-Ø*	'become like this'

The nominal changes discussed earlier are noticeable in the formation of verbs. The incorporation of AUGmentative *-pa* to consonant-final nouns or adjectives has changed the way some INCHOative verbs are now used in teenage speech. For example, in Traditional Pitjantjatjara *pukuḻ* 'happy' is suffixed as *pukuḻ-ari-* 'become happy', but in teenage speech the stem is *pukuḻpa-ri*. The same applies to *kuluny-* 'small, young'. In teenage speech the INCHOative verb is *kuluṉpa-ri-*.

(3.25) *Ka   pangkalangu kulupa-ri-ngu   kulupa mulapa munu*
        CONTR   ogre.NOM   small-INCHO-PAST small   really   ADD

       ngalya-kutitjaka-ngu   kuḻpi-kutu.
       THIS.WAY-run-PAST   cave-ALL
       'And the ogre became small, really small, and ran towards the cave.'

There is at least one exception to this rule. The adjective *kunkun* 'asleep' is found as *kunkunpa* 'asleep' in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, but the corresponding INCHOative verb is still based on the traditional form of the adjective (i.e. *kunkunari*).

(3.26) *Tantji-ringku-la   a-nu   ngura-kutu malaku   kunkunpa*
        dance-INCHO-SERIAL go-PAST home-ALL   again   asleep

       kunkun-ari-nytja-ku.
       sleep-INCHO-NOML-PURP
       'After dancing [we] went home sleepy, to rest.'

As mentioned, from a conjugational point of view, INCHOative verbs are of either 0-class or ng-class. Their verbal paradigm is as tabulated below.

Table 3.6: Verbal paradigm for inchoative verbs

	0-class *watarku-ri-0* 'become oblivious'	ng-class *ninti-ri-ng* 'become knowledgeable'
IMP	*watarku-ri-0*	*ninti-ri-**wa***
PAST	*watarku-ri-**ngu***	*ninti-ri-**ngu***
PRES	*watarku-ri-**nyi***	*ninti-ringa-**nyi***
IMP.IMPF	*watarku-ri-**ma***	*ninti-ringa-**ma***
PAST.IMPF	*watarku-ri-**ngi***	*ninti-ringa-**ngi***
FUT	*watarku-ri-**ku***	*ninti-ringku-**ku***
CHAR	*watarku-ri-**pai***	*ninti-ringku-**pai***
NOML	*watarku-ri-**nytja***	*ninti-ringku-**nytja***
SERIAL	*watarku-ri-**ra***	*ninti-ringku-**la***

Goddard (1985) has described the different semantic values of the INCHOative verbs in his Yankunytjatjara grammar. No differences were noted in the range of uses of the INCHOative verbaliser. The same cannot be said about the classes of the INCHOative verbs.

3.3.2 *Changes in inchoative verbs in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara*

First, some changes in verb class have been observed with English loan verbs, as a result of phonological factors. As described in Chapter 2, Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara permits certain clusters allowed in English but impossible in Traditional Pitjantjatjara. As a result, the mora parity of some INCHOative verbs has been altered. Teenagers have sometimes even reanalysed old borrowings as English words and pronounce them according to the English phonological and morphological system. As the class of INCHOative verb is determined by mora parity, phonological change within the verb can lead to changes of verb class. For example, the English verb 'clean' was once borrowed as *kilina*, since a *kl* cluster is impossible

in Traditional Pitjantjatjara. When suffixed with the INCHOative verbaliser *-ri*, the verb stem *kilina-ri* has an even number of morae and, as such, is automatically classified as Ø-class. In Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, a *kl* cluster is common and the English verb 'clean' is borrowed as *klina* and not *kilina*. As the suffixed stem now has an odd number of morae, the INCHOative verb belongs to the ng-class.

English	Traditional Pitjantjatjara	Teenage Pitjantjatjara
'make an attempt/try'	*turaina-ri-Ø*	*traina-ri-ng*
'get clean'	*kilina-ri-Ø*	*klina-ri-ng*
'feel cramp'	*karampa-ri-Ø*	*krampa-ri-ng*
'get drunk'	*turangka-ri-Ø*	*trangka-ri-ng* or *dranka-ri-ng*
'get dry'	*turai-ri-ng*	*trai-ri-Ø* or *drai-ri-Ø*

(3.27) *Epridai   ngayulu   traina-ringa-nyi   ini-ku.*
every.day 1SG.NOM try-INCHO-PRES name-PURP
'Every day, I try [to write my] name.'

(3.28) *Nganana klina-ringa-nyi   munu ana-nyi tjaatji-kutu, ulka   pulka-ku.*
1PL.NOM clean-INCHO-PRES ADD   go-PRES church-ALL ceremony big-PURP
'We clean ourselves and we are going to church, for Confirmation.'

(3.29) *Krampa-ri-ngu-na.*
cramp-INCHO-PAST-1SG.NOM
'I felt cramped.'

A similar phenomenon occurs with English loan words whose root includes a long vowel. For instance, the English verb 'start' is found in Traditional Pitjantjatjara as *tjaata-ri-Ø* since a long vowel counts as two morae. In Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, the vowel length varies between the traditional root *tjaata* (three morae) and the more anglicised *tjarta* (two morae). As a result, according to the root on which the INCHOative verbaliser is suffixed, the verb is of either Ø-class or ng-class.

English	Traditional Pitjantjatjara	Teenage Pitjantjatjara
'start'	*tjaata-ri-Ø*	*tjaata-ri-Ø* or *tjarta-ri-ng*
'work'	*waaka-ri-Ø*	*waaka-ri-Ø* or *warka-ri-ng*
'dance'	*taantji-ri-Ø*	*taantji-ri-Ø* or *tantji-ri-ng*

(3.30) *Nganana   ngalya-tjarta-ringa-ngi   ngalya-pitja-ntja-ku*
1PL.NOM   THIS.WAY-start-INCHO-PAST.IMPF THIS.WAY-come-NOML-PURP

Alice Springs-ku.
Alice Springs-PURP
'We started to go towards Alice Springs.'

(3.31) *Ka   tjuta   ana-nyi kuula-kutu, kuula   tjaata-ri-nyi.*
CONTR PL.NOM go-PRES school-ALL school.NOM start-INCHO-PRES
'And all [the children] are going to school [because] school is starting.'

(3.32) *Ngayulu wiya waaka-ri-nyi,   ngayulu ana-nyi uputju-kutu.*
1SG.NOM NEG work-INCHO-PRES 1SG.NOM go-PRES office-ALL
'I am not working, I am [just] going to the office.'

(3.33)   *Palu<u>r</u>u   wiya   warka-ringa-nyi   laitjipaka.*
          DEF.NOM   NEG   work-INCHO-PRES   lazy.buggar
          'He doesn't work [because he is] lazy.'

(3.34)   *Munu   kiita   pungku-nyangka   minyma   tju<u>t</u>a   paka-<u>r</u>a*
          ADD   guitar   hit-CIRCUM   mature.woman   PL.NOM   get.up-SERIAL

          tantji-ringa-ngi.
          dance-INCHO-PAST.IMPF
          'And as [he] was playing guitar, the older women got up and danced.'

(3.35)   *Kungka   tju<u>t</u>a   disco-ngka   taantji-ri-nyi   taantji-ri-nyi,*
          young.girl   PL.NOM   disco-LOC   dance-INCHO-PRES   dance-INCHO-PRES

          kiita   taimi   taantji-ri-nyi.
          guitar   time   dance-INCHO-PRES
          'The young girls are dancing and dancing at the disco, [there is a] concert
          [they are dancing].'

There are some inconsistencies. For instance, in (3.36), the borrowed verb 'work' is pronounced with a short vowel in its root. But within a couple of sentences, the teenager uses two different declensions: first *warka-ri-Ø* then *warka-ri-ng*.

(3.36)   *Ka   Yelpi-nya   tjana   *night patrol   warka-ri-nyi.*
          CONTR Yelpi-NOM.NAME   3PL.NOM   night patrol.PURP   work-INCHO-PRES

          Ka   minyma   kutjupa   tju<u>t</u>a   nyina-nyi   ngura-ngka.
          CONTR mature.woman   another   PL.NOM   stay-PRES   home-LOC

          Ka   Yelpi-nya   Karri-nya   someone paIu<u>r</u>u
          CONTR Yelpi-NOM.NAME   Karri-NOM.NAME   someone   DEF.NOM

          warka-ringa-nyi.
          work-INCHO-PRES
          'And Yelpi and her friends are working [for] the night patrol. And [while]
          many other [mature] women are staying at home. Yelpi, Karri and someone
          [else talked about before] are working.'

A similar phenomenon has been observed with the English loan 'dance'. Again, no phonological differences are noticeable between the two utterances. But again, a ng-class declension is used and within a few sentences a Ø-class declension is found.

(3.37)   *Ka   kutju-ngku* kutju   paatja katu tantji-ringa-ngi,   ngana-ny(a)*
          CONTR one-ERG   one   bus   high dance-INCHO-PAST.IMPF who?-NOM

          ngura India-nya   ngura kutju   tantji-ri-ngi   pala.
          home   India-ACC.NAME   home one   dance-INCHO-PAST.IMPF   just.there
          'And one [person] danced on the top of a bus. Who? An Indian [woman], was
          dancing by herself just there.'

Variations are not limited to loan verbs. Some Pitjantjatjara verbs whose INCHOative stem has an odd number of morae also show verb-class variation. These verbs are usually found marked with Ø-class inflections in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara when they were traditionally inflected as ng-class verbs. Compare (3.38) and (3.39) with *pikari-Ø* and *pikari-*

ng. The following two sentences show *ngurpa-ri-* 'become ignorant' and *kura-ri-* 'feel bad' as ∅-class verbs when in Traditional Pitjantjatjara both are ng-class.

(3.38) *Palu<u>r</u>u   pula   pika-ri-nyi.*
        DEF.NOM 3DU.NOM fight-INCHO-PRES
        'These two are fighting.'

(3.39) *Kungka palu<u>r</u>u   pula-nta   pika-ringa-ngi*
        girl   DEF.NOM 3DU.NOM-EMPH   fight-INCHO-PAST.IMPF

        pika-ringku-la   pinishi   palu<u>r</u>u   warki-ngu.
        fight-INCHO-SERIAL finish   DEF.NOM swear-PAST
        'He and that girl then [started] fighting, after finishing fighting, she swore [at him].'

(3.40) *'Nyuntu kuwari ngurpa-ri-nyi,   warka-ku   mantji-la.'*
        2SG.NOM soon   unfamiliar-INCHO-PRES work-PURP   get-IMP
        '"You will soon become an ignorant (slob), go and get a job".'

(3.41) *Ngayulu kura-ri-nyi   para-ngara-nytja-ku.*
        1SG.NOM bad-INCHO-PRES AROUND-stand-NOML-PURP
        '"I'm sick of just hanging around".'

Similar variations have been recorded for the synonyms *unytju-ri-ng* and *muku-ri-ng* 'like, want'. Some researchers (Bowe 1990) have not analysed the INCHOative verbaliser as involved in the composition of these verbs. Goddard (1994:237–238) agrees that 'in canonical contexts with a clausal complement, there is no trace of any inchoative (become/ happen) meaning'. However, even though the INCHOative morpheme is not relevant on a semantic level, it may still bear some relevance on a morphological level. It is possible for the verb 'like, want' to be analysed as *muku-ringa-nyi* 'like/want-INCHO-PRES' even though it is true that *muku* does not occur as an independent root in Traditional Pitjantjatjara. The presence of the adjectives *mukulya* 'fond of' and *mukulya-mukulya* 'very keen on something, fanatical' in the Pitjantjatjara lexicon tends to indicate that the root may have once existed. Similarly, the verb *a<u>r</u>u-ri-ng* 'make a turn' is not based on any independent root, but the verb *a<u>r</u>u-l* 'chase around' and the adjective *a<u>r</u>u<u>t</u>u-a<u>r</u>u<u>t</u>u* 'turning back on oneself' indicate an earlier lexical relationship. They are also conjugated according to the mora parity of their stem, like any other INCHOative verb.[5] Finally, all the verbs cited show similar variation in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara. For all these reasons, *-ari/ri* has been glossed as an INCHOative verbaliser when analysing the composition of these verbs.

(3.42) *Ngayulu unytju-ri-nyi   nyura-lakutu tjukurpa   wangka-nytja-ku.*
        1SG.NOM want- INCHO-PRES 2PL-ALL   story.ACC tell-NOML-PURP
        'I like telling story to you mob.'

(3.43) *Tjana   muku-ri-nyi   mai tjakala   ngaku-nytja-ku.*
        3PL.NOM like-INCHO-PRES food chocolate.ACC eat-NOML-PURP
        'They [would] like to eat some chocolate.'

(3.44) *Ngayulu muku-ringa-nyi anku-ntja-ku   snow-angka palu money   wiya.*
        1SG.NOM like-INCHO-PRES go-NOML-PURP snow-LOC   BUT money   NEG
        'I [would] like to go to the snow but I don't have any money.'

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5   This is not always the case with *-ri* final verbal stem. The verb *ngari-∅* 'lie' is of the wrong class to be considered as an INCHOative verb, added to the fact that INCHOative verbal roots always have a minimum of two morae.

Similar considerations apply in the case of the verb *ika-ri-* 'laugh'. In Traditional Pitjantjatjara it is ng-class, in accordance with its mora parity, but in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara is often (but not always) 0-class.

(3.45) *Wiya ngayulu ika-ringa-nyi   ngayulu kunta-ri-nyi   nulla.*
        NEG   1SG.NOM laugh-INCHO-PRES 1SG.NOM shame-INCHO-PRES all
        'I am not laughing, I am feeling complete shame.'

(3.46) *Ka   tjitji tjuta   ika-ri-ngi.*
        CONTR child   PL.NOM laugh-INCHO-PAST.IMPF
        'And the children laughed.'

To summarise, it has been established that verb-class variations are occurring with INCHOative verbs in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara. These changes are sometimes conditioned by the phonological and/or morphological make-up of the verbal root, but not always. Variations have been observed in the PRESent and the past imperfective (PAST.IMPF) tenses (PAST tense cannot be an indicator as the same inflection is shared by both classes).

3.3.3 *INCHOative verbs and neutral stem in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara*

From the data, it appears that when in the SERIAL form, all INCHOative verbs take the ng-class suffix whatever the nature of the verb. For example, (3.47)–(3.48) show verbs with an even number of morae in the stem, which in Traditional Pitjantjatjara are 0-class, occurring instead with the ng-class SERIAL suffix.

(3.47) *Mungartji-ringku-la pangkalangu kulpi-nguru yuu-kutu   urakati-ngu.*
        late-INCHO-SERIAL   ogre.NOM   cave-ABL   shelter-ALL sneak-PAST
        'After it became dark, the ogre sneaked from the cave to the shelter.'

(3.48) *Alatji-ringku-la   wiya-ri-ngu   alatji-ya*
        behave.like.that-INCHO-SERIAL end-INCHO-PAST like.that-3PL.NOM

        nyina-ngi.
        sit-PAST.IMPF
        'After [they] had finished behaving like that, they sat like that.'

The next two examples show English borrowings with an even number of morae in the stem: again, taking the ng-class SERIAL suffix.

(3.49) *Toilaita-ringku-la   ngayulu ngalya-pitja-ngu-nta.*
        toilet-INCHO-SERIAL   1SG.NOM THIS.WAY-come-PAST-EMPH
        'After I went to the toilet, I then went this way.'

(3.50) *Munu nyaa? Traapa-ringku-la kunyu kutitjaka-ngu kunyu ngura-kutu.*
        ADD what fell-INCHO-SERIAL QUOTE run-PAST   QUOTE home-ALL
        'And what? After falling, [she] ran home, they say.'

In similar fashion, the CHARacteristic declension was also found inflected overwhelmingly with ng-class conjugation, regardless of the class of the verb: (3.51)–(3.53). The only exception is *kunkuna-ri-0* 'become sleepy' which is still found inflected with its traditional 0-class marker (see 3.54).

(3.51)   *Munu-la   inka-ra   mungartji-ringku-pai   wiya-ringku-la*
         ADD-1PL.NOM play-SERIAL   late-INCHO-CHAR   end-INCHO-SERIAL

       nganana   pitja-pai.
       1PL.NOM   come-CHAR
       'And we finish playing when it gets late, and then we usually go home.'

(3.52)   *Paluru   titutjara   trai-ringku-pai.*
         DEF.NOM always   try-INCHO-CHAR
         'He always tries [to do his best].'

(3.53)   *Paluru   kuula-ngka   warka-ringku-pai.*
         DEF.NOM school-LOC   work-INCHO-CHAR
         'She works at the school.'

(3.54)   *Ngayulu   blue house-angka   kunkuna-ri-pai.*
         1SG.NOM   blue house-LOC   sleep-INCHO-CHAR
         'I sleep in the blue house.'

The common denominator of these two forms — SERIAL and CHARacteristic — is that both are built on a neutral stem (when of ng-class). It was necessary, therefore, to look at other forms that followed the same pattern: the FUTure tense and the nominalised (NOML) form. Both of these forms were, however, difficult to survey. The data had a limited set of FUTure utterances, and almost none involved verbs with an even number of morae in the stem. Nominalised INCHOative verbs (with an even number of morae in the stem) were similarly rare.

On the other hand, there were some attested examples of clauses based on INCHOative verbs (with an even number of morae in the stem). Although this formation does not directly reflect the nominalisation process, it should nevertheless be considered as such (Goddard 1985:85; and as explained in Chapter 5). The data here show that verbs (with an even number of morae in the stem) oscillate between 0-class, as expected in Traditional Pitjantjatjara, and ng-class. For example, (3.55) and (3.56) show *munga-ri-nyangka* vs *munga-ringku-nyangka* for 'as it was getting dark', while (3.57) and (3.58) show *waarka-ri-nyangka* vs *warka-ringku-nyangka* 'while working'.

(3.55)   *Ngalya-warakati-ra-la   munga-ri-nyangka*
         THIS.WAY-come.down-SERIAL-1PL.ERG night-INCHO-CIRCUM

       ngalya-pitja-la   mai   ngalku-ningi.
       THIS.WAY-come-SERIAL food.ACC eat-PAST.IMPF
       'After coming down [from the hill] as it was getting dark, we went across, we ate food.'

(3.56)   *Munga-ringku-nyangka   pitja-ngu   kiita kiita   nyaku-ntja-ku.*
         night-INCHO-CIRCUM   come-PAST guitar guitar see-NOML-PURP
         'As it was getting dark, [we] came to see the concert.'

(3.57)   *Walauru-nya   palu-mpa kata kura-ringa-ngi*
         wedge.tailed.eagle-NOM.NAME   DEF-GEN   head bad-INCHO-PAST.IMPF

       uputju-ngka   waarka-ri-nyangka.
       office-LOC   work-INCHO-CIRCUM
       'The wedge-tailed eagle started to have a headache while [the crow was] working at the office.'

(3.58)   *Palu-mpa   miita-miita-ngku   palu-nya   wantikati-ngu*
          DEF-GEN   husband-ERG   DEF-ACC   leave.behind-PAST

       warka-ringku-nyangka.
       work-INCHO-CIRCUM
       'Her husband left her behind as [she] was working.'

Example (3.59) shows a similar contrast. It is an exchange between the shop worker (25 years old) and a young girl interviewing her for a school exercise. Notice that whereas the woman adds the INTENTive suffix (*-kitja*) directly to the root *warka-ri-* (i.e. on the 0-class pattern), the teenager adds *-kitja* to the stem *warka-ringku-* (i.e. on the ng-class pattern).

(3.59)   Woman: *Nyuntu   tjuwa-ngka   warka-ri-kitja   muku-ringa-nyi?*
                    2SG.NOM   store-LOC   work-INCHO-INTENT   like-INCHO-PRES
                    'Do you want to work at the store?'

      Teenager: *Uwa,   ngayulu   muku-ringa-nyi   tjuwa-ngka   warka-ringku-kitja.*
                    yes   1SG.NOM   like-INCHO-PRES   store-LOC   work-INCHO-INTENT
                    'Yes, I want to work at the store.'

To sum up, it been has shown in this section that INCHOative verbs have undergone considerable changes in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara. The mora parity principle which once decided the verb class of INCHOative verbs, no longer applies in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara. Although some of the variations observed in English loan verbs may be explained by the phonological and/or morphological make-up of the verbal root, many verbs can now take either a 0-class suffix or an ng-class in the present and the past imperfective. When conjugating future, characteristic, serial and nominalised forms, no variation is observed: they all appear with a ng-class suffix added to a neutral stem. This allows the conclusion that, in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, the INCHOative verb system is now as illustrated in Table 3.7. Whatever the class of the INCHOative verb, the conjugation of the past, future and characteristic tenses follows the same pattern, and so are the serial and nominalised form. Variations appear with the other tenses. Compare with Table 3.6.

Table 3.7: New verbal paradigm for inchoative verbs in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara

	pika-ri-ng 'get angry'	*waaka-ri-0* 'work'
IMP	*pika-ri-0/-pika-ri-**wa***	*waaka-ri-0/-waaka-ri-**wa***
PAST	*pikari-ri-**ngu***	*waaka-ri-**ngu***
PRES	*pika-ri-**nyi**/-pika-ringa-**nyi***	*waaka-ri-**nyi**/-waaka-ringa-**nyi***
IMP.IMPF	*pika-ri-**ma**/-pika-ringa-**ma***	*waaka-ri-**ma**/-waaka-ringa-**ma***
PAST.IMPF	*pika-ri-**ngi**/-pika-ringa-**ngi***	*waaka-ri-**ngi**/-waaka-ringa-**ngi***
FUT	*pika-ringku-**ku***	*waaka-ringku-**ku***
CHAR	*pika-ringku-**pai***	*waaka-ringku-**pai***
NOML	*pika-ringku-**nytja***	*waaka-ringku-**nytja***
SERIAL	*pika-ringku-**la***	*waaka-ringku-**la***

The INCHOative verbs are conjugated in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara according to a new conjugational paradigm which is a hybrid, combining some aspects of both 0- and ng-class. This new conjugational paradigm, though widely used by teenagers, still shows some internal variation, which tends to indicate that the language is at an early stage of change. In one way, the system is simplified as neutral stems are inflected with ng-class suffixes. In

another way, the system is more complex as two conjugations are found for the remaining inflectional categories. As noted by Mühlhäusler (1974:71): 'simplification of language is in reality simplification of one of the components of a grammar and […] this simplification takes place at the cost of a greater complexity in another component' (see also Dressler 1988).

3.4 Transitive loan verbs

3.4.1 The formation of transitive loan verbs

Traditionally, an English loan was incorporated into the Pitjantjatjara language as a transitive verb in the following manner: (i) the loan was assimilated to the phonological and morphological Pitjantjatjara system, (ii) this assimilated form was suffixed with the verbal derivational morpheme *-mila*, (iii) the suffixed form was assigned to the l-class verb conjugation. (Note that mora parity, so relevant to determining the class of INCHOative verbs, does not enter into consideration with transitive loan verbs. All stems in *-mila* belong to the l-class, a class usually composed of dimoric stem verbs.)

The transitive LOAN suffix *-mila* has been in use in Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara language for more than 50 years. It was first reported by Trudinger (1943), who, however, said nothing about the origin of the suffix. A borrowing from Aranda could be a plausible answer (Goddard 1985:117). In Wilkins' (1989) study of the grammar of Mparntwe Arrernte (Aranda), he reports that: 'verbs which are transitive in English always have *-em* 'English transitive' attached to them and if they are being used transitively in Mparntwe Arrernte then they take *-ile* 'causative'' (1989:264). An English verb such as 'turn' would become in Aranda *turn-em-ile* 'turn something over'. The likeness with the Pitjantjatjara verb for the same English borrowing *turna-mila-l* 'turn, mix' supports the Arandic origin of the Pitjantjatjara *-mila* LOAN. The similarity is reinforced by the fact that in Aranda, English intransitive verbs are suffixed with the Aranda INCHOative *-irre*, showing a close resemblance to the Pitjantjatjara INCHOative *-ri/ari*. Wilkins (1989:264) believes that the origin of *-em* comes from *-im* 'found on transitive verbs in various forms of Aboriginal English and English-based Creoles found throughout Australia'.

English	Traditional Pitjantjatjara
'catch'	*katji-mila-l*
'tease'	*tiitji-mila-l*
'help'	*alpa-mila-l*
'pull'	*pulu-mila-l*
'read'	*riida-mila-l*

In casual Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, the morpheme *-mila* LOAN appears as such, alongside a simplified form *-ma* LOAN. The rationale for this double set of suffixes seems to be the influence by mora parity. The traditional morpheme *-mila* LOAN is added to verbs whose roots are of an odd number of morae: see (3.60) and (3.61). The simplified morpheme *-ma* LOAN is suffixed onto stems that have an even number of morae: see (3.62)–(3.64).

(3.60) *Paluṟu   kaanta-mila-ṉingi   kungka   trii-pala.*
DEF.ERG   count-LOAN-PAST.IMPF   young.girl   three-NUM.PRED.ACC
'He counted [there were] three women.'

(3.61)   *Ena   buuk   riita-mila-ni.*
          Enid.ERG   book.ACC   read-LOAN-PRES
          'Enid is reading a book.'

(3.62)   *Nganana   minyma   tjuta-ngku piti-ma-nu   Yuendumu-nya*
          1PL.ERG   mature.woman PL-ERG   beat-LOAN-PAST   Yuendemu-NOM.NAME

          tjuta.
          PL.ACC
          'We of the women ['s team] beat the Yuendumu team.'

(3.63)   *Nyanga   kiki-ma-la!*
          this   kick-LOAN-IMPF
          'Kick this !'

(3.64)   *Ka   ringi-ma-nu   kutjupa-nta-ngku   ringi-ma-ra*
          CONTR   phone-LOAN-PAST   another-EMPH-ERG   phone-LOAN-SERIAL

          wangka-ngu.
          say-PAST
          'And another person rang him, [and] after ringing, [he] spoke.'

Some verbs can show either LOAN suffix. *Payi-mila-l* 'pay, buy' is a perfect example. The verbal stem can be suffixed with either *-mila* or *-ma*, depending on whether the teenager chooses the Pitjantjatjara pronunciation *payi-* or the more anglicised *pai-*. The dimoric *payi-* is often suffixed with *-ma* LOAN while the monomoric *pai-* takes the traditional suffixation.

(3.65)   *Minyma   tjuta   a-nu   taunu-kutu   mantara*
          mature.woman PL.NOM   go-PAST   town-ALL   clothes.ACC

          pai-mila-ntja-ku   snow-kutu.
          buy-LOAN-NOML-PURP   snow-ALL
          'All the older women went to town to buy clothes [to go to] the snow [trip].'

(3.66)   *Nganana   a-nu   Pikiliwikili*   mai tjuta   payi-ma-ntja-ku*
          1PL.NOM   go-PAST   Pikiliwikili.PURP   food PL.ACC   buy-LOAN-NOML-PURP

          tringki   munu lali.
          drink.ACC   ADD   lolly.ACC
          'We went to the Piliwikili to buy lots of food, drinks and lollies.'

(3.67)   *Ngali   a-nu   kantina-kutu payi-ma-ra   munu ngali*
          1DU.NOM   go-PAST   canteen-ALL   buy-LOAN-SERIAL ADD   1DU.NOM

          pata-ningi   Utju-la   anku-nytja-ku.
          wait.for-PAST.IMPF Utju-LOC.NAME   go-NOML-PURP
          'He and I went to the canteen [to] buy [food] and the two of us waited [for the bus] to go to Utju.'

(3.68)   *Nganana   pai-mila-nu   shopping   eprithing.*
          1PL.ERG   buy-LOAN-PAST   shopping   everything
          'We [did some] shopping [and we] bought everything.'

Interestingly some old, established borrowings have been reanalysed in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara as English words, and therefore tend to be pronounced according to the English phonology. The morpheme -*mila* LOAN is unchanged when coming into the composition of these loan verbs: it is the stems which have undergone some modifications.

English	Traditional Pitjantjatjara	Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara
'drive'	*duraipa-mila-l*	*draiv-mila-l*
'type'	*taipa-mila-l*	*taip-mila-l*
'help'	*alpa-mila-l*	*alp-mila-l* or *help-mila-l*

(3.69)   *Ngayulu*   *warka-ri-nyi*   *uputju-ngka,*   *ngayulu*   *taip-mila-<u>ni</u>.*
          1SG.NOM   work-INCHO-PRES office-LOC   1SG.ERG   type-LOAN-PRES
          'I work at the office, I type [i.e. I am the secretary].'

(3.70)   *Nyura*   *draiv-mila-nu*   *Docker River-lakutu*   *walytja*   *tjuta*
          2PL.ERG   drive-LOAN-PAST   Docker River-ALL.NAME   family   PL.ACC

          nyaku-nytja-ku.
          see-NOML-PURP
          'You mob drove to Docker River to see all the families.'

In summary, it can be said that there are two LOAN suffixes to produce transitive verbs from English loans: the traditional morpheme -*mila* LOAN and its new allomorph -*ma*. Glass and Hackett (1970:9) in their description of Ngaanyatjarra, a dialect close to Pitjantjatjara, wrote that: 'transitive verbs from English roots are often formed by the addition of the stem /pu-/ or the verbaliser /-ma/'. Contacts between the Ngaanyatjarra and Pitjantjatjara tribes are difficult to establish. However, during the drought circa 1940, most of the Western Desert people moved around from one mission to the other, from one ration depot to the other. The two dialects may have been since then in contact on several occasions for long or short periods of time where both transitive loan verb forms were used simultaneously. If such contact has happened recently, it is possible that the teenagers, recognising both suffixes as LOAN, started to utilise either suffix according to the mora parity of the verbal stem: -*mila* with even morae stems and -*ma* with odd morae stems.

Notice that this new system rectifies the 'irregularity' of having odd morae stem verbs belonging to the l-class, a class which is, as mentioned earlier, usually composed of verbs having an even number of morae in the stem.

3.4.2 Formation of verbs from borrowed English adjectives

As mentioned earlier, adjectives can be the stem of a verb formation through derivational processes. The changes observed in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara concern borrowed English adjectives and are linked with the determination of the adjective root. Traditionally, all borrowed English adjectives were suffixed with -*wana* and were never used without this suffixation. Therefore their root was the *wana*-suffixed form of the English adjective. Nowadays, English borrowed adjectives are suffixed according to their grammatical role in the sentence (see Chapter 4), which seems to be rather confusing when a teenager has to decide on the appropriate root to use for derivation. As (3.71) shows, some teenagers chose the suffixed root, when others prefer a non-suffixed root, as in (3.72).

(3.71)   Teenager A: *Kuwari   plu-wana-ri-ngu.*
                         Soon   blue-PRED-INCHO-PAST
                         'Soon, [the cake icing] turned blue.'

          Teenager B: *Wiya   plu-wana-ri-ngu.*
                         NEG   blue-PRED-INCHO-PAST
                         'No, it did not turn blue.'

(3.72)   *Paluṟu   raunda-ringku-la   tjarpa-ngu   paluṟu.*
          DEF.NOM   round-INCHO-SERIAL   enter-PAST   DEF.NOM
          'After turning in circles, he [finally] entered.'

It seemed at first that the reason for suffixing the root before turning the adjective into a verb may have been the phonetic structure of the borrowed root. Indeed, *plu* 'blue' shows a cluster foreign to Pitjantjatjara phonetic system, while *raunda* 'round' does not. However this assumption has not been borne out, as (3.73) and (3.74) illustrate. In the first sentence, *waita* 'white', which has no foreign cluster to Traditional Pitjantjatjara, is not suffixed. But in the second sentence, the same root is found with the suffix *-wana*.

(3.73)   *Mangka   kutju   waita-ringa-nyi.*
          hair   one.NOM   white-INCHO-PRES
          'One hair [of his] becomes white.'

(3.74)   *Ka   mamu   paluṟu   waita-wana-ri-ngu.   Ka   wiya-ri-ngu.*
          ADD   monster   DEF.NOM   white-PRED-INCHO-PAST   ADD   end-INCHO-PAST
          'And that monster became white. And [he] died.'

Other derivational processes are used with English stative borrowed adjectives such as '-∅' 'make/cause'. Example (3.75) shows the derivational process *-tju-* 'to put' and the English borrowed adjective is not suffixed with *-wana* (Eckert & Hudson 1991:246; Goddard 1985:120).[6]

(3.75)   *Flaig   tjuṯa   raunda-tju-nu   kunkun-ari-ngu.*
          flag   PL.NOM   round-PUT-PAST   sleep-INCHO-PAST
          '[They] waved all the flags in circles, until [they] got tired.'

3.5 Morphological simplifications

Repetition of identical syllables within a word is reduced to only one occurrence of the syllable. The most common example is illustrated in the word 'Pitjantjatjara'. Only old speakers ever pronounce the syllable *tja* twice, and only then in careful speech. In casual speech of older people, and almost always in teenage speech, the word is pronounced *Pitjantjara,* skipping the repeated syllable. This phenomenon is not surprising and has been noticed in many languages studied, both in situations of language contact and otherwise (Lee 1987; Mougeon & Beniak 1989). Economy of speech is usually the reason for elision of syllables.

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6   The affix *-tju-* is suffixed to a root that can be an adjective, a noun or a verb. The verb formed by that suffixation is always of n-class and transitive.

In Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, the elision is found extended to reduplicated words and formatives. The reduplicated structure of words like *piiny-piinypa* 'moth' is lost, and reduplicated formatives, such as *kata* in the word *wanakatakata* 'bush currant' are also reduced to a single occurrence.

English	Traditional Pitjantjatjara	Teenage Pitjantjatjara
'moth'	*piiny-piinypa*	*piinypa*
	[piːɲpiːɲpʌ]	[piːɲpʌ]
'galah'	*piyar-piyarpa*	*piyarpa*
	[piyʌrpiyʌrpʌ]	[piyʌrpʌ]
'twilight'	*karany-karanypa*	*karanypa*
	[kɑɾaɲkɑɾaɲpʌ]	[kɑɾaɲpʌ]
'bush currant'	*wanakatakata*	*wanakata*
	[wɑŋakʌʈakʌʈa]	[wɑŋakʌʈa]

3.5.1 Discussion

Looking at the process of creolisation, Mühlhäusler (1980:346) remarks that 'simplifications mean that a language is made either more regular or less marked'. This has been exemplified in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara in the reduction of the case paradigm by reanalysing the AUGmentative morpheme -*pa* as part the nominal root. Yet, these changes are not an example of cross-linguistic influence, but 'natural' changes as Dorian (1981:151) calls it, 'the same sorts of change we are familiar with from perfectly ordinary change in 'healthy' languages', that is simplification of structures, integration of exceptions into the rule etc. It seems obvious that greater contact with English and greater proficiency in speaking English have influenced the changes observed in INCHOative verbs. Nevertheless, the changes are more phonological than morphological, and the shift to ng-class for all neutral-stem verbs is not in direct correlation with English-induced changes. On the other hand, contact with Ngaayatjara, a dialect close to Pitjantjatjara, is a plausible explanation for the appearance of the alternative LOAN allomorph -*ma* found in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara.

To sum up, some of the changes reported in this chapter have resulted in a simplification of the system. This is the case with the reduction in case allomorphy. Similar changes have been widely documented by language-contact researchers: Blake (1981, cited in Austin 1986) reported it in the speech of young speakers of Koko-Bera (Northern Cape York), and so did Lee (1987) in Teenage Tiwi, Schmidt (1985) in Young People's Dyirbal and Donaldson (1980:84) in younger speakers of Ngiyampaa. The simplification of case systems has also been noted by Dorian (1981) in East Sutherland Gaelic and Dressler (1981) in Breton. Similarly, the adoption of the -*ma* LOAN allomorph reestablishes the l-class as the class of even-morae verbs only. However, as Dressler (1988:188) notes, 'in normal language change, simplifications in some part of a linguistic system (however these are defined within the particular linguistic system) are compensated for by complications or enrichments in other parts'. This is exemplified in this chapter with the new conjugational paradigm for INCHOative verbs.

Finally, it can be noted that some irregular Pitjantjatjara SERIAL forms have not undergone any changes. These verbs are:

Pitjantjatjara verbs	SERIAL forms		
pitja-Ø 'come'	*pitjala*	not	**pitjara*
ngara-Ø 'stay'	*ngarala*	not	**ngarara*
ngalku-l 'eat'	*ngalkula*	not	**ngalkura*
nyaku-ng 'see'	*nyakula*	not	**nyangkula*
kalpatju-n 'climb'	*kalpatju-ra*	not	**kalpatjunkula*
walkatju-n 'write'	*walkatju-ra*	not	**walkatjunkula*

One would think that these irregular forms would appear simplified or regularised in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, but as illustrated above, it is not the case.

If some morphological simplifications have happened in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, many other aspects of their language have retained their traditional irregularity and complexity.

4 *Syntax of simple clauses*

Most of the syntactic changes observed in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara can be linked, to some extent, to English cross-linguistic influence. This chapter examines these changes before reviewing some innovations which appear to be independent of language contact. To begin with, some discussion of concepts and terminology seems appropriate.

4.1 English interference versus cross-linguistic influence

The term 'interference' has been widely used by researchers in language contact to describe a plethora of different phenomena. Weinreich (1953), one of the precursors of language-contact studies, defined interference as:

> those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language, i.e. as a result of language contact ... (Weinreich 1953:1)

Haugen (1956) follows a similar line of thinking when he uses the term interference to describe the 'overlapping' between two languages. Both scholars distinguish interference from borrowing or code-switching (see discussion in Chapter 9), in that interference:

> implies the rearrangement of patterns that result from the introduction of foreign elements into the more highly structured domains of language, such as the bulk of the phonemic system, a large part of the morphology and syntax, and some areas of the vocabulary. (Weinreich 1953:1)

However, neither of them takes into account 'other features of linguistic behaviour which can possibly distinguish a bilingual from a monoglot' (Baetens-Beardsmore 1986:45). Mackey (1972:569) agrees with Weinreich and Haugen and defines interference as 'the use of the features belonging to one language while speaking or writing another'. He distinguishes interference from 'alternation' (what 1 would call code-switching, see Chapter 9) and borrowing, on the grounds that interference is 'a feature of "parole" ... individual and contingent' while borrowing is 'a feature of "langue" ... collective and systematic' (1972:569).

Regardless of this early consensus, many researchers have tried to find an alternative terminology to define the phenomenon. Their objections were essentially based on the negative connotations of the term 'interference', as illustrated by its definition in *A dictionary of linguistics and phonetics*:

> A term used in SOCIOLINGUISTICS and foreign-language learning to refer to the
> ERRORS introduced into one LANGUAGE as a result of contact with another language;
> also called **negative transfer**. (Crysatal 1980:180) [Capital and bold characters in the
> original]

By using words such as 'errors' or 'negative transfer', it is implied that any interference is
of a negative impact on a language, which is highly disputable.

The first alternative was proposed by Clyne (1967, 1972) who chose to use the term
'transference', explaining that:

> While *interference* points at least partly to the *cause* of the phenomenon, we have
> attempted, by adopting *transference* merely to *describe* the phenomenon, i.e. the
> adoption of any elements or features from the other language. (Clyne 1972:8) [Italics
> in the original]

Clyne (1972) acknowledges that some transferences may be due to interference from the
other language (syntactic, phonemic, etc.), without excluding other possibilities such as not
remembering how to say a word in one's own language.

 Beniak, Mougeon and Valois (1984) also established a distinction, based on a syntactic
differentiation, between what they named 'convergence', and interference. They refer to
convergence as 'the gradual elimination over time of forms of a language as a result of
contact with another language in which corresponding forms are not attested', while the term
interference is defined as 'the reverse process, namely the introduction of new forms or rules
in a language as a result of contact with another language in which they already exist'
(Beniak, Mougeon & Valois 1984:73). Gumperz and Wilson (1971) have also used both
terms. However what is considered as convergence by Gumperz and Wilson is often seen as
interference by Beniak, Mougeon and Valois — which does not help in finding a universal
definition of the phenomenon. Actually, as Beniak, Mougeon and Valois (1984:73) note:
'many key words in the literature on bilingualism are used to mean different things by
different researchers'.

In view of the works reported above, it is believed that none of these terms are
appropriate. 'Transference', derived from 'transfer', a term used in second language
acquisition studies, is sometimes substituted for interference in order to minimise the negative
connotation. However, Romaine (1989:52) states that the word 'was taken over from
psychology, where the term was applied to the phenomenon in which previous knowledge is
extended to a new domain'. She remarks, however, that 'the focus of second language
researchers has been mostly on negative transfer' (Romaine 1989:52), which, could imply,
here again, negative connotations. It is for these reasons that the term 'cross-linguistic
influence', as in Kellerman and Sharwood-Smith (1986), has been chosen for use in this
work:

> it is theory-neutral, allowing one to subsume under one heading such phenomena as
> 'transfer', 'interference', 'avoidance', 'borrowing' and L2-related aspects of language
> loss and thus permitting discussion of the similarities and differences between these
> phenomena. (Kellerman & Sharwood-Smith 1986:1)

The first part of this chapter will examine the cross-linguistic influence of English on
Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara from a syntactic point of view. In language-contact
situations, syntax is often regarded as the area that is least likely to be affected by another
language, following Antoine Meillet's adage that 'the grammatical systems of two languages
... are impenetrable to each other' (Meillet 1921, cited by Weinreich 1953:29). Meillet's
claim seems to be overstated, especially in view of the data collected in Areyonga. Many
studies on bilingualism have shown that lexical items are highly prone to borrowing, followed

by morphological items, first derivational and second inflectional. Syntax is relegated to the final level, with a low likelihood of being loaned (Romaine 1989:64). Two reasons can be given to explain the preponderance of lexical loans. From a cultural point of view, in most language-contact situations terms lacking in the recipient language were primarily lexical (nouns). It would be different, argues Weinreich (1953), if concrete items were expressed by verbs in the language source: the recipient language would then have to borrow verbs principally to alleviate its lexical gaps.

> in cultural settings where the emphasis in borrowing is on things spiritual and abstract, loanwords other than nouns may again occupy a larger place, even in European languages. In this way one may account, for example, for the relatively large proportion of such classes as verbs, adverbs, conjunctions, and prepositions among the loanwords from Hebrew into Yiddish (although here, too, nouns predominate). (Weinreich 1953:37)

From a morphological point of view, a noun is easier to borrow because it is usually easy to integrate into the recipient language as the integration is mainly phonological. On the other hand, grammatical items have to be integrated, not only to the phonology but also the inflectional morphology of the recipient language (see Poplack, Sankoff & Miller 1988). Even if Weinreich (1953:37) agrees that 'in themselves, the existence of an inflection or the restrictions of phonemic make-up of stems are hardly an obstacle to borrowing', he strongly asserts that 'the fuller the integration of the morpheme [in the source language], the less likelihood of its transfer [into the recipient language]' (Weinreich 1953:35, bracketed material added).

According to Weinreich (1953:37–38), when there are cases of what he calls 'interference in grammatical relations', either: (a) 'the replica of the relation of another language explicitly conveys an unintended meaning', or (b) 'the replica of the relation of another language violates an existing relation pattern, producing nonsense or a statement which is understandable by implication'.

As a result, word order, intonation patterns, or/and agreement can be altered, as the bilingual attempts to find 'interlingual equivalence' (Weinreich 1953:39). French teachers have encountered countless utterances illustrating Weinreich's accounts. For instance, the translation of the verb *manquer* 'miss (someone)' is always a problematic construction for English students. The sentence *il me manque* is often translated by 'he misses me' when it actually means in French 'I miss him'. Grammatical structures of one language can influence the other language. English speakers often render the sentence 'I wash my hands' with the ungrammatical French utterance **je lave mes mains* instead of the appropriate structure *je me lave les mains*. On the other hand, French speakers have difficulty mastering a structure such as 'I want him to do his homework' because they tend to replicate the French construction of the verb *vouloir (que)* 'want (that)' in which the subordinate clause is in the subjunctive mood. The French model *je veux qu'il fasse ses devoirs* would influence the English translation as in **'I want that he does his homework'*.

In Areyonga, similar grammatical cross-linguistic influences have been observed, especially in the way modality and reflexivity are expressed in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara. It is also noticeable with the nominal *kutjupa* 'someone', the use of the English loan *pinitji* 'finish', and *epritaim(i)* 'every time'. It may also explain changes in the Pitjantjatjara 'personal construction'. These matters will now be treated one at a time.

4.2 Word order

Contrary to French or English, where syntactic function determines word order, the Pitjantjatjara word order is much freer, with each NP of a sentence being marked by a case inflection. As Dixon (1980:441) notes, word order in most Australian languages 'has little or no grammatical significance'. However, internal constituent order may follow strict ordering, as it is the case in Pitjantjatjara/Yankunytjatjara (Goddard 1985:20–21; Bowe 1990:111–139). In general, the Pitjantjatjara NP consists maximally of a head noun followed by a demonstrative, an adjective (attribute), a quantifier and finally the case marker (Bowe 1990:111). Bowe indicates some variations of that pattern where the demonstrative can be placed after the adjective in 'non-emphatic definite' structure. When possession is to be expressed, the possessive pronoun is in first position in the NP preceding the head noun and the other constituents.

Regarding clause-level ordering, some generalisations can be drawn. In verbless sentences, the NP subject precedes the predicate. In other simple clauses, the subject usually comes first and the verb last, with peripheral NPs following the object (if there is one) — i.e. the usual order is Subj-NP (Object-NP) (Peripheral-NP) Verb. Subordinate clauses such as the INTENTive and PURPosive tend to follow the main clause, while the CIRCUMstantial clause may precede.

4.2.1 *Word-order changes in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara*

Is word order in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara showing any signs of departure from the traditional model? When looking at the phrase-internal constituent order, no variations appeared to indicate any structural changes. At the clause level, however, it was obvious that the teenagers preferred certain structures to others. It was decided to investigate which structures seemed to be favoured, and their frequency of usage. An analysis of 10 collected accounts comprising 380 clauses, recorded in both casual and formal settings, formed the base for the investigation. Verbless sentences and intransitive IMPerative clauses composed of a verb only were excluded. It was also limited to affirmative clauses which contained full NPs (i.e. a noun, with optional modifiers), disregarding clauses which had clitic pronouns as subject or object. As Goddard (1985:61) observed, 'clitic pronouns generally occur enclitic to the final word of the first phrasal constituent of a clause' — and no variations in this behaviour are apparent.

In Traditional Pitjantjatjara, the principal sentence pattern of an intransitive clause is: Subj-NP (Peripheral-NP) Verb. In Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, despite still being relatively free (as in (4.4)), the order of constituents shows two main patterns for simple affirmative intransitive clauses. The traditional pattern still occurs, especially when the Peripheral-NP is inflected with a LOCative marker as in (4.1). It is rare, however, occurring only 4 times out of 59. Indeed, it was found overwhelmingly that when the peripheral NP was PURPosive or ALLative, i.e. marked with *-ku* or *-kutu* respectively, the word order was close to the English one, that is Subj-NP Verb Peripheral-NP. This pattern is often observed with the verb *unytju-ri-ng/Ø*, 'want', *muku-ri-ng/Ø* 'like', *a-n* 'go' and *pitja-Ø*[1] 'come'. The Peripheral NP can be either a noun or a nominalised verb, as in (4.2) and (4.3), respectively. From the data, this pattern appeared 43 times out of 59 occurrences, that is over 72% of the time.

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[1]   The first declension is as found in Traditional Pitjantjatjara, the second as sometimes found in Teenage Pitjantjatjara.

(4.1)   *Paluru   uputju-ngka   tjarpa-ngu.*
         DEF.NOM   office-LOC   enter-PAST
         'He entered the office.'

(4.2)   *Kaanka-nya   kunyu   a-nu   wangki-ku.*
         crow-NOM.NAME   QUOTE   go-PAST   wild.gooseberry-PURP
         'The crow, they say, went for wild gooseberry.'

(4.3)   *Nganana   a-nu   tantji-ri-nytja-ku.*
         1PL.NOM   go-PAST   dance-INCHO-NOML-PURP
         'We went [there] to dance.'

(4.4)   *Alice Springs-aku   nganana   ngalya-pitja-ngu.*
         Alice Springs-PURP   1PL.NOM   THIS.WAY-come-PAST
         'We came to Alice Springs.'

In transitive sentences, Traditional Pitjantjatjara word order generally follows the pattern: Subj-NP Object NP (Peripheral-NP) Verb. As previously stated, this order can vary but in general, one expects to find the verb at the end of the clause (when no subordinate clause follows).

In Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, in contrast, the pattern Subj-NP Verb Object-NP appears the most frequently. In Graph (4.1) the different occurrences found for each pattern are regrouped. SVO, as in (4.5), SV where the object of the transitive sentence was omitted, as in (4.6), and VO when the subject was omitted, as in (4.7). The SOV order appeared in (4.8), and OV when the subject of the sentence was omitted, as in (4.9).

(4.5)   *Ka   kunyu   minyma   kutju-ngku   kunyu   nya-ngu*
         CONTR   QUOTE   mature.woman one-ERG   QUOTE   see-PAST

         mamu   palu-nya.
         monster DEF-ACC
         'And, they say [that] one woman saw that monster.'

(4.6)   *Kaanka-lu   wangka-ngu: ...*
         crow-ERG.NAME   say-PAST
         'The crow said [to someone]: ...'

(4.7)   *Munu pu-ngu   Marita-nya.*
         ADD   hit-PAST   Marita-ACC.NAME
         'And [she] hit Marita.'

(4.8)   *Ka   Alicia-lu   Karri-nya   pu-ngu puli-ngka.*
         CONTR   Alicia-ERG.NAME   Karri-ACC.NAME   hit-PAST stone-LOC
         'And Alicia hit Karri with a stone.'

(4.9)   *Munu   mutuka   nyinatjuna-nyi.*
         ADD   car.ACC   stop-PRES
         'And [they] stop the car.'

GRAPH 4.1: Word order in transitive clauses
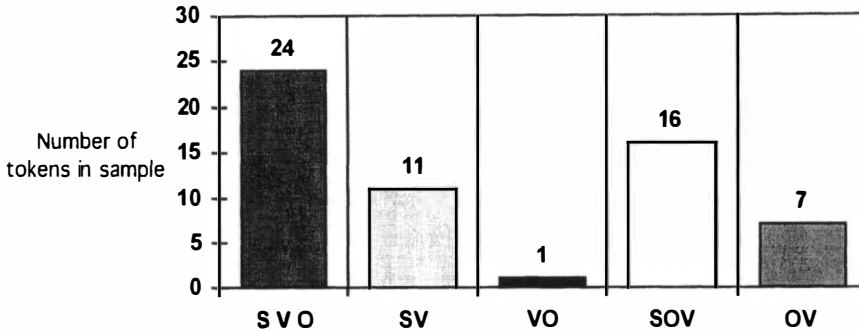
Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara shows a clear preference for the Subj-NP Verb Object-NP order, rather than the more traditional Subj-NP Object-NP Verb order in transitive clauses. These findings may be contrasted with the conclusions of Bowe (1990:122) who, in her study of constituent order in Traditional Pitjantjatjara, reported that Subj-NP Object-NP Verb order was the most frequent: 17 instances compared to eight showing Subj-NP Verb Object-NP, three Object-NP Subj-NP Verb and five Object-NP Verb Subj-NP.

In short, there is strong evidence that, despite being still relatively free, in transitive clauses Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara tends to favour a constituent order closer to the one found in English, rather than the one observed in Traditional Pitjantjatjara and reported by Bowe (1990). For intransitive clauses, it seems that the nature of the Peripheral NP dictates the word order. In clauses with the verbs *unytju-ri-ng/∅* 'want', *muku-ri-ng/∅* 'like', *a-n* 'go', and *piṯja-∅* 'come' followed by a PURPosive NP, the constituent word order is almost always Subj-NP Verb Peripheral-NP. In other cases, a more traditional pattern is used, i.e. Subj-NP Peripheral-NP Verb. It is acknowledged that the corpus comprised 380 clauses while Bowe's sample was larger (950 clauses), but it is believed that this description reflects what is happening in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara constituent order in general.

Harris and Campbell (1995) have shown that extensive borrowing and language contact can introduce new structures into some languages even if these structures were not harmonious with pre-existing features. They believe that, in general, introduction of these non-harmonious structures is responsible for 'striking typological changes in a language, and, in particular, studies of word order change and word order universals must pay particular attention to language contact and borrowing' (Harris & Campbell 1995:150). It seems very likely that the new word-order patterns observed in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara are the result of language contact with English.

4.2.2 Loss of final marking on English loan words

Contrary to other studies of Aboriginal languages undergoing contact-induced change (e.g. Schmidt 1985; Lee 1987), Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara does not show any weakening of the core case-marking system, e.g. the marking of ergative or accusative case. However, there are instances where words are not inflected with a case marking. This principally occurs with English loan words or names in final position in the sentence. In this position, ALLative/PURPosive, LOCative and even NOMinative case markers are often omitted, as

shown in the following three examples. In (4.10), the place name *Komilda* would normally be expected to carry ALLative or PURPosive marking (i.e. to occur as *Komilda-lakutu* or *Komilda-ku*). In (4.11), the word *ruuma* 'room' would normally carry a LOCative marker (i.e. *ruuma-ngka*). In (4.12), the name *Alice* would normally carry the NOMinative name case marker *-nya*.

(4.10) *Melissa-nya   kurunpa   appi   mulapa anku-ntja-ku*
        Melissa-NOM.NAME   spirit   happy   really go-NOML-PURP

        *Komilda.
        Komilda.ALL.NAME/PURP
        'Melissa [lit. Melissa's spirit] is really happy to go to Komilda [college].'

(4.11) *Mima-lu   ngali   ngari-ra   nyanga-ngi   someone*
        Mima-ERG.NAME   1DU.ERG   lie-SERIAL   see-PAST.IMP someone.NOM

        tjarpa-ngu   ngana-mpa   *ruuma.
        enter-PAST   1PL-GEN   room.LOC
        'Mima and I were in bed and [we] saw [someone], someone entered our room.'

(4.12) *Ngayu-ku   maama   ini   *Alice.*
        1SG-GEN   mother name   Alice.NOM.NAME
        'My mother's name is Alice.'

In the following example, the teenage girl inflects the first name appropriately, but the second name, which occurs in sentence-final position, is not inflected.

(4.13) *And   ngayu-k(u)   bratha   kulupa   Matju-nya   and   ngayu-k(u)*
        and   1SG-GEN   brother little   Matthew-NOM.NAME   and   1SG-GEN

        bratha   kulupa   *John.
        brother little   John
        'My little [younger] brother [is named] Matthew. My [other] little [i.e. younger] brother [is named] John.'

The loss of final case marking is still an unusual occurrence and seems to be limited to English loan words. One can only speculate as to the reasons. The loss of final case marking does not result in a loss of intelligibility, which is especially exemplified by (4.10), where there is a clear and strong semantic relation between the verb *a-n* 'go' and its complement, i.e. *Komilda*. Can this loss be linked to the more syntactically fixed word order described in the previous section? There is an undeniable link between loss of inflections and word order. The levelling of inflections through Old English resulted in a limited pattern of word order in Middle English to avoid any ambiguity. As Baugh and Cable (1993:162) wrote, the English language went from 'the highly synthetic stage of Old English to the highly analytic stages of Late Middle English and Modern English'. Is it what is happening in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara? Is the new favoured word order responsible for the loss of final case marking on English borrowings? Is the loss of final case marking a harbinger of language loss? No-one can say, but this matter would deserve further investigation in the future.

4.3 Possessive constructions

It is necessary to distinguish two kinds of possession in Traditional Pitjantjatjara: (a) 'alienable possession', implying ownership, as in (4.14) and (4.15), and (b) 'inalienable

possession' implying a more intimate relationship between the 'possessor' and 'possessum'. Body parts, but also proper names, voices, spirits and footprints, belong to this second category. Referents of this kind are regarded as being intimately linked with a person. A distinctive grammatical construction, which Goddard (1985) terms the 'personal construction', is used in these cases. Whereas ordinary, alienable possession is marked by the GENitive marker on the 'possessor' NP, as in (4.14) and (4.15), the personal construction does not employ any GENitive marker. Instead, both NPs — the 'possessor' and the 'possessum' — carry the same case inflection, as in (4.16), (4.17), (4.18) and (4.19).

(4.14)   *ngayu-ku   mutuka*
         1SG-GEN   car
         'my car'

(4.15)   *palu-mpa   ngura*
         DEF-GEN   home
         'his/her house'

(4.16)   *Ngayulu tjuni   pika.*
         1SG.NOM stomach.NOM hurt
         'My stomach hurts.'

(4.17)   *Wati   tjina   pana-ngka   ngara-nyi.*
         man.NOM   foot.NOM   earth-LOC   stand-PRES
         'There is the footprint of a man on the ground.'

(4.18)   *Tjitji   kutju   wanapa-ngku kati-ngu   munu tjjiti paluru*
         child   one.ACC ogre-ERG   take-PAST ADD   child   DEF.NOM

         putu   miran-ngi,   palu-nya tjaa   mantara kati-ngu.
         IN.VAIN   yell-PAST.IMP DEF-ACC mouth.ACC clothes   take-PAST
         'The ogre took one child. The child yelled out to no avail. [The ogre] took [the child's] clothes in his mouth.'

(4.19)   *Ka   paluru   palu-nya mara   punga-nyi.*
         ADD DEF.ERG DEF-ACC hand.ACC   hit-PRES
         'He's hitting her hand.'

In Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, the distinction between alienable and inalienable possession is frequently not observed, with GENitive marking being used also for inalienable possession. That is, there is a generalisation of the genitive pattern.

(4.20)   *Ngayulu urkalypa   ngayu-ku   mulya-nguru nyuulpunga-nyi,*
         1SG.ERG phlegm.ACC 1SG-GEN   nose-ABL   blow.nose-PRES

         kampa   kutjupa.
         side   other
         'I blow the phlegm from my nose, then [I do it on] the other side.'

(4.21)   *Ngayulu ngayu-ku   pina   taatjinga-ni.*
         1SG.ERG 1SG-GEN   ear.ACC   tear.open-PRES
         'I pop my ear.'

(4.22)   *Mara ngayu-ku   waru-ngka kampa-ngu.*
         hand 1SG-GEN.ACC fire-LOC   burn-PAST
         '[I] burnt my hand on the fire.'

(4.23) *Mamu   kutju   kunyu   nyina-pai   kulpi-ngka.   Palu-mpa   yunpa*
        monster one.NOM QUOTE   live-CHAR   cave-LOC   DEF-GEN   face

        una   munu   palu-mpa   pina   iri.
        rotten.ACC ADD   DEF-GEN   ear   pointy.ACC
        'They say [that] one monster used to live in a cave. His face was rotten and
        his ear[s] were pointy.'

The personal construction has not disappeared altogether, but it seems now to occur
primarily (if not exclusively) in verbless clauses in which someone's name is being given. It
is found in both casual and formal settings.

(4.24) *Ngayulu   ini   Alice-anya.*
        1SG.NOM   name   Alice-NOM.NAME
        'My name [is] Alice.'

(4.25) *Ngayu-ku   maama   ini   Anna-nya.*
        1SG-GEN   mother   name   Anna-NOM.NAME
        'My mother's name is Anna.'

It is difficult to assess if the change observed with the 'personal construction' is simply
due to 'natural' change (cf. Dorian 1981:151) or to language contact. It is indeed possible
that the teenagers are simply regularising the possessive construction by undermining the
difference between 'alienable possession' and 'inalienable possession'. On the other hand, it
might also be an example of syntactic interference, as described by Baetens Beardsmore
(1986). He writes (1986:71), for instance, that 'French-English bilinguals tend to replace
the possessive by the definite article when referring to parts of the body in English, on the
pattern of the equivalent French structure'. It is possible that the English model, in which
'inalienable possession' is not rendered with a different grammatical structure, has influenced
the change in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara as described above. In any case, the
differentiation once made between 'alienable' and 'inalienable' possession is weakening in
Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, and it seems obvious that it is just a question of time before
this grammatical differentiation disappears completely from Pitjantjatjara speech.

4.4 Marking of loan adjectives

As mentioned previously, Pitjantjatjara adjectives, as in most Australian languages, are
inflected with the same case suffixes as nouns (Dixon 1980:274). Adjectives usually follow
the noun within the NP and, as the final element of the NP, often occur with case markers. In
case of an NP consisting of several elements, 'there is a fixed order of occurrence of the
subconstituents Noun-Dem-Adj-Num-(case marker)' (Bowe 1990:140). The following
example, taken from the data, illustrates this order.

(4.26) *Wati nyanga-tja   pulka   tjuta-ngku   kuka   pau-nu.*
        man this.here-EVIDENT big   PL-ERG   meat.ACC   cook-PAST
        'These big [i.e. older] men cooked the meat.'

Goddard (1985:17) separated adjectives into two groups: active adjectives 'essentially
describe an actor 'in action'', and stative adjectives 'ascribing more or less permanent
properties to the referent of the noun phrase'. Within the last group, he distinguishes two
subclasses: descriptive adjectives and quantifying adjectives (including numerals). If an NP

has both a quantifying and a descriptive adjective after a noun, the quantifying adjective would always come at the end of the phrase and carry the appropriate declension.

(4.27)   *Mamu   pala-tja   wara.*
          monster that.there-EVIDENT.NOM tall
          'That monster [was] tall'.

(4.28)   *Minyma   tjuta-ngku painting   palya-nu   Mike-aku.*
          mature.woman PL-ERG   painting.ACC make-PAST Mike-PURP
          'Some women made a painting for Mike.'

(4.29)   *Minyma   tjuta   anku-pai   ngapari-ku.*
          mature.woman PL.NOM go-CHAR   ngapari-PURP
          'Some women always go [to get some] ngapari.'

Stative adjectives (a) can be in a predicative position in verbless sentences, as in (4.30), and (b) can be in an attributive position within the NP as in (4.31) (for further description see Goddard 1985:17).[2]

(4.30)   *Tjitji   paluru   tjukutjuku.*
          child   DEF.NOM little
          'That child [is] little.'

(4.31)   *Mamu   pulka-ngku tjitji   kutjara   ngalku-nu.*
          monster big-ERG   child two.ACC eat-PAST
          'The big monster ate the two children.'

4.4.1 English loan adjectives

In Traditional Pitjantjatjara, adjectives borrowed from English are suffixed with the morpheme *-wana* PREDicative. An affix *-wana* has been described in many studies of Creole and language change in Australia (Sandefur 1979; Hudson 1983; Bavin 1989). The affix comes from the English 'one' and has been described as 'a nominalizing suffix' by Sandefur (1979:100), allowing an adjective to function as a nominal. The necessity for such an affix in Pitjantjatjara is doubtful where adjectives and nouns are both nominals — that is, they can both be the sole element of an NP, as exemplified in (4.32) and (4.33).

(4.32)   *Wati wiru   pula   minyma   wiru   witi-ra*
          man nice.NOM 3DU.NOM mature.woman nice.NOM hold-SERIAL

          ngara-kitja   unytju-ringa-nyi.
          stand-INTENT   want-INCHO-PRES
          'The nice man and the nice woman want to hold [hands].'

(4.33)   *Ngayulu ngalku-nu wiru.*
          1SG.ERG eat-PAST   nice.ACC
          'I ate a nice one.'

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2   In Goddard (1985:17) it is stated that 'the active adjective is used as the complement of an intransitive stance verb such as *nyina-0* 'sit, live''. But he also says later that in a sentence that ascribes 'more or less temporary properties or states to a referent ... the predicate takes form of an intransitive 'stance' verb preceded by a nominal, usually a stative adjective in nominative case. Generally *nyina-0* 'sit ...'' (Goddard 1985:20).

If noun and adjective are both nominals in Pitjantjatjara, it seems odd that the language has introduced an affix -*wana* to distinguish English borrowed nouns from English borrowed adjectives. Bavin (1989:273) remarks in relation to Warlpiri, where the same phenomenon occurs, 'there is no justification for a syntactic category adjective'.

This conclusion seems to be hasty. It is true that adjectives and nouns share the same set of case markers and derivational suffixes. As they are both nominals, they can be the sole element of a NP. However, several distinctions can be brought forward. The first is based on grammatical criteria. In Pitjantjatjara, word order within the NP always sees the adjective following the noun; and furthermore, 'only nouns may occur as the head element of a noun phrase' (Goddard 1985:17). This tends to indicate some kind of differentiation. The second distinction is based on semantic criteria. Nouns and adjectives do not convey the same set of features. As Dixon puts it: 'a noun will refer to a class of objects that have a certain defining characteristic, whereas an adjective describes a particular quality that can occur in a wide range of objects but is seldom a necessary quality' (Dixon 1980:275). Finally, the fact that English borrowed adjectives show suffixation while English borrowed nouns do not, seems to corroborate the hypothesis that, despite sharing the same affixes and being both nominals, a grammatical difference does exist between noun and adjective in Traditional Pitjantjatjara.

From observations, all English borrowed adjectives are always suffixed with -*wana* PREDicative in Traditional Pitjantjatjara. Indeed it could be cautiously stated that the teenage speech patterns described below are non-existent in traditional speech.

In Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, English loan adjectives are not systematically suffixed with -*wana* PREDicative. In fact, the suffixation occurs only in verbless ascriptive clauses (4.34), and in verbless clauses where the subject is omitted (4.36).

(4.34)   *Tjilpi*   *kunyu*   *paata-wana.*
         old.man   QUOTE   fat-PRED
         'The old man, they say, was fat.'

(4.35)   *Ngayulu*   *kaanka-nya-tjara*   *piṟuku*   *riida-mila-ni*   *ka*
         1SG.NOM   crow-ACC.NAME-HAVING   again   read-LOAN-PRES CONTR

         iisi-wana   *nyanga-tja.*
         easy-PRED   this.here-EVIDENT
         'I am reading [the book about the story of the Crow] again. This [one is an] easy [read].'

(4.36)   *Ngayulu*   *kala*   *palya-nu. Blu-wana.*
         1SG.ERG   colour   do-PAST   blue-PRED
         'I painted it. Blue.'

In the following example, three teenagers are drinking some flavoured milk. Each of them has a different flavour, characterised by the colour of the milk carton. Their conversation exemplified perfectly the patterns of -*wana* suffixation.

(4.37)   Teenage A: *Ice coffee. Nyara. Brown-wan(a).*
                     ice coffee   yonder   brown-PRED
                     '[I'm having] ice coffee [flavoured milk]. [It is the one] over there. It is the brown one.'

            Teenage B: *Nyampa pink-wan(a).*
                     yucky   pink-PRED
                     'The pink one is yucky.'

Teenage C:	*Pink-wan(a) panya?*
	pink-PRED that.known
	'That pink one?'

Teenage B:	*Nyanga-ngka.*
	this-LOC
	'This one over there on (the ground).'

Teenage A:	*Ngayu-ku brown-wan(a).*
	1SG-GEN brown-PRED
	'Mine is the brown one.'

Finally, in the example below, the suffixation is explained by the fact that the teenager is enumerating her favourite television shows, pausing between the first part of the clause and the last one. Note that the affix *-wana* PREDicative shows phonetic changes, described in Chapter 2 (highlighted in bold character).

(4.38) *Ngayu-ku   faivrita-**na**   *Beverly Hills   and   *Simpsons*
        1SG-GEN   favourite-PRED Beverly Hills.NOM.NAME and   Simpsons.NOM.NAME

*and   *Heart Break High.*
and   Heart Break High.NOM.NAME.
'My favourite [TV shows are] Beverly Hills [90210] and [The] Simpsons and Heart Break High.'

In other cases, there is no suffixation with *-wana* PREDicative. This is the situation with adjectives borrowed from English in the predicative function. It often follows the pattern: VP + PREDICATE where the predicate is a verb and an English borrowed adjective. The adjective here seems to have an adverbial function.

(4.39) *Ngali   taunu-kutu a-nu,   ngali   sii-kutu,   naked biitja-kutu*
        1DU.NOM town-ALL   go-PAST 1DU.NOM sea-ALL   naked beach-ALL

ngali   a-nu.
1DU.NOM go-PAST
'The two of us went to town, we [went] to the sea [and went] skinny dipping, we went to the beach.'

(4.40) *Ukutu   mulapa nyura   a-nu.*
        awkward really   2PL.NOM go-PAST
        'You mob went [to the school, feeling] really awkward.'

The verb of the clause can be either intransitive (as above) or transitive (as below). English loan adjectives in predicative function may not be suffixed with *-wana*, but can receive other case markers or derivational suffixes.

(4.41) *Munu-ya   blue-ngka white-ngka piint-mila-<u>n</u>ingi.*
        ADD-3PL.ERG blue-LOC   white-LOC   paint-LOAN-PAST.IMPF
        'And they painted [it] in blue and white.'

From these examples, it might first seem that *-wana* suffixation does not occur when the English-borrowed adjective carries a case marker, specifically a locative case marker. But this hypothesis has to be rejected as many utterances were observed when the English borrowed adjectives did not show *-wana* suffixation nor were they inflected with another

marker: see (4.42) and (4.43). It is preferable to believe that in the attributive function, that is modifying a noun, English borrowed adjectives are usually not suffixed with *-wana*.

(4.42) *Munu ngalya-pitja-ngu,   uṟu-ngka   tjurpi-ngi*
        ADD   THIS.WAY-come-PAST waterhole-LOC swim-PAST.IMPF

        swimming pool   aata-ngka   Sydney-la.
        swimming.pool   warm-LOC   Sydney-LOC.NAME
        'And [we] went towards [the swimming pool], and swam in the water, in a warm swimming pool in Sydney.'

(4.43) *Mamu   kutju kunyu   nyina-pai kulpi-ngka. Palu-mpa kaṯiṯi*
        monster one   QUOTE stay-CHAR cave-LOC   3SG-GEN   tooth

        iṟi,   palu-mpa kuṟu   riida ...
        pointy.NOM 3SG-GEN   eye   red.NOM
        'They say [that] one monster used to live in a cave. His teeth [were] pointy, his eyes [were] red ...'

To express some emotions, Traditional Pitjantjatjara uses the noun *kurunpa* 'spirit, will, self' combined with an adjective describing the emotion felt, such as *kurunpa kunkunpa* literally 'tired spirit', *kurunpa waṟu* 'hot spirit, angry' or *kurunpa pukulpa* 'happy spirit, happy'. This last expression has been found in teenage speech where the Pitjantjatjara adjective *pukulpa* 'happy' has been replaced by the English borrowed adjective *appi*.[3] The function of *appi*' in the NP remains attributive as it qualifies *kurunpa* 'spirit'. As a result, it is not suffixed with the affix *-wana*.

(4.44) *Melissa-nya   kurunpa appi   mulapa anku-ntja-ku*
        Melissa-NOM.NAME   spirit   happy really go-NOML-PURP

        *Komilda.
        Komilda(ALL.NAME/PURP)
        'Melissa [lit. Melissa's spirit] is really happy to go to Komilda [college].'

An affix *-wana* has been described in Kriol/Creole studies (Sandefur 1979; Hudson 1983). Sandefur reported that it was used in both the predicative and the attributive function (Sandefur 1979:100–103). He also mentioned the fact that it sometimes can carry 'an inherent sense of intensity' meaning "very (+ADJective)"'. Hudson (1983), who studied Fitzroy Valley Kriol, noted suffixation with *-wana* in ascriptive clauses where 'the predicate function is to describe the state or condition of the entity referred to in the subject', as opposed to the non-suffixed cases where 'the predicate describes the state or condition of an entity referred to in the subject' (Hudson 1983:80). This distinction does not seem to have appeared in the speech of Areyonga teenagers.

If it is agreed that there is a difference in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara between English loan adjectives in the attributive position vs in the predicate position, it is necessary to recognise the marker *-wana* as a grammatical element and to term it appropriately. Hence the gloss *-wan(a)* PREDicative.

To summarise, suffixation of English borrowed adjectives with *-wana* PREDicative occurs only in verbless ascriptive sentences and follows a pattern as below. In some clauses, the NP can simply be omitted.

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[3] *Appi* is spelt as found in written Pitjantjatjara stories i.e. *Tjukurpa mulapa* publications.

clause: (NP) + **predicate**
                      ADJective (only)

There is no suffixation of English borrowed adjectives when the adjective's function is attributive.

clause: NP + predicate
                      Verb + ADJective

clause: NP + predicate
                      NP + verb + NP
                      noun + ADJective + Verb + noun + ADJective

This seems to vary from Traditional Pitjantjatjara, which invariably marks borrowed adjectives with *-wana* PREDicative. In the following example, an old woman, describing the school staff, referred to the head teacher as:

(4.45)   *Paluṟu   head   tiitja   nyu-wana.*
          DEF.NOM   head   teacher   new-PRED
          'He is the new head teacher.'

The English borrowed adjective *nyuwana* 'new' is suffixed despite its attributive function. It could be argued that the sentence structure is 'that head teacher is new' and that even in teenage speech this would require suffixation with *-wana*. This is improbable however, because to be so, the DEFinite personal pronoun *paluṟu* should be placed at the end of the NP *head tiitja* as in **head tiitja paluṟu,* which is not the case. On the other hand, it can be hypothesised that in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara such a sentence would probably be found as *head tiitja paluṟu nyu-wana.*

4.4.2 *English loan numerals*

The lexical field of number in Pitjantjatjara is described in Chapter 7. However, from a syntactic point of view, some changes have been noted along the lines of the one observed for English borrowed adjectives.

In Traditional Pitjatjatjara, there are three basic numerals: *kutju* 'one'; *kutjara* 'two'; and *maṉkurpa* 'three'. Greater numbers are made up from these basic numerals, e.g. *kutjara-kutjara* 'four'; *kutjara maṉkurpa* 'five'; *maṉkurpa maṉkurpa* 'six' and so on. As this system soon becomes tedious, Pitjantjatjatjara people borrowed numerals from English after *maṉkurpa maṉkurpa* 'six', suffixing the English numerals with the morpheme *-pala* from English 'fellow', e.g. *aitipala* 'eight', *lipanpala* 'eleven' and so on. The origin of *-pala* 'fellow' is thought to be from pidgin.

Teenagers use only two of the basic numerals: *kutju*, as in (4.43), and *kutjara*, as in (4.31). After that, they count with numerals borrowed from English, with suffix *-pala*: *triipala* 'three', *fourpala/purpala* 'four', etc. However, non-*pala* suffixed numerals are also found in teenage speech, and it seems that this difference reflects a syntactic difference.

There is suffixation with the morpheme *-pala* 'fellow' (a) when the numeral is part of the NP, with an attributive function as in (4.46), (4.47) and (4.48), and (b) when the noun of the NP is implied, as in (4.49) and (4.50).

(4.46)   *Nyanga-tja   wati   trii-pala   uṟu-ngka   ngaṟa-nyi.*
          this.here-EVIDENT   man   three-NUM.PRED.NOM   waterhole-LOC   stand-PRES
          'Here are three men standing at the waterhole.'

(4.47)   *Minyma   faiv-pala   maku-ku   a-nu.*
mature.woman five-NUM.PRED.NOM witchetty.grub-PURP go-PAST
'Five women went to [get] some witchetty grubs.'

(4.48)   *Ka   kungka   ten-pala   kuula-kutu kutitjaka-ngu.*
CONTR young.girl ten-NUM.PRED.NOM school-ALL run-PAST
'The ten girls ran to school.'

(4.49)   *Alatji-la   a-nu.   Faiv-pala   a-nu.*
like.this-1PL.NOM go-PAST five-NUM.PRED.NOM go-PAST
'We went like that. Five [of us] went.'

(4.50)   *Ngayulu softball-angka inka-nyi.   Nain-pala   inka-nyi.*
1SG.NOM softball-LOC   play-PRES nine-NUM.PRED.NOM play-PRES
'I play softball. Nine [girls] play.'

There is no *-pala* suffixation: (a) when one is adding or counting as such, as in (4.51), (b) when one refers to the actual value of something, such as price tag, bills or notes, as in (4.52), (c) when expressing date or year, as in (4.53).

(4.51)   *One two trii.   Nyanga-tja   trii-pala   ngara-nyi.*
one two three. this-EVIDENT three-NUM.PRED stand-PRES
'One two three. There are three [Power Rangers] here.'

(4.52)   *Eighty nyanga-tja.   Twenty dala four-pala.   Numba titu.*
eighty   this-EVIDENT twenty dollars four-NUM.PRED number apart
'This is eighty. Four twenty dollar [notes]. [In] separate quantities.'

(4.53)   *Ngayu-ku birthday, twenty one Octoba   nineteen eighty four ngara-nyi.*
1SG-GEN   birthday twenty one October nineteen eighty four stand-PRES
'My birthday is the twenty first of October, nineteen eighty four.'

Example (4.52) shows the two uses of the numeral. The non-suffixed numeral refers to the actual value of the note (twenty dollars) or the amount due (four notes). The suffixed numeral refers to the number of notes needed to get the exact value. These utterances were recorded during a game of Monopoly.

No utterances could be found showing a numeral in attributive function in the ERGative case. Hence, it is impossible to say if teenagers are inflecting English borrowed numerals the same way as they inflect Pitjantjatjara numerals, and in a more general way, if English borrowed numerals are inflected at all.

As the suffixing of *-pala* has a grammatical value, it is necessary to term the affix appropriately to its new grammatical function. It is proposed to gloss *-pala* as NUM PRED as its grammatical value is PREDicative and it is affixed to NUMerals.

4.5 Other grammatical innovations due to cross-linguistic influence

4.5.1 Modality

In Traditional Pitjantjatjara, in an affirmative clause the possibility of doing something is achieved by putting the main verb in the FUTure tense (see the description of the FUTure tense in Chapter 3).

(4.54)   *Nyina-ku-na?*
         sit-FUT-1SG.NOM
         'Can I sit?'

(4.55)   *Anku-la   nyuntu   palu-nya wangka-ku.*
         go-SERIAL 2SG.ERG   DEF-ACC   say-FUT
         'You can go and talk to him.'

In negative sentences the preverbal adverb *puṭu* IN.VAIN is used to express 'cases where an action is achieved but without fulfilling its intended purpose, and less commonly, cases where one action itself cannot be achieved' (Goddard 1985:125). It is the principal modal in negative utterances, as illustrated by the following examples.

(4.56)   *Paluṟu   pula   puṭu   paṭa-ṟa   a-nu   ngura-kutu.*
         DEF.NOM 3DU.NOM IN.VAIN wait-SERIAL   go-PAST   home-ALL
         'He and his friend waited in vain [so] they went home.'

(4.57)   *Paluṟu   nguḻu-ringa-ngi   paluṟu   puṭu   uṟi-ngi.*
         DEF.NOM afraid-INCHO-PAST.IMPF DEF.NOM   IN.VAIN   move-PAST.IMPF
         'He became afraid, he could not move.'

(4.58)   *Paluṟu   wangka-ngu ngayulu   puṭu   kuli-nu.*
         DEF.NOM talk-PAST   1SG.ERG   IN.VAIN hear-PAST
         'He [could] talked [but] I could not hear.'

In teenagers' speech, standard modal clauses, as described above, are still widely used. However, some innovations have been observed in both affirmative and negative clauses. One construction is particularly favoured. It consists of a subject, either a Pitjantjatjara personal pronoun or an English borrowed personal pronoun, immediately followed by the borrowed English modal auxiliary *kan* in affirmative sentences or *kant* in negative sentences, which is then followed by a Pitjantjatjara verb in the IMPerative form; a complement may follow the IMPerative verb.

(4.59)   *I   kan   maṟa   uri-Ø   iniwai   rama kutjupa-ṭu.*
         1SG.NOM can   hand   move-IMP   anyway   mad other-EMPH
         'I can wave my other hand energetically [i.e. like a mad person].'

(4.60)   *Nyuntu wanti-ra.   I   kan   pala-tja   katu   tjampi-ri-wa.*
         2SG.ERG leave.it-IMP 1SG.NOM can   that.EVIDENT   high   jump-INCHO-IMP
         'You, let go. I can jump high.'

(4.61)   *Ngayulu kant   paka-la.*
         1SG.NOM cannot   get.up-IMP
         'I can't get up.'

(4.62)   *Ngayulu kant   nyura-la ula-Ø.*
         1SG.NOM cannot   2PL-LOC   cry-IMP
         'I can't cry [like] all of you.'

(4.63)   *You   kan   nya-wa   kuna.*
         2SG.NOM can   see-IMP   excrement
         'You can see the [mouse] droppings.'

Interestingly, the pronoun most widely used with the modal *kan/kant* is the 1SG pronoun, English or Pitjantjatjara, even though some utterances show other pronouns (as in (4.60) and (4.63)). The data seem to indicate that the English pronoun 'I' is used mainly in affirmative modal clauses, while the Pitjantjatjara pronoun *ngayulu* occurs principally in negative modal clauses.

One can only theorise to explain the use of IMPerative verb form with *kan/kant*. One possibility is that it is a kind of syntactic calque from English. In English the verb form which occurs in combination with a modal auxiliary like *can* is a bare stem form (sometimes described as an infinitive 'without to' (Berland-Delépine 1979:48)). The bare stem of an infinitive verb resembles the imperative form. Perhaps, then, Pitjantjatjara teenagers perceive the English model as being composed of an auxiliary followed by an IMPerative. This is even more relevant as there is no infinitive form as such in Pitjantjatjara.

Semantically, the IMPerative mood is used in Traditional Pitjantjatjara 'to issue instructions and make forthright requests' (Goddard 1985:95). Goddard also remarks that the IMPerative is used 'with the first person subjects, either in hortative context ... or as if the speaker is addressing himself or herself'. In the case of teenage speech, the pre-eminence of the 1SG pronoun as subject seems to be in accordance with that last definition (as illustrated in (4.59), (4.61) and (4.62) where the subject challenges himself to do something).

In conclusion, should *kan/kant* be considered as verb-like in Pitjantjatjara or as a synonym of *puṯu* IN.VAIN? In the word order of the Pitjantjatjara sentences, *kan/kant* occurs in the preverbal position just as *puṯu* IN.VAIN does. The use of *kan/kant*, even if still sporadic, is often found enough to hypothesise that the negative form (i.e. *kant*) could eventually replace the preverbal adverb *puṯu* IN.VAIN as the two constructions appear to cover the same semantic field. Only time will tell.

4.5.2 *Reflexive*

Pitjantjatjara indicates reflexivity by adding to the subject pronoun the clitic *-nku* as in *nyuntu-nku* '2SG-REFLEX'. It is true for all persons, except for the 1SG *ngayulu*, whose reflexive form is *ngayulu-ṉatju* '1SG-REFLEX'. A short form of most Pitjantjatjara reflexive pronouns also exists (for details see Goddard 1985:64; Eckert & Hudson 1988:154). As in English, the use of a reflexive clitic can reflect the action of the verb on the subject, as in (4.64), indicate reciprocity as in (4.65), or have an emphatic purpose, as in (4.66).

(4.64) *Ngayulu-ṉatju   paltji-nu.*
        1SG.ERG-REFLEX wash-PAST
        'I washed myself.'

(4.65) *Tjana-nku   uṟu-ngka   pika-ringa-nyi.*
        3PL.NOM-REFLEX   waterhole-LOC fight-INCHO-PRES
        'They are fighting one another at the waterhole.'

(4.66) *Nganaṉa-nku   nyanga-tja   palya-ṉu.*
        1PL.ERG-REFLEX this.here-EVIDENT do-PAST⁻
        'We did this ourselves.'

The English noun 'self' is found in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara in various forms, but is commonly heard as *tjalf* or *salpa*. From the limited data, it can only be assumed that the English loan 'self' is used with any personal pronoun and is sometimes suffixed with the traditional REFLEXive clitic *-nku* as in (4.68). It follows the Pitjantjatjara personal pronoun it

reflects upon, and is located within the subject NP. This departs from English reflexive pronouns, which are placed after the main verb of a clause, separated from the subject they usually reflect, as in 'I will go myself'.

(4.67)   *Annie-nya   nyara   warka-ri-tja   *Annie*
         Annie-NOM.NAME   yonder   work-INCHO-ASSOC   Annie.NOM.NAME

         tjalf   warka-ri-nyi   kutju.
         self   work-INCHO-PRES   one
         'Annie is over there [because she] is working, Annie is working by herself alone.'

(4.68)   *Nyuntu   salpa-nku   nyaku-la   walkatju-ra nyuntu   salpa-nku*
         2SG.NOM   self-REFLEX see-SERIAL   write-IMP   2SG.NOM   self-REFLEX

         walkaju-ra!
         write-IMP
         'You, after looking at [the paper], write [your] name yourself!'

Tjalpa/salpa 'self' could be an old loan. Goddard (pers. comm.) remembers noticing similar occurrences at Mimili in 1980. However, it was not identified in the speech of older people at Areyonga.

4.5.3 The nominal kutjupa 'someone'

In Traditional Pitjantjatjara *kutjupa* is a polysemous word. It can be described as having three different grammatical functions (Goddard 1994), each with a distinct meaning: (a) a modifier with a meaning close to English 'other', as in (4.69), (b) a nominal head, with the meaning 'someone', as in (4.70), and (c) in the phrasal expression *kutjupa tjuta*, with the meaning 'some of them', as in (4.71). Furthermore, the reduplicated form *kutjupa-kutjupa* means 'something', as in (4.72).

(4.69)   *Ka   paluru   pula   iti   kulupa kutjupa   kanyi-ni.*
         CONTR DEF.ERG   3DU.ERG child small   other.ACC   look.after-PRES
         'And he and his friends look after the other small child.'

(4.70)   *Kutjupa-ngku   mai   ngalku-nu.*
         some-ERG   food.ACC   eat-PAST
         'Someone ate the food.'

(4.71)   *Kutjupa   tjuta   puli katu   nyina-ngi   kutjupa   tjuta*
         some   PL.NOM   hill high   stand-PAST.IMPF some   PL.NOM

         karu-ngka   nyina-ngi.
         creek-LOC   stand-PAST.IMPF
         'Some of them were standing at the top of the hill, some of them were standing at the creek.'

(4.72)   *Paluru   kutjupa-kutjupa   wani-nyi.*
         DEF.ERG   some-some.ACC   throw-PRES
         'He is throwing something.'

In teenage speech the expression *kutjupa tjuta* is widely used and does not show any variation, as exemplified in (4.73) and (4.74).

(4.73) *Ngayulu kutju-ngku nya-ngu maḻu   uṟu-ku   anku-la*
        1SG.ERG one-ERG see-PAST kangaroo.ACC waterhole-PURP go-SERIAL

        kutjupa tjuṯa   wala-ku   ana-ngi.
        some   PL.NOM quick-PURP go-PAST IMPF
        'I only saw the kangaroo as [they] were going to the waterhole, some of them
        [i.e. kangaroos] went quickly to [the waterhole].'

(4.74) *Kungka kutjupa tjuṯa   a-nu   kuula-kutu, kutjupa tjuṯa*
        woman   some   PL.NOM go-PAST school-ALL some   PL.NOM

        a-nu   uputju.
        go-PAST office.ALL
        'Some of the women went to the school, some to the office.'

The extensive usage, in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, of the English indefinite pronoun/noun 'someone', leads me to suspect at first that it had replaced its Pitjantjatjara equivalent *kutjupa*. However, on closer inspection it is clear that *kutjupa* as a modifier (i.e. when it expresses the meaning 'other') remains unchanged: see (4.75). It is only *kutjupa* as a nominal head which is often replaced by the English loan 'someone', as in (4.76). Notice that this situation effectively confirms the polysemy analysis for Traditional Pitjantjatjara.

(4.75) *Kuna   kutjupa   unngu ngara-nyi.*
        droppings some.NOM inside lie-PRES
        '[There are] other [mouse] droppings inside [the cupboard].'

(4.76) *Ka   Moll-anya   Alice-anya   someone paluṟu*
        CONTR Moll-NOM.NAME Alice-NOM.NAME someone DEF.NOM

        warka-ringa-nyi   night patrol.
        work-INCHO-PRES   night patrol.PURP
        'And Moll and Alice and someone [else] are working [for] the Night Patrol.'

It would be wrong to say that *kutjupa* is never used as 'someone' in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, as the following examples show. However, it is impossible to conclude from the context of the data whether 'someone' refers to 'someone else' or 'another person/ someone'.

(4.77) *Palu-nya kutjupa-ngku tiṯu   nyanga-ngi.*
        DEF-ACC   some-ERG   apart   see-PAST.IMPF
        'Someone saw him on his own.'

(4.78) *Nyara-ngka ala   kutjupa-ngku wangka-nyi.*
        yonder-LOC just.there some-ERG   say-PRES
        'Just over there someone is talking.'

The DEFinite nominal *paluṟu* is often juxtaposed to the English loan 'someone'. *Paluṟu* acts there as a noun modifier, as it does in (4.76). This hypothesis is sustained by the example (4.79) where the DEFinite nominal carries the ACCusative inflection as required by its place in the NP. Goddard (1985:60) wrote that '*palu(ṟu)* is meant to signal that the referent of the noun it is associated with is the same one as previously mentioned'. In teenage expression *someone paluṟu*, there is, on the one hand, the English loan 'someone' describing an unspecified person, and, on the other hand, the Pitjantjatjara DEFinite nominal *paluṟu* which refers to a known person. From the context, it is understood that the example (4.79)

refers to the same event and therefore the teenager might want to stress the fact that she is talking about the same unknown person.

(4.79)   *Ka-na   someone   palu-nya nya-ngu tina   taimi.*
         CONTR-1SG.ERG   someone.ACC DEF-ACC see-PAST dinner   time.LOC
         'And I saw that same someone at dinner.'

During their stay at a holiday camp, the teenage girls were constantly worried that someone might try to get into their room at night. As a result, their imaginations were running wild and stories of monsters or *mamu* were numerous. In the first sentence (4.80), the teenage girl states that someone came in. In that instance, 'someone' is used on its own. In the second (4.81), occurring further on in the conversation, the teenage girl uses 'someone *paluru*' in order to emphasise that the same someone came into her room.

(4.80)   *Munga-ngka someone   tjarpa-ngu   ngana-mpa ruuma-ngka*
         night-LOC   someone.NOM   enter-PAST   1PL-GEN   room-LOC

         Mima-lu   ngali   ngari-ra   nyanga-ngi   someone
         Mima-ERG.NAME   1DU.ERG lie-SERIAL   see-PAST.IMPF   someone.NOM

         tjarpa-ngu ngana-mpa ruuma.
         enter-PAST 1PL-GEN   room
         'At night someone entered our room. Mima and I were in bed and [we] saw [someone], someone entered our room.'

(4.81)   *Munga-ngka ngana-mpa ruuma-ngka tjarpa-ngu   someone*
         night-LOC   1PL-GEN   room-LOC   enter-PAST   someone.NOM

         paluru,   yunpa Tinkiri*   nya-ngu.*
         DEF.NOM   face.ACC Tinkiri.ERG.NAME   see-PAST
         'At night someone entered our room, Tinkiri saw a face.'

In the following conversation, the two girls are looking at a photo album when one of them is unable to put a name to a girl's face.

(4.82)   Teenager A: *Pipi-nya   and   ngana-nya   panya*
                       Pipi-NOM.NAME   and   who-NOM.NAME   yonder

                       Murika-nya.
                       Murika-NOM.NAME
                       'Pipi and who (else)? Over there is Murika.'

(4.83)   Teenager B: *Veronica   Wilbur and Barney Pintji Kumanai.*
                       Veronica   Wilbur and Barney Pintji Kumanai
                       'Veronica Wilbur and Barney, Pintji, Kumanai.'

(4.84)   Teenager A: *Someone. Vanessa.*
                       someone Vanessa
                       'Someone [that she cannot recognise]. Vanessa.'

The grammatical distinction found in Traditional Pitjantjatjara is respected in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara. The expression *kutjupa tjuta* 'some of them' is still used and has remained untouched. However, it seems that a semantic specialisation of the term *kutjupa* has occurred. It retains its modifier meaning (i.e. 'other'), but its function as a nominal head meaning 'someone' seems to have been supplanted by the English borrowing *someone*. It has

been noted that *someone* is sometimes followed with the DEFinite nominal *paluṟu*, with the resulting expression *someone paluṟu*, which is close in meaning to 'the same someone'/'the same person'.

4.5.4 *The English loan* pinitji

The English loan verb 'finish' has entered Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara with variable pronunciations: [pɪnɪcɪ], [fɪnɪcɪ], [pɪnɪc], [fɪnɪc]. It is found as a transitive verb formed with the LOAN verb suffix *-mila* (4.85), or the new form *-ma* LOAN (4.86), or as an intransitive verb suffixed with the INCHOative verbaliser *-ri* (4.87). It also appears with no suffixation, as a postposition, as shown in (4.88).

(4.85) *Nyanga   nguwanpa finish-mila-ṟa.*
        this   nearly   finish-LOAN-SERIAL
        '[I] have nearly finished this.'

(4.86) *Ngayulu piipa-ngka palya-ṟa pinitji-ma-ra   piinta-mila-ṉi.*
        1SG.ERG paper-LOC   do-SERIAL finish-LOAN-SERIAL paint-LOAN-PRES
        'After I finish drawing [something] on paper, I [will] paint it.'

(4.87) *Tjitji   tjuṯa   ngura-kutu a-nu   pitja   pinitji-ri-nyangka.*
        child   PL.NOM   home-ALL   go-PAST   film.NOM   finish-INCHO-CIRCUM
        'The children went home, when the film was finished.'

(4.88) *Tina   pinitji, nganaṉa ana-nyi nganaṉa crocodile *farma.*
        dinner   finish   1PL.NOM go-PRES 1PL.NOM crocodile farm.PURP
        '[After] finishing dinner, we are going to the crocodile farm.'

In Traditional Pitjantjatjara, the idea of 'finishing, coming to a end' is rendered either by the intransitive verb *wiya-ri-ng* or by the transitive verb *wiya-l*. Both seem in competition with the loans *finish-ri-ng* and *finish-mila-l*, except in one case: when speaking about the death of something or someone, *wiya-ri-ng* is used as in (4.89). Pitjantjatjara *wiya-ri-ng* seems also to be preferred to its English loan counterpart when used as a serial form: see (4.90) to (4.92).

(4.89) *Ngayu-ku miita-miita wiya-ri-ngu,   nineteen ninety*
        1SG-GEN   husband.NOM dead-INCHO-PAST   nineteen ninety

        fiv-angka wiya-ri-ngu.
        five-LOC   dead-INCHO-PAST
        'My husband died, in 1995.'

(4.90) *Munu-la   inka-ra   mungartji-ringku-pai, wiya-ringku-la*
        ADD-1PL.NOM play-SERIAL ate-INCHO-CHAR   end-INCHO-SERIAL

        nganaṉa pitja-pai   munu-la   nya-kupai pitja Home and Away.
        1PL.NOM   come-CHAR   ADD-1PL.ERG   see-CHAR film Home and Away
        'And we played as the night was falling, when we finished [playing], we came [to Annie's place] and we watched Home and Away.'

(4.91) *Munu-la   paku wiya-ringku-la   a-nu   nyaapa? wharf-akutu.*
        ADD-1PL.NOM tired end-INCHO-SERIAL go-PAST   what   wharf-ALL
        'And after we had a rest, we went (what?) to the wharf.'

(4.92) *Wiya-ringku-la   nganana   paka-nu   nyara   palulanguru   ngara-ngu*
        end-INCHO-SERIAL   1PL.NOM   get.up-PAST yonder   from.there   stand-PAST

   kiita   munga-ngka.
   guitar   night-LOC
   'After [we] finished, we got up from there [and] went to the guitar concert at night.'

As mentioned, a non-inflected form, *finish*, is widely found in teenage speech and seems to have replaced the Traditional Pitjantjatjara term *malangka* 'after', which is only seldomly heard amongst teenage girls (4.88). In this function, *finish* is a postposition. The English loan *finish* has taken the place *malangka* had in traditional occurrences. Notice that the LOCative inflection on the noun preceding *malangka* (as in (4.93)) has disappeared in the new expression with *finish*.

(4.93) *Dina-ngka   malangka, nganana a-nu.*
        dinner-LOC   after   1SG.NOM go-PAST
        'After dinner, I am going.'

(4.94) *Ngayulu kuwari tina   finish crocodile farma-kutu.*
        1SG.NOM soon   dinner   finish crocodile farm-ALL
        '[After] finishing dinner, I [will] soon go to the crocodile farm.'

(4.95) *Shopping · finish, nganana a-nu.*
        shopping   finish 1PL.NOM go-PAST
        '[After] shopping, we went [i.e. left].'

(4.96) *Munu-lanya   ninti-ningi   Maths, Maths pinish munu urilta*
        ADD-1PL.ACC teach-PAST.IMPF   Maths   Maths finish ADD   outside

   paka-nu.
   get.up-PAST
   'And [the teachers] taught us Maths, [after] finishing the Maths class [we] got up and [went] outside.'

4.5.5 The English loan epritaim(i) 'every time' and epridai 'every day'

In Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara two loans are found deriving from the English word 'every': namely, *epritaim(i)* and *epridai*. As *epri* does not seem to occur as a separate word, e.g. **epri kungka* 'every woman', it is safe to say that *epri* is not a separate lexical item in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara. Therefore *epritaim(i)* and *epridai* have been analysed as single words.

The expression 'every time' has been borrowed into Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara with the pronunciation [epritaim] or [evritaim]. [4] The original English meaning of 'every time' has been altered, however. The loan *epritaim(i)* refers to a regular time of the day, i.e. the time to have a shower (4.97) or the time to paint (4.98) with the idea that the action happens regularly, daily.

(4.97) *Epritaim   shawa-ringku-la   nganana anku-pai nyaa-kutu*
        every.time shower-INCHO-SERIAL   1PL.NOM go-CHAR what-ALL

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[4]   It is spelt *epritaim(i)* or *evritaim(i)* according to the pronunciation favoured by a specific teenager.

> *Ngalku-ntja-ku   mai   ngalku-ntja-ku.*
> eat-NOML-PURP   food.ACC   eat-NOML-PURP
> 'Every day/morning after showering, we would go-where to? To eat, to eat breakfast.'

(4.98) *Nganana   epritaim   piinta   palyal-pai.*
1PL.ERG   every.time   painting   do-CHAR
'We paint every day.'

It is unclear if a difference exists in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara between *epritaim(i)* and *epridai*. Example (4.99) shows how *epridai* is used in teenage speech with a meaning close to its English origin. It may be suggested that *epritaim(i)* and *epridai* are semantically similar. If it is true, both would overlap the Pitjantjatjara construction *tjintu kutjupa*, or *tjirirpi* 'everyday'. Lack of data does not allow a firm conclusion about the extent and manner of the overlapping, or if *epritaim(i)* and *epridai* are synonymous. In the meantime, it is easy to see from the following example that the loan *epridai* appears to be more practical and quicker to say than its Pitjantjatjara counterpart *tjintu kutjupa* (4.100).

(4.99) *Epridai   minyma   tjuta   munu kungka   tjuta*
every.day   mature.woman   PL.NOM   ADD   young.woman   PL.NOM

anku-pai ngapari-ku.
go-CHAR   ngapari-PURP
'Every day, many mature and many young women go for *ngapari*.'

(4.100) *Tjintu   kutjupa,   tjintu   kutjupa   tjitji   tjuta   kuula-kutu   anku-pai.*
sun   another   day   another   child   PL.NOM   school-ALL   go-CHAR
'Every day the children go to school.'

To conclude, it should be remarked that when added to a time-related noun, 'every' implies in English an idea of habit, routine or periodicity, and that the English loans *epritaim(i)* and *epridai* seem to have the same semantic field. In Traditional Pitjantjatjara, this idea of regularity/habits would be conveyed by the CHARacteristic inflection -*pai*. As (4.98), (4.99) and (4.100), the CHARacteristic declension -*pai* is used with *epritaim(i)/ evritaim(i)* and *epridai* in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara.

4.5.6 tjaiti 'side'

The English borrowed noun *tjaiti* 'side' has been borrowed as a postposition in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara and not as a lexical item as it is in English. It is often juxtaposed to cardinal points (4.101), functioning more as a locational term than a noun, as the Pitjantjatjara *kampa* was. The same can be said about the use of *tjaiti* with the noun *munga* 'night', as in (4.102).

(4.101) *Munu Sandai ali   a-nu   ngura tjaatji-ngka iti-ngka   wilura   tjaiti.*
ADD   Sunday   early   go-PAST home   church-LOC   close-LOC   west   side
'And Sunday morning went in the church, on the west side.'

(4.102) *Tjuta   watarku   tjitu   ngara-nyi   munga   tjaiti.*
PL.NOM   absent-minded   completely   stand-PRES   night   side
'All are standing absent-minded on the dark side.'

'Side' has been reported as expressing a prepositional meaning of location in Ngukurr-Bamyili Creole, even though Sandefur (1979:148) notes that 'while most often pre-positioned or occurring before the prepositional phrase, it may also follow or be post-positioned'. This observation helps corroborate our hypothesis that, in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, *tjaiti* is a locational term, always postposed to a specific location.

4.5.7 'Inhabitant'

In Traditional Pitjantjatjara, the word *ngurara* 'resident, person who lives in a place' appears in a construction with a place name in the NOMinative; i.e. X-NOM *ngurara* means 'inhabitants of place-X'.

(4.103) *Utju-nya   ngurara   a-nu   Alice Springs-lakutu*
         Utju-NOM.NAME inhabitant go-PAST Alice Springs-ALL.NAME

  footballa-ngka   inka-nytja-ku.
  football-LOC   play-NOML-PURP
  'The inhabitants of Utju went to play football.'

Teenagers have retained the construction, but often omit the noun *ngurara*. So, X-NOM *tjuta* means 'inhabitants/residents of place-X'.

(4.104) *Ka   Utju-nya   tjuta-ngku arantji   ngalku-ningi   wati*
         ADD Utju-NOM.NAME PL-ERG   orange.ACC eat-PAST.IMPF man

  tjuta-ngku.
  PL-ERG
  'And all [the inhabitants] of Areyonga ate orange[s], all the men.'

(4.105) *Ka   kunyu   Ti Tree-nya   minyma   tjuta-ngku*
         ADD QUOTE Ti Tree-NOM.NAME mature.woman PL-ERG

  banki-ku   a-nu.
  bank-PURP go-PAST
  'And, they say, all the women from Ti Tree went to the bank.'

In all the examples, this construction is restricted to cases where a group of people is being referred to (as opposed to a single person). In fact, a traditional expression such as *wati nyangatja Utjunya ngurara* 'this man is a Utju person' is common to Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara and is found as such and not as **wati nyangatja Utjunya*. The second point to highlight is the fact that in the examples, the name of the place is followed with the plural marker *tjuta*. The structure X-place name + *tjuta* seems to indicate (a) a specific group and (b) all the members of that group. Indeed, the expression is often heard to refer to the members of an Australian Rules Football team, or the supporters of that team, as in (4.107). It seems likely that other collective nouns (i.e committee, team, army, etc.) would follow the same kind of construction.

(4.106) *Ka   Ti Tree-nya   tjuta   win-ari-ngu.*
         ADD Ti Tree-NOM.NAME PL.NOM win-INCHO-PAST
         'And Ti Tree's [team] won [at football].'

4.6 Stylistic changes

These changes include the use of the QUOTATIVE *kunyu*, and the absence of use of apology and self-correction markers in conversation.

4.6.1 Quotative kunyu

In Traditional Pitjantjatjara the quotative particle *kunyu* — roughly meaning 'they say' — is found: (a) in casual speech to report what someone else has said. The use of *kunyu* often allows the person reporting the statement to stay neutral, as in (4.107); (b) in story telling, especially Dreaming stories. As Eckert and Hudson (1988:275) write: '*kunyu* 'they say' is in almost every sentence. It is a feature of these stories and is emphasising the fact that it is a well known story'. In any case, the quotative *kunyu* is always found in second position (i.e. after the first phrasal constituent) in the sentence, as in (4.108) and (4.109).

(4.107) *Kaa   kunyu   win-ari-ngu   ka   kunyu   a-nu*
           CONTR   QUOTE   win-INCHO-PAST   CONTR   QUOTE   go-PAST

           Darwin-alakutu.
           Darwin-ALL.NAME
           'And they say, (the team) won and went to Darwin.'

(4.108) *Mamu   kunyu   nyina-pai   kulpi-ngka.*
           monster   QUOTE   sit-CHAR   cave-LOC
           'The monster, they say, was living in the cave.'

(4.109) *Munu kunyu   pangkalangu patu kutitjaka-ngu.*
           ADD   QUOTE   ogre.NOM   far   run-PAST
           'And they say, the ogre ran away.'

The teenagers are wonderful storytellers and were often very happy to record stories. They are keen users of the quotative *kunyu* but where adults limit the quotative to one instance per sentence, the teenagers employ *kunyu* extensively within the sentence and in any position. *Kunyu* appears at the end of the subject NP if the NP has more than one element, as in Traditional Pitjantjatjara (as in (4.110) and (4.111)). However, in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, *kunyu* occurs at the end of any NP in the sentence (as in (4.112)). Even more, in the last example, *kunyu* appears after nearly every NP.

(4.110) *Mamu   kutju   kunyu   nyina-pai   kulpi-ngka.*
           monster   one.NOM   QUOTE   live-CHAR   cave-LOC
           'They say [that] one monster used to live in a cave'.

(4.111) *Ka   kunyu   minyma   kutju-ngku kunyu   nya-ngu*
           CONTR   QUOTE   mature.woman one-ERG   QUOTE   see-PAST

           mamu   palu-nya.
           monster   DEF-ACC
           'And, they say [that] one lady saw that monster.'

(4.112) *Wati palu_ru_   **kunyu** anku-la   anku-la   palu_ru_   **kunyu***
           man   DEF.ERG QUOTE go-SERIAL   go-SERIAL   ERG.DEF   QUOTE

           *ngura   **kunyu** nya-ngu. Palu(_ru_) **kunyu** puli katu kalpa-ngu*
           camp.ACC QUOTE   see-PAST   DEF.NOM   QUOTE   hill   high climb-PAST

> *katu mulapa warara-ngka, munu nya-ngu **kunyu** city **kunyu**.*
> high really   cliff-LOC   ADD   see-PAST QUOTE city QUOTE
> 'That man went [i.e. walked] for a long time and found a camp. He climbed
> high, really high up a cliff and saw a city.'

Recordings of some of the teenagers' stories were played to the older women in the community and they agreed that the extensive use of *kunyu* QUOTE was non-standard. It might serve an emphatic function, or it could simply allow the teenager to think about what is going to be said next. Whatever the reason, this extensive use does not contribute to the clarity of the story (as exemplified by (4.112)) and does not respect the rules of Traditional Pitjantjatjara grammar. In this regard, it can be seen as a syntactic change. On the other hand, the extended use of the quotative *kunyu* in teenage speech can be looked on as a loss of the story-telling pattern and its rule in teenage speech. It can also be seen as a hesitation marker, as previously stated, to allow the teenager to think about her/his next sentence. *Kunyu* appears, for instance, less often in short well-known traditional stories than in 'made-up' ones (compare in Appendix any *Mamu* stories versus 'The crow' or '*Tjilpi*'). For this reason it can be regarded as a stylistic change.

4.6.2 *Apology and self-correction*

Munta is an expression which roughly means 'I am sorry!' (Eckert & Hudson 1988:37). It is usually used to apologise to someone, but it can also be used for 'oops', acknowledging a small mistake. Traditionally, when one wanted to correct a slight verbal error, *munta* would be used (4.113), but the easiest and most common way was to suffix the morpheme *-rkata* to the wrong word immediately followed by the correct one (4.114).

(4.113)   *Munta   ngayulu ngunti   wangka-ngu.*
          I.am.sorry ISG.NOM wrong   say-PAST
          'Sorry, I spoke incorrectly.'

(4.114)   *Paluru   ngayu-ku   kanguru-rkata   kami,*
          DEF.NOM ISG-GEN   elder.sister-wrong.word grandmother

          kami   paluru.
          grandmother   DEF.NOM
          'She is my elder sister, no I mean, my grandmother, (she is) my grandmother.'

Teenagers seem to have discarded the use of *-rkata*. Instead, they use the exclamation *munta* 'I am sorry', as in (4.115), the NEGative morpheme *wiya* (4.116), or no marking at all, as in (4.117)).

(4.115)   *Nganana ngalya-pitja-la   nganana   munta*
          IPL.NOM   THIS.WAY-come-SERIAL   IPL.NOM   I.am.sorry

          ala-ri-ngu (?)   nganana and nganana   zoo-kutu a-nu.
          open-INCHO-PAST IPL.NOM and IPL.NOM   zoo-ALL go-PAST
          'After we went this way, sorry, we opened up (?) and we went to the zoo.'

(4.116)   *Mamu wiya pangkalangu iti   ampu-ra   a-nu   warara-ngka.*
          monster NEG ogre.NOM   baby.ACC embrace-SERIAL go-PAST cliff-LOC
          'The monster, no, the ogre embraced |i.e. took in his arms| the baby and went in the cliff.'

(4.117) *Ngayu-ku maam-ngunyṭju-ngku wangka-nyi.*
      1SG-GEN mother-mother-ERG say-PRES
      'My mum-mother is saying [something].'

4.6.3 Discussion

It has been reported that Areyonga teenagers favour a word order closer to English than to Traditional Pitjantjatjara, e.g. SVO rather than SOV. However, when considering whether this change is indicative of a major threat to the language, we must also take account of the fact that there is no clear evidence of any weakening of the case-marking system, either for core cases or for peripheral cases. It is true that in sentence-final position there is a tendency for English loan words to appear without their expected case markers (usually without an expected purposive, allative or locative), but it is unclear whether this phenomenon has any direct relationship with the word-order changes. Many languages have been shown as having borrowed basic word-order patterns from other languages, often due to language contact (Harris & Campbell 1995:137). However, it will be wrong to assume that these changes would systematically alter the structures of the language. As Harris and Campbell (1995:150) conclude: 'not all changes due to borrowing wreak havoc on the structure of a receiving language — probably the majority do not'.

Changes in the possession constructions (basically, erosion of the alienable/inalienable distinction) were reported, but it is not clear to what extent they are English-influenced as opposed to being the result of natural change, i.e. regularisation of the possessive pattern.

Other (smaller) syntactic changes reported in this chapter are clearly due to cross-linguistic influence. This is the case with the new modal *kan/kant*, the English loan *epritaim(i)/evritaim(i), epridai*, and the elements *pinitji* (and variants) and *tjaiti* which appear in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara as postpositions. Our analysis of the morpheme *-wana* PRED reveals it to be more complex than it was in Traditional Pitjantjatjara, where it used to be suffixed to any English loan adjective. In Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, the suffixation occurs only if the adjective is in predicative function.

Finally, some stylistic changes were reported which do not seem to be of great importance for the good health of the language.

5 *Syntax of complex clauses*

5.1 Nominalisation

Comrie and Thompson (1985:350) describe action nominalisation as a process used 'for creating action nouns from action verbs and stative nouns from stative verbs or adjectives, meaning the fact, the act, the quality or occurrence of that verb or adjective'. In many Aboriginal languages, action nominalisation is achieved by means of affixation. Agentive-type nominalisation occurs. Less frequent than the verbalisation process, nominalisation can even be completely absent from the grammar of some Aboriginal languages (Dixon 1980:323). However, action nominalisation process is fundamental to Pitjantjatjara syntax as it is 'through nominalisation that syntactic subordination takes place' (Goddard 1985:75). It is simply realised by adding to the neutral stem of the verb the suffix -*nytja* NOML.

Goddard divided nominalisation into what he calls 'action/state nominalisation' and 'characteristic' (or 'agentive/instrumental nominalisation'). This discussion is only concerned here with the first type of nominalisation, as CHARacteristic nominalisation is essentially the same in Traditional Pitjantjatjara and Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara. Following Goddard (1985:75), the term nominalisation was used for the process, i.e. affixing of the root with suffix -*nytja*, and for the result, i.e. the -*nytja* affixed noun.

In Traditional Pitjantjatjara, the nominalisation process is used in seven subordinate clause constructions. Four of these construction types are found in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, though, as described below, there have been changes in some cases in the precise details of the structures. They are:

- – negative clause: stem + *nytja* NOML + -*wiya* NEG
- – purposive clause: stem + *nytja* NOML + -*ku* PURP
- – intentive clause: stem + *nytja* NOML + -*kitja* INTENT
- – circumstantial clause: stem + -*nyangka* (<— *nytja + -*ngka*) CIRCUM

As shown, the Pitjantjatjara CIRCUMstantial construction shows a suffix *nyangka*, which does not seem to reflect the nominalisation process directly. However, its structure becomes easier to comprehend when compared with the nominalised form in Yankunytjatjara, a dialect close to Pitjantjatjara. In Yankunytjatjara, the morphemic analysis of the CIRCUMstantial clause structure is transparently NOML + LOC, that is: stem+*nytja*+*la*. Goddard (1985:85) explains the Pitjantjatjara situation as follows:

> ... it seems likely that the Pitjantjatjara circumstantial suffix was originally **nytja-ngka*
> NOML+LOC and that a sporadic phonological change (simplification of the first of the
> two homorganic nasal-stop clusters) **-nytja-ngka > -nya-ngka* has given rise to a new
> allomorph of the nominalising suffix.

Finally, three further subordinate clause types which have been described for Traditional Pitjantjatjara are listed below (Goddard 1985, Eckert & Hudson 1988). However, not enough data has been gathered to describe their realisation in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, if indeed they are to be found there. In the case of the sequentive clause, it is doubtful if it exists at all in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara. If it is still used, the construction must be extremely rare, as it has never been noticed in conversation and there is no recorded data showing the relator *-tjanu*. As for the deprivative and the avoidance clauses, only a very few sporadic examples were noted. Consequently, the discussion is confined exclusively to the four clause types listed above, which are well attested.

– sequentive clause   stem + *-nytja* NOML + *-tjanu* SEQ
– deprivative clause   stem + *-nytja* NOML + *-tjiratja* DEPRIV
– avoidance clause   stem + *-nytja* NOML + *-ku -tawara* (PURP + *-tawara*)

The nominalisation process is still apparent in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara. In some cases, it works the same as in Traditional Pitjantjatjara, e.g. in PURPosive clauses. In other cases, as with the CIRCUMstancial clause, variations in nominalised forms have occurred as a result of changes to the stem forms of INCHOative verbs, and consequent change of verb class (see Chapter 3). In still other cases, however, the nominalisation process has either partially disappeared, as with the INTENTive clause, or is used only in specific contexts, as in the NEGative clause. These last two occurrences are described here.

5.1.1 Loss of nominalisation in the INTENTive clause formation

In Traditional Pitjantjatjara, an INTENTive clause consists of a nominalised verb to which is added the INTENTive suffix *-kitja*. The nominalised stem differs from the regular NOML morpheme *-nytja* due to a regressive vowel assimilation in the morpheme sequence *-nytja* NOML + *-kitja* INTENT. The NOML *-nytja* has been replaced by *-nytji*, which is the normal nominaliser for INTENTive clause. Furthermore, if the main verb is transitive, the nominalised intentive verb is inflected with the ERGative marker *-ngku* as in (5.2).

(5.1)   *Tjana   Batchelor kuula-ku   ana-nyi   ninti-ringku-nytji-kitja.*
        3PL.NOM Batchelor school-PURP go-PRES learn-INCHO-NOML-INTENT
        'They are going to Batchelor school [i.e. Bachelor College] to learn.'

(5.2)   *Ka-ya   ngura-kutu kati-ngu (mutuka) ngalku-ntji-kitja-ngku.*
        CONTR-1PL.ERG home-ALL   bring-PAST   eat-NOML-INTENT-ERG
        'And we drove home to eat.'

In Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, the INTENTive suffix *-kitja* is, in most cases, added directly to the verbal root, without the morphological mechanism of nominalisation.

(5.3)   *Munu-la   anku-pai uru-ngka   tjurpi-kitja.*
        ADD-1PL.NOM go-CHAR waterhole-LOC swim-INTENT
        'And we used to go to the waterhole to swim.'

(5.4)   *Munu-la   a-nu   un̠turngu-ku   mantji-kitja.*
ADD-1PL.NOM go-PAST   bush.banana-PURP get-INTENT
'And we went to get some bush bananas.'

(5.5)   *Nganana   a-nu   un̠u-ku   nyina-ra   nyaku-kitja.*
1PL.NOM   go-PAST   waterhole-PURP   sit-SERIAL watch-INTENT
'We went to the waterhole to sit and watch [the boys throwing stones].'

A traditional form of INTENTive clause was encountered in the speech of the oldest teenager of the group and in a more formal setting, i.e. story telling.

(5.6)   *Palur̠u   ana-ngi   maku   tjawa-r̠a   mantji-ntji-kitja.*
DEF.NOM go-PAST.IMPF witchetty.ACC   dig-SERIAL get-NOML-INTENT
'He went digging to get witchetty grubs.'

(5.7)   *Ngayulu   kuli-ni   anku-nytji-kitja-ngku   Sunday.*
1SG.NOM think-PRES go-NOML-INTENT-ERG Sunday
'I am thinking of going on Sunday.'

The same girl, in the same formal setting and on the same day (about one hour later), used the simplified version of the INTENTive clause, as shown in the following examples. In more casual settings, she would normally opt for a non-nominalised verb.

(5.8)   *Minyma   kutju-ngku   tjawa-n̠i   pan̠a   tjal̠a   mantji-kitja-ngku.*
woman   one-ERG   dig-PRES   earth.ACC honey ant.ACC get-INTENT-ERG
'One woman is digging the ground to get honey ants.'

(5.9)   *Tjana   tjiki-ni   wama   *drunka-ri-kitja.*
3PL.ERG drink-PRES alcohol.ACC   drink-INCHO-INTENT.ERG
'They drink alcohol to get drunk.'

In their description of Ngaanyatjarra, a dialect close to Pitjantjatjara (to the west), Glass and Hackett (1970) described the INTENTive clause as being realised without the nominalisation process. It is therefore possible that Ngaanyatjarra has influenced the changes observed in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara.

5.1.2 *Nominalisation and verbal clause negation in Traditional Pitjantjatjara*

In this section, the main syntactic mechanisms of negation in verbal clauses, which involve use of the negative morpheme *wiya* NEGative are described.[1]

In stative and dynamic verbal negation, the NEGative morpheme *wiya* is added, or sometimes juxtaposed, to a nominalised verb form, as in (5.10)–(5.13).

(5.10)   *Palur̠u   muku-ringku-nytja-wiya   palu-mpa   ngura   kilina-mila-ntja-ku.*
DEF.NOM like-INCHO-NOML-NEG   DEF-GEN   home   clean-LOAN-NOML-PURP
'She does not like to clean her house.'

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[1]   Additional constructions are found in Traditional Pitjantjatjara to negate a verbal clause, such as the privative construction with the morpheme *-tjara* and the preverbal adverb *putu* IN.VAIN.

(5.11) *Anku-ntja-wiya-na.*
  go-NOML-NEG-1SG.NOM
  'I am not going.'

(5.12) *Munta munta ngayulu ngayu-ku warka palya-ntja-wiya.*
  sorry   sorry   1SG.ERG   1SG-GEN   work   do-NOML-NEG
  'Sorry, sorry, I haven't done my work.'

(5.13) *Pangkalangu-ngku iti   palu-nya kati-nytja-wiya.*
  ogre-ERG   baby DEF-ACC take-NOML-NEG
  'The ogre did not take that baby.'

As exemplified by the above examples, the tense of the sentence is indicated only by the context as the nominalised verb does not distinguish tense.

NEGative *wiya* also appears in a construction consisting of two verbs, in which the first one is a non-negated finite verb — usually the verb *wanti-∅* 'reject, leave something alone' — and the second, either a verb root or a nominalised verb suffixed with *wiya*. This construction is often used to 'state the alternative course of action which the subject followed or should follow' (Goddard 1985:124). When the non-negated finite verb is transitive, the negated verb shows actor agreement with the ERGative subject.

(5.14) *Paluru   wanti-ngu   wina-ringku-nytja-wiya-ngku.*
  DEF.ERG   leave.it-PAST   win-INCHO-NOML-NEG-ERG
  'He gave up on winning.'

(5.15) *Pungku-nytja-wiya-ngku wanti.*
  fight-NOML-NEG-ERG   leave.it.IMP
  'Don't fight.'

In contradistinction to stative and dynamic verbal negation, negation of an existential clause is realised in Traditional Pitjantjatjara without nominalisation of the verb *ngara-∅* 'stand, exist', the verb which is usually used in existential clauses. The negative morpheme *wiya* is simply positioned before the verb, which is inflected with the required tense marker.

(5.16) *Ngayulu ngura-ku   panya   ana-nyi, anangu wiya   ngara-nyi.*
  1SG.NOM home-PURP that.known go-PRES person NEG.NOM stand-PRES
  'I am going to that place, there is no-one [there].'

(5.17) *Ngapari   wiya   ngara-nyi.*
  bush.lolly NEG.NOM stand-PRES
  '[There is] no bush lolly.'

In verbless clauses, the NEGative morpheme *wiya* follows the noun or stative adjective that is negated.

(5.18) *Pangkalangu kulupa wiya.   Tungku wiya.*
  ogre   small   NEG.NOM little   NEG.NOM
  'The ogre [is] not small. He [is] not a little [person].'

(5.19) *Utju-nya   pulka wiya.*
  Utju-NOM.NAME big   NEG.NOM
  'Utju [is] not a big [town].'

5.1.3 Nominalisation and negation in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara

Negation with the existential verb *ngara-Ø* 'stand, exist' and negation in verbless clauses have both remained unchanged: see (5.20), and (5.21)–(5.22), respectively.

(5.20)   *Areyonga-la   paluṟu   wiya ngaṟa-pai.*
Areyonga-LOC.NAME 3SG.NOM NEG stand-CHAR
'He doesn't live in Areyonga.'

(5.21)   *Paluṟu   waaka   wiya.*
DEF.NOM work   NEG
'He doesn't have a job.'

(5.22)   *Ruuma   wiya   kunyu.*
room   NEG   QUOTE
'[There is] no room, they say.'

The syntactic mechanisms of stative and dynamic verbal negation have changed in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara. NEGative *wiya* is no longer suffixed to a nominalised verb form. Instead the verb occurs in finite form, in the required tense, while NEGative *wiya* is found in first position in the VP, immediately preceding the verb. This follows a pattern similar to that described for negated existential sentences. It is also the same pattern as in English, where 'don't' is in a preverbal position.

(5.23)   *Wiya   plu-wana-ri-ngu.*
NEG   blue-PRED-INCHO-PAST
'[It] didn't turn blue.'

(5.24)   *Paluṟu   pika   kuli-ningi   ...   Paluṟu   wiya   ula-ngu.*
DEF.ERG sick feel-PAST.IMPF   DEF.NOM NEG   cry-PAST
'He felt sick ... [But] he did not cry.'

(5.25)   *Ngayulu   wiya   unyju-ri-nyi   anku-ntja-ku   taunu-kutu.*
1SG.NOM NEG like-INCHO-PRES go-NOML-PURP town-ALL
'I don't like going to town.'

That is, in Traditional Pitjantjatjara, NEGative *wiya* was the last element of the VP as it always followed the nominalised verb, but in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, *wiya* has shifted to a VP-initial position. Compare:

(5.26)   *Paluṟu   ngunti   wangka-ngu. Paluṟu   liṟu*
DEF.NOM wrong say-PAST   DEF.ERG snake.ACC

nyaku-nytja-wiya.   **[Traditional Pitjantjatjara]**
see-NOML-NEG
'He lied. He didn't see the snake.'

(5.27)   *Paluṟu   ngunti   wangka-ngu. Paluṟu   liṟu*
DEF.NOM wrong say-PAST   DEF.ERG snake.ACC

wiya nya-ngu.   **[Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara]**
NEG see-PAST
'He lied. He didn't see the snake.'

Finally, in sentences denying someone else's assertion, *wiya* NEGative is found in the very first position in the sentence. See the examples below. However, it should not be thought that *wiya* NEG in this use is equivalent to English 'no', as in English 'No, I didn't', i.e. that it is a negative interjection. As one can see from the examples, *wiya* NEG is the only negator in the whole clause.

(5.28)   Teenager A: *Nyuntu   ngayu-nya   tiitji-mila-nu.*
                       2SG.ERG   1SG-ACC   tease-LOAN-PAST
                       'You were teasing me.'

         Teenager B: *Wiya   ngayulu   palu-nya   tiitji-mila-nu.*
                       NEG   1SG.ERG   DEF-ACC   tease-LOAN-PAST
                       'I wasn't teasing him.'

(5.29)   Teenager A: *Paluru   nyuntu-mpa   miita-miita?*
                       DEF.NOM   2SG-GEN   boyfriend.ACC
                       'Is he your boyfriend?'

         Teenager B: *Wiya   ngayulu   miita-miita   kani-nyi.*
                       NEG   1SG.NOM   boyfriend.ACC have-PRES
                       'I don't have a boyfriend.'

The origin of these changes could lie in a generalisation of the pattern found in negated existential clauses (described above). It is also possible that the teenagers have generalised the negation pattern found with the CHARacteristic verb. Although this has not been thoroughly described by previous researchers (Goddard 1985; Eckert & Hudson 1988; Bowe 1990), it is believed that negation of CHARacteristic sentences was done without recourse to nominalisation, as the following example shows.

(5.30)   *Nganana   anku-pai kuula*   wiya.*
         1PL.NOM   go-CHAR school.PURP NEG
         'We don't go to school.'

Very little data was recorded relevant to describing active verbal negation in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, i.e. with *wanti-Ø* 'reject, leave something alone'. The following example is the only clear sentence showing the construction. This indicates no difference from the examples found in the speech of elder speakers. The verb is nominalised, suffixed with *wiya* NEG, and shows actor agreement with the main verb (transitive *wanti-Ø* 'reject, leave something alone').

(5.31)   *Tjanampa   witjila-ri-nytja-wiya-ngku   wanti-ngi.*
         3PL-GEN   whistle-INCHO-NOML-NEG-ERG   leave.it-PAST.IMPF
         'Their [umpire] omitted to whistle [i.e. let the foul pass by].'

As this is the only occurrence recorded, it is difficult to say that the active verbal negation has remained unchanged. Because nominalisation of the verb has practically disappeared from verbal negation, it would perhaps be surprising to find it remaining in active verbal negation. Note, incidentally, that many utterances were found where the verb *wanti-Ø* 'reject, leave something alone' is used without any alternative course of action being indicated.

(5.32)   *Tjuta   wataku   tjitu   ngara-ngi   munga   tjaiti*
         PL.NOM   absent.minded apart   stand-PAST.IMPF dark   side

> kunta-ra   wanti-ngu.
> ashamed-SERIAL leave.it-PAST
> 'All stood apart in the dark [side], absent-minded, ashamed and left alone.'

(5.33)   *Wanti-nta   nyuntu-nta   wangka.*
          leave.it-EMPH you-EMPH   say.IMP
          'Leave it alone, and then you, then talk.'

5.1.4 Negative imperatives in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara

Despite the drastic changes observed in stative and dynamic verbal negation, some nominalised verbal forms are still in use. This is the case with negative imperatives, which consist of a negated nominalised verb.

(5.34)   *Tjukiya! Nyaku-nytja-wiya!*
          Tjukiya   see-NOML-NEG
          'Tjukiya! Don't look!'

(5.35)   *Mira-ntja-wiya!*
          yell-NOML-NEG
          'Don't yell!'

(5.36)   *Warki-nytja-wiya!*
          swear-NOML-NEG
          'Don't swear!'

Setting aside the poorly attested active negation construction (i.e. with *wanti-∅* 'reject, leave something alone'), negative imperatives are the only negation construction which still preserves the verb + nominalisation + *wiya* NEG structure. If it is truly the only nominalised negation remaining in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, it could be concluded that this is a specialised 'negative imperative' construction.

Change of synthetic constructions to analytic constructions has been shown to be characteristic of morphosyntactic changes occurring in language-death situations (Dorian 1978; Trudgill 1977; Dressler 1988). Overall one could see the changes in verbal negation in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara as belonging to this general type. On the other hand, as Dressler (1988:187) notes, 'the replacement of synthetic by analytic construction occurs [also] in 'normal' language change'.

5.2 Switch-reference, purposive/intentive clause

5.2.1 Switch-reference

The Traditional Pitjantjatjara coordination system is regimented by the switch-reference constraint. It is also true for traditional subordinate clauses. This grammatical mechanism was first discussed by Jacobsen who named it 'switch-reference' in a paper about the American Indian languages of the Hokan-Coahuiltecan family:

> Switch-reference consists simply in the fact that a switch in the subject or agent is *obligatorily* indicated in a certain situation by a morpheme, usually suffixed, which may or may not carry other meanings in addition. (Jacobsen 1967:240; italics as in original)

Researchers have since tried to narrow or broaden the above definition,[2] which Jacobsen himself had restricted to the languages 'under consideration'. The need to differentiate switch-reference from obviation was necessary (Jacobsen 1983; Simpson & Bresnan 1983) before attempting to agree on a standard definition. A canonical definition was suggested by Haiman and Munro:

> a canonical switch-reference is an inflectional category of the verb, which indicates whether or not its subject is identical with the subject of some other verb. (Haiman & Munro 1983:ix)

This definition is, of course, open to criticism (Givón 1983; Wilkins 1989) and is far from being universally applicable. It implies that, from a formal point of view, a switch-reference system requires an affix on the verb. This is the case in Pitjantjatjara (Bowe 1990), in Mparntwe Arrernte (Wilkins 1989) and, as a matter of fact, in Australian languages generally (Austin 1981:329; Dixon 1980:465). Nevertheless, Jacobsen (1983) has shown that in some North American Indian languages switch-reference is indicated by an independent morpheme, while in Pima 'the switch-reference marker need not even occur adjacent to a verb' (Langdon and Munro 1979, reported in Haiman and Munro, eds 1983:x).

From a functional point of view, the main characteristic of switch-reference is to track co-referentiality of the subject across clauses. To have co-referentiality, the subject of the main clause must either be the same as, or be included in, the subject of the subordinate clause. In that kind of sentence, the use of a non-co-referential marker could indicate that the subject/agent excludes himself/herself from the action of the subordinate clause (Jacobsen 1967; Payne 1980; Austin 1981; Comrie 1983; Goddard 1985; Wilkins 1989 amongst others). Overlapping may occur, for example when one subject of the clause is singular and the other plural. Comrie explains that:

> while languages may vary as to whether they treat overlapping reference as same-subject or different-subject, they are more likely to treat as same-subject instances where the referent of the controlling clause noun phrase is properly contained within that of the marked clause than vice versa. (Comrie 1983:35–36)

Franklin (1971, 1983) and Reesink (1983) have shown complex overlapping reference in Papuan languages. Moreover, in some languages, the switch-reference system has become more than a device to track co-referentiality. Munro (1983:241) shows that in Chickasan 'marking can lose its primary meaning and acquire a new syntactic function'. However she concludes that 'despite such changes, of course, the primary use of switch-reference — to mark same- versus different-subject subordinate clause — in both Chickasan and Yuman is unimpaired' (Munro 1983:241). Robert[3] goes even further by showing that in Amele, a language spoken in Papua New Guinea, switch-reference:

> is not to be identified with context-independent syntactic devices for nominal reference ... but rather is to be identified as a context-dependent extrasyntactic device of discourse deixis. (Robert 1988:114)

According to Robert, the switch-reference in Amele 'indicates the thematic continuity of who/what is the topical entity in the following sentence'.[4]

Finally, some researchers have argued that the conventional definition excludes any semantic or stylistic functions that may be carried by switch-reference (Goddard 1985:82). Wilkins states that in Mparntwe Arrernte:

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2   See Wilkins (1989:254–258) for a detailed critique.
3   See also Reesink (1983:240) for 'false' same-subject marking.
4   See also Stirling's (1993) work.

the switch-reference system (as opposed to the morphemes used in switch-reference) conveys a limited number of associated semantic relations between clauses and is used for stylistic purposes, such as foregrounding and backgrounding of information. (Wilkins 1989:456)

5.2.2 *Switch-reference in Traditional Pitjantjatjara:* INTENTive *versus* PURPosive *clauses*

It is generally agreed that co-referentiality or non-co-referentiality of the subject is a prerequisite to the Australian switch-reference systems which operate between main and subordinate clauses.

The marking of referential identity or non-identity of subjects is always in the form of a suffix attached to the subordinate-clause verb; and the same controlling category of 'syntactic subject' (the conflation of S and A) is found in every language. (Austin 1981:329)

This definition applies to the switch-reference system of Traditional Pitjantjatjara. The INTENTive *-kitja* affixed to a nominalised form of the subordinate verb shows co-referentiality of subjects. Furthermore, and as previously stated, if the verb of the main clause is transitive, the ERGative marker is added to the nominalised form of the verb of the subordinate *-kitja* INTENTive clause, as exemplified in (5.37) and (5.38). In contrast, the PURPosive marker, also affixed to a nominalised form of the subordinate verb, indicates non-co-referentiality, as in (5.39) and (5.41). It seems appropriate to describe both functions together because, as Goddard (1985:82) wrote, 'the NOML + PURP construction has switch-reference semantics only when it is functionally opposed to the NOML + INTENT construction'.[5]

(5.37) *Paluṟu   piita   palya-ṉu   kunkun-ari-nytji-kitja-ngku.*
DEF.ERG   bed.ACC   make-PAST   sleep-INCHO-NOML-INTENT-ERG
'He made a bed to go to sleep.'

(5.38) *Pitja   paluṟu   mantjil-ntji-kitja-ngku   kati-nyi   pala-tja.*
film.ACC   DEF.ERG   get-NOML-INTENT-ERG   bring-PRES   that-EVIDENT
'She brings the film to record it.'

(5.39) *Uwa,   ngunti   maṉṯu   palu-nya   wangka   nyaku-nytja-ku   ngayu-nya.*
yes   untrue   obviously   DEF-ACC   say   see-NOML-PURP   1SG-ACC
'Yes, it's obviously wrong [for her/you] to tell me to see [her/you tonight].'

The choice of either construction can depend on the inclusion or exclusion of the subject from the subordinate clause (see Austin 1988:16ff.; Goddard 1985; Wilkins 1989, Bowe 1990). If the subject includes himself/herself in the subject of the subordinate clause, as in (5.40), the INTENTive relator *-kitja* will be used. If, on the contrary, the subject excludes himself/herself from the subject of the surbodinate clause, the PURPosive construction is then required, as in (5.41).

(5.40) *Paluṟu   mutuka a-nu   taunu-kutu   nganaṉa nyaku-nytji-kitja.*
DEF.NOM car   go-PAST   town-PURP   1PL.NOM   see-NOML-INTENT
'He drove us to town [for us all] to see [the movie].'

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5   For the historical development of the switch-reference specification see Goddard (1985:82).

(5.41) *Paluru mutuka a-nu   ngayulu takata-ku   anku-nytja-ku.*
DEF.NOM car   go-PAST 1SG.NOM doctor-PURP go-NOML-PURP
'He drove me so I could go to the doctor.'

It is interesting to note that switch-reference is not found in some Aboriginal languages (Dixon 1980:458). Even some dialects close to Pitjantjatjara do not show switch-reference marking. In Pintupi (Hansen & Hansen 1978:65ff.), a single construction, nominalised verb + PURP, is used regardless of whether the subject of the subordinate clause is the same as, or different from, that of the main clause.

5.2.3 *The* INTENT*ive clause in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara*

Some morphological changes have occurred in the formation of the INTENTive clause in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara. Nominalisation of the verb, as described earlier, seems to occur only sporadically. However, it remains true that co-referentiality across the clauses is the condition *sine qua non* when the INTENTive marker is used by the teenagers. The ERGative marker showing the actor agreement when the verb of the main clause is transitive, is partially respected: it is seen in (5.42), but not in (5.43).

(5.42) *Tjitji tjuta-ngku tjawa-nu   tjanmata   mantjil-kitja-ngku.*
child   PL-ERG   dig-PAST bush.onion get-INTENT-ERG
'The children dug to get some bush onions.'

(5.43) *Tjana   tjiki-ni   wama   drunk-ari-kitja-?*
3PL.ERG drink-PRES alcohol drink-INCHO-INTENT.ERG
'They drink alcohol to get drunk.'

Finally, omission of the verb of the main clause also seems to be common, especially when the omitted verb is *a-n* 'go'.

(5.44) *Ngayulu Ernabella-la   nyina-kitja munu-la   anku-pai*
1SG.NOM Ernabella-LOC.NAME stay-INTENT ADD-1PL.NOM go-CHAR

uru-ngka   tjurpi-kitja.
waterhole-LOC swim-INTENT
'I [went to] stay in Ernabella and we [i.e. my siblings and I] went to the waterhole to swim.'

(5.45) *Nganana uru-ku   nyina-ra   nyaku-kitja.*
1PL.NOM   waterhole-PURP stay-SERIAL see-INTENT
'We [went] to the waterhole and stayed to watch [the boys throwing rocks].'

(5.46) *Munu-la   kampurarpa-ku   mantji-kitja.*
ADD-1PL.NOM bush.tomato-PURP get-INTENT
'And we [went] to get some bush tomatoes.'

5.2.4 *The* PURPosive *clause*

The PURPosive marker still indicates that the subject of the main clause differs from the subject of the subordinate clause, as in (5.47); and especially so when one wishes to exclude oneself from the action depicted in the subordinate clause, as illustrated in (5.48).

(5.47)   *Alli-lu-ni*   *wangka-nyi inma   inka-nytja-ku.*
         Alli-ERG-1SG.ACC say-PRES   hymn.ACC sing-NOML-PURP
         'Alli told me to sing the hymns.'

(5.48)   *Ngayulu lolli tjuṯa   ngalku-ntja-ku   kati-ngu.*
         1SG.NOM lolly PL.ACC eat-NOML-PURP bring-PAST
         'I brought many lollies [for them] to eat.'

However, some change in the system has been noted, principally with the verb *a-n* 'go'. In Traditional Pitjantjatjara, *a-n* 'go' is bound by the switch-reference constraint: co-referential, as in (5.49), and non-co-referential, as in (5.50). Naturally, the structure *a-n* 'go' + NOML verb *-kitja* is the more common, as the person going somewhere in the main clause is often the same person doing the action in the subordinate clause.

(5.49)   *Nganaṉa   a-nu   kakaraṟa   inka-nytji-kitja.*
         1PL.NOM   go-PAST   east   play-NOML-INTENT
         'We went east to play.'

(5.50)   *Minyma   kutju   ngura-kutu a-nu   tjitji   kunkun-ari-ntja-ku.*
         woman   one.NOM home-ALL   go-PAST child.NOM sleep-INCHO-NOML-PURP
         'One woman went home for [her] child to sleep.'

In Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, it is the opposite. The verb *a-n* 'go' is found overwhelmingly in the structure *a-n* NOML verb + *-ku* PURPosive, ignoring the grammatical switch-reference constraint, as in (5.51), (5.52) and (5.53). In other words, with *a-n* 'go', the switch-reference opposition, NOML verb + PURP vs NOML verb + INTENT, is not relevant any more. This seems to be fairly understandable in view of the low functional load of the constraint in Traditional Pitjantjantjara. Other motion verbs show the same grammatical innovation. For example, (5.54) shows *tjarpa-ø* 'enter' with a clausal complement marked with *-ku* PURPosive.

(5.51)   *A-nu   nganaṉa ngalku-ntja-ku Hungry Jack-alakutu   Darwin-ala.*
         go-PAST 1PL.NOM eat-NOML-PURP Hungry Jack's-ALL.NAME Darwin-LOC.NAME
         'We went to Hungry Jack's to eat in Darwin.'

(5.52)   *Minyma   kutju   kunyu a-nu   kapi   tjuti-nytja-ku.*
         mature.woman one.NOM   QUOTE go-PAST water pour-NOML-PURP
         'One woman went to pour [i.e. get] some water.'

(5.53)   *Ngali   a-nu   shopa-ku mai   tjuṯa   pai-mila-ntja-ku   drinki*
         2DU.NOM go-PAST shop-PURP food   PL.ACC buy-LOAN-NOML-PURP drink

         munu   loli.
         ADD   lolly.ACC
         'The two of us went to the shop to buy a lot of food, drink and lollies.'

(5.54)   *Munu   unngu tjarpa-ngu waarka   palya-ntja-ku.*
         ADD   inside   enter-PAST   work   do-NOML-PURP
         'We entered inside [the school] to do some work.'

Given that the structure *a-n* 'go' + PURPosive is the more common, when relator *-kitja* INTENT is used it seems likely that it would indicate some semantic difference. In the data, it seems that *-kitja* INTENT conveys a more specific, more focused, more personal intention than does the PURP construction. In the following example, the teenager explains why she

went to the waterhole. Using the relator *-kitja*, she insists that she went to the waterhole despite adults' interdiction (motivated by the fact that the *wanampi* 'watersnake monster' reportedly lives there). In the second example, the use of the relator *-kitja* seems to indicate that the intention of playing softball was the the sole reason for the trip (which indeed it was: the teenagers' B-grade softball team went to Ntaria for the day in order to compete against Hermannsburg).

(5.55)   *Munu-la   anku-pai   uru-ngka   tjurpi-kitja.*
       ADD-1PL.NOM   go-CHAR   waterhole-LOC   swim-INTENT
       'And we went to the waterhole to swim.'

(5.56)   *Nganana   a-nu   Ntaria-lakutu   inka-nytja-kitja.*
       1PL.NOM   go-CHAR   Ntaria-ALL.NAME   play-NOML-INTENT
       'We went to Ntaria [Hermannsburg] to play.'

From a semantic point of view, in Traditional Pitjantjatjara, the INTENTive relator *-kitja* seems to convey an emphasis on the speaker's intention such as when describing personal opinion or thought. On the contrary, the purposive construction *-ku* seems to focus more on the goal or purpose of the action. As Goddard (1985:34) describes the two constructions he insists on the fact that 'the purposive construction simply says that he or she was acting **as people do** to accomplish some desirable or necessary goal'. In Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, it has been established that verbs of motion such as *a-n* 'go' or *tjarpa-Ø* 'enter' are completed with a clausal complement with *-ku* PURPosive, which is no longer subject to any switch-reference constraint. However, the INTENTive relator *-kitja* is sometimes found without implying co-referentiality but emphasising the specific intention of the subject.

Similarly, the verb *muku-ri-ng* and its (apparent) synonym *unytju-ri-ng* 'want, like, be fond of' are also showing variation with regard to their clausal complement.[6] Traditionally the clausal complement marker for both verbs was relator *-kitja*, though the PURPosive *-ku* was sometimes found when referring to less specific actions. In Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, one tendency seems to be noticeable. The verb *muku-ri-ng* is more likely to have a clausal complement marked with the relator *-kitja*, while *unytju-ri-ng* is found nearly exclusively with PURPosive *-ku*.

(5.57)   *Ngayulu unytju-ri-nyi   nyura-lakutu tjukurpa wangka-nytja-ku.*
       1SG.NOM want-INCHO-PRES   2PL-ALL   story   say-NOML-PURP
       'I want to tell you a story.'

(5.58)   *Nyuntu   muku-ri-nganyi   Alice Springs-lakutu   anku-kitja.*
       2SG.NOM like-INCHO-PRES Alice Springs-ALL.NAME go-INTENT
       'You would like to go to Alice Springs.'

However it also happens that the clausal complement of *unytju-ri-ng* 'be fond of, like, want' is found marked with *-kitja*. In the following example, two teenagers are trying to convince a third to ask if they can stay and eat at my place. Here is their conversation (5.59)–(5.62).

(5.59)   Teenager A: *Wangka, ngalku-ntja-ku   unytju-ri-nganyi   nyanga pula.*
               say.IMP   eat-NOML-PURP   want-INCHO-PRES   here   3DU.NOM
               'Say something [to her], these two want to eat here.'

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6   Variation of verbal class has been described in Chapter 3.

(5.60)   Teenager B: *Wiya, ngayulu wiya wangka-nytja-ku.*
                          NEG   1SG.NOM NEG talk-NOML-PURP
                          'No, I [don't want] to say anything.'

(5.61)   Teenager A: *Wangka, Melissa-nya   ngalku-ntja-ku   unytju-ringa-nyi.*
                          say.IMP   Melissa-NOM.NAME eat-NOML-PURP   want-INCHO-PRES
                          'Say something, Melissa wants to eat.'

(5.62)   Teenager C: *Wiya, ngayulu wiya ngalku-kitja   unytju-ri-nyi.*
                          NEG   1SG.NOM NEG eat-INTENT   want-INCHO-PRES
                          'No, I don't want to eat.'

As is the case with the verb *a-n* 'go', departure from the structure *unytju-ri-ng + -ku* PURP does not indicate co-referentiality but has a semantic value. This is illustrated by the final sentence in the example above. Teenagers A and B use the structure *unytju-ri-ng + -ku* PURP to express what they want, as in (5.59), (5.61) and (5.60). However, Teenage C does not wish to stay for dinner (5.62). By using the relator *-kitja*, she emphasises her own personal opinion or wish, departing from the other two teenagers' request. Therefore, it seems that when the relator *-kitja* is used as clausal complementiser of the verb *unytju-ri-ng*, it indicates a specific action of the subject and emphasises the determination of the subject.

As for *muku-ri-ng*, it too is sometimes followed by a clausal complement of the opposite type to usual, that is to say a complement marked with *-ku* PURPosive, as illustrated in (5.63). A builder had come to erect a fence around the school ground. Talking about the builder, one teenager said:

(5.63)   *Nyuntu   pentji palya-ntja-ku muku-ringa-nyi.*
           2SG.NOM fence do-NOML-PURP like-INCHO-PRES
           'You would like [someone] to build a fence.'

However, this use of *-ku* PURP is a reflection of the switch-reference constraint: it is not the subject (i.e. the addressee) who is going to build the fence, but the builder.

In view of the different complementation behaviour, it is possible that the semantics of the two verbs are now slightly different. It is believed that *unytju-ri-ng* is used to state a definite intention (i.e. 'want') while *muku-ri-ng* would more likely deal with an eventual request or wish (i.e. roughly, 'would like to'). In (5.64), the teenager is communicating that she wants to go to the shopping centre (rather than spending the afternoon at the school) using the verb *unytju-ri-ng*. In (5.65), the teenage girl is talking about what she would like to do when she grows up. She chooses *muku-ri-ng*.

(5.64)   *Ngayulu unytju-ri-nyi   anku-nytja-ku Katjurina Shopping Centre*
           1SG.NOM want-INCHO-PRES go-NOML-PURP Casuarina Shopping Centre

           pulka-kutu.
           big-ALL
           'I want to go to the big Shopping Centre [called] Casuarina.'

(5.65)   *Ngayulu   tjuwa-ngka warka-ri-kitja   muku-ringa-nyi.*
           1SG.NOM store-LOC   work-INCHO-INTENT like-INCHO-PRES
           'I would like to work at the shop [when I grow up].'

5.2.5 *Other verbs*

In Traditional Pitjantjatjara, except for *paṯa-l* 'wait for' and some INCHOative verbs of emotion which take a non-switch-reference purposive clause, all other verbs show non-co-referential subject if their subordinate clause is marked with *-ku* PURPosive (Goddard 1985:83). From the data, it can be concluded that in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara the switch-reference constraint still regiments the use of *-ku* PURPosive vs *-kitja* INTENTive with all verbs other than those previously treated. For example:

(5.66) *Tjitji   tjuṯa   kati-ngu   minyma   tjuṯa-ngku kakara inma-ku*
        child   PL.ACC take-PAST mature.woman PL-ERG   ·east   song-PURP

 inka-ntja-ku.
 sing-NOML-PURP
 'The women took the children east [for the children] to sing.'

(5.67) *Ka   tjana   alti-ngu   Derek Kickett-nya   photo-ngka*
        CONTR 3PL.ERG call over-PAST Derek Kickett-ACC.NAME photo-LOC

 nyina-nytja-ku.
 sit-NOML-PURP
 'And they called Derek Kickett [for him] to sit in the picture.'

(5.68) *Paluṟu   ninti-ni   tjitji   tjuṯa   tjikina ngampu   kutja-ntja-ku.*
        DEF.ERG show-PRES child   PL.ACC chicken egg.ACC cook-NOML-PURP
        'He is showing the children how to cook eggs.'

In summary, the traditional system of switch-reference marking in subordinate clauses has changed somewhat in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara. Traditionally the relator *-kitja* indicated co-referentiality and *-ku* PURP non-co-referentiality. Teenagers have kept this structure for most verbs, but not with motion verbs such as *a-n* 'go' or *tjarpa-Ø* 'enter'. These latter verbs have been found with mainly *-ku* PURPosive, disregarding any switch-reference constraint. The verbs have been reanalysed as being essentially followed by a clausal complement marked with *-ku* PURP. When the relator *-kitja* appears in this structure, as occasionally happens, it seems to imply the idea of personal intention or involvement.

Finally, the traditionally synonymous verbs *muku-ri-ng* and *unytju-ri-ng* 'want, like, be fond of' do not share the same structure any more: *muku-ri-ng* appears as *muku-ri-ng + kitja* INTENT while *unytju-ri-ng* is widely found as *unytju-ri-ng + ku* PURP. Variations from these structures indicate involvement or non-involvement of the subject in the action. Because of the grammatical distinctions observed in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, it seemed that a semantic division may have appeared, which led to glossing *unytju-ri-ng* as 'want' and *muku-ri-ng* as '(would) like'.

5.3 The co-ordination system

5.3.1 *Co-ordination in Traditional Pitjantjatjara*

Co-ordination in Traditional Pitjantjatjara is rather complex, showing three connectives — *ka* (or *kaa*), *munu* and *palu* — used alongside an 'inclusive' construction (Goddard 1985:51). *Palu* OF COURSE has been excluded from the discussion as no variations in usage have been noted in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara. The same can not be said about ADDitive *munu* and CONTRastive *ka*.

The ADDitive connective *munu* is essentially an enumerative conjunction, used to list people, things, etc., as in (5.69). As for complex clauses, the Traditional Pitjantjatjara co-ordination system is also regimented by the switch-reference rule. The ADDitive connective *munu* usually applies that the subjects of the first and second clauses are identical, as in (5.70).

(5.69)   *Nganana tjala   munu unturngu   munu mingkulpa*
         1PL.ERG honey.ant.ACC ADD bush.banana.ACC ADD wild.tobacco.ACC

         mantji-nu.
         get-PAST
         'We got [some] honey ants and [some] bush bananas and [some] wild tobacco.'

(5.70)   *Nganana paka-nu   munu nganana a-nu.*
         1PL.NOM get.up-PAST ADD 1PL.NOM go-PAST
         'We got up and went.'

As its gloss indicates, the main function of *ka* CONTRastive is to contrast two propositions. It is used in narrative stories to link propositions where the subject of the first clause differs from the subject of the second one, as in (5.71). It may also indicate a surprising or unexpected development in the narration, as in (5.72), or to express the final conclusion to something one has longed for, as in (5.73).

(5.71)   *Tjitji tjuta   ana-ngi.   Ka   mamu-ngku   ngara-la*
         child PL.NOM go-PAST.IMPF CONTR monster-ERG stand-SERIAL

         nyanga-ngi   ngura-kutu   anku-nyangka.
         see-PAST.IMPF home-ALL go-CIRCUM
         'The children went. And a monster was standing, looking as [they] went home.'

(5.72)   *Tjinguru tjana   a-nu   uru-ku   ka   tjinguru mamu*
         maybe   3PL.NOM go-PAST waterhole-PURP CONTR maybe   monster

         kutjara-ngku tjana-nya mantji-nu.
         two-ERG   3PL-ACC get-PAST
         'Maybe they went to the waterhole and [then] maybe two monsters got [i.e. took] them.'

(5.73)   *Paluru   kutitjaka-ra kutitjaka-ra kutitjaka-ra   ka   paluru*
         DEF.NOM run-SERIAL run-SERIAL run-SERIAL   CONTR DEF.NOM

         wina-ri-ngu.
         win-INCHO-PAST
         'He ran and ran and ran and [finally] he won.'

Finally, what has been referred to as the 'inclusive' construction (Goddard 1985:51) can also be considered part of the Traditional Pitjantjatjara co-ordination system. This construction is used only when two or more people are considered as a group, as in (5.74). If they are enumerated as independent individuals, the connective *munu* applies, as in (5.75). The inclusive construction will also be discussed in detail shortly.

(5.74)   *Annie-nya   tjana   Sydney-lakutu   a-nu.*
         Annie-NOM.NAME 3PL.NOM Sydney-ALL.NAME go-PAST
         'Annie and her friends went to Sydney.'

(5.75) *Albert-anya*   *munu* *Alli-nya*   *uputju-ngka* *waaka-ri-pai.*
        Albert-NOM.NAME   ADD   Alli-NOM.NAME office-LOC   work-INCHO-CHAR
        'Albert and Alli work at the office.'

5.3.2 Co-ordination system in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara

The switch-reference with the CONTRastive *ka* is, as Goddard (1985:138) put it, 'a water-tight rule'. It seems to be less than water-tight in most teenagers' stories and conversation. The following passage is a perfect example. It is relevant to note that the story was told without any long pauses, since interruptions have been shown to disturb the coordination pattern (the teenager going back to the CONTRastive *ka* before resuming the story). The annotations SS and DS stand for 'same subject' and 'different subject', respectively.

(5.76) *Ka*   *tjilpi*   *paluṟu*   *iniwai*   *tjampi-ri-ngi.*
        CONTR   old.man   DEF.NOM anyway   jump-INCHO-PAST.IMPF
        'And the old man jumped anyway.'

(5.77)   *Ka*   *paluṟu*   *punka-ṉu*   *kapi-kutu.*
SS: CONTR   DEF.NOM fall-PAST   water-ALL
        'And he fell into the water.'

(5.78)   *Munu tjilpi*   *paluṟu*   *paka-ṉu.*
SS: ADD   old.man   DEF.NOM get.up-PAST
        'And that old man emerged [from the water].'

(5.79)   *Munu waṉampi-ngku*   *palu-nya nguwanpa*   *kuultju-ṉu.*
DS: ADD   water.serpent-ERG   DEF-ACC   almost   swallow-PAST
        '[But] the water serpent almost swallowed him.'

(5.80)   *Ka*   *kunyu tjilpi*   *paluṟu*   *kunyu*   *mira-ngu*   *kunyu.*
DS: CONTR   QUOTE old.man   DEF.NOM   QUOTE   yell-PAST   QUOTE
        'And that old man yelled.'

This extract shows that in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara the connectives *ka* CONTR and *munu* ADD do not respect the switch-reference rules of the traditional language. Sentence (5.76) describes the action, that is the old man jumping. Sentence (5.77) reports the result: he fell in the water. There is no surprising or unexpected development. The subjects of the two sentences are the same, that is the old man. Traditional Pitjantjatjara would link these two sentences with *munu* ADD. However, as (5.77) illustrates, the teenager chose to use the CONTRastive *ka*. The sentence (5.78) is the continuation of the action and *munu* ADD is used appropriately. However, (5.79) should be linked with *ka* as there is a change of subject *waṉampi*. The teenager used *munu*. Finally, (5.80) goes back to the old man's action, therefore changing the subject again, so CONTRastive *ka* is appropriate. As one can see, the switch-reference rule is not as strongly respected as it used to be.

I would like to argue that, in view of the data, the co-ordination system in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara is not based on the switch-reference rule, i.e. tracking co-referentiality (or non-co-referentiality) of the subject, but on an idea of continuity (or discontinuity) with the action depicted in the previous clause.

In Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, along with its traditional use for listing elements, *munu* ADD links any related propositions showing a continuing action. These actions may be carried by the same subject, as in (5.81), or by different subjects, as in (5.82). However, as

one can see in (5.82), the answer is in direct correlation with the question and therefore *munu* ADD is used. Basically it can be said that as long as there is no abrupt interruption or discontinuity of the main action, *munu* is found.

(5.81) *Nganana tjapu-tjapu kiki-ma-nu   munu nganana wina-ri-ngu.*
        1PL.ERG ball.ACC   kick-LOAN-PAST ADD 1PL.NOM win-INCHO-PAST
        'We kicked the ball and we won.'

(5.82) *Munu-la-nya wangka-ngu, 'Nyura   unytjuri-nyi fish and chips*
        ADD-1PL.ACC say-PAST   2PL.NOM want-PRES   fish and chips

        ngalku-ntja-ku' munu-la   wangka-ngu 'Uwa'.
        eat-NOML-PURP ADD-1PL.NOM say-PAST   yes
        'And [Louise] said to us, "Do you mob want to eat fish and chips?" and we said "yes".'

In the following story, three clauses are presented. The third clause starts with *munu* ADD, despite the fact that the action and the subject of the previous one (5.84) are different. However, it is obvious from reading the story that the clause (5.84) is unrelated to the main action of the story, i.e. the whereabouts and behaviour of the monster, and can be regarded as a personal comment from the storyteller to his/her audience. This is why, despite being interrupted by clause (5.84), the action resumes with *munu* ADD in (5.85).

(5.83) *Mamu   palu(ru) kunyu   anku-pai.*
        monster DEF.NOM QUOTE go-CHAR
        'That monster used to travel.'

(5.84) *Anangu   *tjuta   nyaku-la.*
        people   PL.ERG see-SERIAL
        'Many [Aboriginal] people saw [him].'

(5.85) *Munu kunyu paluru   iti   kunyu nyaku-la   ngalku-nu*
        ADD   QUOTE DEF.ERG baby.ACC QUOTE see-SERIAL eat-PAST

        iti   palu-nya kunyu.
        baby   DEF-ACC QUOTE
        'And they say [that once,] he saw a baby [and] ate him.'[7]

On the other hand, *ka* appears to indicate an interruption or discontinuity of the main action. There may be a new action carried out by a new subject, as in (5.86), or by the same subject, as in (5.88). Or there may be some other kind of contrast in the 'event sequence', e.g. a certain lapse of time between the first action and the second, as in (5.87).

(5.86) *Nganana Thredbo-nala   nyina-ngi.   Ka tjana   Friday Flat*
        1PL.NOM   Thredbo-LOC.NAME   sit-PAST.IMPF ADD 3PL.NOM Friday Flat

        kalpa-ngu katu mulapa-ya   kalpa-ngu, halfway ila   and nyaa?
        climb-PAST high really-3PL.NOM climb-PAST halfway close and what
        'We sat at Thredbo. They climbed Friday Flat, we climbed really high, close to halfway.'

(5.87) *Unngu-la   nyanga-ngi   Parliament House   nyaku-la*
        inside-1PL.ERG see-PAST.IMPF Parliament House .ACC see-SERIAL

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7   Literally: ate that baby.

> *nyakulingku-la*   *Ka*   *Alli-lu*
> look.for.something.while.going.along-SERIAL   CONTR   Alli-ERG
>
> *nganana-nya*   *wangka-ngu: 'Nganana*   *ana-nyi*   *ngura-kutu'.*
> 1PL-ACC   say-PAST   1PL.NOM   go-PRES   home-ALL
> 'We [went and] saw the Parliament House and looked around for a while.
> And Alli said to us: "We are going home".'

Other distinctions also appear to be relevant to explain the usage of CONTRastive *ka*. In the following passage, for example, it is as if the two sentences were opposed in action, and that *ka* marks the action/inaction contrast.

(5.88)   *Ka*   *nganana nyina-ngi*   *ka*   *nganana katu kalpa-ngu*
          CONTR   1PL.NOM   sit-PAST.IMPF   CONTR   1PL.NOM   high   climb-PAST

          ka   *nganana inka-ra*   *inka-ra*   *nganana warakati-ngu*
          CONTR   1PL.NOM   play-SERIAL   play-SERIAL   1PL.NOM   come.down-PAST

          ka   *Annie-nya*   *tjaru.*
          CONTR   Annie-NOM.NAME   below
          'And we sat, then [we] played close to the top, and after playing [for a long time] we came down. Annie [stayed] below.'

In the first sentence the verb is the non-motion verb *nyina-Ø* 'sit'. Then the subject moves, *kalpa-Ø* 'climb', and the coordination is of contrastive nature. Then the subject stops to play, *inka-Ø*. Now there is stabilisation in contrast to the previous sentence. Then the subject is on the move again, *warakati-Ø* 'come down', which explains the use of the CONTRastive *ka*. The last sentence switches from the known subject to a new one.

The same pattern can be observed in the sentences below, where a non-motion action is followed by motion one or vice versa.

(5.89)   *Nganana katu kalpa-ngu*   *ka*   *nganana ila*   *katu nyina-ngu.*
          1PL.NOM   high   climb-PAST   CONTR   1PL.NOM   close   high   sit-PAST
          'We climbed high and we sat close [to the] top.'

(5.90)   *Papa paluru*   *paka-nu*   *munu paluru*   *kutjitjaka-ngu*
          dog   DEF.NOM   get.up-PAST   ADD   DEF.NOM   run-PAST

          kutjitjaka-ra   *kutjitjaka-ra*   *ka*   *paluru*   *tultjarukati-ngu.*
          run-SERIAL   run-SERIAL   CONTR   DEF.NOM   stop.running-PAST
          'That dog got up and he ran for a long time and [then] he stopped running.'

In the coordination system, the switch-reference rule seems to be weakening. *Munu* ADD is widely used often in disregard of the traditional rule. It is suggested here that the co-ordination system in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara is based on the continuity (or discontinuity) of the main action rather than co-referentiality (or non-co-referentiality) of the subject. *Munu* ADD links related clauses showing no abrupt interruption of the main action, or observed to be the direct result of the action depicted in the previous clause. CONTRastive *ka* is now used mainly to connect clauses where there is a clear contrast in the 'event sequence' being described, i.e. a contrast between action versus non-action.

These are not the only variations observed in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara. There have also been changes to the inclusive construction and borrowing of the English connective 'and'.

5.3.3 The English borrowing 'and'

The English coordinating conjunction 'and' seems mostly to cover the ADDitive functions observed in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara. The following examples show *and* used where, according to the description given in the previous section, *munu* would have been appropriate.

(5.91) *Ngayulu ngalku-pai imiyu   and ngayulu ngalku-pai tinka*
        1SG.ERG eat-CHAR   emu.ACC and 1SG.ERG eat-CHAR   goanna.ACC

        and ngayulu ngalku-pai maku   *ngayulu ngalku-pai*
        and 1SG.ERG eat-CHAR   witchetty.grub.ACC 1SG.ERG eat-CHAR

        tjala   *munu ngayulu ngalku-pai ...*
        honey.ant.ACC ADD   1SG.ERG eat-CHAR
        'I eat emus, I eat goannas, I eat witchetty grubs, I eat honey ants and I eat ...'

(5.92) *Nganana a-nu   ngana-nya   Alice-anya   and Moll-anya*
        1PL.NOM go-PAST who-NOM.NAME Alice-NOM.NAME and Moll-NOM.NAME

        and Lachlan-anya   and ngayulu.
        and Lachlan-NOM.NAME and 1SG.NOM
        'We went ... Who [went]? ... Alice and Moll and Lachlan and myself.'

(5.93) *Tjana   malaku pitja-ngu   and ngayulu kunkun-ari-ngu.*
        3PL.NOM back   come-PAST and 1SG.NOM asleep-INCHO-PAST
        'They came back and I fell asleep.'

And is hardly ever used to replace the functions of CONTRastive *ka*. For example, in the following passage *and* has been used in place of *munu*, but when the contrast between motion and non-motion action has to be made, CONTRastive *ka* is used. In the first two instances, the teenagers are already at the house but are forced to go inside because of the rain. Once inside, they go to sleep. There is a continuity of action: all actions are located at the house. The last sentence introduced by *ka* departs from the previous description. They obviously have not seen Alice and her friends in their dreams. They have woken up and gone to see Alice or saw her at some place other than the house. There is a clear-cut discontinuity between the preceding clauses and the last one.

(5.94) *Kapi-ngku puyi-ningi   pulka mulapa and nganana ngura*
        rain-ERG   fall-PAST.IMPF big   really   and 1PL.NOM home

        unngu tjarpa-ngu   and nganana ngari-ngi kunkun-ari-ngu
        inside enter-PAST and 1PL.NOM lie-PAST   asleep-INCHO-PAST

        *ka   nganana nya-ngu   *Alice   tjana-nya.*
        CONTR 1PL.ERG see-PAST Alice.ACC.NAME 3PL-ACC
        'Rain was falling heavily, we went inside the house and we lay down there,
        and fell asleep. [Later] we saw Alice and her friends.'

As mentioned earlier, Robert (1988:115) has suggested that in Amele, a Papuan New Guinea language, switch-reference can indicate 'continuity/discontinuity rather than who/ what is the topical entity in the sentence viz. refer to changes in time, place and world setting, or previous discourse'. The Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara co-ordination system shows that the co-referentiality/non-co-referentiality does not govern the switch-reference system any more and that, as in Amele, other notions have to be taken into account.

To sum up, ADDitive *munu* connects all related propositions except when there is a clear contrast in the event sequence. CONTRastive *ka* has been shown to express discontinuity of an action or to highlight a distinction between action vs non-action. The English borrowing *and* is widely incorporated in the teenagers' lexicon and is encroaching on the semantic value of ADDitive *munu*.

5.4 The inclusive construction

People referred to as a group are still linked with the inclusive construction but this construction, too, has undergone some changes.

5.4.1 The inclusive construction in Traditional Pitjantjatjara

As previously stated, the connective *munu* ADD can be used to enumerate a list of people. However, it would be ungrammatical to use *munu* ADD when 'the individuals have been referred to in a single referential act as a group' (Goddard 1985:134). In that case, the 'inclusive' construction is used. Goddard (1985:51) describes this construction in Yankunytjatjara/Pitjantjatjara as constituted of '(i) one or more names or non-first person pronoun, (ii) followed by a non-singular pronoun subsuming the preceding elements in number, (iii) all agreeing in case'. The construction as described by Goddard occurs in the speech of old people at Areyonga, as shown in the following examples.

(5.95)   *Nyuntu   ngali   Sydney-lakutu   ana-nyi   munu   nyuntu-mpa*
        2SG.NOM   1DU.NOM   Sydney-ALL.NAME   go-PRES   ADD   2SG-GEN

        ngura   nyina-nyi.
        home   stay-PRES
        'You and I are going to Sydney and [we] are going to stay at your house.'

(5.96)   *Annie-nya   ngali   Sydney-lakutu   ana-nyi.*
        Annie-NOM.NAME   1DU.NOM   Sydney-ALL.NAME   go-PRES
        'Annie and I are going to Sydney.'

Notice the pattern where a third person dual pronoun *pula* is involved. There is a name, or series of names, followed by *pula* (in its appropriate case form), with no conjunction intervening.

(5.97)   *Enid-anya   Mima-nya   pula   munga-ngka*
        Enid-NOM.NAME   Mima-NOM.NAME   3DU.NOM   night-LOC

        pika-ringa-ngi.
        fight-INCHO-PAST.IMPF
        'Enid and Mima were fighting [last] night.'

(5.98)   *Tjana   Lisa-nya   Frannie-nya   pula-nya   alpa-ma-nu.*
        3PL.ERG   Lisa-ACC.NAME   Frannie-ACC.NAME   2DU-ACC   help-LOAN-PAST
        'They helped Lisa and Frannie.'

(5.99)   *Ngayulu   Lisa-nya   pula-nya nya-ngu   kitjina-ngka   witi-ra*
        1SG.ERG   Lisa-ACC.NAME   3DU-ACC   see-PAST   kitchen-LOC   hold-SERIAL

ngara-nyangka.
stand-CIRCUM
'I saw Lisa and her [male] friend holding hands in the kitchen.'

(5.100) *Lisa-nya   Sally-nya   pula   softballa-ngka   inka-nyi.*
Lisa-NOM.NAME Sally-NOM.NAME 3DU.NOM   softball-LOC   play-PRES
'Lisa and Sally are playing softball.'

5.4.2 *The inclusive construction in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara*

In Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, the inclusive construction has remained similar to the old people's speech in cases where the second term is a non-singular pronoun, but when the pattern involves a third person dual pronoun *pula*, changes have been noted. It has become the first name followed by the third person dual pronoun *pula* followed by the second name, i.e. name 1 + 3DU + NAME 2 (see the examples below). The third person pronoun *pula* still retains appropriate case inflection, as shown in (5.102).

(5.101) *Petrina-nya   pula   Franki-nya   kuranyu   ngara-nyi.*
Petrina-NOM.NAME 3DU.NOM   Franki-NOM.NAME   in.front   stand-PRES
'Petrina and Franky are standing at the front.'

(5.102) *Tjana   Utju-lakutu   pitja-ngu   munu   tjana   wangka-ngu*
3PL.NOM   Utju-ALL.NAME   come-PAST   ADD   3PL.ERG   say-PAST

Albert-anya   pula-nya   Wangapa-nya.
Albert-ACC.NAME   3DU-ACC   Wangapa-ACC.NAME
'They came to Utju and they told Albert and Wanganpa.'

(5.103) *Ka   Utju-nya   pula   Ti-Tree-nya   inka-ngi*
CONTR   Utju-NOM.NAME   3DU.NOM   Ti-Tree-NOM.NAME   play-PAST.IMPF

football-angka.
football-LOC
'And Utju and Ti-Tree played football.'

(5.104) *Tungku-lu   pula   Wilu-lu   ngali-nya   wantikati-ngu.*
Tungku-ERG.NAME 3DU.ERG   Wilu-ERG.NAME   1DU-ACC   leave.behind-PAST
'Tungku and Wilu left the two of us behind.'

Since the change occurs only with third person dual pronoun *pula*, it is not improbable that the teenagers are modelling the construction on English coordination, using *pula* as an equivalent to English 'and'. This might be reinforced by the fact that, as Goddard noted, 'each element ... (is) ... independent'. However, the shifting of the position of the inclusive pronoun *pula* does not interfere with the grammatical structure of the construction, as all elements remain inflected as before.

At one stage of the study, some of the teenagers (five of them) were asked to translate the sentence 'Annie and Charmaine are going to the waterhole' from Pitjantjatjara to English. The following answers resulted.

1 out of five

(5.105) *Annie-nya   Charmaine-anya   uṟu-kutu   ana-nyi.*
Annie-NOM.NAME   Charmaine-NOM.NAME   waterhole-ALL   go-PRES
'Annie and Charmaine are going to the waterhole.'

2 out of 5

(5.106) *Annie-nya   munu Charmaine-anya   uṟu-kutu   ana-nyi.*
Annie-NOM.NAME   ADD   Charmaine-NOM.NAME   waterhole-ALL   go-PRES
'Annie and Charmaine are going to the waterhole.'

2 out of 5

(5.107) *Annie-nya   pula   Charmaine-anya   uṟu-kutu   ana-nyi.*
Annie-NOM.NAME   3DU.NOM   Charmaine-NOM.NAME   waterhole-ALL   go-PRES
'Annie and Charmaine are going to the waterhole.'

The explicit request to translate the English conjunction 'and', resulting in the use of *munu* and *pula*, leads to the conclusion that in the teenagers' minds, in that kind of context, *pula* is a coordinator and is therefore close to *munu* ADD. However, the idea of connecting only two people remains, especially when this involves the idea of a romantic relationship or exclusive friendship. This extends the semantic range to the English preposition 'with'. In the last example (5.109), only the two of them made the stew, which might explain the use of 3DU *pula* instead of ADDitive *munu*.

(5.108) *Tjana   witi-ṟa   ngaṟa-ngi   munga-ngka Andre-nya*
3PL.NOM   hold-SERIAL   stand-PAST.IMPF   night-LOC   Andre-NOM.NAME

pula   Jackie-nya,   Catherine-anya   pula   Bart-anya.
3DU.NOM   Jackie-NOM.NAME   Catherine-NOM.NAME   3DU.NOM   Bart-NOM.NAME
'They were hugging at night, Andre and/with Jackie, Catherine and/with Bart.'

(5.109) *Eni-lu   pula   Petrina-lu   tjaṯu   stew   palya-nu.*
Enid-ERG.NAME   3DU.NOM   Petrina-ERG.NAME   together   stew.ACC   do-PAST
'Enid and Petrina made the stew together.'

Changes seem only to have occurred with the 3DU *pula*. With other personal pronouns, such as the 3PL *tjana*, the inclusive construction has remained unchanged.

(5.110) *Ally-nya   Carri-nya   tjana   pika-ringa-nyi.*
Ally-NOM.NAME   Carri-NOM.NAME   3PL.NOM   fight-INCHO-PRES
'Ally, Carri and other [girls] are fighting.'

(5.111) *Ka   Alice-anya,   Anna-nya,   Enina-nya   tjana*
CONTR   Alice-NOM.NAME   Anna-NOM.NAME   Enid-NOM.NAME   3PL.NOM

warakati-ngu   Kaanta-la   nyina-ngi.
come.down-PAST   Kaanta-LOC.NAME   stay-PAST.IMPF
'And Alice, Anna, Enid, they went down [to Alice Springs] and stayed at Kaanta [camp].'

To conclude, the syntax of complex sentences in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara has developed some differences from its traditional structures.

(i)   The nominalisation process, although remaining in the construction of PURPosive, CHARacteristic and CIRCUMstantial clauses, has partially disappeared from the INTENTive and NEGative clausal structures. Only the specialised 'negative IMPerative' has retained the nominalisation.

(ii)   The switch-reference system which regimented PURPosive and INTENTive clauses, based on the concept of co-referentiality (or otherwise) of the subjects, seems to have remained in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara. However, certain verbs (especially motion verbs such as *a-n* 'go' and *tjarpa-Ø* 'enter') are used in a specific construction disregarding the switch-reference rule.

It was also shown that the alternative use of the INTENTive relator *-kitja* with these verbs was semantically linked to the subject's intention. The same was demonstrated with the (apparent) synonyms *muku-ri-ng/Ø* and *unytju-ri-ng/Ø*.

(iii) Finally, the choice between coordinators *munu* ADD and *ka* CONTR system in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara is governed by the principle of continuity/discontinuity in the event sequence rather than by the traditional switch-reference rule.

6 *The lexicon*

In previous studies, it has been shown that borrowings are more likely to occur in syntax if there are similarities of structure and grammatical boundness between the two languages in contact. At the same time, lexicon has been regarded as an area more prone to borrowing, essentially because of its lack of structural constraint (see among many others Whitney 1881; Weinreich 1953; Haugen 1950, 1953; Poplack, Sankoff & Miller 1988; Romaine 1989). This chapter reviews the different kinds of lexical borrowings observed in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara.

The literature on lexical contact is vast and complex and the terminology used to define a certain phenomenon often differs between researchers, as mentioned in Chapter 3. In general terms, a language can borrow (a) the content of a morpheme, (b) the form of a morpheme, or (c) the form and content of a morpheme.

(a)   When the content (alone) is borrowed, two possibilities occur. The recipient language can extend the meaning of an existing term in order to cover the new concept. This is known as 'semantic extension' (Wilkins 1996). The second possibility is to literally translate an expression from the source language into the recipient language. This phenomenon was first termed by Haugen (1953) as 'creation', but is nowadays more likely to be found referred to as 'loan translation' or 'calque' (see among others Romaine 1989). For example, the English term *skyscraper* was directly calqued in French as *gratte-ciel* (*gratte* 'scrape' + *ciel* 'sky') (Romaine 1989:56).

(b)   The form of a morpheme can sometimes be borrowed partially, with or without its content. The term 'loanblend', also first coined by Haugen (1953), refers to the composition of a word using, on the one hand, a part of a word from the base language and, on the other hand, a part from the source language. It has also appeared in the literature under 'hybrid loanword', 'hybrid compound' or 'hybrid'. Clyne (1967) documented this occurrence in his study of German speakers in Australia where the English word *gumtree* appears in German as *gumbaum*, *gum* from English and *baum*, the German term for 'tree'. It is interesting to note that the data do not show this phenomenon occurring in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara.

A morpheme can be borrowed but its content may have shifted. This is called a 'loanshift'. This is the case with the Guugu Yimidhirr noun *kangaroo* which once referred to a specific species of large black kangaroo but is used in English to describe any 'species of large, jumping marsupials indigenous to Australia' (Wilkins 1996).

Other phenomena have been reported, especially when dealing with borrowing of compounds. Grosjean (1982:184) documented occurrences when his daughter would use a blended form of the two languages in contact (in his case, French and English), to express one concept. For instance, she used the compound *lune-moon* to refer to the 'moon'. This phenomenon has often been found coined as 'repetition in translation', 'hybrid blend' or 'hybrids of synonyms'. Appel and Muysken (1987:131–132) refer to similar occurrences in Hindi as 'mixed reduplication' or 'redundant compounds' Finally, in some cases, a morpheme is borrowed in combination with derivational morphology from the recipient language (see 'mixed compound verbs' in Romaine 1989:122). It is found in Pitjantjatjara where borrowed verbs are suffixed with *-mila* LOAN to create transitive loan verbs, or with the INCHOative verbaliser *ari/-ri* for intransitive loan verbs (see Chapter 3).

(c)   Finally, a 'loanword' is a morpheme whose form and semantic value have both been borrowed into the recipient language. This is the principal kind of borrowing found in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara.[1]

In language-contact situations, extensive borrowing has often been linked with language death (Dorian 1981). Paradoxically, though, borrowing is also a very 'natural way' of enlarging a language vocabulary. As Glass (1978:21) judiciously noted 'the most common source of new words is to borrow them from another language'. However, it is necessary to distinguish two kinds of borrowings:

(1)   where a word is borrowed from the source language to designate a concept that does not have an equivalent in the recipient language. The phenomenon has been labelled differently according to the linguist. Valkhof (1931:09) calls it *emprunt de nécessité* ('loan of necessity'), while Haugen (1953) in his study of Norwegian immigrants in the United States refers to it as 'lexical gap', the term that has been adopted in this work.

(2)   where a word is borrowed from the language in contact despite the fact that its equivalent already exists in the recipient language. Haugen (1953) calls this 'gratuitous' borrowing. Borrowing of this kind can provide a way for a language to be more expressive by adding a loanword to a semantic field, or perhaps to replace a word that has become tabooed (Weinreich 1953:58). On the other hand, this loan can diminish the semantic field of the original word by covering one of its meanings or by replacing it altogether (Haugen 1953). In the case where an original word has two or more meanings, a loan could be seen as improving the transparency of the language (i.e. one word — one meaning).

Dauzat (1949:118) wrote 'c'est l'étude du vocabulaire qui permet de saisir le mieux la répercussion des influences sociales sur la langue'. It has often been suggested, especially to explain 'unnecessary' loans (Weinreich 1953:59–60), that borrowings were motivated by sociocultural and economic factors. Aitchison (1981) notes that the image one has of the source language has a very important role and therefore the prestige of this language, either culturally or politically, influences lexical borrowing.

> In England, for example, the French food is regarded as sophisticated and elegant, so even quite ordinary restaurants include on their menu items such as coq au vin, pâté, consommé, gâteau, sorbet. (Aitchinson 1981:120)

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[1]   The issue of how to consider the many loanwords showing little or no phonological and morphological assimilation has been discussed in Chapter 2.

In their works, Mougeon and Hébrard (1975), Poplack, Sankoff and Miller (1988) and Mougeon and Beniak (1989) all show the correlation between borrowing and social status, where lower social classes regard their own language poorly and are found to borrow more items from the language in contact than other speakers. While Moravcsik (1978) and Pinnow (1959) believe that prestige was the only reason for borrowing, Thomason and Kaufman (1988) have contested this point.

Since the first contact with European culture, Aboriginal languages have borrowed terms from English, especially to fill lexical gaps.[2] Traditional Pitjantjatjara was no exception. Terms borrowed from English were traditionally completely adapted to the phonological and morphological system of Pitjantjatjara (see Chapter 2). These loans essentially alleviated lexical gaps for topics mainly referring to technological (i.e. *mutuka* 'car', *ripula* 'rifle', etc.) or administrative domains (i.e. *tjuwa* 'store', *uputju* 'office', *tjaatji* 'church'). The major difference found in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara is the appearance of a large number of new English borrowings. The way they are assimilated into Teenage Pitjantjatjara has been detailed in Chapter 2.

Questions still to be considered in any investigation into lexical borrowing Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara include:

(a) what are the relative proportions of borrowing from each of the several languages in Areyonga?

(b) which word classes are more likely to be influenced by the various contact languages?

(c) are some topics (lexical fields) more susceptible to borrowing? Are some impervious to borrowing?

(d) what kinds of phonological and semantic adaptations occur? (see also previous chapters, especially Chapter 2)

(e) from a more general point of view, does extensive borrowing mean language weakening? Is it a precursor to language loss, or worse, to language death? Or in contradistinction, may one consider widespread borrowing in a positive light, as a broadening of the lexicon?

To get some preliminary answers to these questions, an elicitation test was used. The results were then cross-checked against recordings and personal observations. The use of these three different data-gathering methods resulted in a broad sampling of the lexicon, including borrowings, from a variety of settings. It disclosed numerous examples of borrowing phenomena, semantic changes, and so on.

6.1 The lexical elicitation test

6.1.1 *Methodology*

The elicitation test was based on two word lists: a standard vocabulary list used by Dixon and Blake (1979) in their *Handbook of Australian languages*, and language survey material used by the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The combination of the two lists resulted in a word list of 322 items (see Appendix 2) which was felt to be appropriate to Pitjantjatjara language and to cover a broad range of aspects of their culture.

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[2] Earlier contacts were reported with Macassan people from Sulawesi. Loanwords incorporated into Arnhem Land languages attest to that early influence.

For many areas of concrete vocabulary, pictorial stimulus materials were used. Some of the illustrations were taken from the *Pitjantjatjara/Yankunytjatjara picture vocabulary* (Goddard 1982b). Drawings and magazine pictures, sometimes in collages, were also used to make up a set of flash cards. Graphic presentation was problematical with topics such as kinship, directions and time. With kinship, the problem was circumvented by a genealogy tree previously used in Pitjantjatjara lessons at school and sometimes by resorting to English lexicon. If there were misunderstandings, they could often be clarified by questions such as 'who is X to you?' With directions, pointing served as a good stimulus. In other cases, as with time, direct translation from English words was required. This method proved to be remarkably effective with the teenage girls recognising both the English word and its Pitjantjatjara counterpart.

The viability of the elicitation test materials and translations were approved by the elders. They also ensured that none of the words on our list were subject to taboo due to a death at the time.

6.1.2 *The sample*

The age group of the sample ranged from 14 to 18 years. As there was contact through teaching with most of them, it was known that their proficiency in English was good. They understood, spoke and wrote English relatively well at a year 7–8 level and were attending school daily. Their willingness to participate in the test and their linguistic background were also factors in their selection. D. and P. are also Warlpiri speakers. S.'s mother is Luritja and S. regularly spends some time in her mother's community. R. is a Pitjantjatjara speaker with family at Kings Canyon where she often stays for extended periods. M., C. and T. are Pitjantjatjara with a large family in the Aranda community of Ntaria (Hermannsburg) which they visit regularly.

6.1.3 *Results*

From the elicitation test, it emerged that:

(a)   none of the speakers recalled all the 322 items. At an early stage of the elicitation test, the words 'father-in-law' and 'mother-in-law' were taken off the original list after I was told by the women that the teenagers would not have 'learnt those terms yet'. A further 12 items were omitted from the final conclusions as they were systematically met by a non-answer (see Appendix 2). However, as indicated by the graph 6.1, out of the 310 items remaining, a large number were met with no response. Of course, as Schmidt (1985:169) noted in respect of Young People's Dyirbal, 'the response to vocabulary testing does not represent the absolute ability of the speaker'. Memory blank and lack of concentration due to diverse emotional feelings (shame, shyness, fatigue) could be the reasons for non-response to items that they would otherwise use in conversation.

(b)   new words are essentially borrowed from English rather than from Aranda, Luritja or Warlpiri. This is illustrated in Graph 6.1. Aranda loans are mainly restricted to kinship-related terms (detailed in Chapter 7). Only a few scattered words were of Luritja origin, i.e. *ilipi* '(stone) axe'. No Warlpiri words were encountered during the elicitation test.

(c)   some topics appear to be more receptive to English borrowing than others: see Table 6.1. Our classification into 15 topics departs from that of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, in order to be more appropriate to the Aboriginal way. However, any topical classification remains subjective and therefore may appear arbitrary. Many studies have shown that certain groups of lexemes can be preserved from interference and borrowing. These include core vocabulary such as body parts, numbers, personal pronouns and conjunctions, among others. Kieffer (1977:78) found 'islands of lexemes' that were preserved from external influences in Ormuri. They included: 'the family, the house, the human body, nature, the stars, rural life, the animal kingdom, time divisions, various utensils, colours, religion and moral feelings'. Schmidt (1985) reported that young speakers of Dyirbal could recall Dyirbal words for body parts, human classification and well-known animates.

(d)   the younger girls (i.e. primary-school age) used more English loans in the elicitation test than the older ones (i.e. secondary-school age). Language awareness seems to have been far more important with the secondary-class teenagers than with the primary one (for language awareness, see also McTear 1985). When taking the test, the primary students were relaxed and outgoing and seemed to take the whole exercise as a game. To a certain extent, they were telling more than they were asked. Secondary students[3] appeared to be more conscious of the formal character of the test and of what they anticipated was expected of them. Lyon, referring to Arnberg and Arnberg's (1992) work, notes that:

> children who substituted a word from the 'other' language were deemed to be less language aware than those who acknowledged that they did not know the right word. (Lyon 1996:63)

The performance of D., a secondary student illustrates this hypothesis perfectly. She always preferred not to answer a question rather than to reply with an English borrowed word, even though in recordings of casual or semi-formal conversations, D. used as many English loans as any other teenager. When D. used English borrowings during the elicitation test, these terms were fairly old loans, i.e. *ali* 'early' for both 'morning' and 'tomorrow', *watjimila-n* 'wash', *wiika* 'light' (from English 'weak'). D. did not translate most of the kinship terms, some animal terms or some items that had been translated by the other teenagers with English loans. As a result, only the outcome of the Primary students elicitation test are represented in the following graph.

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[3]   None of the teenage boys were willing to participate. One teenage girl categorically refused. In both cases, no explanation was given for their refusal. The request was reiterated several months later and received the same negative answer. All refusals came from teenagers in the Secondary Correspondence class.

Graph 6.1: Results of the Elicitation test for Primary Students
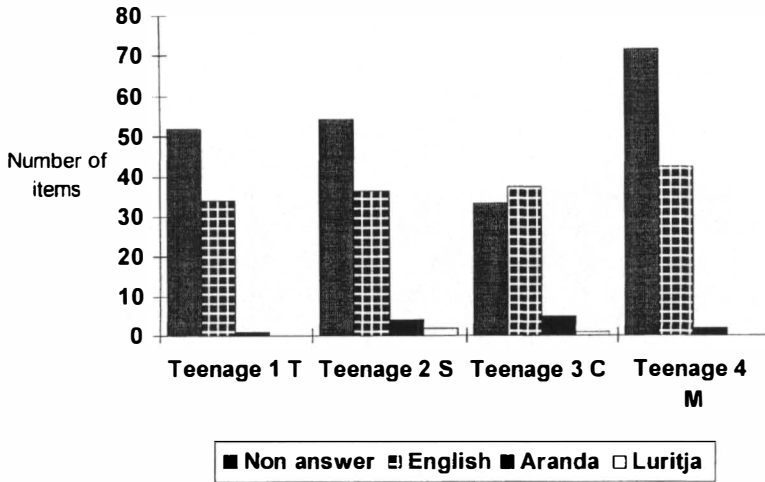
(e) finally, nouns seem to be more likely to be borrowed than adjectives or verbs. Byron (1977:231) argues that open classes, including nouns, verbs and adjectives, are more prone to borrowing than closed classes such as pronouns, conjunctions and prepositions. This hypothesis is corroborated by Poplack, Sankoff and Miller (1988) who showed that, in the French community of Ottawa, the main area of loans is nouns. When looking at the elicitation test and at the entire corpus, it was found as Romaine (1989:64) reports, that most languages follow a particular pattern of borrowings: nouns being the first word class to be borrowed, then verbs and finally adjectives.

Table 6.1: Topics and English loan words

Topic	Number	Items
Directions	none of 11	------
Flora	none of 10	------
Camp	none of 6	------
Fire	none of 6	------
Time	1 out of 9	*ali* 'morning'; 'early' or 'tomorrow'
Body part	1 out of 49	*lipa* 'liver'
Bodily functions	2 out of 24	*tantji-ri-ng* 'dance' *aata* 'to be hot'; 'hot'
Quantity	3 out of 8	*triipala* 'three' *furpala* 'four' *faivapala* 'five'[4]
Colour	4 out of 5	*waitawana* 'white' *puluwana* 'blue' *raidawana* 'red' *yallawana* 'yellow'[5]

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4   Different forms of these words were found (see Chapter 2 and further in this chapter).
5   Different forms of these words were found (see Chapter 2 and further in this chapter).

Topic	Number	Items
Environment	5 out of 30	*rainbow* 'rainbow' *lightning* 'lightning' or 'thunder' *aata* 'hot weather' *puutji* 'bush'
Material culture	6 out of 16	*ruupa* 'rope' or 'string' *turutju* 'trousers' *tiritji* 'dress' *plunta* 'blunt' *tjula* 'knife'
Fauna	6 out of 41	*uutju* 'horse' *dingo* 'dingo' *imyu* 'emu' *scorpion* 'scorpion' *grasshopper* 'grasshopper' *putjicat* 'cat'
Physical qualities	7 out of 32	*runda* 'round' *iisi* or *wiika* 'light' *fullap* 'full/sated' *wiita* 'wet' *drai* 'dry' *nyuwana* 'new'
Actions	7 out of 42	*tarna-rin-g* 'turn' *pulu-mila-l* 'pull' *raba-mila-l* 'rub' *taiti-l* 'tie' *waaka-ri-ng* 'work' *watji-mila-l* 'wash clothes' and 'wash oneself'
Human classification	11 out of 33	*walypala* 'white person', 'white man', 'white woman' *policeman* 'policeman' *paapa* (and variations) 'father; father's brother' *maama* (and variations) 'mother; mother's brother' *ankala* 'uncle; i.e. father's sister'[6] *aanti* 'aunt; i.e. mother's brother' *yungupala* 'young man'

The above table is a perfect example of the coexistence of old borrowings and more recent ones (see Appendix 3). Out of 312 remaining items after analysis (above), 53 items, that is 16,45% of the elicitation test, are of English origin. Though it is difficult to date precisely the age of a borrowing, from the observations that 42 were thought to be recent loans and 11 were recognisable old borrowings (Appendix 2).

6.2 Borrowings: old versus new English loans

As detailed in Chapter 2, English loans were traditionally assimilated to the Pitjantjatjara phonetic and morphological system. The English loans were essentially borrowed to fill a

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[6]   This includes mother's brothers and father's sisters.

lexical gap. They often referred to technological or cultural items such as *puṯuru* 'photo', *pitja* 'movie' (from the English 'picture (show)'), *mutuka* 'car' and many more. No old loans were observed that could have been classified as being gratuitous. Old people also used semantic extension to express introduced concepts. Such was the case with Pitjantjatjara *tili*, for example, which refers to the flame of a fire. In old people's speech, its meaning was first extended to the headlights of a car and to torchlight, but it also covers the meaning of electricity, house light, and so on. Another example is given by the term *nyiri*, which designates thin bark, snakeskin, eggshell, among other things. By extension, the word has come to mean papers such as documents, licences, registration certificates, and other official documentation. Finally, the verb *mantji-l*, traditionally 'to get' or 'to fetch', is found in expressions such as *puṯuru mantjini* or *movie mantjini* having the meaning of 'take' as in 'take a picture', or 'record' as in 'record/tape a movie'. These words are still utilised in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara.

Old people also used few calques (or loan translations) to render English expressions. For example, the expression *munga-munga wiṟu* (*munga-munga* 'before sunrise', *wiṟu* 'nice'), is a direct calque from the English greeting 'good morning'. It is found in the speech of women 30 years of age or over (no data for men) to greet European people. However, it would never be used in conversation between *aṉangu* as it would be inconsistent with the greeting system in Pitjantjatjara, which is culturally different from the English one. In Pitjantjatjara greeting is a facultative option and *palya* 'good' would be heard most of the time.

As described in Chapter 2, in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, phonetic and morphological assimilation is often only partial. At first, there seemed to be larger number of borrowings than in Traditional Pitjantjatjara, which initially led me to believe that many of these new loans were gratuitous, but in fact they are not. The situation of new English loan words in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara is far more complex than in Traditional speech.

As in Traditional Pitjantjatjara, many English loan words are borrowed to fill a lexical gap motivated by a greater contact with Western culture. Children go to school, use computers (*kumpiuta*), books (*buuk*), listen to CDs and watch *tivi*. Teenage girls like wearing *lipstick* and going to the *disco*. They love watching *video* and have learnt how to *ski*. Terms for all these new experiences have been introduced into the language with little phonetic and morphological adaptation, and some old loans have even been reanalysed to fit a pronunciation closer to English (see Chapter 2). However, other occurrences have been observed and will be discussed further in this chapter. For instance, many borrowings — even established ones — have shown loanshifts.

Generally speaking, there are very few calques or semantic extensions in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara. However, calques are favoured when it comes to cursing. Some swearing expressions are perfect translations of English cursing, and their introduction into the community may be linked with action movies and other media influences reaching Areyonga through television and video. As swearing is widely condemned by adults this will not be documented in this section with examples. The only comment that can be made is that not all swearwords are calques.

Borrowing directly from English is preferred to semantic extensions, with the exception of the word *ngapaṟi*. This term is traditionally used to describe sweet crusty lerp scales found on leaves of gum trees. During a trip to Luna Park in Sydney with the primary school class and to Darwin with the secondary education class, *ngapaṟi* was used to talk about fairy floss. It is possible that they used the Pitjantjatjara noun because they did not know the English

term.[7] It was also observed that the old extension *walkatjara,* which traditionally refers to a person who wears designs on his/her body (such as for ceremony) and has been extended to refer to a policeman (a man wearing stripes), was not used by the Areyonga teenagers. They simply prefer the English word 'policeman', in variant pronunciations.

It remains that some old borrowings are found without showing any variations, phonological or morphological. It is the case, for example, with the English noun 'motorcar' *mutuka.* In Chapter 2, it was theorised that the reason for the unchanged form of *mutuka* may reside in the fact that teenagers do not recognise *mutuka* as being an English word as its loan of origin, 'motorcar', is hardly ever used in English nowadays. Other loans, such as *tjitapain* 'sheet of iron' also survive unchanged, again seeming to indicate that the identification of the original loan as being English does influence the way it varied.

6.3 Loanshift

Loanshift is the only process of substitution, as only a few calques/loan translations and semantic extensions have been observed in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara. Loanshift refers here to a morpheme whose form has been borrowed but whose content has shifted. Several loans have come into Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara with a fairly different meaning from English. These are the cases of the noun *ali* from early', *taimi* from 'time, *aata* 'hot', and the lexicon referring to meals. *Ali* and *taimi* are both old loans used within the community by all. It is probable that children use them as Pitjantjatjara words until they start learning English at school. *Aata* appeared to be a more recent loan, as it has been principally observed in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara.

6.3.1 'Early'

An old loan used by the elder women of the community to refer to the period just after dawn is *ali* , which is semantically close to English 'early', from which it has been borrowed (6.1). Often associated with the Pitjantjatjara noun *mungawinki* 'morning', it describes the early time of the day.

(6.1)   *Ka*   *ali*   *nganana a-nu*   *maku-ku,*
        CONTR   early.morning 1PL.NOM go-PAST witchetty.grub-PURP

        Kupitara-lakutu   *ali*   *a-nu.*
        Kupitara-ALL.NAME early.morning go-PAST
        'And in the early morning, we went to Kupitara [to get] some witchetty grub[s],
        [it was] early morning [when we] went.'

In teenage speech, this semantic limitation as 'early morning' is not prominent anymore. In the elicitation test, 'morning' *mungawinki* was overwhelmingly translated by *ali* (five times out of seven). In the two other cases, it was translated by *tjintukutu* 'tomorrow morning'. When asked to translate 'tomorrow', four teenagers answered *ali,* one *tjintukutu* and the two others gave no answer. *Mungawinki* for either 'morning' or 'tomorrow' was

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[7]   When I asked the teenagers what was the name of *ngapari* in English, they did not know, but were able to recall the many colours and occasions they had eaten some (fairy floss).

never given, while the usage of this word in old people's speech had been observed. In (6.2) a teenage girl recalls her day during a trip to Darwin. *Ali* could be considered meaning 'early morning', except that, during the Darwin trip, the wake-up call was never before 8.00am, a time that in traditional speech would not be referred to as *ali*, but as *mungawinki*.

In Traditional Pitjantjatjara, the term *mungawinki* is polysemic, covering the meaning of both 'morning' and 'tomorrow'. From observations, it was concluded that *ali* is nowadays used as either (a) 'early' as in (6.3), where the use of *ali* with *mungangka* 'night-LOC' clearly indicates that *ali* means only 'early' in that sentence; or (b) 'morning' as in (6.4) and (6.5), where the teenager remembers her daily routine by using the expression *epri ali*.

As a result of the extensive use of *ali* as 'morning', the traditional term *mungawinki* has undergone a semantic specialisation and is likely to be limited to the meaning of 'tomorrow' or 'following day/day after'. In (6.6), the use of *ali* next to *mungawinki*, added to the obvious indication of posteriority in relation to the previous action ('at night'), indicates this specialisation.

(6.2)   *Nganana a-nu   ali   kuula-kutu ... munu-la   paka-nu*
    1SG.NOM   go-PAST morning school-ALL   ADD-1PL.NOM get-up-PAST

    smoko, munu after lunch nganana a-nu   Parliament House-kutu
    smoko ADD   after lunch 1PL.NOM go-PAST Parliament House-ALL
    'The morning we went to school ... And we got up for smoko, and after lunch, we went to the Parliament House.'

(6.3)   *Nganana ali   munga-ngka ali   nganana shawa-ri-ngu.*
    1PL.NOM early night-LOC   early 1PL.NOM shower-INCHO-PAST
    'We showered early at night.'

(6.4)   *Epri ali   mantji-nu tala.   Ka   nganana a-nu   shopping*
    every morning get-PAST   dollar.ACC CONTR 1PL.NOM go-PAST shopping

    eprithing pai-ma-ra   pai-ma-ra   ngalya-pitja-ngu.
    everything buy-LOAN-SERIAL buy-LOAN-SERIAL THIS.WAY-come-PAST
    'Every morning [we] got [some] dollars. And we went shopping [and] after buying and buying everything, [we] went [i.e. left].'

(6.5)   *Munu Sandai ali   a-nu   ngura tjaatji-ngka iti-ngka*
    ADD   Sunday morning go-PAST home church-LOC close-LOC

    wilura   tjaiti.
    west   side
    'And Sunday morning [we] went to the church [located] on the west side.'

(6.6)   *Tantji-ringku-la   pitja-ngu   malaku munu nganana a-nu*
    dance-INCHO-SERIAL come-PAST again   ADD   1PL.NOM go-PAST

    malaku   ngura-kutu, kunkuna-ri-nytja-ku,   ali   mungawinki
    again   home-ALL   sleep-INCHO-NOML-PURP early morning

    paka-ra   nyanga-ngi   footballa inka-nyangka.
    get.up-SERIAL see-PAST.IMPF football   play-CIRCUM
    'After [we went] dancing, we came back and we went back home to sleep, we got up early the morning to see some football being played.'

To sum up, the English temporal adverb *ali* was borrowed into old people's speech with the meaning of 'early morning'. Widely used in teenage speech in both casual and formal contexts, the term can refer to 'early' in a few cases such as 'early evening', but also and mainly as 'morning' (not necessarily 'early morning'). Personal observations and the results of the elicitation test sustain this hypothesis. As a result, the Pitjantjatjara term *mungawinki* 'morning, tomorrow' now seems to be restricted to the meaning of 'tomorrow' or 'day after' in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara.

6.3.2 'Time'

The English noun 'time' has been borrowed into Pitjantjatjara and appears in older speakers' speech. Teenagers have made extensive use of it, building new expressions such as:

shawa taimi	'shower time'
tjaitji taimi	'church time'
kiita taimi	'guitar time, concert time'
kapi taimi	'water time, rain time'
shopping taimi	'shopping time'
kala taimi	'colour time, time for colouring (after having a time for drawing)'

Some of the phrases above have replaced Traditional Pitjantjatjara expressions. For instance, older speakers refer to the rainy season, or to heavy rain in general, as *kapi pulka* +LOC 'big water'. In teenager speech, the LOCative marker is dispensed with and *taimi* is added, as illustrated in (6.7) and (6.8).

(6.7)   *Nganana   ngalya-pitja-ngu   kapi pulka taimi.*
        1PL.NOM   THIS.WAY-come-PAST   rain big   time
        'We came [to Utju] during the rainy season.'

(6.8)   *Kapi   taimi   mira-ng   munu ngali   nyina-ngi   ngura-ngka.*
        rain   time   see-PAST   ADD   1DU.NOM   stay-PAST.IMPF   home-LOC
        'My friend and I saw that it was raining [so] we [decided] to stay at home.'

As exemplified above, in Pitjantjatjara *taim(i)* refers to a specific time and not to a duration. *Taim(i)* 'time' or *-taim(i)*, 'time of' have been recorded as Kriol words (Summer Institute of Linguistics 1986). Sandefur (1979:153) in his study of Ngukurr-Bamyili dialects, an Australian Creole of the Northern Territory, notes that 'time in Creole, is expressed by time adverbs or nouns rather than by prepositional phrases' (as in English). Sandefur shows similar examples where the compound *-taim* or *-daim* is added to the noun. He cites, amongst other occurrences, *dinadaim* or *atnoon*. In Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, the English loan *taim(i)* is not a lexical noun, as it is in English, but should be considered a time adverb as it does not take any markers.

6.3.3 'Hot'

The English adjective 'hot' has been borrowed into Teenage Pitjantjatjara, but its definition differs from English. As exemplified in (6.9), *aata* does not indicate heat or

extreme heat, but a moderate temperature.[8] However, the elicitation test produced some examples where *aata* was used in relation to weather, principally in the expression *walpa aata* 'warm wind', as it is unlikely that wind would be burning hot. The traditional term for 'hot' is *waru*, which also describes 'fire'. It seems logical to conclude that the loan of the term *aata* has introduced a distinction of temperature between 'warm', as in (6.9), and 'burning hot', as in (6.10), where the cup of tea is so hot that it cannot be drunk immediately.

(6.9)   *Munu ngalya-pitja-ngu,   uru-ngka   tjurpi-ngi*
         ADD   THIS.WAY-come-PAST   waterhole-LOC   swim-PAST.IMPF

         swimmingpuul(a)   aata-ngka   Sydney-la.
         swimming.pool   warm-LOC   Sydney-LOC.NAME
         '[We] came [and] swam in a pool, in a swimming pool [with] warm [water] in Sydney.'

(6.10)   *Kapati   nyanga-tja   waru   mulapa.*
         cup.of.tea this.here-EVIDENT hot   really
         'This cup of tea [is] really hot.'

6.3.4 Meals

English nouns for the various meals of the day have been borrowed into Pitjantjatjara by older speakers. Two remarks can be made on the older people's speech: *tina* refers in fact to lunch, and *tjapa* refers to dinner and supper.

'breakfast'	*pinpatja*
'lunch'	*tina*
'dinner'	*tjapa* (from supper)
'supper'	*tjapa*

These old borrowings have undergone some changes in teenage speech. In the following passage (6.11), a teenager recalls her day in Darwin, what she did and what she was going to do that night (these data were recorded in the late afternoon of the same day). She uses the loans *breakfast* instead of the old loan *pinpatja*,[9] *smoko*[10] for 'morning tea', and *lunch* instead of *tina*, though she differentiates 'lunch' (the midday meal) from *supa* (the night meal). However, it is necessary to mention that this description is somehow quite unusual. Though *breakfast* is in common usage amongst teenagers with the same meaning as in English (6.12), many utterances still show lunch being referred to as *tina/dina*.[11] This is the case in (6.13), where the teenage girl plans her afternoon. The conversation was recorded at lunch time. In (6.14), the teenager recalls her day at the ski field and what she had for lunch. In both utterances, they use the term *dina*.

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[8]   The terms *hot* or *ot* are recorded as being Kriol words. (Summer Institute of Linguistics 1986)
[9]   The Pitjantjatjara/Yankunytjatjara to English dictionary assumes that *pinpatja* comes from the English 'bread and butter'.
[10]   The word *smoko* is the word used at the school for morning and afternoon break.
[11]   In some varieties of English the midday meal is called dinner, but as it is not the case in Australian Standard English the use of *dina/tina* seems a bit odd.

(6.11) *Nganana   a-nu   ali   kuula-kutu munu-la   breakfast*
       1PL.NOM   go-PAST morning school-ALL ADD-1PL.ERG breakfast.ACC

       ngalku-nu munu unngu   tjarpa-ngu waarka palya-ntja-ku
       eat-PAST   ADD   inside enter-PAST work   do-NOML-PURP

       munu-la   paka-nu   *smoko   munu after lunch nganana
       ADD-1PL.NOM   get.up-PAST   smoko.PURP   ADD   after lunch 1PL.NOM

       a-nu   Parliament House ... *Nganana   kuwari ana-nyi*
       go-PAST *Parliament House*   1PL.NOM   soon   go-PRES

       mungartji   supa-ku   ngana-lakutu-la ...   Sizzler.
       late.afternoon dinner-PURP where-ALL.NAME-1PL.NOM Sizzler
       'We went to school the morning, and we ate breakfast and [we] entered [the school] to do some work. We got up for smoko and after lunch we went to the Parliament House ... Soon we are going to go tonight for dinner, where to? to Sizzler.'

(6.12) *Kuula-kutu ma-pitja-la   ngalku-nu nyaa? Mai   breakfast.*
       school-ALL AWAY-come-SERIAL eat-PAST what food.ACC breakfast.
       '[We] came to school and ate ... what? [Some] food [for] breakfast.'

(6.13) *Ngayul(u) kuwari tina   finish, crocodile farma-ku   ana-nyi.*
       1SG.ERG   soon   lunch   finish, crocodile farm-PURP   go-PRES
       'Soon after finishing lunch, I am going to the crocodile farm.'

(6.14) *Nganana   a-nu   ngura-kutu dina   ngalku-ntja-ku dina*
       1PL.NOM   go-PAST home-ALL   lunch eat-NOML-PURP   lunch

       ngalku-ningi   sandwich.
       eat-PAST.IMPF   sandwich.ACC
       'We went home to eat lunch, [we] ate a sandwich [for] lunch.'

As shown, lunch is more often indicated by the word *dina/tina*. The appearance of 'lunch' *lunch* in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara might be specific to the expression 'after lunch'. Both *dina/tina* and *supa* exist in teenagers' lexicon. The distinction between a main meal taken in the evening 'dinner' and light meal taken late in the night 'supper' is non-existent.[12] In fact some evidence shows that *dina/tina* is more likely to be associated with daytime meals, as in (6.11), and *supa* with night meals, as in (6.12) and (6.13), as in Australian English where many people refer to their main evening meal as 'supper'.

6.4 Loanwords: gratuitous or not?

If borrowing is considered as a 'natural' way to alleviate a lexical gap, borrowing which replaces a pre-existing term in the recipient language deserves closer inspection. The following section addresses some English loans that appear, at first, to overlap with an existing Pitjantjatjara term. Haugen (1953) in his study of Norwegian immigrants to the

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[12] It is to be noted that the distinction does not prevail in some varieties of English such as North American English, where the word 'supper' refers to the evening meal.

United States used the term 'gratuitous' to refer to borrowings that replace an existing term in the recipient language. Following Haugen's insight, the term 'gratuitous borrowing' is used in this work to designate the same phenomenon. Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara appears to have borrowed many terms from English when an equivalent term already exists in Pitjantjatjara. As will be shown in this section, however, many borrowed terms actually express a specific meaning which does not have an equivalent in Pitjantjatjara. Loans of this kind are termed here 'false gratuitous borrowing'.

6.4.1 Gratuitous borrowing

6.4.1.1 Animals

The English borrowings *uutju* 'horse', *imiyu* 'emu' and *dingo* 'dingo' are widely used in teenage speech, superseding the traditional terms (*nyanytju, kalaya, papa inura*, respectively). Though the first loan refers to an introduced animal and is therefore more susceptible to borrowing, the other two are indigenous animals with proper Pitjantjatjara terminology. The use of English *imiyu* in casual speech was observed on numerous occasions. It seems more likely to be found in a conversational-type of context than in formal speech, such as in story telling, where Pitjantjatjara *kalaya* seems to prevail. However, this rule is not watertight. In the following examples, two girls were asked what they like eating. The first one answered with the English loan word, the second with the traditional term.

(6.15)　*Ngayulu ngalku-pai imiyu   and ngayulu ngalkul-pai tinka.*
　　　　1SG.ERG   eat-CHAR   emu.ACC and 1SG.ERG   eat-CHAR   goanna.ACC
　　　　'I eat emu and I eat tinka.'

(6.16)　*Ngayulu mai   ngalku-pai malu   kipara kalaya.*
　　　　1SG.ERG food.ACC   eat-CHAR   kangaroo.ACC turkey bush.emu.ACC
　　　　'I eat kangaroo, bush turkey, emu.'

The term 'dingo', now part of the Australian lexicon as an Australian word, was actually borrowed from Dharuk, an Aboriginal language from the Sydney area where a convict colony was established in 1788. In an ironic twist of fate, the term has now found its way into the teenage speech of a different Aboriginal language. Older people still seem to make the distinction between *papa* 'dog' and *papa inura* 'wild dog = dingo', while all the teenagers appear to use the English borrowing *dingo*. During a trip to gather some bush tucker, a teenager pointing at the track of an animal said:

(6.17)　*Dingo   nyaga-tja.*
　　　　dingo   here-EVIDENT
　　　　'This is [the track of] a dingo.'

On other occasions, including in story telling, the term *dingo* was also utilised. The word *papa* alone is found but designates a dog. Teenagers did not seem to ever use the expression *papa inura*.

Finally, it may seem jarring to find the word 'horse' recorded in this section, as horses were imported into Australia by European people and therefore should not be considered as a 'traditional' animal. However, the term *nyanytju* is common usage in Traditional Pitjantjatjara and the absence of that term in teenage speech, and the wide use of the English *uutju* (from English 'horse') deserves to be noted.

(6.18)   *Uutju   tjuṯa   uṟu-ngka   ngaṟa-nyi.*
       horse   PL.NOM   waterhole-LOC   stand-PRES
       'Many horses are standing at the waterhole.'

6.4.1.2 lainapa *'line up'*

Though the English borrowed noun *laina* 'line' appears sporadically in older people's speech, the meaning of forming a line is conveyed by the intransitive Pitjantjatjara verb *wanapari-ng*. Teenagers have overlooked the verb *wanapari-ng* and instead use two constructions borrowed from English. The first one, depicted in example (6.19), is an intransitive verb formed on the English compound 'line up' *lainapa* borrowed as a single unit and suffixed with the INCHOative morpheme *-ari/-ri*. That same loan is suffixed with the Pitjantjatjara verb *tju-n* 'put' in (6.20).

(6.19)   *Ka   walauru-nya   ngaṟa-ngi ,   ini*
       CONTR   wedge.tailed.eagle-NOM.NAME   stand-PAST.IMPF   name

       walkatju-nu-nta   panya,   lainapa-ri-ngi.
       write-PAST-EMPH   that.known   line.up-INCHO-PAST.IMPF
       'And the wedge-tailed eagle was standing [there], he signed his name.
       He has been standing in line.'

(6.20)   *Alatji   lainapa-tju-nu.*
       like.this   line.up-PUT-PAST
       '[She] lined up like this.'

The verb *tju-n* PUT is found in numerous compound verbs, such as in *nyina-tju-n* 'place in a sitting position' (from *nyina-∅* 'sit'), *mukul-tju-n* 'put a hook on' (from *mukul* 'hook') and *walka-tju-n* 'to write' (from *walka* 'design') (Goddard 1985:120; also in Chapter 3). However, this is not the usual way to verbalise English loans. Nonetheless, the two terms are favoured by the teenagers to the detriment of the existing Traditional Pitjantjatjara term *wanapari-ng*.

6.4.2 *False gratuitous borrowing*

The terms listed above exemplified gratuitous borrowings in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara. However, it would be wrong to assume that all borrowings are gratuitous. The following section presents a new kind of loan word that I chose to call 'false gratuitous borrowing' — that is, a borrowed term that seems to be in competition with a traditional term but which, in fact, has borrowed only a specific meaning from the English word of origin, for which Pitjantjatjara does not have an equivalent. The transitive verbs *tjiita-mila-l* from English 'cheat', *katji-mila-l* from the English verb 'catch', and *witjila-mila-l* from the English verb 'whistle', illustrate these remarks. The use of the particle *nulla* from English 'and all' is also described, before concluding with the intransitive verb *tjampi-ri-ng* from the English verb 'jump'.

6.4.2.1 tjiita-mila-l *and 'cheat'*

Ngunti kurani is the Pitjantjatjara expression used to describe someone who is lying to you or tricking you, or, by extension, cheating you: see (6.21) and (6.22). Contrary to initial appearances, however, the English loan verb *tjiita-mila-l* has not replaced the traditional utterance. The latter term is limited to cheating in a sporting context (6.23).

(6.21) *Nyitara   tjuta-ngku ngunti   kura-ni.*
        boy   PL-ERG   wrong   deceive-PRES
        'Many boys are behaving badly.'

(6.22) *Munu nganana uru   blu-wana   palu-nya   putu   nya-ngu,*
        ADD   1PL.ERG water   blue-PRED DEF-ACC   IN.VAIN   see-PAST

        John-lu   munu Paul-lu   ngunti   kura-ningi.
        John-ERG.NAME   ADD   Paul-ERG.NAME   wrong   deceive-PAST.IMPF
        '[We went to the waterhole where the water was supposed to be blue], and we couldn't see that blue water, [because] John and Paul were [in fact] lying.'

(6.23) *Ali   mungawinki paka-ra   nyanga-ngi   footballa**
        early   tomorrow   get.up-SERIAL   see-PAST.IMPF   football.ACC

        inka-nyangka, (name of a team)[13]-lu   tjiita-mila-nu   Utju-nya.
        play-CIRCUM   (name of a team)-ERG.NAME   cheat-LOAN-PAST   Utju-ACC.NAME
        'The day after, early, after we woke up, we went to see the football [match], [and] the opposing team cheated Utju.'

6.4.2.2 katji-mila-l *and 'catch'*

At first, it seems that *katja-mila-l* may be in competition with Pitjantjatjara *witi-l* 'grab, hold, trap', and perhaps with *patja-l* 'bite', which has 'catch' as one of its secondary meanings (in reference to a predator 'catching' its prey). However, both these verbs have retained their traditional meanings in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara as illustrated in (6.24) and (6.25). Nor, incidentally, has *ura-l* 'get' been usurped from its use in the Pitjantjatjara expression equivalent 'catch a disease' (6.26).

(6.24) *Alice-lu   tjana   kraib   witi-ningi.*
        Alice-ERG.NAME   3PL.ERG   crab.ACC catch-PAST.IMPF
        'Alice and her friends caught a crab.'

(6.25) *Papa-ngku   ngayu-nya   patja-nu.*
        dog-ERG   1SG-ACC   bit-PAST
        'The dog bit me.'

(6.26) *Ngayulu taka-nguru   pika   ura-nu.*
        1SG.ERG tucker-ABL   sick   get-PAST
        'I got sick from [eating] the tucker.'

In fact, *katji-mila/ma-l* has a highly specific meaning, expressing only the meaning 'taking someone by surprise'.

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[13] To avoid any rivalry and to protect people's privacy, original names have been replaced by fictitious ones, or, as in this case, no name at all.

(6.27) *Nganana   a-nu   yaaltji-kutu panya?   Kuula-kutu.   Ka*
      1PL.NOM   go-PAST   where-ALL   that.know school-ALL   CONTR

      nganana-nya   katji-ma-nu,   Alice   tjana.*
      1PL-ACC   surprise-LOAN-PAST Alice.ERG.NAME 3PL.ERG
      'We went, where to ? To the school. And Alice and her friends surprised us.'

(6.28) *Ka   Kumana-lu   wangka-ngu 'Ngayulu kuwari*
      CONTR   Kuman-ERG.NAME   say-PAST   1SG.ERG   soon

      nyara-ngka punga-nyi katji-ma-ra   basketball-angka'.
      yonder-LOC hit-PRES   surprise-LOAN-SERIAL basketball-LOC
      'Kumana said: "I'll get you [by surprise] at the basketball court over there,
      [and] I'll hit you".'

6.4.2.3 witjila-mila-l *and 'whistle'*

Pitjantjatjara *utinma-n* is more about giving a whistle to indicate where you are than the action of whistling for expressive purposes, to show, for example, appreciation or enthusiasm. This may be why teenagers created the INCHOative intransitive verb *witjila-ri-0* from English 'whistle'.

(6.29) *Ka   kungka   walypala nyitayira tjuta   witjila-ri-ngi.*
      CONTR   young.girl white.NOM boy   PL.NOM   whistle-INCHO-PAST.IMPF
      'And the young girls, the white people, the boys, all whistled.'

(6.30) *Ka   Tinkiri-nya   pulkara ikari-ngu   Ena-nya   pula*
      CONTR   Tinkiri-NOM.NAME really   laugh-PAST Enid-NOM.NAME 3DU.NOM

      witjila-ri-nyangka   paluru   pula   tjakatjakati-ngu mulapa.
      whistle-INCHO-CIRCUM DEF.NOM 3DU.NOM get.stuck-PAST   really
      'And Tinkiri laughed strongly, after Enid and she whistled, the two of them
      couldn't really stop [laughing].'

The whistling of animals, especially birds, was rendered in Traditional Pitjantjatjara by the verb *wara-l* 'sing' or *wangka-0* 'say'. The English borrowed *witjila-ri-0* also seems to be used for this meaning. As the following two examples show, both the traditional and the English terms are used to refer to the sound produced by a bird. A differentiation may exist in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara between a bird's singing which will last for some time, as in (6.31), and whistling which is sharp and brief, as in (6.32). However, lack of appropriate data does not allow a valid conclusion to be drawn on this hypothesis.

(6.31) *Ka   Kumana-nya   ula-ngu ngulu   tjulpu   wangka-nyangka.*
      CONTR   Kumana-NOM.NAME   cry-PAST scared bird.NOM   say-CIRCUM
      'And Kumana cried in fear as the bird sang.'

(6.32) *Ka   tjulpu-nta   witjila-ri-ngu.   Ka*
      CONTR   bird-EMPH.NOM   whistle-INCHO-PAST   CONTR

      Kumana-nya-nta   ula-ngu   ngulu.
      Kumana-NOM.NAME-EMPH   cry- PAST scared
      'And then a bird whistled. Then Kumana got scared and cried.'

6.4.2.4 nulla *and 'and all'*

Uwankara is a Pitjantjatjara quantifier, expressing the meaning 'all, the whole lot'. Because *uwankara* appears in only a few utterances in the corpus of teenage recordings, and because the English borrowing *nulla* 'and all' is extensively found in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, it was logical to suspect that the traditional term (6.33) had partially been replaced by the English loan (6.34). However, closer inspection showed that *nulla* is not used in teenage speech as a quantifier, as is its traditional counterpart. In (6.34), for example, the teenager describes the whole community at first, then modifies her story, and uses the Pitjantjatjara quantifier *tjuṯa* PL to indicate that many people were there (but not the whole community), which could suggest that *nulla* is a synonym of 'all'. Nevertheless, as shown in (6.35) and (6.36), *nulla* more often works as an emphatic particle than a quantifier. For this reason, it was glossed as 'and all'.

(6.33)   *Tjitji   uwankara   softball-angka   ikari-nyi.*
         child   whole.NOM   softball-LOC   play-PRES
         'All the children [i.e. no exception] are playing softball.'

(6.34)   **Docker River   nulla   ngara-ngi.   Tjuṯa   ngara-ngi.*
          Docker River.NOM.NAME and.all   stand-PAST.IMPF PL.NOM stand-PAST.IMPF
         'All [the inhabitants of] Docker River were standing. Many were standing.'

(6.35)   *Munu palu-mpa   inyu pulkanya   nulla.*
         ADD   3SG-GEN   fur big.NOM   and.all
         'And his big fur and all.'

(6.36)   *Wiya ngayulu ika-ringa-nyi   ngayulu kuṉta-ri-nyi   nulla.*
         NEG 1SG.NOM laugh-INCHO-PRES 1SG.NOM shame-INCHO-PRES and.all
         'I am not laughing, I am ashamed and all.'

6.4.2.5 A special case: tjaampi-ri-ng *and 'jump'*

This case is as interesting as it is unusual. The English verb 'jump' has been borrowed into Pitjantjatjara, overshadowing the traditional term *warakati-Ø*. What appears at first as a classical lexical substitution is in fact far from being simple. Traditionally, *warakati-Ø* meant 'jumping off, getting down'. In Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, the idea of jumping is completely absent, as shown by the examples of *warakati-Ø*, as in (6.37) and (6.38). Indeed, nowadays, the Traditional Pitjantjatjara verb *warakati-Ø* suggests only the action of coming down, while the action of jumping is rendered by the English borrowed *tjaampi-ri-ng* as in (6.39) and (6.40).

The use of the LOCative ending on the verbal complement tends to indicate that the verb *warakati-Ø* has more to do with the action of conducting someone to a certain place, than the actual motion. This idea is also suggested by the fact that *warakati-Ø* is often found in serial constructions, especially with the verb *nyina-Ø* 'stay', as exemplified in (6.37) and (6.38).

(6.37)   *Ka   tjana   warakati-ngu   Kaanta-la   nyina-ngi.*
         CONTR   3PL.NOM come.down-PAST Kaanta-LOC.NAME stay-PAST.IMPF
         'And they went down [i.e. drove] to Kaanta [and] stayed [there].'

(6.38)   *Utju-languṟu   nganaṉa airoplaina kulupa-ngka*
         Areyonga-ABL.NAME 1PL.NOM aeroplane small-LOC

ngalya-pitja-ngu   *munu-la*   *warakati-ra*   *nyina-ngi*
THIS.WAY-come-PAST   ADD-1PL.NOM   SERIAL-come.down   stay-PAST.IMPF

airoplaina pulka-ku.*
airplane   big-PURP
'From Areyonga we came [to Alice Springs] in a small aeroplane, and after
coming down [i.e. landing in Alice Springs], we stayed in [i.e. took] a big
aeroplane [to go to Darwin].'

In the meantime, the loan *tjaampi-ri-Ø/ng* has taken on the meaning of 'jump off'. In
(6.39), the teenage girl explains what she did on her recent trip to Docker River, especially
how she went diving at the waterhole. The association with the spatial adverb *katu* 'high'
reinforces the idea of a leap. Finally, in the last example (6.40), the traditional and newly
borrowed verbs are used in the same passage, clearly illustrating the semantic contrast
between them. As a result, *warakati-Ø* is glossed in this work as 'come down' and not as
traditionally 'jump down/off'.

(6.39)   *Uru-ngka*   *nyanga-ngi*   *piitjil*   *tjuta*   *nganngi-la*   *munu*
       waterhole-LOC   see-PAST.IMPF   fish   PL.ACC   frog-1PL.ERG   ADD

       nganana katu-nguru tjaampi-ringku-la   *tjaampi-ringku-la*   *malaku*
       1PL.NOM   high-ABL   jump-INCHO-SERIAL   jump-INCHO-SERIAL   back

       a-nu   *Docker River-lakutu.*
       go-PAST   Docker River-ALL.NAME
       'At the waterhole, we saw many fish [and] frogs, and we jumped from high
       above, [and we] went back to Docker River.'

(6.40)   *Palu(ru) kunyu puli katu kalpa-ngu*   *katu mulapa warara-ngka,*
       DEF.NOM QUOTE hill   high climb-PAST   high really   cliff-LOC

       munu nya-ngu kunyu city kunyu. (...) Munu paluru   *putu*
       ADD   see-PAST QUOTE city   QUOTE   ADD   DEF.ERG   IN.VAIN

       kuli-kulini-ngu   *warakati-ntja-ku.*   *Ka*   *pangkalangu kutjara*
       remember-PAST   get.down-NOML-PAST   CONTR   ogre   two.NOM

       kunyu ngalya-pitja-la   *nyina-ngi.*   *Ka*   *tjilpi*   *paluru*
       QUOTE THIS.WAY-come-SERIAL sit-PAST.IMPF CONTR old.man   DEF.NOM

       iniwai   *tjaampi-ri-ngi.*   *Ka*   *paluru*   *punka-nu kapi-kutu.*
       anyway   jump-INCHO-PAST.IMPF CONTR   DEF.NOM fall-PAST   water-ALL
       'He [i.e. the old man] climbed high, really high up a cliff and saw a city. (...)
       But he could not remember how to get down. The two ogres made their way
       towards [him]. And the old man jumped anyway and fell into the water.'

To summarise, this chapter has described the most current and common borrowings (from
English or other Aboriginal languages) found in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara. From this
description and in view of the data, optimistic conclusions can be drawn. Contrary to the
situation in some Aboriginal languages in contact with English in Australia, cross-linguistic
influence appears to be relatively restricted. Many borrowings fill a gap in the Pitjantjatjara
lexical repertoire. Others have been shown to be 'false gratuitous borrowings' — that is,
where one specific meaning of the loan is borrowed to express a concept non-existent in

Pitjantjatjara. Heah Lee Hsia (1989) has noted a similar phenomenon in Bahasa Melayu. She notes that 'the specialisation in the meaning of the loanwords is such that they serve to denote cultural novelties that are introduced by the West and their use serves to delineate these novelties from the area of indigenous Malay culture' (Heah Lee Hsia 1989:151).

Finally, borrowing was sometimes necessary to improve semantic precision. Borrowing was also preferred in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, to wordy traditional expressions such as:

Traditional term	Translation	Teenage Pitjantjatjara
kuru utju	'narrow eye'	*tjanise* from 'Chinese'
mutuka kanyini	'to have a car or driving'	*draiv(a)milani* from 'drive'
kulinytja	'to be thinking'	*aidi* from 'idea'
uru pulka	'big water (hole)'	*sii* from 'sea'

Admittedly, not all borrowings are trivial, as some loans really do overlap with an already existing Pitjantjatjara term. The exact percentage of such gratuitous borrowings is difficult to establish, but it seems clear from the information summarised in this chapter that the proportion is relatively low, and certainly much less than would appear to be the case on a superficial assessment.

7 *Case studies of lexical fields*

The following chapter deals with some representative features of Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara: its kinship, colour and number terminology. They are representative because they show how new items have been borrowed from English in order to fill lexical gaps, and the way these items are used.

7.1 Cross-linguistic influences on kinship terms

7.1.1 *The Traditional Pitjantjatjara kinship system*

The kinship system of Aboriginal societies is a code of social behaviour between people within a community, determining who can talk to whom, who must avoid whom, who can marry whom, and many other things. Based on a 'highly developed sense of social responsibility' (Dixon 1980:107), the Aboriginal kinship system is not limited to one's close family but applies to everyone in the community, i.e. it is a so-called classificatory system. 'Everyone with whom one comes into contact is regarded as related ... and the kind of relationship must be ascertained so that the two persons concerned will know what their mutual behaviour should be' (Elkin 1974:84).

> [W]hile it is convenient, and even appropriate, to describe the system of nomenclature and the associated principles of organization in purely biological terms, it is immaterial to the functioning of the system whether or not an actual biological connection can be established among given individuals referred to by the use of kinship terms. (Hale 1966:319)

The particular kind of *walytja* 'relationship' system found in Pitjantjatjara is referred to in the anthropological literature as the *Aluridja* system.

In his grammar, Goddard (1985; cf. Hale 1966) describes the kinship structural pattern of Yankunytjatjara, a dialect of Pitjantjatjara, as consisting of two opposed sets of alternate generation groups: *nganantarka* 'we-bone' (from *nganana* '1PL' and *tarka* 'bone') and *tjanamilytjan* 'they-flesh' (from *tjana* '3PL' and *milytjan* 'flesh'). *Nganantarka* consists of all members of a person's own and grandkin generations. *Tjanamilytjan* consists of all members of a person's parents' and children's generations. Marriages are regimented by the kinship system as 'the marriage rule prohibits marriage between generation levels and within one's own local group' (Wafer 1982:13). In other words, marriage is only allowed with one's *nganantarka* members.

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Table 7.1: Merged alternate generation level moieties (after Goddard 1985:153)

US: *nganantarka* 'we bone'	THEM: *tjanamilytjan* 'they flesh'
tjamu (M) 'grandfather, great-uncle' *kami* (F) 'grandmother, great-aunt'	
	mama (M) 'father, father's brothers' *kamuru* (M) 'mother's brothers' *ngunytju* (F) 'mother, mother's sisters' *kuntili* (F) 'father's sisters'
ngayulu 'I' *kuta* (M) 'older brother/male cousin' *kangkuru* (F) 'older sister/female cousin' *malany* (M or F) 'younger sibling or cousin' *nyarumpa* 'different-sex sibling or cousin'	
	katja (M) 'son, same-sex sibling's son' *untal* (F) 'daughter, same-sex sibling's daughter' *ukari* (M or F) 'different-sex sibling's son or daughter'
pakali (M) 'grandson' *puliri* (F) 'granddaughter'	

As the above table illustrates, the Pitjantjatjara (Aluridja) kinship system differs from other Central Australian kinship systems by:

> the absence of vertical exogamous moieties, either patrilineal or matrilineal; the absence of section or sub-section systems, except where they have recently arrived; the absence of a great number of kinship terms, or, the paucity of terms (Hamilton 1979:301)

The system does not have any term specifically for cross-cousins, which are classified together with brothers and sisters (Hamilton 1979:301).

7.1.2 Tjanamilytjan *kin in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara*

The Anglo-Australian kinship system, like most Western societies, distinguishes biological parents ('mother', 'father') from one's parents' siblings ('aunt', 'uncle').

In Traditional Pitjantjatjara, this distinction does not exist. One's mother and one's mother's sisters are both one's *ngunytju* 'mother', and one's father and one's father's brothers are both one's *mama* 'father' (for their role in the family, see Goddard 1985:151–154). The terminology differs when dealing with parents' siblings of the opposite sex. Father's sisters are called *kuntili* and mother's brothers are *kamuru*. Conversely, just as your parents and their siblings are considered as your own parents, you are considered by all of them as *katja* 'son' or *untal(pa)* 'daughter'. The generic term equivalent to 'niece' and 'nephew' is *ukari* (no sex distinction), but this term is never used as a form of address.

The Traditional Pitjantjatjara pattern has been undergoing some changes in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara.[1] As one can see from (7.1) and (7.2), in casual speech *maama* (from English 'mother') is found replacing the traditional *ngunytju*. The English borrowed term still refers both to one's mother or to one's mother's sisters, as exemplified in (7.3). The wide use of the term has occasioned some confusion with its near homonym *mama* 'father'. The long vowel has not been enough to distinguish the two, and, therefore, the term *mama*

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[1]   Names used in this section are fictitious.

'father' tends to be replaced by the English loan *fatha*, as in (7.4). In some circumstances, as with a less proficient English speaker, the stop /p/ may be substituted in place of both fricatives, giving rise to a continuum of realisation where the word *fatha* is found next to the word *paapa*. This common occurrence is somewhat surprising, as from a phonological point of view, one would expect the assimilated form *pata* [patʌ]. It is even more surprising as *paapa* is comically close enough to *papa* 'dog' to cause some hesitation (perhaps this explains the teenagers' preference for the non-assimilated version *fatha* 'father').

(7.1) *Ngayu-ku maama ini *Anna.*
       1SG-GEN mother name Anna-NOM.NAME
       'My mother's name is Anna.'

(7.2) *Ngayu-ku maama ini Tjipana-nya.*
       1SG-GEN mother name Tjipana-NOM.NAME
       'My mother's name is Tjipana.'

(7.3) *Ngayu-ku maama ini Erin-anya munu Tjirpawa-nya*
       1SG-GEN mother name Erin-NOM.NAME ADD Tjirpawa-NOM.NAME

       munu Ngoi-ngoi-nya.
       ADD Ngoi-ngoi-NOM.NAME
       'My mothers' names are Erin, and Tjirpawa, and Ngoi-ngoi.'

(7.4) *Ngayu-ku walytja ini, fatha, ngayu-ku fatha ini *Peta.*
       1SG-GEN family name father 1SG-GEN father name Peter-NOM.NAME
       'The names of [the people of] my family are, [my] father, my father's name is Peter.'

In very formal settings, such as during the elicitation test, the Traditional Pitjantjatjara nouns *ngunytju* and *mama* were used by four teenagers out of the seven who responded to that specific question. Two used the terms *maama* and *paapa*, and one answered *maama* before correcting herself by saying *ngunytju*. This also happened in story telling. In the following example, the teenager recalls a fight which had occurred between a group of girls. For most of the story she uses the English borrowing *maama* next to the Pitjantjatjara *minyma*, 'mature woman' and *kungka* 'young woman/girl'. She uses the English borrowing at first, then switches to Pitjantjatjara *ngunytju* 'mother'. It is interesting to note that she makes the change after using the English borrowing first, then in a kind of autocorrection, just after the English term, she chooses to use *ngunytju*. This is a good example to show that the two terms are used in parallel.

(7.5) *Ka wangka-ngu palu-mpa maama-ngku: 'Wiya, ngayul(u)*
       CONTR say-PAST 3SG-GEN mother-ERG NEG 1SG.NOM

       pala patu-wana (?) ana-nyi'. Ka kungka paluru
       just.there apart -PRED(?) go-PRES CONTR young.girl DEF.NOM

       wangka-ngu: 'Ngayulu anku-la ngayu-ku maama ngunytju-ngka
       say-PAST 1SG.ERG go-SERIAL 1SG-GEN mother mother-LOC

       wangka-nyi ngunytju nyanga-ngku ngayu-nya pu-ngu'.
       say-PRE mother this-ERG 1SG-ACC hit-PAST
       'And her [i.e. the first teenager's] mother said: "No, I'm going off on my own". [Then] the young girl said: "I am going to tell my mother: 'Mother, this [girl] hit me'".'

In casual speech, and especially in interjections, *maama* is the most frequent expression. It seems to be extensively used in the vocative case: few children or teenagers called out for their mother using *ngunytju*. However, it would be wrong to assume that *maama* is restricted to the vocative case, as (7.1) and (7.2) show.[2]

As previously stated, in Traditional Pitjantjatjara one's mother's sisters and father's brothers are regarded, and termed, as one's mother and father, respectively. In Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, this still holds: both *ngunytju* and *maama* are used for mother's sisters, and both *mama* and *paapa/fatha* for father's brothers.

On the other hand, English borrowings have also appeared, used in parallel with Pitjantjatjara *kuntili* 'father's sisters' and *kamuru* 'mother's brothers'.

(7.6)   *Sydney-la*   *nyinakati-ngu paluru   nya-ngu palu-mpa*
         Sydney-LOC.NAME   sit.down-PAST   DEF.NOM   see-PAST   DEF-GEN

         aanti   munu paluru   pukula-ri-ngu,   'Aanti   ngayulu'
         auntie.ACC ADD   DEF.NOM please-INCHO-PAST   auntie.NOM 1SG.NOM

         paluru   wangka-ngu.
         DEF.NOM say-PAST
         '[When he] landed in Sydney, he saw his auntie. He was very pleased.
         [And] she said: "I'm [your] auntie".'

Teenagers very often refer to 'father's sisters' as *aanti* and to 'mother's brothers' as *angkala*.[3] It is difficult to know to what extent the English borrowings are used in casual speech, compared with traditional terms, though they seem to be more frequent. This impression is reinforced by the fact that, during the elicitation test, *angkala* and *aanti* were preferred to *kuntili* and *kamuru*, which were in fact never given as answers.

Table 7.2: Parental terminology in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara
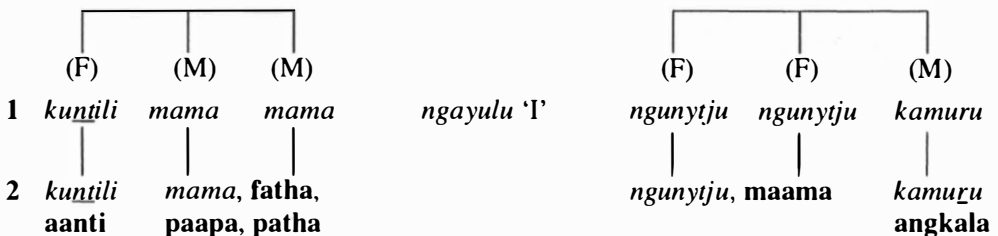
	(F)	(M)	(M)		(F)	(F)	(M)
1	*kuntili*	*mama*	*mama*	*ngayulu* 'I'	*ngunytju*	*ngunytju*	*kamuru*
2	*kuntili* **aanti**	*mama*, **fatha, paapa, patha**			*ngunytju*, **maama**		*kamuru* **angkala**

Legend:

1: Traditional Pitjantjatjara
2: Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara

(F) person of the female sex   *italic*: Traditional Pitjantjatjara terms
(M) person of the male sex   **bold**: English borrowings

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2   Hudson (1983:139) notes a distinction between *mami*, used as vocative and referential, and *matha*, only used as referential.

3   The terms *anti* and *angkul* have been reported by Hudson (1983:139) in her work on the Fitzroy Valley Kriol. They share the same semantic definition as in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara.

7.1.3 Nganantarka *kin terms*

In Pitjantjatjara, three terms are used to describe fraternal relationships. Older brother *kuta* and older sister *kanguru* are distinguished from younger siblings with both sexes being grouped under the noun *malany*. As Goddard (1985) noted in relation to Yankunytjatjara, 'senior relations consistently have sex-distinct terms whereas juniors do not always have' (Goddard 1985:174). Children of one's parents' siblings are all regarded as one's brothers or sisters. Further, 'whether I call my cousins 'older' or 'younger' depends on whether their parents are 'older brother' or 'older sister' or 'younger brother or sister' to my parents' (Wafer 1982:4). There are no distinctions between one's grandmothers and one's great-aunts, both being referred to as *kami*. Similarly, the term *tjamu* applies to one's grandfathers and great-uncles. The grandchild generation also contains only two terms: *pakali* 'grandson' and *puliri* 'granddaughter'.

This section of family relationship terminology is the one which has undergone the most extensive changes. Borrowings from Aranda or Luritja, as in (7.9) and (7.10), and from English, as in (7.12) and (7.13), are frequent, though Traditional Pitjantjatjara terminology, as in (7.7) and (7.8), has also remained.

(7.7) *Ngayu-ku kanguru ini Katie-nya munu Ana-Maria-nya.*
1SG-GEN   older.sister   name   Katie-NOM.NAME   ADD   Ana-Maria-NOM.NAME
'My older sisters' names are Katie and Ana-Maria.'

(7.8) *Ngayu-ku kuta ini Jayku-nya, munu ngayulu munu*
1SG-GEN   older.brother   name   Jacob-NOM.NAME   ADD   1SG-NOM   ADD

Pamela-nya.
Pamela-NOM.NAME
"My older brother's name is Jacob and [then, there is] me and Pamela.'

This is one of the rare cases in which loan words — *kaaka* and *yayi* — have been borrowed from another Aboriginal language, in this case, Aranda.[4] The term *kaaka* is used in Aranda to talk about an 'older brother' and *yayi* refers to 'older sister'.

The innovations do not stop here. There is a second level of more elaborate changes which not only involve new terminology but also introduce a distinction non-existent in Traditional Pitjantjatjara. This emerges if the use of borrowed terms *sikina, brotha* and *sista* are examined carefully. The teenager whose conversation is transcribed below had older siblings, with whom she shared the same parents, as well as younger siblings who had the same father as she but a different mother. When she first mentions Alicia, she calls her *yayi* 'older sister'. In (7.11), when referring to Alicia, she uses the term *sikina*. The term is also used when she talks about Maria for the first time, before specifying that Maria is her *half sista*. It seems that when the speaker wants to describe the relationship as sisters on a level, as it were, where age hierarchy does not apply, she uses the term *sikina*. The origin of the term is obscure and it may be suggested that it comes from English 'skin', i.e. her, Alicia and Maria are of the same skin. In (7.11) and (7.12) she does not differentiate her older sister and her younger half sister in relation to herself. In (7.10) and (7.12) she does so by calling the first one *yayi* 'older sister' and the second one *sista* 'younger sister'. In brief, *sikina*

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4   Luritja, a dialect close to Pitjantjatjara, does use the very same words as Aranda, which made their origin ambiguous. But it is assumed that their origin in Pitjantjatjara is from Aranda because this is what informants say. It seems very likely as Areyonga has an historical link with the Aranda community of Hermannsburg. Familial links also exist through marriage. This last observation would explain the number of borrowings for this kinship-related area.

seems to be the generic term 'sister' — maybe sister of the same skin — while *yayi* and *sista* indicates their relationship with the teenager according to their seniority.

There is no data to indicate the existence of a generic term for 'brother'. However, there is evidence to allow us to conclude that there is a seniority distinction between *kaaka* 'older brother' and *bratha* 'younger brother'. One can argue that the use of *kulupa* 'little' could indicate the term *sista* and *bratha* are generic terms for 'sister' and 'brother', and that it is the adjective that specifies seniority. Nonetheless, in Traditional Pitjantjatjara, the expression *malanypa kulunypa* is widely used and is not considered tautological, according to the informants. The expression seems to carry an affective connotation more than anything else, similar to diminutives in many languages.

Finally, one can note that the sex distinction non-existent in Traditional Pitjantjatjara (since the term *malanypa* refers to both sexes) is now made by using English loans, *sista* 'younger sister' vs *bratha* 'younger brother'.

(7.9)   *And   ngayu-ku   kaaka   ini   Sam-anya.   And   ngayu-k(u)*
         and   1SG-GEN   older.brother   name   Sam-NOM.NAME   and   1SG-GEN

         kaaka   kutjupa   ini   Mark-anya.
         older.brother   other   name   Mark-NOM.NAME
         'My older brother's name is Sam. My other older brother, [his] name is Mark.'

(7.10)   *Ngayu-k(u)   yayi   Alicia-nya.*
         1SG-GEN   sister   Alicia-NOM.NAME
         'My sister [is] Alicia.'

(7.11)   *Ngayulu   Alicia-lu   sikina.*
         1SG.ERG   Alicia-ERG.NAME   sister
         'Alicia and I are sisters.'

(7.12)   *And   ngayulu   *sikina, half   sista   kulup(a)   Maria-nya.*
         and   1SG.NOM   sister   half   sister   little   Maria-NOM.NAME
         'And I [have another] sister, a little [i.e. younger] half sister [named] Maria.'

(7.13)   *And   ngayu-k(u)   bratha   kulupa   Matju-nya.   And   ngayu-k(u)*
         and   1SG-GEN   brother   little   Matthew-NOM.NAME   and   1SG-GEN

         *bratha   kulupa   *John.*
         brother   little   John
         'My little [i.e. younger] brother [is named] Matthew and my [other] little [i.e. younger] brother [is named] John.'

To sum up, Aranda borrowings have appeared within the kinship vocabulary of Pitjantjatjara, possibly because of the proximity of the Aranda community at Hermannsburg but also because of a number of familial links especially through marriage. The Pitjantjatjara differentiation between older and younger siblings is not affected by the new borrowings as the same differentiation is made in Aranda. However, in both Pitjantjatjara and Aranda, sex differentiation between younger sister and younger brother does not exist: the same term is usually used to refer to both. The teenagers have turned to English to introduce that distinction: *sista* for younger sisters and *bratha* for younger brothers. Similar terms have been noted in language contact studies in Australia and especially in work on Kriol. Indeed, both the terms *sista* and *bratha* are found in Kriol. *Sista* refers to 'sister' or

'female offspring of mother's sister and father's brother, all of same skin as ego', while *bratha* refers to 'brother' or 'male offspring of mother's sister and father's brother, all of same skin as ego' (Summer Institute of Linguistics 1978). As these definitions show, there is no idea of seniority.   In Fitzroy Valley Kriol, Hudson (1983) notes that Kriol does not distinguish senior siblings from younger siblings, but observes that Kriol terms 'extend the range of meaning of sibling terms beyond the immediate family to include all people of the same sex who belong to the same subsection' (Hudson 1983:140).   This phenomenon is not apparent in current Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara. The traditional *kangkuru* is used for all same-generation female relations while the English loan *sista* refers specifically to younger female siblings.   Similarly, the English loan *brotha* makes the distinction between older brother, i.e. *kuta,* from younger male siblings.   This is an indication that the borrowings in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara have enriched the kinship terminology by enabling family ties to be specified more precisely, rather than collapsing semantic distinctions, as appears to be the case in Kriol.

Table 7.3: Sibling terminology in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara

	(M)	(F)	*ngayulu*	(F)	(M)
1	*kuta*	*kangkuru*	'I'	*malany*	*malany*
2	*kuta*	*kangkuru*		*malanypa*	*malanypa*
	kaaka	yayi		**sista**	**bratha**

Legend:
1: Traditional Pitjantjatjara
2: Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara

(F) person of the female sex	*italic*: Traditional Pitjantjatjara terms
(M) person of the male sex	**bold**: English borrowings
	roman: Aranda and Luritja terms

As previously stated, in Pitjantjatjara the children of one's parents' same-sex siblings are regarded as one's brothers or sisters.   In Australia and in most Western societies, one's parents' siblings children are one's cousins.   In Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, the two kinship systems are combined into a new one.   Children born from their mother's sisters *ngunytju/maama*, and father's brothers *mama/paapa/fatha* (parallel cousins, in anthropological terminology) are differentiated from children born from their mother's brothers *kamuru* and father's sisters *kuntili* (cross-cousins, in anthropological terminology). Parallel cousins are *kuta/bratha/ malanypa* 'brother' or *kanguru/sista/malanypa* 'sister'. Cross-cousins are designated by the English borrowing *kasin*.   This term applies to any children born from one's *kamuru* or *kuntili*, regardless of sex or age (i.e. just like the English noun 'cousin').   The introduction of the English loan *kasin* slightly changes the Pitjantjatjara kinship system, presenting a distinction which was previously non-existent in casual speech[5] — although the distinction was and still is clearly marked in behaviour.   In Areyonga

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[5]   The traditional term *nyarumpa* 'sister, brother or cousin of the opposite sex' was never used as a term of address.

Teenage Pitjantjatjara, the English loan *kasin* is not restricted to one's cousin from the opposite sex, but refers to any cross-cousins, regardless of their sex. In brief, any *aanti*'s or/and *angkala*'s children are one's *kasin*.

(7.14)   *Ka*   *wangka-ngu:*   *'Nyara-tja*   *ngayu-ku.*   *walytja*
         CONTR   say-PAST   yonder-EVIDENT   DEF-GEN   family.NOM

         Ngay(u-ku) kasin   ngay(uku)   walytja   mulapa'.
         DEF.GEN   cousin.NOM DEF.GEN   family.NOM really
         'And [the crow] said: "We are related [lit. that's my relation], [you are]
         my cousin, my real relation".'

As previously stated, the connection between Aranda and Pitjantjatjara people is particularly evident in the kinship system. Therefore, a comparison of the two systems seemed to be in order, especially to check if the term *aanti* and *angkala* had been introduced into Pitjantjatjara via Aranda, and also to ascertain if Aranda distinguishes cross-cousins, and if so, how. No data were found to corroborate the idea that *aanti* and *angkala* came via Aranda. However, the Aranda family tree does distinguish cross-cousins from parallel cousins.

> Whereas everyday English uses the single term 'cousin' for these and other relations, for some speakers of Arrernte a female refers to her female cross-cousin as *altyele*, a male refers to his male cross-cousin as *ankele*, and *arrwempe* is used by a male to refer to a female cross-cousin or by a female to refer to a male cross-cousin. (Henderson 1994:37)

It is possible that Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara have borrowed the concept of cross-cousins from neighbouring Aranda, but adopted from English the term *kasin* to refer to both female and male cross-cousins.[6]

The terminology for grandparental relationships shows an Arandic influence. Along with the Traditional Pitjantjatjara terms *kami* 'grandmother' and *tjamu* 'grandfather' are found *amama* (7.15) and *tatata* (7.16) from Aranda. All four of these terms are frequent in casual speech, and in the elicitation test the Aranda and Pitjantjatjara terms were used equally often.

(7.15)   *Ngayu-ku amama   ini   Ngoi-ngoi-nya.*
         1SG-GEN   grandmother name   Ngoi-ngoi-NOM.NAME
         'My grandmother's name is Ngoi-ngoi.'

(7.16)   *Ngayu-ku tatata   ini   Peta-nya   munu Kipa-nya.*
         1SG-GEN   grandfather name   Peter-NOM.NAME   ADD   Kipa-NOM.NAME
         'My grandfathers' names are Peter and Kipa.'

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6   In Pintupi/Luritja, the terms *angkala*, *anti* and *katjina* are found. *Angkala* is described in Hansen and Hansen (1992:6) as 'relationship term; uncle; mother's brother; daughter's husband; syn. *kamuru*). *Anti* is said to refer to 'aunt; father's sister; syn. *kuntili*' (Hansen & Hansen 1992:5). Finally, *katjina* is 'cousin; mother's brother's son or daughter, *kamurukunu* from uncle; father's sister's son or daughter; *kuntilikunu*' from aunt; syn. *watjirra* (Hansen & Hansen 1992:28).

Table 7.4: Areyonga Teenager version of merged alternate generation level moieties

US: *nganantarka* 'we bone'	THEM: *tjanamilytjan* 'they flesh'
• 'grandfather, great uncle': *tjamu*, taṯaṯa • 'grandmother, great aunt': *kami*, amama	
	• 'father, father's brother': *mama*, **paapa, fatha/faatha, patha/paatha** • 'mother, mother's sister': *ngunytju*, **maama** • 'mother's brother': *kamuṟu*, **angkala** • 'father's sister': *kuṉṯili*, **aanti**
• 'older brother, older male cousin (father's brother's son)': *kuṯa*, kaaka • 'older sister, older female cousin (mother's sister's daughter)': *kangkuṟu*, yayi • 'younger brother, younger male cousin (father's brother's son)': *maḻanypa*, **bratha (kulupa)** • 'younger sister, younger female cousin (father's brother's daughter)': *maḻanypa*, **sista (kulupa), sikina (?)** • 'male/female cousin (mother's brother's or father's sister's son/daughter)': **kasin** • 'different sex sibling/cousin': no data	
	• 'son, same sex sibling's son': *kaṯja* • 'daughter, same sex sibling's daughter': *uṉṯalpa* • 'different sex sibling's son/daughter': *ukaṟi* (term of politeness)
• 'grandson': *pakaḻi* • 'granddaughter': *puliri*	

Legend:
italic: Traditional Pitjantjatjara terms
roman: Aranda or Luritja terms
bold: new English loan terms

In her work on the Dyirbal language, Schmidt (1985) remarks that the breakdown of kinship vocabulary is a common phenomenon in vocabulary loss, especially in Aboriginal communities. She writes that 'the loss of kinship terms is associated with the disintegration of the tribal units and upheavals in the traditional social fabric' (Schmidt 1985:177). The same idea is voiced by Hudson who observes that:

> as the influence of Western culture has increased, the young people have paid less attention to the traditional culture and it is not surprising that an area requiring much effort to learn, such as kinship, should be among the first to be put aside. Some have learned the traditional system and for them the Kriol terms equate with lexemes in their TA [Traditional Aboriginal] languages but others have taken the Western system and use the terms as in English to apply to the nuclear family. (Hudson 1983:139)

As this section has shown, the terms borrowed from English[7] have not diminished the complex Pitjantjatjara kinship system in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara. Aranda

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7   Some of the terms described are also found in Kriol studies.

borrowings appear with similar effects. The core vocabulary has remained. When English (or Creole/Kriol) borrowings have appeared, it is to express a distinction that did not exist in Traditional Pitjantjatjara. This is the case with the term *maḻanypa* 'younger sibling'. By borrowing *sista* and *bratha* from English, the distinction between 'younger female sibling' and 'younger male sibling' has now been established. The same can be said for the use of *angkala*, *aanti* and *kasin*. This illustrates how these English loans have, in the case of the kinship system, led to an elaboration in the system rather than to its deterioration.

Two other domains show a predominance of English borrowings: colour and number. These are dealt with in the following sections.

7.2 Colours

It was once believed that colours were named arbitrarily. Berlin and Kay (1969) showed that, in fact, nothing could be further from the truth. Using a large set of colour samples (the Munsell Color Chips), they asked native speakers of twenty different languages to identify colour chips. They were especially interested in the 'focal hue' and the 'range' of each colour term. The results of their experiment revolutionised the idea of colour and colour categorisation. They established that basic colour terms of all languages were far from being arbitrary and all seemed to come from a set of eleven 'basic colours'. They ordered these colours through different stages as exemplified by the following diagram:

'black'			'yellow'							'grey'
	<	'red'	< or	<	'blue'	<	'brown'	<		'pink'
'white'			'green'							'orange'
										'purple'
Stage I		Stage II	Stage III		Stage IV		Stage V			Stage VI
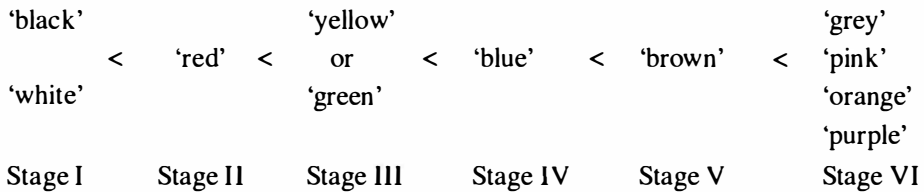
Berlin and Kay (1969) claimed that if a language has a term in Stage IV, the language would also have all the terms recorded under Stage III, II, and I. Many researchers have since criticised Berlin and Kay's work, which does not take into consideration, amongst other things, 'visible surface qualities' (Lehmann 1997; see also Sternheim & Boyton 1966; Fuld, Wooten, and Whalen 1981; Hardin & Maffi 1997) and assumes that all languages can be analysed according to the phenomenology of the English language. As Frake put it:

> Ultimately one is faced with defining color categories by referring to the actual perceptual dimensions along which informants make differential categorizations. These dimensions must be determined empirically and not described by the investigator using stimulus materials from his own culture. (Frake 1972:444)

Frake's comment can be applied to bilingualism. As Mackey (1972:574) explains, 'the bilingual speaker has a single experience of colour, but his two languages may have a different number of colour units, some of which may overlap ...'. Taking cross-linguistic influences in French and English as an example of the overlapping, he shows how *pain brun* is influenced by the English 'brown bread' instead of *pain bis*, in accurate French. Similarly, the English speaker could be tempted to call *papier brun* following his/her English reference 'brown paper' what should be called in French *papier gris* (Darbelnet 1957:157–161). Basilius (1972) comments on the difficulty of translating colour terms in the work of the early Greeks such as Homer. Some translators choose to translate *chlòros* 'yellowish green' or 'greyish brown' and *òchros* as 'greenish yellow' or sometimes as 'red', or 'attempted to translate all these words with *brilliant* on the assumption that the Greeks were less interested

in the particular hue or tint than in the intensity (luster quality), particularly under the light conditions of the southern sky' (Basilius 1972:456).

In Aboriginal societies, there was no need for a large colour terminology. Aboriginal people were unconcerned with the ever-changing shades of the fashion business, as they had little or no clothing items, and furthermore no elaborate dyes. According to Dixon (1980:274), Aboriginal languages often had only two, probably never more than four, basic colour terms ('black', 'white', sometimes 'red' and sometimes also 'green')'. At ceremonies, red or yellow ochre, ashes, charcoal or white clay were — and still are — used to colour people's bodies.

It could be suggested that in Traditional Pitjantjatjara there were only two basic colour terms: *maru* 'dark, and *piran(pa)* 'pale, light'. These terms may have described not colour as such, but brightness. However, other colorations were covered by terms formed by stem reduplication of a word for an object which was suggestive of the intended colour, e.g. *ukiri-ukiri* 'greenish' (see below). (There is no evidence to suggest that these reduplicated terms arose only after contact with Europeans.)

untanu	'yellow ochre'	*untanu-untanu*	'yellowish'
ukiri	'grass'	*ukiri-ukiri*	'greenish'
ilkari	'clear sky'	*ilkari-ilkari*	'bluish'

The word *tjintjiri-tjintjiri* was preferred to *tutu* 'red ochre' or *milkali* 'blood' to refer to a 'reddish' colour maybe because *tutu* was a powerful ceremony related word *milkali* was a term highly sensitive when used out of specific medical context. The origin of the word *tjintjiri-tjintjiri* is uncertain and probably not meaning precisely 'red'. Finally, the terms *maru* and *piran(pa)* started to cover the meaning, respectively, of 'blackish' and 'whitish', especially to describe the two 'tribes' in contact: the *anangu maru* 'black people, Aboriginal people' and *piranpa tjuta* 'all the white (people)'.

With greater contact with European people and their western culture, the need for a broader vocabulary to describe colours was required. Teenage girls in Areyonga favour colourful clothing, often wearing bright reggae colours. As a result, they have abandoned the Traditional Pitjantjatjara reduplicated terms and have replaced them with English borrowings.[8] In current usage *piran(pa)* is weakening, often replaced by the English *wait(a)-wan(a)*, when describing the colour 'white'. However, the idea of lightness is still rendered by *piran(pa)*. Only *maru* remains used as 'black', and appeared in the expression *anangu maru*. The teenagers have borrowed most of the terms in Berlin and Kay's (1969) description of basic colour terms. Ten colour adjectives were recorded, including 'brown', 'pink' and 'orange', but no data showing the use of the term 'grey'.[9]

Interestingly, some of the borrowed terms do not have precisely the same meaning as their English counterparts. For instance, *yalawana* 'yellow' was heard to describe the colour of my 'blond' hair. Explaining to the teenagers the context-specific nature of English 'blond' proved to be difficult (especially since 'red' is appropriate to describe someone's hair colour). Perception and categorisation are also shady areas. For example, *yalawana* was used to describe the colour of my T-shirt which I thought of as being 'pale orange'. Other subtle meaning differences between loan words and their English equivalents were observed. It was, for instance, difficult to agree on what 'purple' looked like. The word was often used in instances where either 'rose' or 'burgundy' seemed more accurate.

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[8]   The grammatical implications of colour adjective loan words are discussed in Chapter 3.

[9]   The only one missing from Berlin and Kay's evidence in Stage V.

Traditional Pitjantjatjara	Teenage Pitjantjatjara	English
maru	*maru*	'black(ish)'
piran-(pa)	*piranpa* (i.e. lightness)	'white(ish)'
	wait(a)-wan(a) (i.e. colour)	
tjintiri-tjintiri	*raid(a)wan(a)*	'red(dish)'
untanu-untanu	*yala-wan(a)*	'yellow(ish)'
ukiri-ukiri	*griin(a)-wan(a)*	'green(ish)'
ilkari-ilkari	*plu-wan(a), blu-wan(a)*	'blue(ish)'
	braun(a)-wan(a)	'brown(ish)'
	pink(a)-wan(a)	'pink(ish)'
	arang(i)-wan(a)	'orange(ish)'
	parpul(a)-wan(a)	'purple(ish)'

English glosses have been affixed with the suffix *-ish* to reflect the fact that the Pitjantjatjara terms can be used in contexts where the plain English would not be used. No loan word for 'grey' was found, and some uncertainty remains as to whether the concept of 'grey' exists in Teenage Pitjantjatjara or in Traditional Pitjantjatjara. As stated above, *maru* 'dark, black' is the only term that does not show any weakness. However the word *blackfalla* is found, maybe as a counterpart to the very popular *walypala* or its non-integrated form *waitfalla* 'white fellow'.

It should also be noted that the changes in colour-related terminology are not specific to Areyonga, but have been recorded all over Central Australia (see Lee 1987 among others).

7.3 Numbers

As previously mentioned, numbers show a very high percentage of English borrowings. This is only to be expected given that the Pitjantjatjara numeric system has only three monolexemic numerals, possibly because there was no need for a more complex numeric system.

'one'	*kutju*
'two'	*kutjara*
'three, a few'	*mankur(pa)*

Combinations of these three numbers could be used for higher numbers, though this practice does not seem to be very common; for example:

'five'	*kutjara-mankurpa*
'six'	*mankur-mankurpa*
'nine'	*mankur-mankur-mankurpa*

This system soon becomes very cumbersome, so for some time now English numbers, suffixed with *pala* (from English 'fellow'; see Chapter 4) have been used for numbers in excess of 'three'.

'five'	*paipala*
'six'	*tjikipala*
'nine'	*nainpala*

In Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, the only real innovation is the replacement of *mankurpa* 'three' by the loan *triipala* (7.17), while *mankurpa* is now restricted to the meaning of 'few', as in (7.18).

(7.17) *Minyma*   *trii-pala*   *taunu-kutu a-nu.*
         mature.woman   three-NUM.PRED.NOM   town-ALL   go-PAST
         'Three women went to town.'

(7.18) *Minyma*   *tjuta*   *a-nu*   *uru-kutu.*   *Yaaltjiru?*
         Mature.woman   PL.NOM   go-PAST   waterhole-ALL   how.many

         Wampa   *mankurpa.*
         I.don't.know   few
         'Many women went to the waterhole. How many? I don't know, a few.'

To conclude, it is often feared that extensive borrowings can be damaging to a language. These three case studies have shown that English loans found in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara are not diminishing the language, but are introducing new distinctions into it. This has been exemplified with the kinship system, where the use of *sista* and *bratha* has added a distinction between junior siblings which was non-existent in Traditional Pitjantjatjara. It has also been shown that English loan words are allowing the language to express new concepts. By adopting these new words, the language has gained in precision and it is now possible in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara to describe features unknown to Traditional Pitjantjatjara.

8 *'The short-way language'*

After living for six months in Areyonga, and being for nearly as long a tutor for the Secondary Education Correspondence class, it was possible for me to understand most of the conversations taking place among the teenagers. It was a great personal pleasure to participate in their conversations. My eagerness to be included surprised them at first and at times I was sure that they were testing my competence in Pitjantjatjara. It became evident to me, however, that my command of the language was not sufficient to follow some exchanges. I blamed it on the extreme rapidity of their speech, which had speeded up considerably since my first introduction into their circle. The rhythm of the language itself also seemed unusual and more staccato-like. After a while, it became obvious that they were actually using a 'different' language in an effort to exclude an outsider from their private conversation. After careful observation, it was concluded that this was a kind of Pitjantjatjara slang.

One day, one of the teenagers spoke directly to me in that staccato language. When asked, she agreed to repeat what she had just said. This was the beginning of my learning of the 'short-way language', as the teenagers call it. They later (reluctantly) authorised the tape-recording of some utterances, but it has to be pointed out that most of the data comes from participant observation and from my field notebook. The 'short-way' language was spoken by teenagers from a specific 'circle of friends' (family background does not appear to be relevant to the makeup of the user group) and its non-standard character could have been the reason why there was some opposition to recording more data.

The short-way language is spoken mainly by the older teenagers (age 14 to 19), and was observed especially among the teenagers of the Secondary Education Correspondence classroom, though one of my informants told me that some of the young women (20–25 years old, only few years older than the group of teenagers being studied) were familiar with the short-way language and used to speak it among themselves.[1] It is often used in front of younger children who would sneak into the Secondary Education Correspondence classroom at smoko time, despite not being allowed in. To respond to their intrusion, the teenagers would converse using the short-way language. As a result, the children would become very upset, complaining that the teenagers were teasing them as they could not understand what was going on.

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[1] Only one primary-school teenager could and would use short-way language. She was older than most of the senior-class teenagers and was also 'hanging around' with the Secondary Education group after school.

The short-way language is not highly regarded by adults. On one occasion I mentioned to one of the women that I had recorded some instances of the short-way language. She answered that she wished the children would speak 'properly' (her words). When the teenagers were asked about the attitude of adults towards the short-way language, they corroborated by saying that the adults were always nagging them and telling them to 'speak 'properly',[2] i.e. use a language the adults could all comprehend. Perhaps because of this, 'short-way language' is generally not used with, or in the presence of, adults.

Studies of teenage speech are scarce and have focused mainly on sociolinguistic aspects. The paucity of literature concerning second-language acquisition and learning of teenagers has also been criticised by many researchers (Nippold 1988, Romaine 1989, Lyon 1996). Most of the research details monolingual language development (Slobin 1972), while investigations of second-language acquisition have concentrated on adults (Romaine 1989, Lyon 1996). Fewer scholars have studied the characteristics of teenage speech, and the field is even narrower specifically in relation to Aboriginal teenage speech (Schmidt 1985, Lee 1987).

Language has a social importance. Prucha explains:

> The real existence of language (its use by an individual as well as its functioning in society as a whole) is substantially bound up with social needs. All linguistic reality (system, process, product) serves social needs (objectively existing purposes), and these needs are the causes of an immense variety of language use and great diversity of linguistic messages. (Prucha 1983:287)

One can only observe the similitude of language pragmatics between Areyonga teenagers and older speakers. In general, English is spoken with European people, Pitjantjatjara with Anangu. The only difference occurs in the use of the short-way language which is used by Pitjantjatjara teenage girls to speak to their peers. Overall, their attitude towards Pitjantjatjara seems as strong as before. In contradistinction to the findings of the Anglesey Project (reported in Lyon 1996), where teenagers dismissed their first language at adolescence, in favour of English, the Pitjantjatjara teenagers who participated in this study always converse among themselves in their first language (despite being bi- or tri-lingual).

In western societies, adolescence is a crucial time in a person's life, often linked with youthful angst, and language becomes a important medium of this *rite de passage*. As Eckert puts it:

> The participation of language in the adolescent system of social symbols is popularly recognized in such consciously manipulated features as those associated with "Valley Talk" and in general phenomenon of teenage slang, both of which arise within specific segments of the teenage population and have social group significance within the age group. It is reasonable to assume that the rapid development of social structure in preadolescence and adolescence is intimately associated with the development of patterns of linguistic variation, and that the social significance of variants for adolescents would be associated with the system of social differentiation arising within the cohort.   (Eckert 1988:186)

Many studies have reported language usage as a way to differentiate speakers and their peers from others (Eckert 1988; George 1993:158). Hewitt (1987) recorded the use of Jamaican Creole in the speech of white adolescent boys of London. Their integrative use of the language associates them with black Jamaican groups while distinguishing them from

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[2]   The fact that people's answers might have been conditioned by a critical approach has to be acknowledged.

other groups. This search for an identity may not be as strong in Aboriginal community. In western societies it is the move away from one's family and one's family's values that prove dramatic for teenagers. Eckert suggests that

> [adolescents] seek to replace an ascriptive identity based on place in the family with one based on their characteristics as individuals in relation to a broader society. (Eckert 1988:187)

Cooper and Anderson-Inman (1988:234) remark that 'slang and other stylistic variations distinguish the adolescent culture from the adult world and help to maintain group identity'. They also comment on the extensive use of the expression "I can ..." in middle and late adolescents:

> These statements of confidence often refer to adult activities that are becoming possible. Examples include, "I can drive a car", or "I can take care of myself." (Cooper & Anderson-Inman 1988:235)

The expression 'I can' has been noted in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara (see Chapter 4). It also has been shown that Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara is borrowing many English items and developing its own linguistic structures. However, the idea of the search for identity does not seem particularly appropriate to Aboriginal adolescents. In Areyonga, adolescent girls seem to enjoy the same freedoms as they have through childhood. The boys, on the other hand, are segregated from women at the age of sixteen or seventeen as part of the process of learning how to 'become a man' *watiringanyi*. 'The practice of segregating them from the womenfolk of the tribe provides the tribal solution to a universal problem, that of misconduct among teenagers' (Hilliard 1968:121). It remains true, though, that some of them try to establish a distinction between themselves on the one hand, and younger and older generations on the other, by using the short-way language, which also linguistically differentiates them from the other sex.

8.1 Morphological and phonological description

To describe the phonological system of the short-way language, it is necessary to remember (cf. Chapter 2) that: (a) a syllable is a unit which consists of a vocalic nucleus, and possibly an onset and/or coda, (b) a syllable with a short vowel is of one mora while a syllable with a long vowel is of two morae. It is also necessary to remember that the following description is based on Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara pronunciation and that phonological and morphological changes described in the previous chapters are more than ever relevant when investigating the short-way language. Most short-way forms are based on the 'weakened' forms found in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara.

Once this is agreed upon, the principle of the short-way language is simple: essentially, every word is shortened by dropping the initial syllable, as in (8.1). If a monosyllabic word results, the general rule of Pitjantjatjara phonotactics that words have to consist of at least two morae is respected by lengthening the vowel, as illustrated in (8.2). The examples in (8.3) illustrate what happens when the first syllable consists of two morae (i.e. a long vowel), and (8.4) when the initial syllable is made up of a single vowel.

The first column is normal Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara (ATP), the second is short-way language (swl).

	ATP	swl	
(8.1)	*kutjara*	*tjara*	'two'
	rapita	*pita*	'rabbit'
	alatji-ri-nyi	*latjirinyi*	'behave.like.this-PRES'
	pukula-ri-nyi	*kularinyi*	'happy-INCHO-PRES'

	ATP	swl	
(8.2)	*rama*	*maa*	'crazy'
	maku	*kuu*	'witchetty grub'
	papa	*paa*	'dog'

	ATP	swl	
(8.3)	*kuula*	*laa*	'school'
	miita	*taa*	'spouse, boyfriend, girlfriend'

	ATP	swl	
(8.4)	*iranti*	*ranti*	'red-tailed black cockatoo'
	ali	*lii*	'early'

When a word has a reduplicated form, only one element is retained and shortened.

	ATP	swl	
(8.5)	*miita-miita*	*taa*	'boyfriend, girlfriend'
	ula-ula	*laa*	'sob'
	aka-aka	*kaa*	'aching'
	ini-ini	*nii*	'impatient'

The short-way language is subject to some phonological constraints, most of them similar to Traditional Pitjantjatjara. The apical distinction (i.e. retroflex vs alveolar) is neutralised, as in Traditional Pitjantjatjara (Goddard 1985:11). As a result, any postalveolar apical is replaced by the alveolar equivalent.

	ATP	swl	
(8.6)	*kuta*	*taa*	'senior brother, or cousin'
	putu	*tuu*	'in vain'

	ATP	swl	
(8.7)	*malu*	*luu*	'kangaroo'
	kalaya	*laya*	'emu'

	ATP	swl	
(8.8)	*anangu*	*nangu*	'people'
	kinara	*nara*	'moon'

	ATP	swl	
(8.9)	*mara*	*raa*	'hand'
	piruku	*ruku*	'again'

As previously mentioned, the short forms are based on Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara and phonological changes, such as the weakening of glides, have to be taken into consideration. For instance, the traditional term *nyitayira* [ɲitʌyirʌ] 'male, boy' becomes *tara* in 'short-way language', as it is based on the Areyonga Teenage form *nyitara* [ɲitʌrʌ]. Other examples are given below. The first column shows the Traditional Pitjantjatjara (TP) terms, the second column shows how they appear in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, and the third column gives the short-way language versions.

	TP	ATP	swl	
(8.10)	*walawala*	*walala*	*lala*	'quickly'
	[walʌwalʌ]	[walʌlʌ]		
	kuwari	*kuari*	*rii*	'soon'
	[kuwʌri]	[kuʌri]		
	warara	*wara*	*raa*	'cliff'
	[warʌɽa]	[warʌ]		

It has been suggested at different times by different people that the syllabic segmentation of Pitjantjatjara *kungka* 'young woman' could be *ku-ngka* and not *kung-ka*, as generally thought. The short-way language may provide some interesting data for future investigations of this question. In a case like *kungka* with an homorganic nasal–stop cluster that would become the initial segment of the short-way word, the nasal phoneme is dropped and only the stop remains.

	ATP	swl	
(8.11)	*kungka*	*kaa*	'young woman'
	unytju-ri-nyi	*tjurinyi*	'like-INCHO-PRES'
	kunta	*taa*	'shame'
	ampu-ni	*puni*	'hold.someone-PRES'

However, two short-way words have been noted where the homorganic nasal–stop cluster has been retained as an initial cluster. Both cases involve the cluster *nt*. Lack of data does not permit one to conclude if the nature of the preceding syllable, especially a nasal, could influence the retention either way.

	ATP	swl	
(8.12)	*nyuntu*	*ntu*	'2SG'
	ngunti-ringa-nyi	*ntiringanyi*	'wrong-INCHO-PRES'

Non-homorganic clusters seem to follow the first pattern described; that is, only the second phoneme of the cluster remains.

	ATP	swl	
(8.13)	*kunkuna-ri-nyi*	*kunarinyi*	'sleep-INCHO-PRES'
	anku-nytja-ku	*kunytjaku*	'go-NOM-PURP'
	ngalku-ni	*kuni*	'eat-PRES'

Finally, non-traditional sounds do not appear in the short-way language, even if (as described in Chapter 2) the original form of the shortened word contains a non-assimilated English sound. For instance, the English loan word *tjiipsa* 'chips' is widely used by teenagers, without any phonological variation being observed; i.e. the [s] sound is invariably present. Still, when used in the short-way language, the word always appears as *paa* — never as *saa* or *psaa*.

(8.14)	*Litjalu*	*paa*	*kuni.*	(swl)
	Melitja-lu	*tjiipsa*	*ngalku-ni.*	(ATP)
	Melissa-ERG.NAME	chips	eat-RES	
	'Melissa is eating [some] chips.'			

(8.15)   *Paa   ratja.*   (swl)
         Tjüpsa   nyara-tja.   (ATP)
         chips.NOM   yonder-EVIDENT.NOM
         'The chips [are] over there.'

Finding the English loan *futbala* 'football' as *pula* in short-way language does not mean that teenagers are actually using the more assimilated form of the word, *pupula*. The short version may be based on an assimilated form of *bala*, where the 'alien' initial syllable is dropped and replaced by its Pitjantjatjara equivalent and where the vowel shows variation, as observed in Traditional Pitjantjatjara (fully described in Chapter 2).

(8.16)   *Nana   nuu   nukutu   pula   kunytjaku.*
         Nganana   a-nu   taunu-kutu futbal   nya-kunytja-ku.
         1PL.NOM   go-PAST town-ALL   football   see-NOML-PURP

         Kaa   Trii-nya   na-ri-ngu.   (swl)
         Ka   Ti-Tree-nya   wina-ri-ngu.   (ATP)
         CONTR   Ti-Tree-NOM.NAME   win-INCHO-PAST
         'We went to town to see a football [match]. And Ti-Tree ['s team] won [the game].'

When a word is shortened to become a 'short-way language' word and the shortened word starts with a glide, the glide is usually retained, as in (8.17) and (8.9). However, sometimes the glide is replaced by another phoneme, the same one as the nucleus of the following syllable, as in (8.18), or by another glide as in (8.19).

	ATP	**swl**	
(8.17)	*ngayulu*	*yulu*	'1SG'
	wiya	*yaa*	'NEG'
	wiya-ri-ngu	*yaringu*	'end-INCHO-PAST'
	kiwinyi	*winyi*	'mosquito'
(8.18)	*ngiyari*	*rari*	'thorny devil'
(8.19)	*puyi-ni*	*wini*	'rain-PRES'

The limited data do not allow any definite conclusions to be made on the treatment of glides as word-initial in the short-way language. However, it is clear from the examples that not all glides are retained the same way in the short-way language. The first set of data (8.17) shows retention of the glide after syllable dropping, while the following two, (8.18) and (8.19), imply phonological change. If *wiya* 'NEG' and *ngiyari* 'thorny devil' are compared, one can wonder why the first is found as *yaa* and the second as *rari* in the short-way language. One could hypothesise that the difference is linked with the fact that the glide *y* is preceded by a vowel. If the preceding vowel is the front vowel *i*, the apical glide, i.e. *r*, seems to be added as the first consonant of the short-way word (8.18). If the preceding vowel is the back vowel *u*, the back glide, i.e. *w*, seems to be added as the first consonant of the short-way word (8.19). There is insufficient data to allow a verification of this hypothesis.

8.1.1 Stress

Standard Pitjantjatjara shows a primary stress (´) on the first syllable of the word and often a secondary stress (`) on the third, fifth etc. syllables, except that the final syllable of a word does not usually bear stress (see Chapter 2). This also applies to the stress pattern of the short-way language. As illustrated by the examples below, most short-way words are dimoric (or less commonly, trimoric), and therefore receive only primary stress. This results in the short-way language having a staccato rhythm.

(8.20)   *Nána*   *kú-nytja-ku*   *tjú-ringà-nyi*   *rá-kutu.*   (swl)
          Ngánana   *ánku-nytjà-ku* *únytju-rìnga-nyi* *ngúra-kùtu.*   (ATP)
          1PL.NOM   go-NOML-PURP   like-INCHO-PRES   home-ALL
          'We [would] like to go home.'

(8.21)   *Táa*   *rá-ngka*   *ná-nyi.*   (swl)
          Miita-miita *ngúra-ngka* *nyína-nyi.* (ATP)
          DEF.NOM   home-LOC   sit-PRES
          '[Her] boyfriend is sitting at home.'

8.2   Syntactic description

In short-way sentences, the Pitjantjatjara case system is respected, i.e. case markers are retained, as in (8.22) and (8.23). In the case of verbs coupled with a directional prefix, only the prefix is shortened: the verb itself does not undergo syllable dropping, as illustrated in (8.24) and (8.25). The shortening of directional prefixes gives rise to a new question: what happens to words which, when shortened, begin with a consonant which is not acceptable in word-initial position (as it is the case with *ly* in *ngalya* THIS WAY)? As illustrated in (8.25), *ly* seems to have disappeared and to have been replaced by a long vowel.

(8.22)   *Nana*   *nuu*   *rakutu.*   (swl)
          Nganana   *a-nu*   *ngura-kutu.* (ATP)
          1PL.NOM   go-PAST   home-ALL
          'We went home.'

(8.23)   *Laa*   *nangu*   *nungka,*   *tira.*   (swl)
          Pula   *nyina-ngu*   *punu-ngka* *witi-ra.*   (ATP)
          3DU.NOM   sit-PAST   tree-LOC   hold-SERIAL
          'The two of them were sitting under the tree, holding [hands].'

(8.24)   *Raa-pitja-nyi*   *la-kutu.*   (swl)
          Para-pitja-nyi   *kuula-kutu.*   (ATP)
          AROUND-come-PRES   school-ALL
          '[He] is coming around [to go] to the school.'

(8.25)   *Ra-nya*   *ngaa(?)-pitja-ngu.*   (swl)
          Dora-nya   *ngalya-pitja-ngu.*   (ATP)
          Dora-NOM.NAME   THIS.WAY-come-PAST
          'Dora went this way.'

This description of the short-way language of Areyonga teenage girls has been limited by restricted data. As it is a secret language of sorts, it was a privilege to have been able to record so much and to have been 'let in' on the secret. However, no one could say anything

about the origin of the short-way language. When one looks at Aboriginal languages, it is interesting to find that many show initial-dropping, including Aranda, a neighbouring tribe of Pitjantjatjara which some people in Areyonga are related to, where both 'C1 and V1 have been dropped' (Dixon 1980:206). It seems possible at least that this initial-dropping phenomenon observable in Aranda may have something to do with the origin of the short-way language in Areyonga teenage speech.

Finally, one can only comment on the extreme opacity of the 'short-way language'. To understand it, context is essential. As the examples prove, the short-way word *nanyi* can stand for any of the verbs *ana-nyi* 'go-PRES', *nyina-nyi* 'sit-PRES', *mana-nyi* 'get, fetch-PRES' (and others). Only the context in which they are found can allow the listener to identify the intended meaning. Even with context, it can remain very ambiguous. This may add to the secretive character of the short-way language.

8.2.1 Discussion

'Secret languages' of children and teenagers are found in many cultures and societies, including some nearby Aboriginal societies. A 'back-to-front' language called Rabbit Talk is spoken by the Akarre people of Harts Range, Bonya and Alcoota (Turner & Breen 1984:10). In Rabbit Talk, most of the words are turned around. In general, 'you take the first consonant or consonant cluster and move it to the end of the word' (Turner & Breen 1984:10). For example, the word *merne* 'tucker' would become *rneme* in Rabbit Talk. However, short words beginning with a vowel do not follow the same rule. A *y* is simply added to the original form: for example, *ampe* 'child' becomes *yampe* in Rabbit Talk. These are only two of the rules. What is interesting to note is that Rabbit Talk is not a 'secret code' developed by young people, but by older people. It was once used to tell stories to the children, for fun or telling jokes. However, its primary usage seems to have been as a secret language, especially for young people who 'used to use it to talk about their girlfriends' (1984:10) which tends to indicate that the language could have also been mainly used by men. To avoid feeling shamed when asking for food, some people would prefer to make their request in Rabbit Talk. Things have changed and Turner and Breen (1984:10) insist that 'young people now don't understand it'. Sentence (8.26) is a typical Rabbit Talk utterance. As one can see, the process is completely different from Areyonga teenage 'short-way language', as illustrated in (8.27).

(8.26) *Reke   tyekarlk   antemew.*   (Akarre language)
        Kere   arlkwetyeke wanteme.   (Rabbit talk)
        'I want to eat some meat.' (Turner and Breen 1984:11)

(8.27) *Ngayulu kukaku mukuringanyi.* (Pitjantjatjara)
        Yulu   kaku   kuringanyi.   (short-way language)
        'I want to eat some meat.'

Notice also that the short-way language is not a form of 'baby talk' of the kind which has been widely documented in Aboriginal communities. For example, Laughren (1984:73) described Warlpiri Baby talk as being 'characterised by regular phonological modification to standard adult Warlpiri and by a small specialised baby talk vocabulary substituted for standard Warlpiri terms'. This is clearly not the case in the short-way language of Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara.

In France, some teenagers, especially from Paris, talk in 'verlan', a secret code which also consists of inverting syllables of a word (8.28). ('Verlan' is the inverted form of 'l'envers', which can be translated in English as 'back to front)'.

(8.28)   Je viens de France mais je vis dans la communauté d'Areyonga   (C)[3]
         Je viens de Fran-ce mais je vis dans la com-mu-nau-té d'A-re-yon-ga   (D)
         je-ens-vi-de-ce-f ran-mais-je-vis-dans-la-té-nau-mu-com-ga-yon-re-da   (E)
         'I come from France but I live in the community of Areyonga.'

In an article on Alternative French, George (1993:158) notes that alternative languages are used to 'imply a degree of social restriction ... [and] represents a more or less deliberate intention to exclude non-members by maintaining and reinforcing internal group identity'. The Areyonga short-way language is similar to George's definition of argot 'in that it rejects standard vocabulary by creating alternative, parallel sets of words peculiar to specific groups.'

This idea is shared by Dixon (1980:68) who wrote that teenage Aboriginal languages are 'connected not with traditional social organisation, but functioning rather as a peer identification device'. The language talked about by Dixon is one developed by teenagers of the Western Torres Straits around 1960. The teenagers were inserting a *k* after each syllable and doubling the preceding vowel. 'Thus *yawo* 'good-bye' becomes, in this teenager secret language, *yakawoko*' (Dixon 1980:68).

As seen in this chapter, Areyonga teenagers use the short way language to allow them to speak freely about anything without worrying about other people. This 'secret language' shows how inventive the teenagers are at manipulating their language. This instance of word play seems to be another sign of the good health of the Pitjantjatjara language.

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[3]   (C) Standard language; (D) Syllable cutting; (E) Verlan language

9 *Alive and kicking*

There is strong evidence to suggest that many of the world's languages will disappear in the near future. As Dixon writes:

> It is estimated that of the 5,000 or so languages spoken in the world today at least three-quarters (some people say 90% or more) will have ceased to be spoken by the year 2100, as a consequence of the punctuations engendered in the first place by European colonisation. (Dixon 1997:117)

It is true that, although no-one can predict the future of the Pitjantjatjara language for the century to come, the common belief amongst Australianists that very few Aboriginal languages will be spoken beyond the first hundred years of the new millennium has to be taken into consideration (Schmidt 1990; McConvell 1991; Dixon 1997). McConvell voiced his concern in 1991, when writing about the doomed future of Aboriginal languages in Australia, he said:

> If nothing is done about it, almost all Aboriginal languages will be dead by the year 2000. Even the two most likely survivors, the Yolngu languages of north-east Arnhem Land and the Western Desert language may not last long beyond that date. Most of us who have worked for some time in the field of Aboriginal languages would agree with statements like this. (McConvell 1991:143)

Pitjantjatjara is a Western Desert language and its survival seems to be more assured than that of many other Aboriginal languages. As shown in this work, Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara circa 1990 is alive and kicking. Alive, because it shows none of the drastic changes linked to language death, pidginisation or creolisation. Kicking, because the language will be transmitted from the study group's generation to the next.

9.1 Some linguistic issues regarding language contact and language death

Researchers have so far been unable to establish universal principles explaining the process of language death or extinction (Schmidt 1985). However, it is commonly agreed that a language is at high risk of disappearing when: (i) a vast number of changes occur in a very short span of time, and (ii) some structures disappear from a language and are not replaced by alternative forms (see Dorian 1976, 1981; Mühlhäusler 1974; Dressler 1982, 1988). It also appears that in language-contact situations, cross-linguistic influences may affect the recipient language irreversibly, precipitating changes at all linguistic levels.

Language contact can also give rise to other phenomena. Pidginisation has often been regarded as a type of language death as it shows a reduction of linguistic forms and social functions of the language. As Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter (1977:87) put it, in pidginisation 'obligatory rules change to variable ones, the polystylism of a normal language moves to monostylism'. The meaning of the term 'pidginisation' is not agreed upon by all linguists. Mühlhäusler (1980:21), for instance, says that pidginisation should refer to 'the reduction in structure and language mixing which occurs when a language becomes a functionally-restricted second language'. It is in that context, synonymous with 'reduction' or 'simplification' in the pidgin and Creole literature (see Hymes 1971; Whinnom 1971; Samarin 1971).

Trudgill takes another route. Indeed, he sees language death as 'creolisation in reverse' and looks at the Arvanitika language situation as 'the loss by a language of its native speakers', whereas creolisation involves the 'acquisition of native speakers by a language' (Trudgill 1977:33 cf. Sankoff & Laberge 1979). Four features are observed in creoles: reduction, simplification, stability and unintelligibility. What Trudgill found is that while the language is unstable, it remains intelligible:

> unstable in that it is in a state of considerable flux, with no real norms for usage. Influence from Greek is considerable, and the language of younger speakers is rather radically different from that of older speakers. It remains, however, to a certain extent mutually intelligible with Albanian. (Trudgill 1977:35)

According to Trudgill, if there were simplifications, most of them were what he calls 'simplification-with-cost'; that is, when simplification occurs somewhere in the language, compensation appears somewhere else (Trudgill 1977:44). Schmidt (1985:215) dismissed Trudgill's conclusions as 'oversimplistic' and Lee (1987:346) questions the validity of considering Arvanitika as a dying language, maintaining that the changes highlighted by Trudgill could be considered as 'normal language changes throughout a long period of stable bilingualism'.

It has been suggested by many scholars that the process of language death should be explained by sociocultural factors rather than purely linguistic considerations (Alleyne 1971; Irvine 1978; Schmidt 1985; McConvell 1991). Alleyne (1971:182) writes that 'socio-cultural factors everywhere determined the degree of interference, from one territory to another and also within a single territory'. In trying to define a better theory to understand language shift, McConvell (1991) looks at language choice in bilingual situations and at the functions covered by the two languages present. He believes that:

> language shift can be seen as resulting from the loss of the functions of bilingualism, that is, the loss of functional choices between languages, and in the case of the social function, their likely replacement by choices of style within one language. (McConvell 1991:151)

He continues by describing language maintenance as:

> the retention of these choices, or their replacement by other choices between the languages which still serve the major functions in different ways.

If indeed language shift occurs mainly because a dominant language takes over the functions once covered by the minority language, it seems necessary to look at some issues in code-switching, which has been regarded by some researchers as responsible for code-shifting (Harris 1977), dismissing its social meaning (Blom & Gumperz 1972; McConvell 1988; Heller 1988, 1995). The literature on code-switching is abundant and it is also necessary to delimit code-switching both from code-mixing and from borrowing.

9.1.1 *Code-switching versus code-mixing*

In their paper on language mixing and universal grammar, Bhatia and Ritchie (1996:630) demonstrate that 'the interaction between CS (code-switching) and CM (code-mixing) often becomes so complex and fused that it is quite difficult to draw a clear line between them ...'. They provide a lengthy definition:

a. CM refers to the mixing of various linguistic units (morphemes, words, modifiers, phrases, clauses, and sentences) primarily from two participating grammatical systems within a sentence. In other words, CM is intrasentential and is constrained by grammatical principles and may be motivated by sociopsychological motivations.

b. CS refers to the mixing of various linguistic units (words, phrases, clauses, and sentences) primarily from two participating grammatical systems across sentence boundaries within a speech event. In other words, CS is intersentential and may be subject to some discourse principles. It is motivated by social and psychological motivations. (Bhatia and Ritchie 1996:629)

This definition concurs with the differentiation established by Fasold, who distinguishes mixing from shifting as follows:

One criterion that is sometimes offered to distinguish switching from mixing is that grammar of the clause determines the language. By the criterion, if a person uses a word or a phrase from another language, he has mixed, not switched. But if one clause has the grammatical structure of one language and the next is constructed according to the grammar of another, a switch has occurred. (Fasold 1984:182)

9.1.2 *Code-switching versus borrowing*

The distinction between mixing and borrowing is also unclear. Mixing is used by some to refer to mixing and borrowing (Romaine 1989; Pfaff 1979) and includes transfer, switching, and any other related phenomena (McLaughlin 1984:96–97). Crystal (1980:36) defines borrowing as 'linguistic forms being taken over by one language or dialect from another'.

One of the clearest distinctions may be established by the fact that borrowed words are usually integrated (or partially integrated) to the phonological, morphological and syntactic system of the borrowing language, whereas code-switching segments are not. From this point of view, it can be said that borrowing is a diachronic phenomenon (except for nonce borrowing, cf. Poplack, Wheeler and Westwood 1989) while code-switching is synchronic. As Berk-Seligson (1986) notes, borrowing can happen in monolingual speech communities, while code-switching requires proficiency in two languages. However, in considering the linguistic situation of the Areyonga community it is necessary to distinguish precisely where borrowing stops and where code-switching starts.

9.2 Code-switching in Areyonga

Because of the great amount of English borrowing in Areyonga teenagers' speech, it is necessary to establish what can be considered borrowing and what code-switching. For instance, all verbs which show morphological and syntactic integration into the Pitjantjatjara system can be regarded as borrowing. Similarly, adjectives are considered as borrowing in this study, as previously shown, if they show syntactic integration into Pitjantjatjara by suffixing of the affix *-wana* PREDicative in verbless ascriptive clauses. Nouns are more difficult to assess because, as stated many times, teenagers tend not to fully integrate nominal borrowings to the Pitjantjatjara phonological system. However, code-mixing is considered to

be a word or a phrase from English with the grammar of the clause remaining Pitjantjatjara. Code-switching in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara was analysed according to Fasold's (1984:182) definition, i.e. that code-switching occurs when 'one clause has the grammatical structure of one language and the next is constructed according to the grammar of another'.

Code-switching is in contradiction to the concept of the 'ideal bilingual' suggested by Weinreich, according to whom:

> The ideal bilingual switches from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topic, etc.) but not in an unchanged speech situation, and certainly not within a sentence. (Weinreich 1953:73)

This definition is, of course, in complete opposition to code-switching, in which people do switch from one language to another within the same sentence. Mackey, who refers to code-switching as 'alternation', notes that:

> Rate and proportion of alternation may vary greatly in the same individual according to the topic about which he is speaking, the person he is speaking to, and the tension of the situation in which he speaks. (Mackey 1972:569)

Many hypotheses have been put forward to explain the phenomenon. Poplack (1980) shows that code-switching occurs without change of settings or addressees but within a same utterance. For Poplack, code-switching can be either *inter*sentential or *intra*sentential. Poplack also notes what she calls 'tag-switching', which are quotation-like expressions, easily changeable because of minimal syntactic restriction. In further work, Poplack and Sankoff add that code-switching can happen only when the switch from one language to another does not violate the syntactic structure of either language ('the equivalence constraint') and that a lexical form has to be phonologically integrated into the language of a bound morpheme for a switch to happen between the morpheme and lexicon (i.e. free morpheme constraint).

Clyne (1967), Crama and Van Gelderen (1984) and Saunders (1982) found that code-switching is 'triggered' by *faux amis* 'false friends', that is items that seem to belong to both languages (cf. also the concept of interlingual identification in Weinreich 1953, and of homophonous diamorphs in Clyne 1967). Finally, Blom and Gumperz (1972) believe that there are only two kinds of code-switching:

— transactional (sometimes also referred to as situational) switching when switching is triggered by change of topics or participants.

— metaphorical (sometimes also referred to as non-situational) where switching is used for communicative effect.

In Areyonga, such code-switching as actually occurs is essentially metaphorical. The only case of transactional switching found was always when addressing a non-Pitjantjatjara speaker. However, Europeans known to have some knowledge of the Pitjantjatjara language would be addressed in Pitjantjatjara, as exemplified below.

(9.1)   *Ai. Kuli-nu   palu<u>r</u>u   ngayu-nya. Nyuntu   kuli-ni   Pitjantjatjara*
eh! listen-PAST DEF.ERG 1SG-ACC   2SG.ERG   listen-PRES Pitjantjatjara

panya   Annie   panya.
that.know Annie   that.know
'She listened to me [i.e. my conversation]. You understand Pitjantjatjara don't you Annie, don't you?'

It is clear in this example that the reason the teenager talks to me in Pitjantjatjara is to test my ability to understand the language. However, in many occurrences, questions asked of

the teenagers in Pitjantjatjara were answered in English, as in (9.2). If a teenager did answer in Pitjantjatjara, the Pitjantjatjara occurrence was often followed by an English expression, as in (9.3).

(9.2)   AL: *Yaaltji   nyuntu   nyina-nyi?*
              where   2SG.NOM   stay-PRES
              'Where do you live?'

        Teenager: <u>Blue house. Nyinta's house.</u>

(9.3)   AL: *Yaaltji   nyuntu   nyina-nyi?*
              where   2SG.NOM   stay-PRES
              'Where do you live?'

        Teenager A: *Ngayulu   kutju.*
                      1SG.NOM   one
                      'I am alone [i.e. I live by myself].'

        Teenager B: <u>That's all. That's all.</u>

In the early stage of the study, the teenagers seemed to be very uneasy about speaking Pitjantjatjara while older people were more obliging. It seemed that using Pitjantjatjara or refusing to speak in the language was a way to exclude me from their conversational group. As I became more and more proficient in the Pitjantjatjara language, the teenagers switched to the short-way language, which allowed them to interact and retain some privacy and secrecy. However, code-switching between English and Pitjantjatjara was the most current, and was highly motivated by the interlocutor or used as a figure of rhetoric.

9.2.1   *According to the interlocutor: specifying an addressee*

In the following example, the teenagers are discussing the possibility of sleeping over at someone's place, but it is not quite clear at the beginning of the conversation that this someone's place is mine. To carry the message across, they switch to English.

(9.4)   Teenager A :   *Ngari-ku-na   ila.   Mai wiruny(a)   kunyu*
                       sleep-FUT-1SG.NOM   near   food nice   QUOTE

                       ngalku-ntja-ku.
                       eat-NOML-PURP
                       'I will/can/would like to sleep here. I have been told [i.e. by other teenagers], [she has] very nice food to eat.

        Teenagers :   *Tjinguru-nti.*
                      may be-DOUBT
                      'May be [but it is] doubtful.'

        Teenager A :   <u>Annie.   She wants to sleep.</u>

        AL: Wiya.
              NEG
              'No.'

Teenager B: *Ala   wiya ... Nyuntu   kutju   *nyanga   ngara-nyi.*
             right.here   NEG   2SG.NOM   one.NOM this.LOC   sleep-PRES
             '(To the other teenager, upset because she had pointed out that the
             speaker was the one who wanted to sleep here.) Right here, no!
             [You liar!], you are the one [who wanted] to sleep here.'

The following conversation took part during a bush-tucker trip, around a pit. My car had
been used to gather honey-ants about one hundred kilometres away from the community. It
was a very hot Saturday in February and the weather was oppressive. It was made clear that
I would not go for a second trip on the Sunday. While I was conversing with the girls, one,
out of the blue, switched to English (9.5). The switch appeared to be metaphorical and not
transactional. It was made to draw my attention to the fact that everyone (about five cars)
would be back the day after, except them as I planned to stay home the following day.

(9.5)   Teenager A: *Nyuntu   nyanga-tja   mantji-la!*
                      2SG.ERG   this-EVIDENT get-IMP
                      'You, get this [honey-ant]!'

         Teenager B: *Yaaltji-kutu   a-nu?*
                      where-ALL   go-PAST
                      Where did [the honey-ant] go?

         Teenager A: (to the group including me) We are coming tomorrow.

         Teenager C: (to me) Everyone going tomorrow.

Another metaphorical code-switch was observed with teenagers. When ending a story
most of the teenagers will just say *wiyaringu* 'finished' and keep on going in Pitjantjatjara. It
soon became a real attraction for the teenagers to listen to their recording. In that case, they
would ask in English, more to draw my attention than because of a change of domains.

(9.6)   *Ka   Mima-lu   lakalaka-nu* ... Annie can we listen. Listen.
         CONTR Mima-ERG.NAME   knock-PAST
         'And Mima knocked [at the door]. Annie can we listen. Listen.'

To conclude, it could be said that many English expressions appear in the Pitjantjatjara
language, which makes it very difficult to distinguish which are borrowings and which are
instances of code-switching, despite the distinction established earlier. For example, in (9.7)
the difficulty is that the noun 'fish' has a Pitjantjatjara equivalent, *antipina*. However it is
more likely that the whole expression is a borrowing, as it appears repeatedly in teenage
speech.

(9.7)   *Nyura   unytju-ri-nyi   fish and chips   ngalku-ntja-ku.*
         2PL.NOM   want-INCHO-PRES fish.and.chips   eat-NOML-PURP
         'Do you mob want to eat fish and chips.'

Sentence (9.8) shows the same kind of difficulty. Here again the 'English' expression was
considered as a borrowing, essentially based on Poplack's equivalence rule (Poplack 1980).
According to Poplack, no switch is possible if it breaks syntactic rules from either language.
In the following case, the switch occurs within the location clause, where the final element of
the clause is inflected with the appropriate LOCative marker. Moreover, the word order of
the clause might be standard for English (DET+ ADJ+ NOUN) but is not in Pitjantjatjara

(NOUN+ DEF+ ADJ). It is clear, in this example, that the word order follows the English model. For this reason, 'Secondary Correspondence' is considered as a borrowing and not as a code-switch.

(9.8)   *Munu-la   kalpatju-ṟa   kati-ngu   ma-pitja-la*
        ADD-1PL.ERG make.a.climb-SERIAL take-PAST   AWAY-come-SERIAL

        ngaṟakati-ngu   Secondary Correspondence   kuula-ngka.
        come.to.an.halt-PAST Secondary Correspondence   school-LOC
        'After climbed [i.e. get in the bus], we took off and stopped at the Secondary Correspondence school.'

9.2.2 To ensure the interlocutor can understand

When telling this story to a European person, the teenagers often switch to English to emphasise a part of their story, sometimes repeating in English what they have just said in Pitjantjatjara. During my monthly trip to Alice Springs, I often took with me some passengers eager to go to the city for the weekend. These trips were rich in linguistic features, especially concerning code-switching, but unfortunately the timing and quality of tape-recordings in these circumstances were not reliable. The women would tell stories of the Dreaming of the country we were driving through. Most of the time, at some crucial point of the story, they would repeat in English that part of the story to emphasise the importance of the phrase, and also to make sure that the conversation was being followed and understood.[1]

(9.9)   Teenager A: (telling the story about a fight that occurs earlier that day)

        (Names of girls)   *Tjana   pika-ringa-ngi.*
                           3PL.NOM fight-INCHO-PAST.IMPF
                           'They fought.'

        Teenager B: They are fighting. *Pula   puli   atu-ṉu.*
                                          3DU.ERG stone hit.with.a.stone-PAST
                                          'They are fighting. The two of them hit [each other] with stones.'

9.2.3 Rhetorical language: direct speech

As previously stated, television and video are part of a youth's life. As a result, quotations from movies are frequently heard in the playground. Recalling the movie *Terminator*, one teenage boy said:

(9.10) *Ka   paluṟu   wangka-ngu:* 'I'll be back'.
        CONTR DEF.NOM   say-PAST   I'll be back
        'And he said: "I'll be back".'

---

[1]   The repetition of a sentence in English for emphatic purposes is discussed in Hatch (1976).

9.2.4 *Rhetorical language: emphatic functions*

9.2.4.1 *Swearing*

One of the main uses of English was in fighting, where abuse is usually expressed in English swearing expressions (often very graphic). It seemed that in the playground English expressions are more often used than Pitjantjatjara expressions. This might be due to the school environment where English is the predominant language. However, in story-telling abuse was always in Pitjantjatjara.[2] Dixon (1980:82) reports a similar situation in Yolngu, where English was used in an abusive situation, essentially because 'to insult someone in English is more forgivable than an insult in Yolngu'. Dixon also mentions that the use of English sensitive expressions is used by teenagers who want to revolt against some traditional aspects of Aboriginal culture.

9.2.4.2 *To trigger a laugh*

The use of English was often observed as a way to trigger laughter, but the English vocabulary used was merely sensitive or dirty language. McConvell (1988) shows in his work on Gurindji that switching, according to which language the switch occurs, has a different effect. Siegel (1995) also shows that switching is used to get a laugh in Fijian. As he reports, 'one sure way to get a laugh when speaking Fijian is to switch into Hindi, the language of the Indian population of Fiji' (Siegel 1995:95). He concludes later that:

> Sociolinguistic and anthropological studies of code-switching in other societies show that it may lead to humour in three closely connected ways. First, it may be a signal that joking is taking place; second, the switch itself may be the object of humour; and third, the variety of language to which one switches may be considered funny. (Siegel 1995:100)

9.2.4.3 *Teasing*

As a teacher was going around with some food for a second helping, one of the girls started to say loudly enough for everyone in the group to hear, but not loudly enough for the teacher with the tray of food, to hear and respond:

(9.11)   Teenager A: *A-ra.   Pitja.*
go-IMP   go.IMP
'Go. Go [and ask for more].'

Teenager B: <u>Excuse me. Can you bring it here. I am hungry. I am tired</u>.
Ngalku-ni-na   kanyi-la.
eat-PRES-1SG.ERG have-IMP
'Excuse me. Can you bring it here. I am hungry. I am tired. I am eating. Have [some].'

Teenager A: *Wiya   kanyi-la.*
NEG   have-IMP
'No, don't have [any].'

---

[2]   Swearing is a touchy subject within the Aboriginal community and the informants refused to help translating texts with delicate language. To respect their wish, this section does not show any examples.

9.2.4.4 Interjection (tag-switching)

Some English expressions have been found in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara. It seems that here too, the main goal of the switch is to emphasise an action.

(9.12)   Teenager A: *Wiya   ngayulu   wiya ngalku-kitja   unytju-ri-ngi.*
                                   NEG   1SG.NOM NEG eat-INTENT   like-INCHO-PAST.IMPF
                                   'No, I don't want to eat.'

          Teenager B: *Wangka   Tinkiri.*
                                   Talk.IMP Tinkiri
                                   'Talk [i.e. ask her], Tinkiri!'

          Teenager C: All right!

          Teenager A: *Wiya-ngka   Tinkiri   wiya.*
                                   NEG-LOC   Tinkiri   NEG
                                   'Don't [ask her] Tinkiri, don't.'

The following conversation was recorded during a game of Monopoly. A fair number of borrowings appear but two utterances show code-switching.

(9.13)   Teenager A: *Five hundred   uwa   tjintji-mila-ntja-ku.*
                                   five.hundred   yes   change-LOAN-NOML-PURP
                                   'Five hundred [note], yes, to change.'

          Teenager B: (as the girl is not giving all change back) Change!

          Teenager A: You're rich!

          Teenager C: *Renta-na   pai-mila-ni   titutjara-ngku.*
                                   rent-1SG.ERG pay-LOAN-PRES always-ERG
                                   'I [am] always [the one who have to] pay the rent.'

In her article about German minority children in the Danish border region, Pedersen (1986:111) suggested that code-switching should be regarded as 'manifestations of linguistic creativity with bilingual children'. She concludes (1986:119) that 'code-switching, interference and similarity transfer are said to reduce the communicative competence of bilingual children, but we look upon them as manifestations of linguistic creativity with these children, because they live in a minority where most members understand both codes and the codes serve as media of communication'. Eckert (1988) who worked with teenagers, has documented their speech and their particularity. She believes that teenagers manipulate their language to belong to a certain peer group. It is possible to imagine that teenagers in Areyonga are using English to stand out from other groups within the community, and that this use is actually more a manifestation of their 'linguistic creativity' than a sign of the beginning of the hegemony of English.

From my experience in Areyonga, it is impossible to say if code-switching occurs within the familial cell outside the hearing of the observer. So far, and from the data, code-switching seems to be limited to specific areas of language, for specific purposes.

9.3 English cross-linguistic influences on the changes in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara

9.3.1 Phonological and lexical changes

As phonological changes in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara are essentially due to contact with English, lexical borrowing and phonological changes are treated here together.

The number of English borrowings found in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara and their phonological and morphological adaptation (or lack of adaptation) into Pitjantjatjara show many signs of English cross-linguistic influence (Chapter 2). Extensive borrowing has resulted in a change of the phonological system in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, with the appearance of fricatives and of 'subphonemic' voicing of initial stops. New clusters have emerged, following the English phonotactic model, and some English loans are found without final vowels (deviating from the traditional Pitjantjatjara pattern). A change in the pronunciation of established loan words was also observed. As Bloomfield (1933:44) said, 'where phonetic substitution has occurred, increased familiarity with a foreign language may lead to a newer more correct version of the foreign form'. It is possible that some teenagers are conscious that the loanword is of English origin when others are not and therefore pronounce it as a Pitjantjatjara word. It is also possible that the teenagers literally re-borrow the word from English directly. As teenagers' competence in English is greater than that of previous generations, due to a more sedentary lifestyle in the last decade, they may borrow English words without realising that their phonologically integrated Pitjantjatjara equivalents already exist. Will the phonological and morphological innovations survive once their school days are over, and they have little contact with the English language on a daily basis? Many of these loanwords filled lexical gaps in the recipient language: very few English words actually replaced existing Pitjantjatjara vocabulary (cf. false gratuitous borrowings, Chapter 6). The study of the lexicon of Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara also identified a number of nonce-borrowings. These are words that appeared at one time in teenage speech because of a special experience or trip (ski trip, Darwin) but probably will never be used again and surely not on a daily basis (Appendix 3).

Phonological borrowing has been observed in many studies of creolisation (Hymes 1971; Sandefur 1979; Shnukal 1988) and language contact, and in the language-death literature. Lee (1989) and Schmidt (1985) report the appearance of fricatives in Tiwi and Dyirbal respectively. In Bahasa Malaysia, Heah Lee Hsia (1989:135) has also noted the increased use of the fricatives in Bahasa Malaysia through extensive English borrowing and the introduction of the phoneme /v/ into the language. As she pointed out, 'the presence of a large number of English loan words in Bahasa Malaysia has increased their potential for becoming genuine albeit adopted, phonemes in modern, spoken Malay'. This extensive borrowing has implied new syllable structures and new phonological environments for phonemes.

Is this extensive borrowing a harbinger of language death? Some researchers have shown that extensive borrowing was responsible for the death of languages such as in Tlaxclan Nahuatl (Hill & Hill 1977), Ormuri and Paraci (Kieffer 1977), Arvanitika (Trudgill 1977). However, Mixco (1977) and Aoki (1971) found few loan words in Kiliwa and Nez Perce, respectively. Reviewing the changes in the speech of semi-speakers of Sutherland Gaelic, Dorian (1976, 1981:124–129, 147–148) notes: (i) some loss of gender distinctions, (ii) some loss of case marking accompanied by new ways to express some semantic notions i.e. through prepositional phrases, (iii) reduction of tense system, (iv) loss of one type of passive, (v) reduction of the lexicon. Some Sutherland Gaelic may still be used even by people who

cannot speak the language. However, she notes that the dying language shows minor cross-linguistic influences from English. Even if many loan words are borrowed, they are usually assimilated to the Sutherland Gaelic phonological and morphological system and this, even in casual speech, would tend to prove that extensive borrowing and language death are not intrinsically linked. English is the perfect example of a healthy language that is the result of 'cultures in contact during the past 1,500 years' (Baugh & Cable 1993:1). As they put it 'the vocabulary of Old English is almost purely Germanic' (1993:53). Then, the Norman Conquest:

> brought French into England as the language of the higher classes, much of the Old English vocabulary appropriate to literature and learning died out and was replaced later by words borrowed from French and Latin [which] make up more than half of the words now in common use. (Baugh & Cable 1993:53)

The extensive borrowing in English has not resulted in the death of the language — as no-one would doubt the healthy state of the English language. Similarly, the Japanese language has had a very long language contact with Chinese, where not only words have been extensively borrowed but the Chinese writing system has been adopted wholesale:

> Regarding vocabulary, Sino-Japanese contact has led to as much as 48 per cent of modern Japanese being derived from Chinese. This proportion surprisingly exceeds that of native Japanese words, which stands at only 37 per cent. (Loveday 1996:41)

In Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, it has been shown that the cross-linguistic influences are relatively restricted, in contradistinction to most Aboriginal languages in contact with English in Australia. The main reason for borrowing is to fill a lexical gap (Chapters 6 and 7). Even if some gratuitous borrowings are found (Chapter 6), they are, it seems, much less numerous than other loans (see gratuitous vs false gratuitous borrowings). Borrowings were found to be replacing a Pitjantjatjara word without eliminating semantic distinctions, e.g. the use of the English loan *kasin* in Areyonga Teenage kinship terminology. Loans may even add a new distinction, as is the case with the English loans *angkala* and *aanti* which enable a distinction to be drawn between one's father and mother, on the one hand, and one's father's brother and mother's sister, on the other. Similarly, the use of *bratha* or *sista* indicates the sex of one's younger sibling, a distinction non-existent in Traditional Pitjantjatjara.

To really know if the English borrowings are threatening Pitjantjatjara, it would be necessary to quantify the number of borrowings and their use. As previously shown, when a teenager tells a traditional story, she/he is less prone to use English words than when she/he recalls an American movie. If the use of English loanwords is motivated by the topics of conversation, it can be wondered how many of the borrowings will remain in the teenager's speech once she/he has left the school and has little interaction with English. How many of the recorded loans such as *Maths, English, ruler*, etc. would she/he use on a daily basis?

9.3.2 *Morphological and syntactic changes*

The cross-linguistic influence of English has also been noted in morphology and syntax. Some instances are directly linked to phonological changes. This is the case with the variations that have occurred in the verb class of *-mila* LOAN and *-ri* INCHO suffixed loan verbs. Traditionally based on morae parity, the tendency to pronounce English loan words according to the English phonological system has changed the number of morae of certain verbal stems and, consequentially, their verbal class (Chapters 2 and 3). The English expression *I kan/I kant* has been found sharing the same meaning or function as

Pitjantjatjara *puṯu* IN.VAIN. The English words 'someone', 'finish', 'self' and 'side' have been noted, and some are used instead of the corresponding traditional words, e.g. *pinitji* instead of *maḻangka*, *someone* instead of *kutjupa*. Clarity may be gained by these new borrowings as exemplified by the polysemic term *kutjupa*. While it has lost its function as a nominal head with the meaning 'someone', it remains used as a modifier, with a meaning close to the English 'other', and in the phrasal expression *kutjupa tjuṯa*, 'some of them'.

Finally, the exploratory study of Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara word order has indicated a preference for a word order such as Subject–Verb–Object — closer to English — rather than the more traditional Subject–Object–Verb. As mentioned in Chapter 4, if word order in Traditional Pitjantjatjara is of little significance, a word-order change need not be of any great significance. However, the absence of marking on the final object word may indicate that a more profound syntactic change is to come.

9.4   English cross-linguistic influences or 'normal' changes?

As Dorian (1981) pertinently comments, the changes she recorded in Gaelic could also occur with 'healthy' language. Consequently, it is difficult to assess which changes are due to English cross-linguistic influences and which ones are 'natural' (Dorian 1981). In Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, the personal construction for inalienable possession has gone from *ngayulu tjuni pika* using a subject pronoun to *ngayu-ku tjuni pika* showing a possessive pronoun for 'My belly/stomach is hurting'. Should an English cross-linguistic influence be seen in that change, as English does use a possessive pronoun to indicate inalienable possession, or should we just assume that it is a 'natural' change, a regularisation of the possessive construction?

Similarly, verb-class variations, albeit triggered by English cross-linguistic influence, may be motivated by the need to regulate verbs which have undergone phonological change. The loss of the nominalisation process for NEGative clauses could be perceived as a sign of language loss, since the synthetic construction, i.e. nominalisation + NEG, is replaced by an analytic construction in which negation occurs without nominalisation. It was suggested that this change could have been influenced by English (Chapter 5). However, it was also shown that this kind of replacement is also found in 'normal' language change (Dressler 1988:187) and it is therefore impossible to see it as an indication of language loss.

Other changes have not been initiated by English cross-linguistic influence. Such changes include the reanalysis of the AUGmentative morpheme -*pa* as part of the nominal root with the reduction of case allomorphy (Chapter 3) and the elision of glide-initial syllables (Chapter 2). Reduction in structure was one of the four features (along with simplification, stability and unintelligibility) determined by Mühlhäusler (1974) that could indicate language loss or death.

Does the reduction of the case system in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara represent a loss or a simplification of a system, especially knowing that some of the allomorphy was hardly ever used? It seems unlikely that this reduction is a sign of language loss. It has to be considered as a simplification, linked to the reanalysis of the AUGmentative morpheme -*pa* as part of the nominal root. The loss of the nominalisation process with the INTENTive clause has also been considered as a similar simplification to that which has been observed in other related dialects, as well as from a syntactic point of view, in which the switch-reference constraint is not affected. Finally, the weakening of the glides has also been included as a simplification, as it facilitates the pronunciation of four-morae words (see Chapter 2).

Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara shows some innovations from Traditional Pitjantjatjara. It has introduced a distinction between English loan adjectives according to their grammatical function: in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, the affix *-wana* has been found only on English borrowed adjectives in predicative function, while in Traditional Pitjantjatjara the affix was found on adjectival borrowings in any function. Finally, the coordination system in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara differs from its traditional counterpart, in that it is not only based on the traditional switch-reference rule, but also governed by the idea of motion versus non-motion (or continuity/discontinuity). The traditional distinction is respected from which a more complex system has been developed.

9.4.1 Concluding remarks

In the 3rd edition of *History of the English language*, Cable (1954:5) wrote:

> A language lives only so long as there are people who speak it and use it as their native tongue, and its greatness is only given to it by these people.

People's attitude towards their language should indeed be taken into consideration when looking at the chances of survival of any language. As reported in Chapter 1, it is difficult to assess the Areyonga people's attitudes towards their language without a detailed sociolinguistic survey. However, from my experience, I believe that the Pitjantjatjara people of Areyonga are proud users of the language and regard it highly. This assumption is based on various observations:

- children attend school on regular basis, where they follow a bilingual education
- the community fully supports the school and the bilingual program
- Aboriginal people (specifically, RATE students) are educating themselves in order to teach at the community school
- teenagers favour Pitjantjatjara in their daily exchanges. Code-switching with English has been shown to be limited to specific areas of the language for specific purposes.
- English usage is restricted to certain domains linked to European activities. No shift was heard occurring.

Finally, it was my impression from talking to many people during my 15 months stay that people were proud of their language and wanted to make sure that future generations would be taught the language (see Chapter 1 for quotes).

In view of the changes observed in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara and analysed in this work, and of the Areyonga people's attitude towards their language, it is possible to say that Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, circa 1990, is in a healthy state. The growing influence of English could be seen as a sign of the extreme flexibility of the language to accept new concepts and words, and may contribute to its survival. As Heah Lee Hsia wrote, in relation to Malay:

> The ease with which English loanwords are integrated at the phonological, grammatical and lexico-semantic levels, reflects not only the flexibility of the Malay language but — more to the point — the willingness of Malay-speakers to tolerate loan elements in their language. (Heah Lee Hsia 1989:311)

It is, however, impossible not to predict a bleak future for Pitjantjatjara, Aboriginal languages (Schmidt 1990), or minority languages in general (Dixon 1997). As Baugh and Cable say:

> Any language among the 4,000 languages of the world could have attained the position of importance that the half-dozen or so most widely spoken languages have attained if the external conditions had been right. English, French, German, and Spanish are important languages because the history and influence of their populations in modern times. (Baugh & Cable 1993:3)

The small size of the Pitjantjatjara population, and its lack of political and economic power, minimise its chances of survival, especially in a country where, historically speaking, assimilation has been synonymous with monolingualism. However, language maintenance is also closely linked to people's attitude to their language. In Areyonga, the need to speak a language other than Pitjantjatjara is highly restricted to European areas, as described in Chapter 1. For this reason, the language may remain strong and being used. For now, Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara is alive and kicking.

Appendix 1: Texts

The following texts were recorded between September 1994 and December 1995 in Areyonga. The intention was to achieve an eclectic collection of material, from traditional Pitjantjatjara stories as told by teenagers to accounts of everyday events. Some considerations have been taken in order to allow a better 'flow'. Generally speaking, the translations are much freer than in the rest of the work. The high frequency items (*kunyu* QUOTE, *ka* CONTR and *paluṟu* DEFinite) are not systematically translated. The distinction between *kungka* 'young girl/woman' and *minyma* 'mature woman' has often been translated as 'girl' for the first occurrence and 'woman' for the second. Finally, inferred material is introduced by square brackets.

In order to protect the privacy of the participants, all names found in this work have been changed.

The stories have been classified into five sections to try to delimit 'genres'.

Traditional *mamu* 'monster' stories

Texts: 1–3

One of the traditional functions of *mamu* stories is to teach children about the danger existing outside the community. The elders hope their children will be cautious while wandering around and will not leave the community after dark. As they grow older, the belief that a *mamu* is living around the community remains very strong. For example, the women will always insist on being walked back by a European person if visiting late at night as *mamu* does not attack whitefellows. The three texts are short *mamu* stories showing most of the traditional features of the genre: a monster living in a cave takes a helpless baby from a crying mother, before eating him/her.

Teenage variations

Text 4: The story of the old man

Text 5: The crow

These two stories are perhaps the most interesting as they show traditional features transposed into modern community situations. Text 4 could be seen as an adventure story. It is full of action, thrills and baddies (e.g. monsters). It takes place around the community camp. A woman goes out bush and stays at a waterhole. There she hears the voice of a child. Intrigued, she follows the sound, ignorant of the fact that two ogres have imitated the voice to lure her towards their place. When she escapes from the two ogres and finds her

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way back to the camp, no-one but an old man believes her. He follows the tracks of the two ogres and finds them, only to be chased by them. To escape the two ogres, he jumps into the waterhole, and is nearly eaten by a watersnake. The old man, who is a witch doctor, traditional healer, tricks the ogres by telling them to go in different directions. He then urges the woman to take refuge at a white man's place where she will be safe. She ends up by marrying the latter. This story has many stock features of a traditional *mamu* tale: the monster, the old man/healer, the water snake. However, its ending looks like a European fairy tale, when the endangered damsel marries her saviour.

Text 5 illustrates even more clearly the transposition of traditional tales into modern life. The protagonists — a crow, a zebra finch and a wedge-tailed eagle — are *Dreaming* characters. They live in an Aboriginal community but have to deal with very earthly duties, such as finding a job, working at the office or being betrayed by a lover. In an article on development of new literary forms in Pitjantjatjara, McConvell (1989:5) has noted the emergence of 'a new genre of Pitjantjatjara literature which does not have exact parallels either in the Pitjantjatjara oral tradition or the European literary tradition'. He was especially taken by a story published in the Areyonga community newspaper and written by Peggy Gallagher, where '"dreaming" figures from a traditional genre [were] transposed into modern dress in modern community situations' (McConvell 1989:1). He concluded that the story 'seemed both a parody on a traditional genre and most probably a satire on current events at Areyonga' (1989:1). Nearly ten years after McConvell's article, the 'genre' he described then is flourishing, as Text 4 and Text 5 illustrate. It has become a genre of storytelling in its own right in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara.

Travelling stories

Text 6: The ski trip

Text 7: The trip to Thredbo

Text 8: The trip to Darwin

Text 9: The Secondary Education class's trip to Darwin

In July 1995, the senior class went on a school trip to Sydney and Canberra. The last week of their excursion was spent in Thredbo, in the Snowy Mountains, where they enjoyed snow for the first time and learned how to ski. The first two stories are an account of the Thredbo trip. The group stayed at a camp with other schools and each night they would all get together to watch a movie, dance or just play games. However, even though they were having a good time, some of the teenagers were homesick or frightened by their surroundings. Away from home and from their usual environment, *mamu* stories were prolific as exemplified in Text 7, where an intruder is reported to have been seen in the teenagers' room.

In Text 8 and Text 9, two teenagers recall their trip to Darwin: the first one was with her family, the second with her friends from the secondary education class. What is interesting in all these stories is the way the teenagers have integrated new experiences and concepts into their Pitjantjatjara language.

Around the community

Text 10: Hide your drinks and run

Text 11: After school

Text 12: The fight

Text 13: Presentation

This section seems less innovative than the previous one. The routine of Areyonga life appears in these stories and most aspects of teenagers' daily life are covered: school, fights, swimming at the waterhole, concert and church. These texts are an insight on the life of Areyonga teenage girls and one can note how their preoccupations are not very different from those of European teenagers, or of teenagers in general.

The 'short-way language'

Text 14

Text 14 is a collection of scattered material collected during my stay. Due to the extreme difficulty of tape-recording any short-way language utterances, the data presented in this text are mainly based on participant-observation.

TEXT 1: MAMU STORY 1

The following story is a traditional mamu story told by the elder around the fire. Here is the way it is told by the teenagers.

1.   *Mamu   kutju   kunyu   nyina-pai   kulpi-ngka.*
     monster   one.NOM   QUOTE   live-CHAR   cave-LOC
     'They say [that] one monster used to live in a cave.'

2.   *Palu-mpa   yunpa   una   munu   palu-mpa   pina   iri   palu-mpa*
     DEF-GEN   face   rotten.NOM   ADD   DEF-GEN   ear   pointy.NOM   DEF-GEN

     katiti   iri   palu-mpa   kuru   riida   munu   palu-mpa   inyu
     tooth   pointy.NOM   DEF-GEN   eye   red.NOM   ADD   DEF-GEN   fur

     pulkanya   nulla.
     big.NOM   and.all
     'His face was rotten and his ear[s] were pointy, his teeth were pointy, his eye[s] were red and he was very hairy all over.'

3.   *Ka   kunyu   minyma   kutju-ngku   kunyu   nya-ngu   mamu*
     CONTR   QUOTE   mature.woman   one-ERG   QUOTE   see-PAST   monster

     palu-nya.
     DEF-ACC
     'And, they say [that] one woman saw that monster.'

4.   *Munu   kuṯju   minyma   paluṟu   iṯi   palu-mpa   ngulu-ngku   tju-nu*
      ADD   one   mature.woman DEF.ERG baby DEF-GEN   cautious-ERG put-PAST

      ngura-ngka.
      home-LOC
      'That woman cautiously put her baby in [her] house.'

5.   *Ka   kunyu   mamu   paluṟu   kunyu   ngalku-pai   iṯi   palu-nya.*
      CONTR QUOTE   monster DEF.ERG QUOTE   eat-CHAR   baby DEF-ACC
      'The monster [wanted to] eat that baby.'

6.   *Ka   minyma   panya   kunyu   pail-pai   kunyu*
      CONTR mature.woman that.known.ERG QUOTE hunt.away-CHAR QUOTE

      mamu   palu-nya.
      monster DEF-ACC
      'The woman hunted away the monster.'

7.   *Ka   kunyu   iṯi   paluṟu   kunyu   ngulu   ula-pai.*
      CONTR QUOTE   baby DEF.NOM QUOTE   afraid.NOM cry-CHAR
      'The baby [got] afraid [and] cried.'

TEXT 2: MAMU STORY 2

The following story telling was semi-directed. I was showing the teenage girl pictures from a Pitjantjatjara story book made as part as the bilingual program. She narrated the story as transcribed below.

1.   *Tjitji   tjuṯa   ana-ngi.*
      child   PL.NOM   go-PAST.IMPF
      'The children went.'

2.   *Ka   mamu-ngku   ngaṟa-la   nyanga-ngi   ngura-kutu   anku-nyangka.*
      CONTR monster-ERG stand-SERIAL see-PAST.IMPF home-ALL   go-CIRCUM
      'A monster was standing and looking as [they] went home.'

3.   *Tjitji   *kuṯjara   puḻi   kaṯu   kalpa-ngu.*
      child   two.ERG   hill   high.ACC climb-PAST
      'Two children climbed a hill.'

4.   *Mamu   palu(ṟu)   nyina-ra   nyanga-ngi   tjitji   tjuṯa   uṟu-ngka*
      monster DEF.ERG   sit-SERIAL see-PAST.IMPF child   PL.ACC waterhole-LOC

      tjarpa-ngi.
      swim-PAST.IMPF
      'That monster, [who was] sitting, saw the children [as they] were swimming at the
      waterhole.'

5.   *Tjitji   kuṯjara-ngku   anku-la   wangka-ngu   wati   tjiḻpi   kutju:*
      child   two-ERG   go-SERIAL tell-PAST   man   old   one.ACC

'*Ngali   nya-ngu   mamu   kulpi-ngka*'.
1DU.ERG see-PAST monster.ACC cave-LOC
'The two children went and told one old man: "The two of us saw a monster in a cave".'

6. *Munga-ngka tjana   kunkunpa ngari-ngi,   tjitji   tjuta*
    night-LOC   3PL.NOM sleepy   lie-PAST.IMPF child   PL.NOM

    ula-ngi   mamu   paluru   nyirki-ngi.
    cry-PAST.IMPF monster DEF.ERG peek-PAST.IMPF
    'At night, they [i.e. the people of the community] were sleeping,[1] the children were crying [while] that monster was peeking [at them].'

7. *Tjitji   panya   kutjara-ngku wangka-ngu: 'Iti   nyara   ampu-ra*
    child   that.know two-ERG   tell-PAST   baby   yonder   embrace-SERIAL

    kati-ngu'.
    take-PAST
    'Those two children told [everyone]: "[The monster] took away a baby in [his] arms".'

8. *Munu tjana   anku-la   nya-ngu iti   palu-nya pana-ngka*
    ADD   3PL.ERG go-SERIAL see-PAST baby DEF-ACC ground-LOC

    ngari-nyangka.
    lie-CIRCUM
    'And they [i.e. the people of the community] went and saw that baby lying on the ground.'

TEXT 3: MAMU STORY 3

This story is yet another mamu story. And as previously, children are taken away by a 'monster' and have to face their doomed fate. Note the similarity with the two previous stories.

1. *Mamu   kunyu   nyina-pai kulpi-ngka.*
    monster.NOM QUOTE live-CHAR cave-LOC
    'They say [that] a monster used to live in a cave.'

2. *Mamu   palu(ru)   kunyu   anku-pai.*
    monster DEF.NOM   QUOTE go-CHAR
    'That monster used to travel.'

3. *Anangu   *tjuta   nyaku-la.*
    people   PL.ERG see-SERIAL
    'Many [Aboriginal] people saw [him].'

---

[1] Literally: lay asleep.

4. *Munu kunyu   paluṟu   iṯi   kunyu   nyaku-la   ngalku-ṉu*
    ADD   QUOTE   DEF.ERG   baby.ACC   QUOTE   see-SERIAL   eat-PAST

    iṯi   palu-nya   kunyu.
    baby   DEF-ACC   QUOTE
    'And they say [that once], he saw a baby [and] ate him.'[2]

5. *Palu(ṟu) ampu-ṟa   kutitjaka-ngu   kulpi-kutu.*
    DEF.NOM   hold-SERIAL   run-PAST   cave-ALL
    'He took [the baby] and ran off to the cave.'

6. *Munu kunyu   iṯi   palu-mpa   maama   ngunytju   kunyu*
    ADD   QUOTE   baby   DEF-GEN   mother   mother.NOM   QUOTE

    ngaṟa-la   mira-ngi.
    stand-SERIAL   yell-PAST.IMPF
    'And they say [that] the mother of that baby stood up and yelled.'

7. *'Iṯi   ngalya-kati!   Nyaa-ku-n   kati-nyi?'*
    baby   THIS.WAY-take.IMP   what-PURP-2SG.NOM   take-PRES
    '"[My] baby [has been] taken! Why are you taking [my baby]?"'

8. *Ka   mamu   palu(ṟu)   wangka-ngu:*
    CONTR   monster   DEF.NOM   say-PAST
    'The monster said [to two other monsters]:'

9. *'Kutjar-pula.   Ma-mantji-la   pula   kutjupa'.*
    two-3DU.NOM   AWAY-get-IMP   3DU.ERG   another
    '"You two. You two, go and get another [baby]".'

10. *Munu ma-warakati-ngu   kulpi-kutu munu iṯi   palu-nya*
    ADD   AWAY-come.down-PAST   cave-ALL   ADD   baby   DEF-ACC

    ngalku-ṉu.
    eat-PAST
    'And [that monster] went away down to the cave and ate that baby.'

11. *Ka   paluṟu   pula   iṯi   kulupa kutjupa   kani-ngi.*
    CONTR   DEF.ERG   3DU.ERG   baby   little   another.ACC   take-PAST.IMPF
    'And the two [other monsters] took another little baby.'

12. *Ka   mamu   paluṟu   ngalya-pitja-ngu.*
    CONTR   monster   DEF.NOM   THIS.WAY-come-PAST
    'The monster came THIS.WAY.'

13. *Ka   paluṟu   pula   ninti-ringku-la   iṯi   ampu-lpai.*
    CONTR   DEF.ERG   3DU.ERG   learn-INCHO-SERIAL   baby.ACC   hold-CHAR
    'And the two [other monsters] learned how to hold [i.e. steal] babies.'

---

2   Literally: ate that baby.

TEXT 4: THE STORY OF THE OLD MAN

The teenager telling the story here has a particular style. She starts sentences that she does not finish, gets confused and confuses the listener too. Her false starts have been indicated by parentheses { } in the following transcription. She also uses the term *minya* to refer to the traditional *minyma* 'mature woman'.

1. *Kulpi unngu kunyu nyina-pai, kulpi nyara palur(u) kunyu*
   cave   inside   QUOTE   live-CHAR   cave   yonder   DEF.NOM   QUOTE

   ngara-pai, tjalta mulapa.
   stand-CHAR   tree   really
   'They say [that], [some monsters] used to live in a cave, that cave over there, in the thick bush.'

2. *Ka   mamu   kutjara   kunyu, nyara-ngka kunyu nyina-pai,*
   CONTR   monster   two.NOM   QUOTE   yonder-LOC   QUOTE   live-CHAR

   mamu   wiya, pangkalangu kunyu nyina-pai.
   monster   NEG   ogre.NOM   QUOTE   live-CHAR
   'There were two monsters living there, not monster[s], they were ogre[s].'

3. *Pangkalangu kunyu tinka,   tinka-ku   pangki-ku.*
   ogre   QUOTE   goanna   goanna-GEN   skin-GEN
   'The ogre, they say, [looked like] a goanna, his skin [was like] goanna skin.'

4. *And ilunta-nu kunyu, tinka   uwa, tjuta   mulapa, tinka*
   and   kill-PAST   QUOTE   goanna.ACC   yes   PL.ACC   really   goanna

   kutjara kunyu ilunta-nu.
   two.ACC   QUOTE   kill-PAST
   'And [the ogres] killed goanna[s], {yes, many [goannas]}, [they] killed two goannas, they say.'

5. *Munu, nyaa? ... pangkalangu, kunyu aratja-nu   kunyu,*
   ADD   what   ogre   QUOTE   take.off-PAST   QUOTE

   tinka-ku   inyu.
   goanna-PURP   skin
   'And what? ... The ogre[s] ran away with the skin of the goanna.'

   (...)

6. *Munu tjitji palu(ru) kunyu , tjitji kutju   kunyu a-nu*
   ADD   child   DEF.NOM   QUOTE   child   one.NOM   QUOTE   go-PAST

   kunyu, minya   kutju kunyu a-nu   kapi tjuti-ntja-ku.
   QUOTE   mature.woman   one   QUOTE   go-PAST   water   fetch-NOML-PURP
   '{And there was that child, one child, they say,} one woman went to fetch [some] water.'

7. *Munu minya   palu(ru) kunyu putu   kuli-ningi:*
   ADD   mature.woman   DEF.ERG   QUOTE   IN.VAIN   hear-PAST.IMPF

'*Tjitji   nganyany(a)   pala-kutu   mira-nyi?*'
child   this   that-ALL   yell-PRES
'And that woman heard [something and asked herself]: "Who's that child
calling out?"'

8.   *Ka   kunyu   ngunytjintji-ringku-la   kunyu,   mira-nyi   kunyu.*
CONTR   QUOTE   lizard-INCHO-SERIAL   QUOTE   yell.out-PRES   QUOTE
'And the monster had become a lizard, they say, [and he was in fact the one who]
was yelling out'

9.   *Munu kaanka   kunyu   kapi   punu   itara-ngka   tjuta-ringa-ngi,*
ADD   crow.NOM   QUOTE   water   tree   river.gum-LOC   many-PAST.IMPF

ninti-ningi   kunyu.
show-PAST.IMPF   QUOTE
'And the crow[s] gathered at the waterhole, on a river gum, warning [her that it
is a trick].'

10.   *Ka   kunyu   pangkalangu kutjara-ngku kunyu   nya-ngu*
CONTR   QUOTE   ogre   two-ERG   QUOTE   see-PAST

minya   palu-nya   ngura iriti   kunyu.
mature.woman   DEF-ACC   long.ago   QUOTE
'The two ogres had had their eyes on that woman for a long time.'

11.   *Munu,   tjitji   palu(ru)   kunyu   a-nu   kunyu   ngunti-ringku-la*
ADD   child   DEF.NOM   QUOTE   go-PAST   QUOTE   false-INCHO-SERIAL

kunyu ,   minya   palu(ru)   kunyu,   pilikana   nyara   wanti-ra
QUOTE   mature.woman DEF.NOM   QUOTE   billycan   yonder   leave it-SERIAL

paka-nu.
get up-PAST
'[The cry of] that child was fading away, luring that woman to leave her billycan
and set off.'

12.   *Munu *ma-pitja-ningi,   *ma-kati-ningi   minya*
ADD   AWAY-come-PAST.IMPF   AWAY-bring-PAST.IMPF   mature.woman

*palunya,   wanapa-ngku,   *nguntitji-ringku-la   tjitji   ng(uw)anpa*
DEF-ACC   line-ERG   false-INCHO-SERIAL   child   almost

mira-ngi,   patu-ringa-ngi   nyara   mamu.
yell-PAST.IMPF   apart-INCHO-PAST.IMPF   yonder   monster
'And [the voice of that child] was fading away, [and] brought that woman away
[from the waterhole], luring [her] straight to [the voice] calling out like a child,
going further [from the waterhole, over where] the monster[s are].'

13.   *Ka   minya   nyara   patu-ringa-ngi-tu.*
CONTR   mature.woman   yonder.NOM   apart-INCHO-PAST.IMPF-EMPH
'And that woman became isolated [away from the camp/waterhole].'

14.   *Ka   ma-pitja-la   ngunti   tarka kunyu   pu-ngu.*
CONTR   AWAY-come-SERIAL   back.of.the.neck   bone   QUOTE   hit-PAST
'After [she] went , [she] got hit [on] the back of the neck.'

15.   *Ka*   *tjitji*   *palu(ru),*   *minya*   *palu(ru)*   *kunyu*   *nyaa-ri-ngu?*
        CONTR   child   DEF.NOM   mature.woman   DEF.NOM   QUOTE   what-INCHO-PAST
        '{And that child} what happened to that woman?'

16.   *Munu*   *kawankati-ngu*   *(ku)nyu*   *munu*   *nyaapa?*   *Traapa-ringu-la*
        ADD   get.lost-PAST   QUOTE   ADD   what   drop-INCHO-SERIAL

        kunyu   *kutitjaka-ngu*   *kunyu*   *ngura-kutu.*
        QUOTE   run-PAST   QUOTE   home-ALL
        'She got lost and what[else]? After [being hit she] fell, [and after that] ran home.'

17.   *Munu*   *milkali*   *winki*   *kunyu*   *ngura-ngka*   *tjarpa-ngu.*
        ADD   blood   complete   QUOTE   camp-LOC   enter-PAST
        'And [she] went into the camp covered with blood.'

18.   *Ka*   *kunyu*   *walytja*   *tjuta-ngku*   *kunyu*   *wangka-ngu:*
        CONTR   QUOTE   family   PL-ERG   QUOTE   say-PAST

        'Nyaa-ri-ngu   *pala-tja*   *ngunti?'*
        what.happen-INCHO-PAST   that.there-EVIDENT   back.of.the.neck
        'And all the family, said [to her]: "What happened to the back of [your] neck there?"'

19.   *Ka*   *kunyu*   *wangka-ngu:*   *'Wiya*   *pangkalangu-ngku-ni*   *pu-ngu'.*
        CONTR   QUOTE   say-PAST   NEG   ogre-ERG-1SG.ACC   hit-PAST
        'And [she] said: "{No}, the ogre(s) hit me".'

        (...)

20.   *Maama-ngku*   *nyara*   *alatji*   *wangka-ngu,*   *minya-ngku*
        mother-ERG   yonder   like.this   say-PAST   mature.woman-ERG

        nyara   *maama-ngku*   *nyara*   *alatji*   *wangka-ngu:*
        yonder   mother-ERG   yonder   like.this   say-PAST
        'The mother of that woman said to her like this:'

21.   *"Nyuntu*   *mantu*   *ana-nyi.*   *Ka*   *pilikina*   *panya-mpa."*
        2SG.NOM   obviously   go-PRES   CONTR   billycan   that.know-INTEREST
        '"You must have gone off. And what happened to that billycan?"'

22.   *Ka*   *a-nu*   *tjuta-ya*   *a-nu*   *anangu*   *tjuta*
        CONTR   go-PAST   PL-3PL.NOM   go-PAST   people   PL.NOM

        ma-pitja-la-ya   *nya-ngu*   *pilikina*   *nya-ngu*
        AWAY-come-SERIAL-3PL.ERG   see-PAST   billycan.ACC   see-PAST

        ultu   *nyanga,*   *wiya*   *nyanga*   *ngara-ngi.*
        empty   this   NEG   this   stand-PAST.IMPF
        'And they all, all the people took off [to the waterhole], and they found the
        billycan empty, [but] no evidence [of the ogre's attack].'

23.   *Ka*   *kunyu*   *ma-pitja-la*   *kunyu*   *minya*   *palu(ru)*
        CONTR   QUOTE   AWAY-come-SERIAL   QUOTE   mature.woman   DEF.NOM

kunyu alatji   wangka-ngu: 'Wiya   nyara-ngka-<u>ni</u>   pu-ngu'.
QUOTE like.this   say-PAST   NEG   yonder-LOC-1SG.ACC hit-PAST
'That woman went away and said like this: "No, [he did not hit me here he] hit me over there".'

24.   *Ka   kunyu tjil̲pi   kutju,   kunyu a-nu   kunyu*
      CONTR   QUOTE old.man one.NOM QUOTE go-PAST QUOTE

      palu<u>ru</u>   kunyu anku-la   anku-la   kunyu (repeated).
      DEF.NOM QUOTE go-SERIAL go-SERIAL QUOTE

      Tinka   kunyu palu(<u>ru</u>) nyaa-<u>nu</u>?
      goanna QUOTE DEF.NOM   what-PAST
      'One old man searched [for evidence] for a long time. What did happen to the goanna?'

25.   *Nyaa? tjil̲pi   palu(<u>ru</u>) kunyu ngangkari pulkanya.*
      what   old.man DEF.NOM   QUOTE healer   big
      '{What?} That old man [was] a powerful healer.'

26.   *Tjitji*   (pause)   *minya.*
      child   mature.woman
      '{The child} (pause), the woman.'

27.   *Wati palu<u>ru</u>   kunyu anku-la   anku-la   palu<u>ru</u>   kunyu*
      man   DEF.ERG QUOTE go-SERIAL go-SERIAL DEF.ERG QUOTE

      ngura   kunyu nya-ngu.
      camp.ACC QUOTE see-PAST
      'That man went [i.e. walked] for a long time and found a camp.'

28.   *Palu(<u>ru</u>) kunyu puli katu kalpa-ngu katu mulapa wa<u>ra</u>ra-ngka,*
      DEF.NOM   QUOTE hill high climb-PAST high really   cliff-LOC

      munu nya-ngu kunyu city kunyu.
      ADD   see-PAST QUOTE city QUOTE
      'He climbed high, really high up a cliff and saw a city.'

29.   *Palu<u>ru</u>,   wati nya-ngu kunyu til̲i   tju<u>t</u>a   kunyu nya-ngu*
      DEF.ERG man   see-PAST QUOTE light PL.ACC   QUOTE see-PAST

      tili tju<u>t</u>a   kunyu nya-ngu.
      light PL.ACC   QUOTE see-PAST
      'That man saw many lights, he saw many lights.'

30.   *Munu paluru   pu<u>t</u>u   kuli-kulini-ngu warakati-ntja-ku*
      ADD   DEF.ERG IN.VAIN remember-PAST get.down-NOML-PAST
      'And he could not remember how to get down.'

31.   *Ka   pangkalangu kutjara   kunyu ngalya-pitja-la*
      CONTR   ogre   two.NOM   QUOTE THIS.WAY-come-SERIAL

      nyina-ngi.
      sit-PAST.IMPF
      'And the two ogres made their way towards [him].'

32. *Ka   tjilpi   paluru   iniwai   tjampi-ri-ngi.*
    CONTR   old.man   DEF.NOM   anyway   jump-INCHO-PAST.IMPF
    'And the old man jumped anyway.'

33. *Ka   paluru   punka-nu   kapi-kutu.*
    CONTR   DEF.NOM   fall-PAST   water-ALL
    'And he fell into the water.'

34. *Munu   tjilpi   paluru   paka-nu.*
    ADD   old.man   DEF.NOM   get.up-PAST
    'And that old man emerged [from the water].'

35. *Munu   wanampi-ngku   palu-nya   nguwanpa   kuultju-nu.*
    ADD   water.serpent-ERG   DEF-ACC   almost   swallow-PAST
    '[But] the water serpent almost swallowed him.'

36. *Ka   kunyu   tjilpi   paluru   kunyu   mira-ngu   kunyu.*
    CONTR   QUOTE   old.man   DEF.NOM   QUOTE   yell-PAST   QUOTE
    'And that old man yelled.'

37. *Ka   wangka-ra   iya-nu: 'Nyura   kunyu   ngalya-pitja*
    CONTR   say-SERIAL   send-PAST   2PL.NOM   QUOTE   THIS.WAY-come.IMP

    nyara-kutu'.
    yonder-ALL
    'And [the old man] talked [to the ogres (without them knowing that it is him
    talking)]: "You mob, go THIS.WAY, over there".'

38. *'Wiya,   ngayulu   wiya   ma-pitja-nyi.   Nyuntu   kunyu*
    NEG   1SG.NOM   NEG   AWAY-come-PRES   2SG.NOM   QUOTE

    ngalya-pitja.'
    THIS.WAY-come.IMP
    '"No, I am not going away. You were supposed to go THIS.WAY."'

39. *'Wiya ngayulu kunyu ana-nyi.'*
    NEG   1SG.NOM   QUOTE   go-PRES
    '"No, I was not told to go."'

40. *'Uwa palya ma-pitja.   Ngayulu nyanga-tja   ana-nyi*
    yes   good   AWAY-go.IMP   1SG.NOM   this-EVIDENT   go-PRES

    tjtutjara   nyina-nytja-ku.'
    always   stay-NOML-PURP
    '"Yes, OK, off you go. I am going off [to] stay [there] for good."'

41. *Ka   minya   palu(ru)   kunyu   wangka-ngu:*
    CONTR   mature.woman   DEF.NOM   QUOTE   say-PAST
    'And that woman said:'

42. *'Uwa walala kunyu paka-la'.*
    yes   quick   QUOTE   get.up-IMP
    '"OK. Quick, they say, get up".'

43. *Ka   minya-ngku   nyara   alatji   wangka-ngu:*
    CONTR mature.woman-ERG   yonder like.this say-PAST
    'And the woman over there said to [him] like this:'

44. *'Uwa! Nyuntu kunyu   ma-pitja!'*
    yes   2SG.NOM QUOTE   AWAY-come.IMP
    '"OK, you were supposed to go away".'

45. *Ka   wangka-ngu kunyu tjilpi   palu(ru):*
    CONTR say-PAST   QUOTE old.man   DEF.NOM
    'And that old man said:'

46. *'Ma-pitja-la   kunyu   walypala-ku   ngura kunyu.'*
    AWAY-come-SERIAL QUOTE   white.person-GEN home   QUOTE

    Ka   lakalaka-nu.
    CONTR knock-PAST
    '"You go to the white man's house". And [she went and] knocked.'

47. *Ka   walypala   tjilpi   kunyu nyina-pai kutju.*
    CONTR white.person old.man.NOM   QUOTE live-CHAR one
    'An old white man used to live there.'

48. *Ka   ma-pitja-la   kunyu laka-nu.*
    CONTR AWAY-come-SERIAL QUOTE lock-PAST
    '[She] went [to the house and] knocked [on the door].'

49. *Tjilpi   maru   nyina-pai and walypala,   walypala*
    old.man   black.NOM live-CHAR and white.person white.person

    tjilpi   nyina-pai-ya   nyara   kunyu.
    old.man.NOM live-CHAR-3PL.NOM yonder QUOTE
    'An Aboriginal and a white old man lived over there.'

50. *Palu-mpa pula-mpa piita kunyu ngara-pai kutju-kutju.*
    DEF-GEN 3DU-GEN bed   QUOTE stay-CHAR one-one
    '[They] had their two beds next to each other.'

51. *Munu nyina-pai pula   munu walypala   ku(nyu)*
    ADD live-CHAR 3DU.NOM ADD white.person.NOM QUOTE

    nyara, kangkuru trii-pala   kutjara ngalya-tjarpa-ngu.
    yonder   older.sister three-NUM PRED two.NOM THIS.WAY-enter-PAST
    'The two [old men] lived there {and the white man}, {three} two older sisters
    came towards [the door].'

52. *Nyanga-ku kangkuru   ngara-ngi,*
    this-GEN   older.sister.NOM stand-PAST.IMPF
    'His older sister(s) were there.'

53. *Nyanga-ku kangkuru-ngku   praitapraita-nu nyanga-tja.*
    this-GEN   older.sister-ERG friend-PAST   this-EVIDENT
    'His older sister[s] became friends with that [woman].'

54. *Ka   nyanga-ngka mariti-ri-ngu,   maru-ngka nyanga maru*
     CONTR   this-LOC   marry-INCHO-PAST black-LOC this   black

     mariti-ri-ngu.
     marry-INCHO-PAST
     'He [i.e. the white man] got married to that Aboriginal woman, [he] got married.'

55. *Minyma   nyanga-ngka walypala   mariti-ri-ngu.*
     mature.woman this-LOC   white.person.NOM marry-INCHO-PAST
     'The white man got married to this woman.'

56. *Munu nyina-ngi-nta   ka   panya   nyina-ngi*
     ADD   live-PAST.IMPF-EMPH   CONTR that.known live-PAST.IMPF

     munu watalpi.
     ADD   almost
     'And then [they] lived and lived and [this is the end].'

TEXT 5: THE CROW

More than any other, there were many problems of translation with this story. As previously observed with the *tjilpi* story (Text 4), the teenager made many comments that could be dismissed, got confused while telling the story and seemed to leap from one person to another, following her own logic, but confusing anybody else, especially with the extensive use of kunyu QUOTE. For the purpose of this translation, few of these occurrences were translated, to avoid more confusion and redundancy. The DEFinite *paluru* is transcribed here as *palu(ru)* when it was recorded as *palu*. Finally, as it is often the case in Traditional Pitjantjatjara, the animals of this story personified people and are found inflected with the name-status markers.

1. *Ngayulu nyura-nya kaanka-tjara   wangka-nyi.*
    1SG.NOM 2PL-ACC   crow-HAVING say-PRES
    'I am telling you all the story of the crow.'

2. *Kaanka-nya   kunyu a-nu   wangki-ku.*
    crow-NOM.NAME   QUOTE go-PAST wild.gooseberry-PURP
    'They say [that] the crow went for wild gooseberry.'

3. *Kaanka-nya   kunyu tjuta   mantji-ra mantji-ra*
    crow-NOM.NAME QUOTE PL.ACC get-SERIAL get-SERIAL

    ngalya-pitja-ngu   ngura-kutu, palu-mpa ngura-kutu.
    THIS.WAY-come-PAST home-ALL   DEF-GEN   home-ALL
    'They say [that] many crow[s] gathered and gathered,[and] came [back] THIS.WAY, to his home.'

4. *Munu ngari-ngi   kunkunpa.*
    ADD   lie-PAST.IMPF asleep
    'And [the crow] slept.'

5.   *Munu Nyii-nyii-lu   kunyu ngalya-pitja-la   wangka-ngu:*
      ADD   zebra.finch-ERG.NAME QUOTE THIS.WAY-come-SERIAL say-PAST
      'And the zebra finch came and said to [the crow]:'

6.   *'Nyuntu, nyuntu   warka-ku   mantji-la.'*
      2SG.NOM 2SG.NOM work-PURP   get-IMP
      '"You, you, get a job".'

7.   *'Nyuntu kuwari ngurpari-nyi,   warka-ku   mantji-la!'*
      2SG.NOM soon   lose.the.ability.to.do-PRES work-PURP   get-IMP
      '"You're useless now, get a job!"'

8.   *Ka   Kaanka-lu   wangka-ngu,*
      CONTR crow-ERG.NAME say-PAST
      'And the crow said to [the zebra finch]:'

9.   *Ngayulu ana-nyi uputju-kutu. Uputju-ngka ngayulu warka*
      1SG.NOM go-PRES office-ALL   office-LOC   1SG.ERG   work.ACC

      mantji-ni.
      get-PRES
      '"I am going to the office. At the office, I'll get a job".'

10.   *Ka   waarka   wiya-ri-ngu,*
      CONTR work.NOM end-INCHO-PAST
      'And [when] work [was] finished'

11.   *Paluru   kunyu a-nu   uru-ku   mutuka-tjara kunyu.*
      DEF.NOM QUOTE go-PAST waterhole-PURP car-HAVING QUOTE
      'He [the crow] set off to the waterhole by car.'

12.   *Anku-la   anku-la   paluru   kunyu kulpi-ngka tjarpa-ngu.*
      go-SERIAL go-SERIAL DEF.NOM QUOTE cave-LOC   enter-PAST
      'After travelling a while, he entered a cave.'

13.   *Paluru   kunyu tjarpa-ra   nya-ngu kunyu golda tjuta   kunyu.*
      DEF.ERG QUOTE enter-SERIAL see-PAST QUOTE gold   PL.ACC QUOTE
      'He went in and saw a lot of gold [there].'

14.   *Paluru   golda   tjuta   taimana tjuta   nya-ngu ngari-nyangka.*
      DEF.ERG gold   PL.ACC   diamond PL.ACC see-PAST lie-CIRCUM
      'He saw a lot of gold, a lot of diamond lying [there].'

15.   *Palu(ru) kunyu kunyu paka-nu   urilta, kulpi.*
      DEF.NOM QUOTE QUOTE come.out-PAST outside cave
      'He went outside the cave, they say.'

16.   *Paluru   kunyu, a-nu-nta*
      DEF.NOM QUOTE   go-EMPH
      'And then he went.'

17.   *Palu(ru) kunyu, palu(ru)   mangka tungku.*
      DEF.NOM QUOTE   DEF.NOM hair   short.NOM
      'They say he [had] short hair.'

18. *Palu(ru) ngari-ra   tjintu-ringku-la   palu(ru) mangka palu-mpa*
    DEF.NOM lie-SERIAL day-INCHO-SERIAL DEF.ERG hair   DEF-GEN.ACC

    nya-ngu klatja-ngka.
    see-PAST mirror-LOC
    'After spending the night, he saw his hair in the mirror.'

19. *Paluru   mangka pulkanya.*
    DEF.NOM hair   big.NOM
    'He [had] long hair.'

20. *Paluru   kunyu mira-ngka nya-ngu walytja-ngku mangka   pulkanya.*
    DEF.ERG QUOTE mirror-LOC see-PAST own-ERG   hair   big
    'He saw himself in the mirror[with] long hair, they say.'

21. *Kaa   kaa   Kaanka-nya   kunyu wangka-ngu*
    CONTR CONTR crow-NOM.NAME QUOTE say-PAST

    Nyii-nyii-nya:
    zebra finch-ACC.NAME
    'The crow said to the zebra finch:'

22. *'Yaaltji-yaaltji ngayu-ku   mangka   pulka-ri-ngu.'*
    how   DEF-GEN hair.NOM big-INCHO-PAST
    "'How did my hair get longer?'"

23. *'Nyuntu   kulpi-ngka tjarpa-ngu.'*
    2SG.NOM cave-LOC   enter-PAST
    "'You went into the cave [did not you?]."'

24. *Kaanka-nya   wangka-ngu: 'Uwa, ngayulu kulpi-ngka tjarpa-ngi'.*
    crow-NOM.NAME say-PAST   yes   1SG.NOM cave-LOC   enter-PAST.IMPF
    'The crow said: "Sure, I went into the cave".'

25. *'Uwa, ngayu-ku   alatjitu mangka   pulka-ri-ngu.'*
    yes   1SG-GEN   really   hair.NOM big-INCHO-PAST
    "'Right, [that's why] my hair really got longer.'"

26. *Uputju-ngka warka-ri-ngu.*
    office-LOC   work-INCHO-PAST
    '[He] worked at the office.'

27. *Paluru   uputju-ngka-nta nyina-ngi.*
    DEF.NOM office-LOC-EMP   stay-PAST.IMPF
    '[One time] he was at the office.'

28. *Ka   palu-mpa kata   kura-ringa-ngi,*
    CONTR DEF-GEN head.NOM bad-INCHO-PAST.IMPF

    walauru-nya,   palumpa   kata
    wedge.tailed.eagle-NOM.NAME DEF.GEN   head.NOM

    kura-ringa-ngi   uputju-ngka waarka-ri-nyangka.
    bad-INCHO-PAST.IMPF office-LOC   work-INCHO-CIRCUM
    'And the wedge-tailed eagle started to have a headache, the wedge-tailed eagle
    started to have a headache while [the crow was] working at the office.'

29.   *Ka   walauru-nya   nga̱ra-ngi,   ini*
       CONTR   wedge.tailed.eagle-NOM.NAME   stand-PAST.IMPF   name

       walkatju-nu-nta   panya,   lainapa-ri-ngi
       write-PAST-EMPH   that.known   line.up-INCHO-PAST.IMPF
       'And the wedge-tailed eagle was standing [there], he signed his name. He has
       been standing in line.'

30.   *Ka   *Kaa̱nka   nyina-ngi   walauru-nya*
       CONTR   crow.NOM.NAME   sit-PAST.IMPF   wedge.tailed.eagle-NOM.NAME

       kumpi-ra   nga̱ra-ngi.
       hide-SERIAL   stay-PAST.IMPF
       'And the crow was there [at the office], the wedge-tailed eagle was standing out
       of sight.'

31.   *Ka   wangka-ngu Kaa̱nka-lu: 'Ngapartji   ngalya-pitja-la!'*
       CONTR   say-PAST   crow-ERG.NAME   in.return   THIS.WAY-come-SERIAL
       'And the crow said: "[It is your] return, come THIS.WAY!"'

32.   *Ka   nga̱ra-ngi   ikaringa-ngi   nga̱ra-la   wangka-nytja.*
       CONTR   stand-PAST.IMPF play-PAST.IMPF   stand-SERIAL   talk-NOML
       'And [the wedge-tailed eagle] was standing and as he was standing, he laughed.'

33.   *Ka   wangka-ngu Kaa̱nka-lu:*
       CONTR   say-PAST   crow-ERG.NAME
       'And the crow said to [the wedge-tailed eagle]:'

34.   *'Nyuntu   ikari-nyi   ngayu-nya   nyaku-la'.*
       2SG.NOM   laugh-PRES   DEF-ACC   see-SERIAL
       '"You are laughing seeing me [like this]".'

35.   *'Wiya ngayulu ikaringa-ngi.   Ngayulu ku̱nta-ri-nyi   nulla.'*
       NEG   1SG.NOM laugh-PAST.IMPF 1SG.NOM shame-INCHO-PRES and.all
       '"No, I was not laughing, I am so embarassed."'

36.   *'Wiya, ngayu-nya   nyaku-la   nyaku-la.'*
       NEG   1SG-ACC   see-SERIAL   see-SERIAL
       '"No [you] keep looking at me."'

37.   *'Walkatjunku-nytja-ku   ngayulu   nyaku-la   ini.'*
       write-NOML-PURP   1SG.NOM   see-SERIAL   name.ACC
       '"I am looking to write my name ."'

38.   *'Nyuntu   salpa-nku   nyaku-la   walkatju-ra. Nyuntu   salpa-nku*
       2SG.NOM   self-REFLEX   see-SERIAL   write-IMP   2SG.NOM   self-REFLEX

       walkatju-ra.'
       write-IMP
       '"You, write [your name] yourself. Write [it] yourself ."'

39.   *Ka   wangka-ngu: 'Uwa, paka-ra   a-ra.'*
       CONTR   say-PAST   yes   get.up-SERIAL   go-IMP
       'And [the wedge-tailed eagle] said: "OK, get up and go".'

40. *Ka wangka-ngu Kaanka-lu: 'Ngayulu kant paka-la!'*
CONTR say-PAST crow-ERG.NAME DEF.NOM cannot get.up-IMP
'And the crow said [to the wedge-tailed eagle]: "I cannot get up!"'

41. *'Ka nyuntu tjingu(ru) nyaari-ngu. Nyuntu, ngayu-la*
CONTR 2SG.NOM maybe what-INCHO-PAST 2SG.NOM 1SG-LOC

mirangka, nyuntu ngurpa tjinguru.'
at.the.view 2SG.NOM not.knowing maybe
'"Maybe something happened to you. When [I] look, you don't know, maybe [something did happen to you]."'

42. *Kaanka-lu wangka-ngu:*
crow-ERG.NAME say-PAST
'The crow said:'

43. *Kaanka-lu alatji wangka-ngu: 'Nyuntu,* (repeated five times)
crow-ERG.NAME like.this say-PAST 2S.ERG

walkatju-ra iniwai walkatju-ra'.
write-IMP iniwai write-IMP
'The crow said like this: "You, you, you, you, you, sign [your name] anyway, write".'

44. *Munu ini walkatju-nu unngu.*
ADD name.ACC write-PAST inside
'And [the wedge-tailed eagle] signed [his] name inside.'

45. *Munu tju-nu bank bank one kulupa-ngka tju-nu munu paka-nu*
ADD put-PAST bank bank one little-LOC put-PAST ADD get.up-PAST
'And [the wedge-tailed eagle] put [his cheque] at the bank, the little bank and left.'

46. *Kutjupa nyara-ngka nyinakati-ngu.*
another yonder-LOC sit.down-PAST
'Another person [i.e. the crow] was sitting [at the office].'

47. *Ma-pitja-la atjaiti ma-paka-nu.*
AWAY-come-SERIAL outside AWAY-get.up-PAST
'[The wedge-tailed eagle] went away outside and left.'

48. *Munu Nyii-nyii-nya-nta wangka-ngu kungka*
ADD zebra.finch-NOM.NAME-EMPH say-PAST woman

nyara-tja wangka-ngu:
yonder-EVIDENT.NOM say-PAST
'{And then the zebra finch said,} that woman [i.e. the crow] said:'

49. *'Munga-ngka ngayu-nya nyaku-ntja-ku.'*
night-LOC 1SG-ACC see-NOML-PURP
'"[Come to] see me tonight".'

50. *Ngananya? Kaanka-nya. Nganaku? Walytja paluru.*
who crow-NOM.NAME whose family DEF.NOM
'Who? The crow. Whose relation? He is a relation.'

51. *Ka wangka-ngu: 'Nyara-tja ngayu-ku walytja.*
CONTR say-PAST yonder-EVIDENT DEF-GEN family.NOM

Ngay(u-ku) kasin   ngay(u-ku)   walytja   mulapa'.
DEF(GEN)   cousin.NOM DEF(GEN)   family.NOM really
'And [the crow] said: "We are related [lit. that's my relation], [you are] my cousin, my real relation".'

52. *'Uwa, ngunti ma*ṉ*tu   palu-nya wangka nyaku-nytja-ku ngayu-nya.'*
     yes   untrue obviously DEF-ACC say   see-NOML-PURP 1SG-ACC
     '"Yes, it's obviously wrong [for her/you] to tell me to see [her/you] [tonight]."'

53. *'Uwao!'*
     yes
     '"[That's] right!"'

54. *Munu palu*ṟ*u   a-nu,   palu*ṟ*u   a-nu   munga-ri-ngu-nta.*
     ADD   DEF.NOM go-PAST DEF.NOM go-PAST night-INCHO-PAST-EMPH
     'And she [the crow] went, she went and then [it] got dark.'

55. *Ka   Nyii-nyii-lu   anku-la   wangka-ngu:*
     CONTR zebra.finch-ERG.NAME go-SERIAL say-PAST
     'And the zebra finch went and said:'

56. *'Palu*ṟ*u   walypala-ku,   Kaa*ṉ*ka-nya   walypala-ku*
     DEF.NOM   white.person-GEN crow-NOM.NAME white.person-GEN

     ngura-ngka swimmingpula-ngka tjurpi-nyi'.
     home-LOC   swimming.pool-LOC swim-PRES
     '"She [is] at the white people's, the crow is swimming in the swimming pool at the white people's place".'

57. *Kaa*ṉ*ka-nya   wangka-ngu: 'Walauru-lu*
     crow-NOM.NAME say-PAST   wedge.tailed.eagle-ERG.NAME

     ngalya-pitja-la   ngayu-nya wati-tjuna-ngi   ampu-nytja-ku.'
     THIS.WAY-come-SERIAL 1SG-ACC   ACROSS-put-PAST.IMPF hold-NOML-PURP
     'The crow said: "The wedge-tailed eagle came towards me and pulled me across [and] held me".'

58. *Ka   wangka-ngu, *walauru   wangka-ngu:*
     CONTR say-PAST   wedge.tailed.eagle.NOM.NAME say-PAST

     'Ngalya-pitja'.
     THIS.WAY-come.IMP
     'And he said, the wedge-tailed eagle said: "Come THIS.WAY".'

59. *Wangka-ngu Kaa*ṉ*ka-lu   wangka-ngu: 'Ngayulu ngurpa*
     say-PAST   crow-ERG.NAME say-PAST   1SG.NOM   not.knowing

     ngayu-nya ampu-nytja-ku,   ngayulu ngurpa'.
     1SG-ACC   hold-NOML-PURP   1SG.NOM not.knowing
     'The crow said: "I didn't expect [him to] hold me, I didn't know".'

60. *'Nyuntu ngali   pa*ṯ*u pa*ṯ*u ngaṟa-ngi   ngayulu ngurpa.'*
     2SG.NOM 1DU.NOM far   far   stand-PAST.IMPF 1SG.NOM not.knowing
     '"You and I were standing far apart, I didn't know."'

61. *Kaa   ampu-nu   palu-nya.*
     CONTR hold-PAST DEF-ACC
     'And [the wedge-tailed eagle] hold her.'

62. *Kaa   Ulpatji-lu   katji-ma-nu   walauru-nya,*
     CONTR Ulpatji-ERG.NAME surprise-LOAN-PAST wedge.tailed.eagle-ACC.NAME

     palu-mpa   miita-ngku   Ulpatji-nya.
     DEF-GEN   spouse-ERG   Ulpatji-ACC.NAME
     'And Ulpatji surprised the wedge-tailed eagle, his wife [i.e. the wife of the wedge-tailed eagle was] Ulpatji.'

63. *Katji-ma-nu: 'Nyuntu   kungka   kutjupa-tjara   ngara-nyi'.*
     surprise-LOAN-PAST   2SG.NOM   woman   another-HAVING   stand-PRES
     '[She] surprised [him/them]: "You are with another woman".'

64. *Ka   wangka-ngu: 'Ka   nyuntu ... kungka munta Kungka*
     CONTR say-PAST   CONTR 2SG.NOM   woman sorry   woman

     kutju   pitja-la   ngara-nyi, ngayu-nya   wanti-ra'.
     one.NOM come-SERIAL stand-PRES 1SG-ACC   leave.it.alone-SERIAL
     '"And [she] said: "{You ... The woman, sorry,} [you] went to be with that woman after abandoning me".'

65. *Ka   wangka-ngu:*
     CONTR say-PAST
     'And [the wedge-tailed eagle] said:'

66. *'Una   wiya   ngayulu, kungka pala-tja   una'.*
     rotten NEG   1SG.NOM woman that.there-EVIDENT rotten
     '"I am not rotten [i.e. bad], that woman is [the one who is] rotten".'

67. *Ka   wangka-ngu:*
     CONTR say-PAST
     'And [the crow] said:'

68. *'Una   wiya nyanga-tja   mangka pulkanya nyuntu*
     rotten NEG this.there-EVIDENT hair   big   2SG.NOM

     mangka   tungku   ngunti   kaala.'
     hair   short   wrong   colour
     '"I am not rotten, I [have] big hair. Your hair [is] short [and] dyed [of the wrong colour]".'

69. *Ka   ula-ngu   Ulpatji-nya   ula-ngu.*
     CONTR cry-PAST   Ulpatji-NOM   cry-PAST
     'And Ulpatji cried and cried.'

70. *'Ngayulu   nyuntu-nya kita   taimi   kungka pala pula-nya,*
     1SG.NOM   2SG-ACC   guitar time   woman that 3DU-ACC

     ngayulu   kutjara-tu nyupa-linya punga-nyi.'
     1SG.ERG   two-EMPH 2DU-ACC   hit-PRES
     '"I [am going to] get you at the guitar concert, I am going to get you both, you and that woman."'

71.   *Alatji   wangka-ngu   munu ...*
       like.this   say-PAST   ADD
       '[Ulpatji] talked like that {and ... }'

72.   *Ka   a-nu   ngananya   panya.*
       CONTR   go-PAST   who   that.know
       'And [they] went, who? that person known.'

73.   *Upatji-nya   a-nu   kita-ku.*
       Upatji-NOM.NAME   go-PAST   guitar-PURP
       'Upatji went to the guitar [concert].'

74.   *Munu   Kaanka-nya   wangka-ngu   Walauru-lu:*
       ADD   crow-ACC.NAME   say-PAST   wedge.tailed.eagle-ERG.NAME
       'And the wedge-tailed eagle said to the crow:'

75.   *'Nyuntu   nyara-wanu, ngayulu   nyara-wanu   ana-nyi   kita-ku*
        2SG.NOM   yonder-PERL 1SG.NOM   yonder-PERL go-PRES   guitar-PURP

       kunyu   ma-tantji-ri-nytja-ku'.
       QUOTE   AWAY-dance-INCHO-NOML-PURP
       '"You [are going] to the concert through that way over there, I am going through
       that way over here, they say, [we will meet and] dance over there".'

76.   *Ka   ana-ngi.*
       CONTR   go-PAST.IMPF
       '[They] went.'

77.   *Kaanka-lu   putu   palu-nya   nguri-ningi.*
       crow-ERG.NAME   IN.VAIN   DEF-ACC   seek-PAST.IMPF
       'The crow sought for him [i.e. the wedge-tailed eagle] in vain.'

78.   *'Ulpatji,   nyuntu   nya-ngu   wati   panya-tja?'*
        Ulpatji   2SG.ERG   see-PAST   man   that.know-EVIDENT.ACC
       '"Ulpatji, have-you seen that man?"'

79.   *Ka   wangka-ngu: 'Wampa,   ngurpa-na'.*
       CONTR   say-PAST   I.don't.know   not.knowing-1SG.NOM
       'And [Ulpatji] said: "I don't know [anything], I don't know".'

       (...)

80.   *Paluru   pula   pika-ri-ngi   and jealous fight.*
       DEF.NOM   2DU.NOM   fight-INCHO-PAST.IMPF   and   jealous   fight
       'The two [i.e. Ulpatji and the crow] fought, [it was] a jealous fight.'

81.   *Kaa   Kaanka-lu   wangka-ngu-nta:*
       CONTR   crow-ERG.NAME   say-PAST-EMPH
       'And then the crow said:'

82.   *'Nyuntu   ngay(uku)   walytja,   ngayu-ku   kangkuru   kulupa   nyuntu'.*
        2SG.NOM   1SG.GEN   family   1SG.GEN   older.sister little   2SG.NOM
       '"You [are] my family, you [are] the youngest of my older sister".'

83. *Ka   wangka-ngu: 'Wampa'.*
     CONTR   say-PAST   I.don't.know
     'And [Ulpatji] said: "I don't know".'

84. *Palu-nya milkali pantji-ma-nu.*
     DEF-ACC   blood   punch-LOAN-PAST
     '[She] punched her [and made her] bleed.'

85. *Ka   ula-ngi   nyina-ra   a-nu.*
     CONTR   cry-PAST.IMPF   sit-SERIAL go-PAST
     'And she sat and cried and went.'

86. *Kungka tjuta   raunu   mulapa ngara-ngi.*
     woman   PL.NOM   round   really   stand-PAST.IMPF
     'All the women were really standing around [them] in a circle.'

87. *Tjuta   wataku   tjitu   ngara-ngi   munga   tjaiti.*
     PL.NOM   unaware apart   stand-PAST.IMPF night   side
     'Many were standing apart in the shade, unaware [of what had happened].'

88. *Ka   a-nu   nyara-kutu tjilpi-ngku   tuutji mira-ra.*
     CONTR   go-PAST yonder-ALL   old.man-ERG   torch   see-SERIAL
     'And an old man went over there [and with] a torch [he] saw him.'

89. *Nyanga liri   kuntantja nyanga ngari-nyi.*
     this   throat   wound   this   lie-PRES
     '[There he] was lying, a wound at the throat.'

90. *Ka   nyara-ngku   Kaanka-nya   nya-ngu.*
     CONTR   yonder-ERG   crow-ACC.NAME   see-PAST
     'And that [old man] saw the crow [and told her].'

91. *'Eh!' tuutji mira-ni   nyara   wati-kutitjaka-ra   nya-ngu liri*
     eh!   torch   see-PRES yonder ACROSS-run-SERIAL see-PAST throat

     kuntantja ngari-nyi.
     wound   lie-PRES
     '"Eh! [I] saw[3] [with] the torch, [I] ran across and saw him, a wound at the throat.'

92. *Ka   ula-ngu Kaanka-nya: 'Ngayu-ku   miita   wiya*
     CONTR   cry-PAST crow-NOM.NAME   1SG-GEN   boyfriend   NEG

     ngayu-ku   kutju   uni'.
     1SG-GEN   one   only
     'And the crow cried: "My boyfriend [is] dead. I am alone".'

93. *Ka   a-nu-nta: 'Ngayulu   ngura   nyanga-nguru ana-nyi'.*
     CONTR   go-PAST-EMPH   1SG.NOM   home   this-ABL   go-PRES
     'And then she went: "I am leaving this place".'

94. *Paluru   a-nu   Piipa-ku   Kaanka-nya.*
     DEF.NOM   go-PAST church[service]-PURP   crow-NOM.NAME
     'The crow went to church.'

---

[3] Literally: I see ...

95.   *Munu wati-pitja-ngu,   a-nu   palu(ru) airoplaina kulupa-ngka.*
       ADD   ACROSS-come-PAST go-PAST DEF.NOM aeroplane   little-LOC
       'And she came across, she went in a small aeroplane.'

96.   *Cimetri-ngka   palu(ru) pituplua   tjunku-l   a-nu   titutjara.*
       cemetery-LOC   DEF.NOM pretty.flowers   put-SERIAL go-PAST   always
       'At the cemetery, she put [some] pretty flowers [on the tombstone and] left [the
       community] for good.'

TEXT 6: THE SKI TRIP

   The trip to Thredbo was an experience for all the teenagers. The following account is a
perfect example of how new concepts and experiences are linguistically handled by
Areyonga teenagers.

1.   *Sydney-lakutu   Canberra-lakutu   munu Thredbo-lakutu*
      Sydney-ALL.NAME   Canberra-ALL.NAME ADD   Thredbo-ALL.NAME

      nganana a-nu.
      1PL.NOM   go-PAST
      'We went to Sydney, Canberra and Thredbo.'

2.   *Ka   nganana   snow-angka   inka-ngi.*
      CONTR   1PL.NOM   snow-LOC   play-PAST.IMPF
      'And we played in the snow.'

3.   **Alice   pula   *Leah   ngurpa   kutjara,*
      Alice.NOM.NAME 3DU.NOM   Leah.NOM.NAME not.knowing two

      punka-ningi pula,   punka-ningi   epritaim.
      fall-PAST.IMPF 3DU.NOM fall-PAST.IMPF every.time
      'Alice and Leah, these two don't know [how to ski], these two fell and fell everytime.'

4.   *Punka-nyangka *Alice   kutjupa-ngka inka-ngi.*
      fall-CIRCUM   Alice.NOM.NAME another-LOC   play-PAST.IMPF
      'After falling [so often], Alice played in another place.'

5.   *Munu nganana tjaati-ri-ngu-nta —   Joley — tjaati-ri-ngu.*
      ADD   1PL.NOM   start-INCHO-PAST-EMPH Joley   start-INCHO-PAST
      'And then we started [to learn how to ski with our ski instructor] Joley.'

      (...)

6.   *Nganana *Steward   a-nu   tjaiti *tjuta.*
      1PL.NOM   Steward.LOC.NAME go-PAST side   PL.LOC
      'Many of us went on the side with Steward.'

7.   *Ka   nyitayira tjuta,   ngananya? Nyitayira pulka tjuta-ngku*
      CONTR   boy   PL.ERG   who   boy   big   PL-ERG

ngananya? Noela-nya   tjana-mpa nyitayira pulka-tu.
who   Noel-NOM.NAME 3PL-GEN   boy   big-EMPH.NOM
'And many boys ... Who? All the big [i.e. oldest] boys. What name? Those big boys [were] in Noel's group.'

8. *Ka   nganana inka-ngi   snow-angka inka-ra* (repeated three times).
    CONTR 1PL.NOM play-PAST.IMPF snow-LOC   play-SERIAL
    'And we played in the snow, [we] played and played and played.'

9. *Malaku a-nu   ngura-kutu.*
    again   go-PAST home-ALL
    '[We] went back home [i.e. to the hostel].'

10. *Nganana epritaim   shawa-ringku-la   nganana anku-pai nyaakutu?*
     1PL.NOM   every.time shower-INCHO-SERIAL 1PL.NOM   go-CHAR what-ALL

     ngalku-ntja-ku   mai   ngalku-ntja-ku.
     eat-NOML-PURP   food   eat-NOML-PURP
     'After showering every[day], we went, where to? to eat food.'

11. *Munu munga-ringku-la   nganana anku-pai-nta   tantji-ri-nytja-ku.*
     ADD   night-INCHO-SERIAL 1PL.NOM go-CHAR-EMPH   dance-INCHO-NOML-PURP
     'After night fall, we [always] went dancing.'

12. *Munu pitja   nyaku-nytja-ku kutju tjuta   anku-pai   pitja*
     ADD   movie.ACC see-NOML-PURP one   PL.NOM go-CHAR   movie.ACC

     nyaku-nytja-ku.
     see-NOML-PURP
     'And we saw one movie, all of [us] went to see the movie.'

13. *Ka   nganana nyina-pai ruum(a) katu.*
     CONTR 1PL.NOM sit-CHAR   room   high
     'And we stayed in a room [on the second floor].'

     (...)

14. *Canberra-la-nta-la   autel-la   nyina-ngi.*
     Canberra-LOC.NAME-EMPH-1PL.NOM   hotel-LOC stay-PAST.IMPF
     'Then, in Canberra, we stayed in a hotel.'

     (...)

15. *And   nganana Parliament House uungu   tjarpa-ngu.*
     CONTR 1PL.NOM Parliament House   inside   enter-PAST
     'And we went inside Parliament House.'

     (...)

16. *Unngu-la   nyanga-ngi   Parliament House   nyaku-la*
     inside-1PL.ERG see-PAST.IMPF Parliament House.ACC see-SERIAL

     nyakulingku-la.
     look.for.something.while.going.along-SERIAL
     'We [went and] saw Parliament House and looked around for a while.'

17.   *Ka   Alli-lu   nganana-nya   wangka-ngu: 'Nganana   ana-nyi*
    CONTR   Alli-ERG   1PL-ACC   say-PAST   1PL.NOM   go-PRES

    ngura-kutu'.
    home-ALL
    'And Alli said to us: "We are going home".'

18.   *Ka   nganana   eprithing   tjukauru   a-nu.*
    CONTR   1PL.NOM   everything   straight   go-PAST
    'And we went all of us [?] straight [away].'

19.   *Nganana   a-nu-nta   Sydney-lakutu,   nyara   palulanguru,*
    1PL.NOM   go-PAST-EMPH   Sydney-ALL.NAME   yonder   from.there

    a-nu-la.   nganana   ma-warakati-ngu   Sydney-la
    go-PAST-1PL.NOM   1PL.NOM   AWAY-come down-PAST   Sydney-LOC.NAME

    nganana   *trampolina   inka-ngi.
    1PL.NOM   trampoline(LOC)   play-PAST.IMPF
    'We then went to Sydney, from over there, we went. In Sydney, we came down and we played trampoline.'

20.   *Ngana-lakutu-nta-la   a-nu   nyaa   iruplane   pulka-ngka.*
    what-ALL-EMPH-1PL.NOM   go-PAST   what   aeroplane   big-LOC
    'Where to? We then went in a big plane.'

21.   *Nganana   kalpa-ngu   kalpa-ra   nganana   a-nu-nta*
    1PL.NOM   climb-PAST   climb-SERIAL   1PL.NOM   go-PAST-EMPH

    Ngana-lakutu-la?   A-nu   tauna-kutu.
    where-ALL-1PL.NOM   go-PAST   town-ALL
    'We got in [a plane and] after getting in, we went. Where to? We went to town [i.e. Alice Springs].'

22.   *Taunu-nguru   nganana   malaku-nta   pitja-ngu   Utju-lakutu.*
    town-ABL   1PL.NOM   again-EMPH   come-PAST   Utju-ALL.NAME
    'From town, we went back to Utju.'

23.   *Ka   Alice-anya,   Anna-nya,   Enina-nya   tjana*
    CONTR   Alice-NOM.NAME   Anna-NOM.NAME   Enid-NOM.NAME   3PL.NOM

    warakati-ngu   Kaanta-la   nyina-ngu.
    come.down-PAST   Kaanta-LOC.NAME   stay.PAST
    'And Alice, Anna [and] Enid went down [and] stayed at Kaanta [camp].'

    (...)

24.   *Ka   Yundemu Sports-aku   nganana   a-nu.*
    CONTR   Yundemu Sports-PURP   1PL.NOM   go-PAST
    'And we went to the Yundemu Sports [Carnival].'

25.   *Nganana   wina-ri-ngu,   Utju-nya   wina-ri-ngu.*
    1PL.NOM   win-INCHO-PAST   Utju-NOM ACC   win-INCHO-PAST
    'We won, Utju won.'

TEXT 7: THE TRIP TO THREDBO

Another account of the Thredbo trip, seeing through the eyes of another teenager. After a detailed explanation of the diverse activities, the story mentions the intrusion of a stranger in the girls' dormitory. The intruder was never identified.

1. *Nganana   munga-nka Speeda-tjara   nyanga-ngi   video.*
    1PL.ERG   night-LOC   Speed-HAVING   see-PAST.IMPF video.ACC
    'At night, we saw [the movie] Speed [on] video.'

2. *Nganana tjuta-ngku mulapa nyanga-ngi   pitja palu-nya*
    1PL.ERG PL-ERG   really see-PAST.IMPF film   DEF-ACC

    Speeda-tjara   nya-kula.
    speed-HAVING   see-SERIAL
    'We all saw that film [called] Speed.'

3. *Ka   kungka walypala   nyitara tjuta   witjila-ri-ngi.*
    ADD   woman   white.person   boy   PL.NOM   whistle-INCHO-PAST.IMPF
    'All the women, white men and boys whistled.'

    (...)

4. *And nganana a-nu-nta   snow-kutu a-nu.*
    and 1PL.NOM go-PAST-EMPH   snow-ALL   go-PAST
    'Then we went to the snow [i.e. the ski field].'

5. *And ngananya? Tinkiri-nya   ngali   kuranyu*
    and what   Tinkiri-NOM.NAME   1DU.NOM   going.ahead

    slipi-ri-ngu   snow-angka.
    slide-INCHO-PAST.IMPF   snow-LOC
    'What? Tinkiri and I went ahead [and] slid on the snow.'

6. *Ka   Tungku-lu   pula   Wilu-lu   ngali-nya   wantikati-ngu*
    ADD   Tungku-ERG   3DU.ERG   Wilu-ERG   1DU-ACC   leave.behind-PAST

    ngali   purkara-nta ana-ngi.
    1DU.NOM   slowly-EMPH   go-PAST.IMPF
    'Tungku and Wilu left the two of us behind, the two of us went slowly.'

7. *Ka   nganana a-nu   chairlift-angka.*
    ADD   1PL.NOM go-PAST   chairlift-LOC
    'We went on the chairlift.'

8. *Ka   nganana pitja-ngu   ngayulu   ngayu-ku handglove*
    ADD   1PL.NOM come-PAST   1SG.NOM   1SG-GEN   handglove.ACC

    wantikati-ngu.
    leave.behind-PAST
    'We went, I left my glove behind.'

9. *Ka   Kelpana-ku   amana-ku   camera   wantikati-ngu.*
    ADD   Kelpana-GEN   grandmother-GEN   camera.ACC leave.behind-PAST
    'Kelpana left behind his grandmother's camera.'

(...)

10. *Nganana   Threbo-nala   nyina-ngi.*
     1PL.NOM   Threbo-LOC.NAME   sit-PAST.IMPF
     'We sat at Thredbo.'

11. *Ka   tjana   Friday Flat kalpa-ngu   katu mulapa-ya   kalpa-ngu,*
     ADD 3PL.NOM Friday Flat climb-PAST high really-3PL.NOM climb-PAST

     halfway ila   and   nyaa?
     halfway close and   what
     'They climbed Friday Flat, we climbed really high, close to halfway.'

12. *'Snowy River'-nya   nganana nya-ngu.*
     Snowy River-ACC.NAME 1PL.ERG see-PAST
     'We saw [the movie The man from] Snowy River.'

13. *Nganana nya-ngu   palu-mpa   ngura.*
     1PL.ERG see-PAST DEF-GEN home.ACC
     'We saw his house [of The man from Snowy River].'

14. *And malu   tjuta   mulapa, more tjuta   and nyaapa?*
     and kangaroo PL.ACC really   more PL.ACC and what

     Rapita, wombat and nyaa? imiu   ngara-ngi   imiu kutju.
     rabbit   wombat and what   emu.NOM stand-PAST.IMPF emu one
     '[We saw] so many kangaroos, lots and lots, and what? Rabbit, wombat and what?
     A emu was standing, one emu.'

15. *Mima Theresa-nya   kunkunpa Petrina-nya   kunkunpa*
     Mima Theresa-NOM.NAME asleep   Petrina-NOM.NAME asleep

     Ampera-nya   alapan-tjara   kunkunpa ngari-ngi
     Ampera-NOM.NAME elephant-HAVING asleep   lie-PAST.IMPF
     'Mima Theresa [is] asleep, Petrina [is] asleep, Ampera was lying asleep with [her]
     elephant [toy].'

16. *Wilu-nya utjuu-tjara   kunkunpa ngari-ngi.*
     Wilu-ERG horde-HAVING asleep   lie-PAST.IMPF
     'Wilu was lying asleep with [his] horse [toy].'

17. *Tinkiri-nya   tjarpa-ngu   ruuma-kutu.*
     Tinkiri-NOM.NAME enter-PAST room-ALL
     'Tinkiri has entered the room.'

18. **Ena*   buuk   riita-mila-ni.*
     Enid.ERG book.ACC read-LOAN-PRES
     'Enid is reading a book.'

19. *Ka   ngana-nya ... munga-ngka someone   tjarpa-ngu*
     CONTR who-NOM.NAME night-LOC   someone.NOM enter-PAST

     ngana-mpa ruuma-ngka Mima-lu   ngali   ngari-ra
     1PL-GEN   room-LOC   Mima-ERG.NAME 1DU.ERG lie-SERIAL

nyanga-ngi   someone   tjarpa-ngu ngana-mpa ruuma.
see-PAST.IMPF someone.NOM   enter-PAST 1PL-GEN   room.
'And who? At night someone entered our room. Mima and I were in bed and
[we] saw [someone], someone entered our room.'

20. *Ka Moll-nya   tjana   night patrol warka-ri-ngi,*
ADD Moll-NOM.NAME   3PL.NOM night patrol work-INCHO-PAST.IMPF

tjana   night patrol warka-ri-ngi.
3PL.NOM night patrol work-INCHO-PAST.IMPF
'Moll and her friend worked [for] the night patrol, they worked [for] the night patrol.'

21. *Ka minyma   kutjupa tjuta   nyina-ngi   ngura-ngka*
ADD mature.woman other   PL.NOM stay-PAST.IMPF home-LOC
'All the other women stayed at home.'

22. *Ka   Moll-anya   Alice-anya   someone   paluru*
CONTR Moll-NOM.NAME   Alice-NOM.NAME   someone   DEF.NOM

warka-ringa-nyi   night patrol.*
work-INCHO-PRES night patrol(PURP).
'Moll and Alice and someone [else] are working [for] the night patrol.'

23. *Munga-ngka nganana a-nu.*
night-LOC   1PL.NOM go-PAST
'At night, we went.'

(...)

24. *Ngari-ngi   *Petrina   nyara-tja   ngari-ngi*
lie-PAST.IMPF Petrina.NOM.NAME yonder-EVIDENT lie-PAST.IMPF

Mima-nya   ngalya-ngara-ngi,   ngana-mpa ruuma-ngka
Mima-NOM.NAME THIS.WAY-stand-PAST.IMPF 1PL-GEN   room-LOC

tjarpa-ngu.
enter-PAST
'Petrina was lying over there, Mima stood THIS.WAY [and someone] entered
her room.'

25. *Munga-ngka ngana-mpa ruuma-ngka tjarpa-ngu   someone*
night-LOC   1PL-GEN   room-LOC   enter-PAST someone.NOM

paluru,   yunpa Tinkiri*   nya-ngu.*
DEF.NOM   face.ACC Tinkiri.ERG.NAME see-PAST
'At night someone entered our room, Tinkiri saw a face.'

26. *Ngayulu wanka ngari-ngi,   *Ampera   nya-ngu,*
1SG.NOM alive   lie-PAST.IMPF Ampera.ERG.NAME see-PAST

*Petrina-nya   nya-ngu *Theresa   nya-ngu.*
Petrina-ERG.NAME see-PAST Theresa.ERG.NAME see-PAST
'I was lying awake, Ampera saw [him], Petrina saw him, Theresa saw [him].'

27.   *Wati   pitja-ngu-nta   Ena-lakutu.*
       man   come-PAST-EMPH   Enid-ALL.NAME
       'Then a man came into Enid['s room].'

28.   *Nyaa? blankita   katu-nu paluru   warakati-ngu.*
       what   blanket.ACC   lift-PAST DEF.NOM come.down-PAST
       'What? He lifted the blanket [and] came down.'

TEXT 8: THE TRIP TO DARWIN

The following story is a simple account of the teenage girl's trip to Darwin where she went with her family. The extensive use of the English coordination conjunction 'and' is interesting, so is the inclusion of some Western concepts such as money, double-decker bus, street life etc.

1.   *Ngayulu a-nu   alidai.*
       1SG.NOM go-PAST   holiday
       'I went on holiday.'

2.   *Ngayulu   nyara a-nu   ngana-lakutu   Darwina-lakutu.*
       1SG.NOM   yonder go-PAST where-ALL.NAME   Darwin-ALL.NAME
       'I went far where to? To Darwin.'

3.   *Munu ngayulu   paatja-ngka   ngalya-pitja-ngu.*
       ADD   1SG.NOM   bus-LOC   THIS.WAY-come-PAST
       'And I went there on a bus.'

       (...)

4.   *Munu ngayulu   ma-pitja-la   taxi-ngka   ma-kalpa-ngu   a-nu.*
       ADD   1SG.NOM   AWAY-come-SERIAL taxi-LOC   AWAY-climb-PAST   go-PAST
       'I went away and climbed in a taxi, [and] went.'

5.   *And ngana-la   ngarakati-ng?*
       and   where-LOC come.to.a.halt-PAST
       '[The taxi] stopped where at?

6.   *Nganana a-nu   ngura-kutu kilina-ringku-la   a-nu*
       1PL.NOM   go-PAST home-ALL   clean-INCHO-SERIAL go-PAST

       shopa-kutu pai-mila-ra   shopping.
       shop-ALL   pay-LOAN-SERIAL shopping
       'We went home [and after] cleaning [ourselves up we] went to the shop and bought [a lot of things] shopping.'

7.   *A-nu   nganana ngalku-ntja-ku Hungry Jack-alatu,*
       go-PAST   1PL.NOM   eat-NOML-PURP Hungry Jack's-ALL.NAME

Darwin-ala.
Darwin-LOC.NAME
'We went to Hungry Jack's in Darwin to eat.'

8. *Munu nganana a-nu munga-ngka.*
    ADD 1PL.NOM go-PAST night-LOC
    'We went at night.'

9. *Nganana ngalya-pitja-la nganana munta ala-ri-ngu*
    1PL.NOM THIS.WAY-come-SERIAL 1PL.NOM I.am.sorry open-INCHO-PAST

    nganana and nganana zoo-kutu a-nu.
    1PL.NOM and 1PL.NOM zoo-ALL go-PAST
    'After we went across, sorry, we opened up [?] and we went to the zoo.'

10. *Ngayulu nya-ngu nyaapa? nyaapa? liru pulkanya.*
    1SG.ERG see-PAST what what snake big.ACC
    'I saw, what? ... what? ... a big snake.'

11. *And nganana tjarpa-ngu uungu.*
    and 1PL.NOM enter-PAST inside
    'We went inside.'

12. *And ngayulu nya-ngu glatja-ngka pulka-nya ngara-ngi*
    and 1SG.ERG see-PAST glass-LOC big-ACC stand-PAST.IMPF

    and nyaapa? monkey pulka-nya and nganana tjarpa-ngu.
    and what? monkey big-ACC and 1PL.NOM enter-PAST
    'I saw, [behind] a glass, a big one, [they] were standing] and what, big monkey and we entered.'

13. *And monkey tjuta-la nya-ngu tipun-tipuna munu*
    and monkey PL.ACC-1SG.NOM see-PAST different-different ADD

    nganana nyina-ngi.
    1PL.NOM sit-PAST.IMPF
    'We saw many different monkeys and we sat.'

14. *And nganana a-nu munga-ri-ngu.*
    and 1PL.NOM go-PAST dark-INCHO-PAST
    'We went, [as it] got dark.'

15. *Nganana a-nu kunkuna-ri-ra paka-nu.*
    1PL.NOM go-PAST sleep-INCHO-SERIAL get.up-PAST
    'After sleeping, [we] got up [and] we went.'

16. *And nganana a-nu shopping piruku.*
    and 1SG.NOM go-PAST shopping again
    'We went shopping again.'

17. *Epriali mantji-nu tala.*
    every.morning get-PAST dollar.ACC
    'Every morning [we] got [some] dollars.'

18. *Ka nganana a-nu shopping eprithing pai-ma-ra*
    CONTR 1PL.NOM go-PAST shopping everything buy-LOAN-SERIAL

pai-ma-ra   ngalya-pitja-ngu.
buy-LOAN-SERIAL   THIS.WAY-come-PAST
'We went shopping [and] after buying and buying everything, [we] went [i.e. left].'

19.   *And nganana   ngalya-pitja-ngu   kapi   pulka   taimi.*
      and 1PL.NOM   THIS.WAY-come-PAST   water big   time
      'We came and [it was] the rainy season.'

20.   *Darwin-ala   nganana   pata-ningi.*
      Darwin-LOC.NAME   1PL.NOM   wait for-PAST.IMPF
      'In Darwin, we were waiting for [the traffic light].'

21.   *Ka   nyara-ngka ulkumunu   kutju   pungkukati-ngu striita-ngka.*
      CONTR   yonder-LOC old.woman one.NOM kill-PAST   street-LOC
      'Over there, one old woman got killed in the street.'

22.   *Ka   nganana   wati-pitja-la   nganana   tjarpa-ngu.*
      CONTR   1PL.NOM   ACROSS-come-SERIAL   1PL.NOM   enter-PAST
      'We came across and we entered.'

23.   *A-nu   nganana   and   kapi   pulka   taimi.*
      go-PAST 1PL.NOM and   rain   big   time
      'We went and it was raining.'

24.   *Nganana   tjaata-ri-ngu   ngalya-pitja-nytja-ku.*
      1PL.NOM   start-INCHO-PAST   THIS.WAY-come-NOML-PURP
      'We headed this way.'

25.   *Alice Springs-aku   nganana   ngalya-pitja-ngu.*
      Alice Springs-PURP 1PL.NOM   THIS.WAY-come-PAST
      'We went to Alice Springs.'

26.   *And paatja   raida-wana   pulka-ngka   nganana   kalpa-ngu.*
      and bus   red-wana   big-LOC   1PL.NOM   climb-PAST
      'We climbed into a big red bus.'

27.   *Tapulpatja-ngka kalpa-ngu,   and   nganana   a-nu.*
      double.bus-LOC   climb-PAST   and   1PL.NOM   go-PAST
      '[We] climbed into the double bus and we went.'

28.   *Ka   kutju-ngku kutju   paatja katu   tantji-ringa-ngi.*
      CONTR   one-ERG   one   bus   high dance-INCHO-PAST.IMPF
      'One [person] danced on the top of one bus.'

29.   *Ngananya   ngura   India-nya   ngura.*
      what.name house India-NOM house
      'What country [was she from]? [Her] home [was] India.'

30.   *Kutju tantji-ringa-ngi   paluru.*
      one   dance-INCHO-PAST.IMPF DEF.NOM
      'She was the only one dancing.'

31.   *And nganana   pitja   nyakuli-nangi.*
      and 1PL.ERG   movie.ACC   watch-PAST.IMPF
      'We watched a movie.'

32. *And nyaapa? Nganana a-nu toileta-ku.*
     and what   1PL.NOM   go-PAST toilet-PURP
     'What else? We went to the toilet.'

33. *Ka   nganana   taunu-kutu   a-nu.*
     CONTR 1PL.NOM   town-ALL   go-PAST
     'We went to town.'

34. *And   nganana   taunu-kutu   a-nu   taunu   puula-kutu*
     CONTR 1PL.NOM   town-ALL   go-PAST town   pool-ALL

     ngalya-pitja-ngu.
     THIS.WAY-come-past
     'We went to town, [we] went to the town pool.'

35. *And nganana ngari-ngi   autel-angka.*
     and 1PL.NOM lie-PAST.IMPF hotel-LOC
     'We slept in a hotel.'

36. *Ngalya-tjaata-ri-ngu   Utju-ku.*
     THIS.WAY-start-INCHO-PAST Utju-PURP
     '[We] started to [go] towards Utju.'

37. *And nganana ma-pitja-ngu   malaku Toyota-ngka.*
     and 1PL.NOM AWAY-come-PAST back   Toyota-LOC
     'We went away back in a Toyota.'

38. *And ma-pitja-la   nganana nyina-ngi.*
     and AWAY-come-SERIAL 1PL.NOM sit-PAST.IMPF
     'We went away and sat.'

39. *Ka   nganana   a-nu,   kalpa-ngu.*
     CONTR 1PL.NOM   go-PAST climb-PAST
     'We went, climbed.'

40. *And ngalya-pitja-ngu   and nyina-ngi-la.*
     and THIS.WAY-come-PAST and sit-PAST.IMPF-1PL.NOM
     '[We] came THIS.WAY and we sat.'

41. *Ka   nganana   a-nu   shop-akutu.*
     CONTR 1PL.NOM   go-PAST shop-ALL
     'We went to the shop.'

42. *And Mitjiniri-lakutu   wati-pitja-ngu.*
     and mission-ALL.NAME   ACROSS-come-PAST
     '[We] went across to the mission [i.e. Hermannsburg].'

43. *Nganana Mitjiniri-la   ngari-ngu, ngalya-pitja-ngu   malaku.*
     1PL.NOM mission-LOC lie-PAST   THIS.WAY-come-PAST back
     'We slept at the mission [i.e. Hermannsburg], [and] came back [to Utju].'

TEXT 9: THE SECONDARY EDUCATION CLASS'S TRIP TO DARWIN

In September 1994, the secondary education classroom went to Darwin for their 'residential school'. Here is an account of that trip.

1. *Utju-languru   nganana   airoplaina   kulupa-ngka   ngalya-pitja-ngu.*
   Utju-ABL.NAME   1PL.NOM   aeroplane   little-LOC   THIS.WAY-come-PAST
   'From Utju, we went in a little plane.'

2. *Munu-la   warakati-ra   nyina-ngi   airoplaina   pulka-ku.*
   ADD-1PL.NOM   come.down-SERIAL   sit-PAST.IMPF   aeroplane   big-PURP
   'After we landed [in Alice Springs], we sat in a big plane.'

3. *Munu-la   nyina-ra   nyina-ra   nya-ngu   Ti-Tree-nya*
   ADD-1PL.NOM   sit-SERIAL   sit-SERIAL   see-PAST   Ti-Tree-ACC.NAME

   *ngura   munu   Santa Theresa-nya   ngura   munu
   inhabitant   ADD   Santa Theresa-ACC NAM   inhabitant   ADD

   *Pupa-nya   ngura.
   Pupanya.ACC.NAME   inhabitant
   'We sat for a while and saw the people from Ti-Tree, Santa Theresa and Pupanya.'

4. *Munu-la   tjungu-ringku-la   ngalya-pitja-ngu   Darwin-aku*
   ADD-1PL.NOM   meet-INCHO-SERIAL   THIS.WAY-come-PAST   Darwin-PURP

   airoplaina   pulka-ngka.
   aeroplane   big-LOC 1PL.NOM
   'After meeting, we went to Darwin in a big plane.'

5. *Ngalya-pitja-la-la   nyan-gu. Louise-anya*
   THIS.WAY-come-SERIAL-1PL.ERG   see-PAST   Louise-ACC.NAME
   'We went [to Darwin] and saw Louise.'

6. *Pula   pata-ningi   ngana-mpa.*
   3DU.NOM   wait.for-PAST.IMPF   1PL-GEN
   'Her and her friend [i.e. the bus driver] were waiting for us.'

7. *Munu-lanya   wangka-ngu: 'Nyura   paatja-ngka   a-ra'.*
   ADD-1PL.ACC   say-PAST   2PL.NOM   bus-LOC   go-IMP
   '[She] told us: "You [mob], get in the bus".'

8. *Munu-la   kalpa-ra   ngalya-pitja-ngu   autel-lakutu.*
   ADD-1PL.NOM   climb-SERIAL   THIS.WAY-come-PAST   hotel-ALL
   'After getting in [the bus], we went to the hotel.'

9. *Munu-la   paku   wiya-ringku-la   a-nu   nyaapa?*
   ADD-1PL.NOM   tired   end-INCHO-SERIAL   go-PAST   what

   twarf-akutu.
   wharf-ALL
   'After resting, we went what? To the wharf.'

10. *Nganana   shawa-ri-ngu   munu-la   pata-ra*
    1PL.NOM   shower-INCHO-PAST   ADD-1PL.NOM   wait for-SERIAL

nyina-ngi   walypala-ku.
sit-PAST.IMPF white.person-PURP
'We showered and we sat waiting for the white person.'

11. *Munu-lanya walypala-ngku ngalya-pitja-la   alti-ngu.*
     ADD-1PL.ACC white.person-ERG THIS.WAY-come-SERIAL call-PAST
     'The white person came THIS.WAY and called us.'

12. *Munu-la   a-nu   wharf-akutu munu-la*
     ADD-1PL.NOM go-PAST   wharf-ALL   ADD-1PL.NOM

     ma-pitja-la-la   nyinakati-ngu kumanu-ngka.
     AWAY-come-SERIAL-1PL.NOM   sit.down-PAST ?-LOC
     'We went to the wharf and once there we sat down at?'

13. *Munu-lanya wangka-ngu: 'Nyura   unytjuri-nyi fish   and   chips*
     ADD-1PL.ACC say-PAST   2PL.NOM   want-PRES   fish   and   chips

     ngalku-ntja-ku?' munu-la   wangka-ngu 'uwa'.
     eat-NOML-PURP   ADD-1PL.NOM   say-PAST   yes
     '[Louise] said to us: "Do you mob want to eat fish and chips?" And we said "yes".'

14. *Munu-lampa mantji-la   ngarakati-ngu.*
     ADD-1PL.GEN get-SERIAL come.to.a.halt-PAST
     '[We] got ours and stayed [in the park] for a while.'

15. *Munu-la   ngalku-ningi. Nyara palulanguru nya-ngu walypala*
     ADD-1PL.NOM eat-PAST.IMPF yonder from.there   see-PAST white.person

     tjuta   tantji-ringa-ngi.
     PL.ACC   dance-INCHO-PAST.IMPF
     'We ate. From over there, [we] saw many white people, [they] were dancing.'

16. *Munu-la   ngalku-la   ngalku-la malaku ngalya-pitja-ngu*
     ADD-1PL.NOM eat-SERIAL   eat-SERIAL again THIS.WAY-come-PAST

     ngura-kutu.
     home-ALL
     'We ate and ate again, [we] went home.'

17. *Ngalya-pitja-la-la   ngura-ngka tjarpa-ra   munu*
     THIS.WAY-come-SERIAL-1PL.NOM home-LOC   enter-SERIAL ADD

     shawa-ri-ngu.
     shower-INCHO-PAST
     'We went this way and came in the house and showered.'

18. *Munu ali   nganana   ana-ngi   skuula-kutu.*
     ADD morning 1PL.NOM   go-PAST.IMPF school-ALL
     'We went to school in the morning.'

19. *Munu-la   breakfast ngalku-nu.*
     ADD-1PL.NOM breakfast eat-PAST
     'We ate breakfast.'

20.   *Munu   unngu   tjarpa-ngu   waarka palya-ntja-ku   munu-la*
       ADD   inside   enter-PAST   work   do-NOML-PURP   ADD-1PL.NOM

       paka-nu   smoko.
       get.up-PAST   smoko
       '[We] got inside to do [some] work and got out [for] smoko.'

21.   *Munu after   lunch nganana a-nu   Parliament House-kutu munu*
       ADD   after   lunch 1PL.NOM   go-PAST   Parliament House-ALL   ADD

       tjarpa-ngu   unngu.
       enter-PAST   inside
       'After lunch, we went to Parliament House and entered inside.'

22.   *Munu-la   ngalku-ningi   munu nyara   palulanguru   nganana*
       ADD-1PL.NOM   eat-PAST.IMPF   ADD   yonder   from.there   1PL.NOM

       paka-ra   ngalya-pitja-ngu   ngura-kutu.
       get.up-SERIAL   THIS.WAY-come-PAST   home-ALL
       'We ate and we got up from over there and went home.'

23.   *Munu a-nu   shopping-ku.   shaarta   kutjara T-shirt   kutjara, kuultu.*
       ADD   go-PAST   shopping-PURP   short   two   T-shirt   two   soft.drink
       '[We] went shopping. [We bought] two shorts, two T-shirts, [some] soft drink[s].'

24.   *Nganana kuari ana-nyi   mungartji sapa-ku.   Ngana-lakutu-la?*
       1PL.NOM   soon   go-PRES   evening   supper-PURP   what-ALL.NAME-1PL.NOM

       Sizzler. Nyara palulanguru   ana-nyi   cinema-kutu.
       Sizzler yonder   from.there   go-PRES   cinema-ALL
       'We are soon going to [eat] supper. Where [are] we [going] to? Sizzler. From over there, [we] are going to the cinema.'

TEXT 10: HIDE YOUR DRINKS AND RUN

In the following short story, a girl tells how she and her friends had to hide their drinks to avoid having to share them with the women of the camp.

1.   *Nganana   a-nu   uru-k(u).*
      1PL.NOM   go-PAST   waterhole-PURP
      'We went to the waterhole.'

2.   *Ka   kungka tjuta   pitja-ngi   mala-wanu.*
      CONTR   woman   PL.NOM   come-PAST.IMPF   after-PERL
      'And many women came behind us.'

3.   *Ka-ya   ila   mulap(a)   driinki   ila   ngara-ngi.*
      CONTR-3PL.NOM   close   really   drink   near   stand-PAST.IMPF
      'They were standing really close to the drink[s].'

4.   *Ka   nganana trink(i)   kutitju-nu.*
     CONTR   IPL.ERG   drink.ACC   hide-PAST
     'We hid [our] drink.' (...)

5.   *Ka   Mima-nya   ngali   ngalya-kutitjaka-ngu.*
     CONTR   Mima-NOM.NAME   IDU.NOM   THIS.WAY-run-PAST
     'And Mima and I ran this way.'

6.   *Ka   Mima-nya   ngunti   ngali   ngalya-kutitjaka-ngu.*
     CONTR   Mima-NOM.NAME   false   IDU.NOM   THIS.WAY-run-PAST
     'And Mima and I ran in the wrong direction.'

7.   *Ka   ngali   anku-la   uungu   Nungurai-la*
     CONTR   IDU.ERG go-SERIAL   inside   Nungurai-LOC.NAME

     tjana-nya   tjiki-ngi.
     3PL-ACC   drink-PAST.IMPF
     'The two of us went and drank [the drinks] inside Nungurai's [house].'

8.   *Nungurai-la   nganana tjuta   tjiki-ngi.*
     Nungurai-LOC.NAME   IPL.ERG   PL.ACC   drink-PAST.IMPF
     'At Nungurai's, we drank all [the drinks].'

TEXT 11: AFTER SCHOOL

This is the simple account of the daily life of an Areyonga teenage girl, told by the youngest of the study group. Most of the aspect of her everyday life is covered here: school, fights, swimming at the waterhole, concert and church. She proved to be difficult to understand as speaking into the microphone seemed to intimidate her and accentuate her staccato-like speech.

1.   *Nganana   a-nu   uru-kutu.*
     IPL.NOM   go-PAST   waterhole-ALL
     'We went to the waterhole.'

2.   *Nganana   Alice-nya   punga-ngi.*
     IPL.ERG   Alice-ACC.NAME   hit-PAST.IMPF
     'We hit Alice.'

3.   *Alli-nya   nganana ikari-ngu Alli-nya   Renita-nya.*
     Alli-NOM.NAME IPL.NOM   laugh-PAST Alli-NOM.NAME Renita-NOM.NAME
     'We, Alli and Renita, laughed.'

4.   *Alli-lu   atu-nu   *puli   tjina   nyara-tja*
     Alli-ERG.NAME   hit.with.stone-PAST   hill.LOC foot   yonder-EVIDENT

     *ngara-ngi   *Karri.*
     stand-PAST.IMPF   Karri.ACC.NAME
     'Alli hit Karri on her foot with a stone.'

(...)

5.   *Nganana   a-nu   uṟu-ku.*
        1PL.NOM   go-PAST   waterhole-PURP
        'We went to the waterhole.'

6.   *Nganana   tjurpi-tjurpi-ṟa,   ngalya-pitja-ngu   nganana,*
        1PL.NOM   swim-swim-SERIAL   THIS.WAY-come-PAST   1PL.NOM

        ngatil-kitja   Alice-nya   ngatji-ṉu   waṉa-ṉingi   Renita-nya.
        ask-INTENT   Alice-ACC.NAME   ask-PAST   follow-PAST.IMPF   Renita-ACC.NAME
        'After swimming for a while, we went this way to ask Alice [to come with us], [we]
        asked [and] followed Renita. '

        (...)

7.   *Munu   Pam-anya   tjana   uṟu-ngka   tjurpi-ṟa*
        ADD   Pam-NOM.NAME   3PL.NOM   waterhole-LOC   swim-SERIAL

        tjurpi-ṟa,   nganana   taanta-ku   inka-ngi   nyara-ngka.
        swim-SERIAL   1PL.NOM   dive-PURP   play-PAST.IMPF   yonder-LOC
        'Pam and her friends swam and swam at the waterhole, we dived over there.'

8.   *Munu   kuula-ngka   tjarpa-ngu   Will-alu   wangka-nyangka.*
        ADD   school-LOC   enter-PAST   Will-ERG   say-CIRCUM

        Tjurpi-ṟa   tjurpi-ṟa   tjurpi-ṟa   a-nu   kuula-ku,
        swim-SERIAL   swim-SERIAL   swim-SERIAL   go-PAST   school-PURP

        kuula-ku   nganana   a-nu.
        school-PURP   1PL.NOM   go-PAST
        '[We] went into the school as Will was talking. After swimming for a long time,
        we went to school.'

9.   *Nganana   piipa   palya-ṉingi   nganana   (pause)   palya-ṉingi*
        1PL.NOM   paper   do-PAST.IMPF   1PL.NOM   (pause)   do-PAST.IMPF

        nyara-ngka,   kuula-ngka   nganana   palya-ṉingi.
        yonder-LOC   school-LOC   1PL.NOM   do-PAST.IMPF
        'We were reading, over there, at school, that's what we were doing.'

10.   *Ka   nganana   a-nu   inka-nytja-ku   basketball-angka,*
        CONTR   1PL.NOM   go-PAST   play-NOML-PURP   basketball-LOC

        *a-nu   nganana   *basketballa.*
        go-PAST   1PL.NOM   basketball.LOC
        'We went to play basketball, we went [to play] basketball.'

11.   *Ka   nganana   a-nu-lta   kiita-ku,   ngayulu*
        CONTR   1PL.NOM   go-PAST-EMPH   guitar-PURP   1SG.NOM

        piipa-ngka   tjarpa-ngu.
        church[service]-LOC   enter-PAST
        'Then we went to the guitar [concert], I went in the church.'

12. *Ngayulu plawar tju-nu urilta tjata.*
     1SG.NOM flower put-PAST outside grove[?]
     'I put flowers outside, on the grove[?].'

TEXT 12: THE FIGHT

In the following story, the teenager recalls the fight between a couple of girls. The story is colourful with some swear words and a complete account of all the participants and what they said. Remember that all names appearing in this story are fictitious.

1. *Kumana-nya   tjana   pika-ringa-ngi.*
    Kumana-NOM.NAME   3PL.NOM   fight-INCHO-PAST.IMPF
    'Kumana and her friends were fighting.'

2. *Ka   Kumana-lu   wangka-ngu:*
    CONTR   Kumana-ERG.NAME   say-PAST
    'And Kumana told [her]:'

3. *'Ngayulu   kuwari   nyura-nya   punga-nyi   katji-ma-ra*
    1SG.ERG   soon   2PL-ACC   hit-PRES   surprise-LOAN-SERIAL

    basketball-angka.'
    basketball-LOC
    '"I'll soon catch you girls by surprise at the basketball court, and I'll hit you".'

4. *Ka   Karri-lu   wangka-ngu:*
    CONTR   Karri-ERG.NAME   say-PAST
    'Karri answered:'

5. *'Nyuntu-nya   ngayu(lu)   punga-nyi.'*
    2SG-ACC   1SG.ERG   hit-PRES
    '"I'm going to hit you".'

6. *Ka   Kumana-lu   wangka-ngu: 'Nyuntu   kulupa'.*
    CONTR   Kumana-ERG.NAME   say-PAST   2SG.NOM   little
    'Kumana said to [her]: "You [are a] little [bad person]".'

7. *Ka   Kumana-lu   alatji   wangka-ngu Karri-nya.*
    CONTR   Kumana-ERG.NAME   like.this   say-PAST   Karri-ACC.NAME
    'That's how Kumana talked to Karri.'

8. *Paluru   Karri-nya   wangka-ngu: 'Karri-nya*
    DEF.ERG   Karri-ACC.NAME   say-PAST   Karri-NOM.NAME

    nyuntu   una'.
    2SG.NOM   rotten
    'She said to Karri: "Karri, you [are a] rotten [person]".'

9. *Ka   Kumana-lu   wangka-ngu: 'Una   nyuntu,*
    CONTR   Kumana-ERG.NAME   say-PAST   rotten 2SG.NOM

tarka kulupa'.
bone   little
'Kumana continued: "You are a skinny rotten [person]".'

10. *Ka   palu (ru) pula   pika-pika-ringa-ngi.*
     CONTR   DEF.NOM   3DU.NOM   fight-fight-INCHO-PAST.IMPF
     'The two of them fought and fought.'

11. *Ka   Alice-alu   ngayu-nya ngara-ra   kumpi-nu.*
     CONTR   Alice-ERG.NAME   1SG-ACC   stand-SERIAL hide-PAST
     'Alice stood hiding from me.'

12. *Ka   ngayulu palu-lakutu anku-la   Leah-nya   pu-ngu*
     CONTR   1SG.ERG DEF-LOC   go-SERIAL   Leah-ACC.NAME   hit -PAST

     a-nu   ngayulu.
     go-PAST   1SG.NOM
     'I went towards Leah and hit [her and] I took off.'

13. *And   ngayulu pu-ngu   tjana-nya punu-ngka   wara   ngayulu*
     CONTR   1SG.ERG hit-PAST 3PL-ACC   stick-LOC   first   1SG.ERG

     pu-ngu   Alice-anya.
     hit-PAST   Alice-ACC.NAME
     'I hit them with a stick, first I hit Alice.'

14. *Paluru   tjana   wai   nganana-nya tiitji-mila-ngi*
     DEF.ERG 3PL.ERG   anyway   1PL-ACC   tease-LOAN-PAST.IMPF
     'She and her friends teased us anyway.'

15. *Ka   Kumana-lu   wangka-ngu tjana-nya ka   a-nu.*
     CONTR   Kumana-ERG.NAME   say-PAST   3PL-ACC   CONTR   go-PAST
     'Kumana said [something] to them and went.'

16. *Ka   ngayulu wangka-ngu: 'Wiya, nganana wiya pika-ringa-nyi'.*
     CONTR   1SG.NOM say-PAST   NEG   1PL.NOM NEG   fight-INCHO-PRES
     'I said: "No, we are not fighting".'

17. *Nganana a-nu.   Ka   Wirpa-lu   wangka-ngu.*
     1PL.NOM go-PAST CONTR   Wirpa-ERG.NAME   say-PAST
     'We went. Wirpa said to [us].'

18. *'Pika-ku   manyu tjuta!'*
     fight-PURP   greedy PL.NOM
     '"[You] are all keen to fight".'

19. *Ka   ngayulu wangka-ngu: 'Nyuntu pika-ku   manyu-tu.*
     CONTR   1SG.NOM say-PAST   2SG.NOM fight-PURP greedy-EMPH

     Una   nyuntu.'
     rotten   2SG.NOM
     'I said: "You are the one [who is] keen to fight. You are a rotten [person]".'

     (...)

20. *Ka   Lachlan-alu   paka-ra   a-nu.*
    CONTR   Lachlan-ERG.NAME   get.up-SERIAL   go-PAST
    'Lachlan got up and left.'

21. *Ka   Kumana-lu   warki-ngu, kutitjaka-ngu Kumana-nya*
    CONTR   Kumana-ERG.NAME   swear-PAST run-PAST   Kumana-ACC.NAME

    kuranyu.
    going.ahead
    'Kumana swore, Kumana ran ahead.'

22. *Ka   nyara palulanguṟu nyara palulanguṟu, Tjana*
    CONTR   yonder from.there   yonder from.there   3PL.NOM

    pika-pika-riga-ngi.
    fight-fight-INCHO-PAST.IMPF
    'From there, they fought and fought.'

23. *Ka   Marie-alu,   Nicole-alu   warki-ngi*
    CONTR   Marie-ERG.NAME   Nicole-ERG.NAME   swear-PAST.IMPF

    Alice-anya.
    Alice-ACC.NAME
    'Marie [and] Nicole swore at Alice.'

24. *Ka   Karri-lu   wangka-ngu: 'Nicole! ... nyaa? nyuntu   kulupa'.*
    CONTR   Karri-ERG.NAME   say-PAST   Nicole ... what   2SG.NOM little
    'Karri said to[her]: "Nicole! ... what? ... You [are a] little [bad person]".'

25. *Nicole-alu   uḻa-uḻa-ngu.*
    Nicole-ERG.NAME   cry-cry-PAST
    'Nicole cried and cried.'

TEXT 13: PRESENTATION

Three friends agreed to record their personal description. All the recordings were done in presence of the two others. However, it is interesting to see how different some of their expressions, pronunciation and choice of vocabulary are. To preserve their identity, names were changed and each teenager is referred as A, B and C.

Teenager A

1.   Allo, my name is Nicole.

2.   *Allo, ngayulu *Nicole   and (pause)*
      hello 1SG.NOM Nicole.NOM.NAME   and
      'Hello, I am Nicole, and ...'

3.   *Nyaapa panya?*
      what   that.know
      'What else?'

4.   *Ngayulu laiven, laiven years old*
     1SG.NOM eleven eleven years old
     'I am eleven, eleven years old.'

5.   *And ngayulu ngalya-pitja-nyi   ngura-kutu.*
     and 1SG.NOM TOWARDS-come-PRES home-ALL
     'I come around to [Annie's] house.'

6.   *Ngayulu Utju-la   nyina-pai and ...*
     1SG.NOM Utju-LOC.NAME   stay-CHAR and
     'I live in Utju and ...'

Teenager B

7.   *Allo   ngayu-ku ini   *Pam,*
     hello 1SG-GEN   name.NOM Pam.NOM.NAME
     'Hello, my name [is] Pam,'

8.   *Ngayulu   twelve   years   old.*
     1SG.NOM   twelve   years   old
     'I [am] twelve years old.'

9.   *Ngayu-ku birthday   Octoba-ngka.*
     1SG-GEN   birthday   October-LOC
     'My birthday [is] in October.'

10. *Ngayulu kuula-ngka titutjara tjarpa-pai.*
     1SG.NOM school-LOC always   enter-CHAR
     'I always go to school.'

Teenager C

11. No miss.

Teenager B

12. No miss.

Teenager C

13. *Allo, ngayulu ini   Alice-anya.*
     hello 1SG.NOM name Alice-NOM.NAME
     'Hello my name [is] Alice.'

14. *Ngayulu ten   years   old.*
     1SG.NOM ten   years   old
     'I [am] ten years old.'

15. *Ngayu-ku birthday May-ngka ngara-nyi.*
     1SG.NOM   birthday May-LOC stand-PRES
     'My birthday [is] in May.'[4]

16. *Munu ngayulu   kuula-ngka tjarpa-pai.*
     ADD   1SG.NOM   school-LOC enter-CHAR
     'And I go to school.'

---

[4]   Literally: My birthday stands in May.

Teenager A

17. <u>No miss</u>

Teenager C

18. <u>No miss.</u>

(...)

Teenager C

19. *Nganana kuwari ana-nyi Canberra-ku.*
    1PL.NOM soon go-PRES Canberra-PURP
    'We're going to Canberra soon.'

20. *Nganana kuwari snow-angka inka-nyi.*
    1PL.NOM soon snow-LOC play-PRES
    'We're going to play in the snow soon.'

21. *Munu nganana ana-nyi malaku Canberra-ku.*
    ADD 1PL.NOM go-PRES back Canberra-PURP
    'And we're going back [again] to Canberra soon.'

Teenager A

22. *Nganana ana-nyi* (pause) *ngayulu *Sydney and Canberra-ku.*
    1PL.NOM go-PRES 1SG.NOM Sydney.PURP and Canberra-PURP
    'We're going to Sydney and Canberra.'

23. *Nganana snow-angka inka-nyi and nyanga-nyi eprithing.*
    1PL.NOM snow-LOC play-PRES and see-PRES everything
    'We're going to play in the snow and see everything.'

Teenager B

24. *Ngayu-ku favrit tivi show Video Hits ... Batman.*
    1SG-GEN favourite TV show Video Hits Batman
    'My favourite TV shows [are] Video Hits ... Batman.'

Teenager C

25. *Ngayu-ku praiprita Melrosa-nya, *Beverly Hills.*
    1SG-GEN favourite Melrose-NOM.NAME Beverly Hills.NOM.NAME
    'My favourite [TV shows are] Melrose [Place and] Beverly Hills [90210].'

Teenager B

26. <u>Heart Break High</u>.

Teenager A

27. *Ngayu-ku faivrita-na *Beverly Hills and *Simpsons*
    1SG-GEN favourite-PRED Beverly Hills.NOM.NAME and Simpsons.NOM.NAME

    *and *Heart Break High.*
    and Heart Break High.NOM.NAME
    'My favourite [TV shows are] Beverly Hills [90210] and [The] Simpsons and Heart Break High.'

28. *Ngayulu unytju-ri-nyi   inka-nytja-ku   sapulta-ngka and*
     1SG.NOM like-INCHO-PRES play-NOML-PURP softball-LOC   and

     *valipula-ngka and *basketballa   (pause) and sarta-ngka.*
     volleyball-LOC and   basketball.LOC   and   soccer-LOC

     Ngayu-ku faivrita-na ... fur-pala.
     1SG-GEN   favourite-PRED   four-NUM PRED
     'I like to play softball and volleyball and basketball and soccer. [These are] my
     four favourite [sports].'

Teenager B

29. *Ngayu-ku faivrita-na   sapulta,   valleyball,   basketball*
     1SG-GEN   favourite-PRED   softball.NOM   volleyball.NOM basketball.NOM

     and   soka.
     and   soccer.NOM
     'My favourite [sports are] softball, volleyball, basketball and soccer.'

Teenager C

30. *Nganana palyal-pai   kuula-ngka yunpa   *plastata   munu*
     1SG.ERG   make-CHAR school-LOC   face.ACC   plaster.LOC   ADD

     painting palyal-pai.
     painting   make-CHAR
     'We made a plaster mask at school and painted [it].'

Teenager B

31. *Nganana mask   palyal-pai   plasa-ngka munu nganana kala*
     1SG.ERG   mask.ACC   make-CHAR   plaster-LOC   ADD   1SG.ERG   colour

     kutju palyal-pai.
     one   make-CHAR
     'We made a mask in plaster and we're going to paint [it] one colour.'

Teenager A

32. *Ngayu-ku walytja nyina-pai Ayers Rocka-la   nyina-pai and ngayu-ku*
     1SG-GEN   family   live-CHAR Ayers Rock-LOC.NAME live-CHAR and   1SG-GEN

     walytja nyina-pai Yundemu-la   and ngayu-ku   walytja nyina-pai
     family   live-CHAR Yundemu-LOC.NAME and   1SG-GEN   family   live-CHAR

     (pause) **Docker River*   and (pause) Haast Bluff Warfield, and Wallace
            Docker River.LOC.NAME

      Rock Hole, Darwin and Areyonga, that's all.
     'My family lives at Ayers Rock, and I have some family at Yundemu and at Docker
     River and Haast Bluff Warfield, and Wallace Rock Hole, Darwin and Areyonga,
     that's all.'

Teenager B

33.   *Ngayulu   ngalku-pai   uṉṯurngu,   ngaṉṯja,   iḻi,*
       1SG.ERG   eat-CHAR   bush.banana.ACC   berries.ACC   wild.fig.ACC

      tjaḻa,   maku,   ngapaṟi,   rapita,
      honey.ant.ACC   witchetty.grub.ACC   lerp.scale.ACC   rabbit.ACC

      maḻu,   kipaṟa,   kaḻaya.   More.   <u>That's all.</u>
      kangaroo.ACC   bush.turkey.ACC   emu.ACC   more
      'I eat bush banana, berries, wild fig, honey ant, witchetty grub, lerp scale, rabbit, kangaroo, bush turkey and more. That's all.'

Teenager A

34.   *Ngayulu ngalku-pai   nyaa? ... puutjitja takataka.*
       1SG.ERG eat-CHAR   what   bush.tucker.ACC
      'I eat what? ... bush tucker.'

35.   *And ngayulu   puutjitja   ngalku-pai   tjukutjuku maru-maru.*
       and   1SG.ERG   bush.ACC   eat-CHAR   little   pigweed.ACC
      'And I eat bush [tucker], [and] a small [amount] of pigweed.'

36.   *And puutji   tjuṯa   ngayulu   wangka-nyi.*
       and bush   PL.ACC   1SG.ERG   tell-PAST
      'And I'm talking about all the bush [food].'

37.   *Ngayulu ngalku-pai maḻu,   ngayulu ngalku-pai   uṉṯurungu.*
       1SG.ERG eat-CHAR   kangaroo.ACC   1SG.ERG eat-CHAR   bush.banana.ACC
      'I eat kangaroo, bush banana.'

38.   *Ngayulu ngalku-pai imiyu   and   ngayulu ngalku-pai tinka*
       1SG.ERG eat-CHAR   emu.ACC and   1SG.ERG eat-CHAR   goanna.ACC

      and ngayulu ngalku-pai maku   ngayulu ngalku-pai
      and   1SG.ERG eat-CHAR   witchetty.grub.ACC   1SG.ERG eat-CHAR

      tjaḻa   munu ngayulu ngalku-pai ... imiyu   maku.
      honey.ant.ACC ADD   1SG.ERG eat-CHAR   emu.ACC witchetty.grub.ACC
      'I eat emu and I eat goanna and I eat witchetty grub, I eat honey ants and I eat emu, witchetty grub.'

Teenager C

39.   *Ngayulu mai   puutjitja   ngalku-lpai maḻu,   kipaṟa,*
       1SG.ERG food   bush.ACC   eat-CHAR   kangaroo.ACC bush.turkey.ACC

      kaḻaya,   tjaḻa,   maku,   iḻi,
      emu.ACC   honey.ant.ACC   witchetty.grub.ACC   wild.fig.ACC

      uṉṯurungu,   ngaṉṯja.
      bush.banana.ACC   lerp.scale.ACC
      'I eat bush food, I eat kangaroo, bush turkey, emu, honey ant, witchetty grub, wild fig, bush banana, lerp scale.'

TEXT 14: 'THE SHORT-WAY LANGUAGE'

The following occurrences are part of the data I collected on short-way language. The sentences are not connected to a story as such. They are scattered material collected during my stay. Some utterances that could have invaded the students' privacy are not reproduced here. The first sentence reproduces short-way language utterances, without grammatical segmentation. The second sentence is as in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara, with the appropriate gloss and free translation.

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1. *Naa   tiṟa   rangi.*
    Tjana   witi-ṟa   ngaṟa-ngi.
    3PL.NOM   hold-SERIAL   stand-PAST.IMPF
    'They were [standing] holding [each other].'

2. *Lala   tjantjaku   ranyi   tjaa   ṟatja.*
    Walawala pitja-ntja-ku   ngaṟa-nyi   paatja nyara-tja.
    quickly   come-NOML-PURP stand-PRES   bus   yonder-EVIDENT.NOM
    'Quick! [We have] to go. The bus is standing over there.'

3. *Pingku   rii   wini.*
    Kapi-ngku   kuwari puyini.
    water-ERG   soon   fall-PRES
    'The water is going to fall soon [i.e. it is going to rain soon].'

4. *Tara   taa   kanyi.*
    Nyitayira tjuṯa   inka-nyi.
    boy   PL.NOM   play-PRES
    'The boys are playing.'

5. *Naa   yaringu.*
    Tjana   wiya-ri-ngu.
    3PL.NOM   end-INCHO-PAST
    'They finished.'

6. *Yaa   yulu   yaa nanyi   -lakutu   yulu   nanyi   rangka.*
    Wiya ngayulu wiya ana-nyi ?-lakutu ngayulu   nyina-nyi ngura-ngka.
    NEG   1SG.NOM NEG go-PRES ?-ALL   1SG.NOM   go-PRES   home-LOC
    'No, I am not going to (?), I am going home.'

7. *Kaa   taa   nanyi.*
    Kungka tjuṯa   nyina-nyi.
    woman PL.NOM   sit-PRES
    'The women are sitting.'

8. *Kaa   trinya   naringu.*
    Ka   Ti-Tree-nya   wina-ri-ngu.
    CONTR Ti-Tree-NOM   win-INCHO-PAST
    'Ti-Tree won [the football match].'

9.   *Ntiringanyi*   *lapa*   *ngantja.*
     Ngunti-ringa-nyi   *mulapa*   *nyanga.*
     wrong-INCHO-PRES   really   this
     'This is really wrong'.

10. *Raa-pitja-nyi*   *la-kutu.*
     Para-pitja-nyi   *kuula-kutu.*
     AROUND-come-PRES   school-ALL
     '[He] is coming around [to go] to the school.'

Appendix 2: Elicitation test

Two wordlists were the base of this elicitation test, a standard vocabulary list used by Dixon and Blake (1979) in their *Handbook of Australian languages*, and the language-survey material of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The combination of the two lists resulted in a wordlist of 322 items. Ten out of these 322 items were not recognised by all the members of the group. There are found in bold in the following list. Fifty-three English loans, that is 16.45%, were recorded and are indicated by the symbol #. Out of these 53 loans, 42 were thought to be new borrowings and 11 had been observed in old-people speech.

BODY PARTS

1. head
2. hair of head
3. eyebrow
4. eye
5. **eyelash**
6. nose
7. ear
8. chin
9. beard
10. jaw
11. tongue
12. tooth
13. lips
14. mouth
15. throat (windpipe)
16. nape of neck
17. neck
18. upper arm
19. lower arm
20. shoulder
21. elbow
22. hand
23. fingernail
24. armpit
25. chest (brisket)
26. rib
27. breasts
28. heart
29. stomach
30. liver #
31. **guts**
32. **navel**
33. hip
34. backbone
35. upper back
36. lower back
37. buttocks
38. thigh
39. knee
40. lower leg (calf)
41. ankle
42. foot
43. heel
44. skin
45. bone
46. blood
47. vein
48. saliva
49. **urine**

MATERIAL CULTURE

50. axe (steel)
51. axe (stone)
52. knife (European) #
53. sharp edge
54. blunt edge #
55. European clothes: woman's dress #
56. European clothes: men's trousers #
57. string #
58. rope #
59. boomerang
60. spear
61. shaft of spear
62. woomera (spear thrower)
63. digging stick
64. coolamon
65. nulla nulla (club)

CAMP

66. bush shelter
67. house (European style)
68. camp
69. good country
70. single men's camp
71. single women's camp

FIRE

72. fire
73. charcoal; hot coals
74. smoke
75. flame
76. light/glow
77. firewood

ENVIRONMENT

78. water
79. rain
80. waterhole/billabong
81. sky
82. sun
83. moon
84. stars
85. cloud
86. rainbow #
87. thunder #
88. lighting #
89. wind #
90. whirlwind
91. dust
92. hot weather #
93. cold weather
94. river
95. creek
96. ground/earth
97. hill
98. sandhill
99. stone
100. mountain
101. cave/hole
102. **white clay**
103. **red ochre**
104. bush/scrub
105. path/track
106. sea
107. **salt**

TIME

108. night
109. daytime
110. midday
111. morning #
112. afternoon
113. today/now
114. tomorrow/later on
115. long time ago
116. yesterday/s little while ago

DIRECTIONS

117. north
118. south
119. east
120. west
121. distance: long way away
122. distance: a little way (over there)
123. distance: immediate vicinity (here)
124. up (movement)
125. down (movement)
126. on top of

127. underneath

FLORA

128. grass
129. stick
130. leaf
131. **bark of tree**
132. root
133. vegetable food
134. ripe (as of fruit)
135. unripe (of fruit)
136. spinifex
137. mulga

FAUNA

138. domesticated dog
139. dingo (wild dog) #
140. tail
141. horse #
142. kangaroo
143. kangaroo: grey/brown
144. kangaroo: rock wallaby
145. kangaroo: euro (small desert
      kangaroo)
146. meat
147. rotten (as of meat)
148. raw (as of meat)
149. cooked (as of meat)
150. snake
151. goanna
152. gecko
153. frill-necked lizard
154. echidna (porcupine)
155. **possum**
156. cat #
157. fur
158. emu #
159. crow
160. white cockatoo
161. black cockatoo
162. feather
163. wing
164. claw
165. egg

166. fly (insect)
167. butterfly
168. mosquito
169. ant
170. witchetty grub
171. moth
172. bee
173. grasshopper #
174. caterpillar
175. scorpion #
176. louse
177. galah
178. eaglehawk

QUANTITY

179. one
180. two
181. three #
182. four #
183. five #
184. many ('big mob')
185. few ('little mob')
186. nothing

PHYSICAL QUALITIES

187. big
188. small
189. long #
190. tall #
191. short #
192. fat (of a person)
193. thin (of a person)
194. round #
195. heavy
196. light (not heavy) #/#
197. full (as of a billycan)
198. empty (as of a billycan)
199. full/sated #
200. straight (as of a road)
201. crooked (as of a road)
202. narrow
203. wide
204. smooth
205. **rough**

206. wet (as of clothes)
207. dry (as of clothes)
208. new (as of a spear)
209. old (as of a spear)
210. good (as of a spear)
211. bad (as of a spear)
212. good (as of a person)
213. bad (as of a person)
214. stupid
215. strong (as of a person)
216. correct ('proper') way
217. no
218. yes

COLOUR

219. black
220. white (as of an object) #
221. red #
222. yellow #
223. green #

HUMAN CLASSIFICATION

224. man
225. man: old
226. man: young #
227. woman
228. woman: old
229. woman: young
230. single girl
231. child
232. child: boy
233. child: girl
234. baby
235. father #
236. mother #
237. brother: elder
238. brother: younger
239. sister: elder
240. sister: younger
241. father's father
242. father's mother
243. mother's father
244. mother's mother
245. father's brother #
246. mother's brother #
247. father's sister #
248. mother's sister #
249. white person #
250. white man #
251. white woman #
252. Aborigine
253. blind person
254. deaf person
255. policeman #
256. name

BODILY FUNCTIONS

257. to sleep
258. to cry
259. to sneeze
260. to cough
261. to laugh
262. to smell
263. to vomit
264. to sweat
265. to see
266. to speak
267. to sing
268. to dance #
269. to hear
270. to drink
271. to eat
272. to bite
273. to spit
274. to be hot #
275. to be cold
276. to be thirsty
277. to be hungry
278. to be sick
279. to die/be dead
280. to live/be alive

ACTIONS

281. to be sitting down
282. to be standing up
283. to be lying down
284. to go/walk
285. to come towards

286. to return
287. to turn #
288. to bring/get
289. to take/grasp
290. to give
291. to hunt/look for
292. to hit with the hand
293. to hit with a stick
294. to hit with a missile
295. to kill
296. to shoot
297. to stab/pierce
298. to cut (as of meat)
299. to chop/split
300. to cook
301. to be burning (as of fire)
302. to blow on coals
303. to dig
304. to bury (as of meat)

305. to throw
306. to push
307. to pull #
308. to climb
309. to fall from
310. to swell (as an infection)
311. to scratch
312. to rub #
313. to squeeze
314. to wipe
315. to tie #
316. to work #
317. to play
318. to wash clothes #
319. to wash oneself   #
320. to swim
321. to think
322. to know about

Appendix 3: Lexical gap

This appendix contains material gathered from conversations, stories and other casual communication. I have attempted to compile a list of English loan words and some of the variations found in Areyonga Teenage Pitjantjatjara. These borrowings are categorised as old loans, new loans, gratuitous loans and nonce-borrowings. The two last categories are tentative conclusions due to a lack of sufficient evidence.

Lexical gap borrowing (nominal)

1- Western technical terms

Television and video have been part of the Aboriginal teenagers' upbringing since the installation of a satellite dish in the 1990s. Modern western technology is now accessible to teenagers in isolated areas (computers, radio, video, nintendo etc.).

• old loans

The word for photography is found under an assimilated form in the speech of old people and under a more 'anglicised' form in teenage speech (Chapter 2). It is difficult to know how long the word 'television' *tipi* has been in use but it appears in everyone's speech in Areyonga.

English	Traditional speech		Teenage speech
'TV'	*tipi*	[tipɪ]	[tipɪ] ~ [tivɪ]
'photography, photo'	*puturu*	[putʊrʊ]	[putʊrʊ] ~ [fɑtʌ]

• new loans

Most of the following examples are used on a regular basis by teenagers, especially at school.

English	Teenage speech	
'tape-recorder'	*taip-rikarda*	[tɑiprɪkrdʌ]
'computer'	*kumpiuta*	[kʊmpiutʌ]
'computer disk'	*kumpiuta disk*	[kʊmpiutʌ dɪsk]

2- Entertainment

• old loans

Around 1960, a film crew came to Areyonga to make a *pitja*, a documentary about the way of life of the Areyonga people. The term must have been borrowed from the now dated expression 'going to the pictures'. In the speech of old people *puturu* refers to photograph and *pitja* to motion picture. It seems that in teenage speech the term *pitja* is used as a synonym of photograph/picture while motion picture appears as *movie*, a new loan. Finally, *kiita* 'guitar' is found in the speech of old people but is varied in teenage speech.

English	Traditional speech		Teenage speech
'guitar'	*kiita*	[kiːtʌ]	[kiːtʌ] ~ [gitʌ]
'photograph, picture'	*pitja*	[picʌ]	[picʌ]

• new loans

English	Teenage speech	
'movie'	*movie*	[muːvɪ]
'disco'	*disco*	[dɪskʌ]
'TV show'	*Tivi show*	[tivɪ ʃaː] ~ [tivɪ ʃou]
'game'	*kiimi*	[kiːmɪ]
'painting'	*painting*	[paintiŋ]
'cinema'	*cinema*	[sinʌmʌ]
'video'	*video*	[vidiʌ] ~ [vidiou]

3- Sport related terms

Sport has been part of Areyonga life from the early mission years. I was told that some of the missionaries taught football, softball etc. to the young people 'a long time ago'. Here again, variations are noticeable between the way old people pronounce these words and the way teenagers do.

• old loans

English	Traditional speech		Teenage speech
'oval'	*upula*	[upʊlʌ]	[upʊlʌ] ~ [avʌl]
'soccer'	*tjaaka*	[caːkʌ]	[caːkʌ] ~ [sakʌ]
'volleyball'	*palipula*	[palɪpulʌ]	[palɪpulʌ] ~ [valɪpulʌ]
			[valɪpul] ~ [valɪbɔː]
'softball'	*tjapulta*	[cʌpʊltʌ]	[cʌpʊltʌ] ~ [sʌpʊltʌ]
			[sʌfbʌl] ~ [sʌfbɔl]

• new loans

The word 'basketball' is unknown in Traditional Pitjantjatjara, which seems to indicate that it is a more recent borrowing in the community. The basketball court is a teenage hangout where adults are rarely seen. The rest of the items reported below are regularly used, especially at school.

English	Teenage speech	
'swimming pool'	*swiming pul(a)*	[swimɪŋ pulʌ] ~ [swimɪŋ pul]
'trampoline'	*trampolin(a)*	[trʌmpʌlɪnʌ] ~ [trʌmpʌlɪn]
'dive'	*taanta*	[taːntʌ]
'basketball'	*basketball(a)*	[bʌskɪtbʌlʌ] ~ [bʌskɪtbʌl]
'indoor football'	*inda football*	[ɪndʌ futbʌl]
'snow'	*snow*	[snaː]
'karate'	*kraati*	[kraːtɪ]
'Utju's sports'	*Utjunya sports*	[utjuɲa spaːts]
'A grade, B grade'	*A grade, B grade*	[ei graid bi graid]
'Yuendemu's Sports'	*Yundemu Sports*	[yundʌmu spaːts]
'Sydney Swan'	*Sydney Swan*	[sidnai swʌn]

4- Transports

As for Western technical terms, most of the loans do not have an equivalent in Pitjantjatjara. Here again, salient variations between old people's and teenagers' pronunciation have been recorded.

- **old loans**

English	Traditional speech		Teenage speech
'car'	*mutuka*	[mutʊkʌ]	[mutʊkʌ]
'bicycle'	*patjikila*	[pacikɪlʌ]	[pacikɪlʌ] ~ [pacikɪl]
'toyota'	*tuyuta*	[tuyutʌ]	[tɔiɔtʌ]
'bus'	*paatja*	[paːcʌ]	[paːcʌ] ~ [baːcʌ] ~ [baːs]
'boat'	*paatu*	[paːʈʊ]	[paːʈʊ]
'aeroplane'	*airupula*	[eirupulʌ]	[eirupulʌ] ~ [eiruplʌn]
			[eirpulʌn] ~ [eirplein]

- **new loans**
(a) lexical gap

English	Teenage speech	
'car'	*kaar*	[kaː]
'ticket'	*tikiti*	[tikɪtɪ]
'street'	*striiti*	[striːtɪ]
'truck'	*truck*	[trʌk]
'taxi'	*taxi*	[tʌksɪ]

(b) gratuitous borrowing ?

The term *ruuta* from the English 'road' is recorded in the Pitjantjatjara/Yankunytjatjara dictionary (Goddard 1992). However, it was not noted in the speech of old people in Areyonga. On the other hand, the English loan *road* is prominent in teenage speech. The fact that Traditional Pitjantjatjara has the term *iwara* to cover that meaning leads me to believe that this borrowing may be gratuitous. The situation is analogous with the English

loan *trip*, which is synonymous with the Traditional *kaṉkuwaṯa* or *alaṯja*. However, lack of more accurate data does not allow me to firmly conclude on the gratuity of these borrowings.

English	Teenage speech	
'road'	*road*	[raːdʌ] ~ [raːd]
'trip'	*trip*	[trɪp]

5- Clothing

In his account of the Pitjantjatjara people of Ernabella, Hilliard (1968:100) remarks that 'no attempt had been made to adapt any local material, poor as the selection would have been, to the manufacture of clothing'. In fact, he says that 'prior to the coming of the white man, the Pitjantjatjara people were completely, and without embarrassment, naked'. Items for clothing are mainly established borrowings, showing variations in teenage speech. Note how the word 'glove' appears as the expression 'hand glove'.

- **old borrowing**

English	Traditional speech		Teenage speech	
'dress'	*tiritja*	[tirɪcʌ]	*triitji*	[trɪːcɪ]
'shorts'	*tungku*	[tʊŋkʊ]	*shaaṯa*	[ʃaːʈʌ]
'shoes'	*puṯa*	[pʊʈʌ]	*shoes*	[ʃuːz]
'swag'	*swaig*	[swɑig]	*swaig*	[swɑig]

- **new borrowing (lexical gap)**

English	Teenage speech	
'socks'	*socksa*	[sʌksʌ]
'glove'	*hand glove*	[ʌnd glʌv]

6- Objects

Hilliard (1968:101) has extensively commented on the dearth of material possession in Pitjantjatjara tribes, explaining that 'mobility was the necessary element for living and all that they possessed had to be either easily carried or discarded when on the move'. Now a more sedentary Pitjantjatjara population has had to learn a new lexicon to describe some common objects.

- **old borrowing**

English	Traditional Pitjantjatjara		Teenage Pitjantjatjara
'billycan'	*pilikana*	[pilɪkʌnʌ]	[bilɪkanʌ] ~ [bilɪkan]
'paper'	*pipa*	[pipʌ]	[pipʌ]
'door'	*tuwa*	[tuwʌ]	[daː] as in 'door'
'pencil'	*pintjula*	[pɪncʊlʌ]	[pɪncʊlʌ] ~ [pɪncʊl]
'box'	*pakutja*	[pʌkʊcʌ]	[bʌksʌ] as in 'box'
'chair'	*tjii*	[ciː]	[ciː]
'blanket'	*pulangkita*	[pulʌŋkitʌ]	[pulʌŋkitʌ] ~ [plʌŋkitʌ]
			[blʌŋkitʌ] ~ [blʌŋkit]

• **new borrowing**

(a) *lexical gap*

While old people call a book *pipa*, teenagers have borrowed the English 'book'.

English	Teenage speech	
'book'	*buuk*	[buːk]
'flag'	*plaiki/flaig(i)*	[plɑigɪ] ~ [flɑigɪ] ~ [flɑig]
'lipstick'	*lipstick*	[lɪpstɪk]

(b) *'nonce-borrowing'*

These terms were recorded in stories recalling a trip to the ski field. They are believed to be particular to that experience and unlikely to be become common usage in Areyonga.

English	Teenage speech	
'chairlift'	*tjairlift*	[ʃairlɪft]
'mask'	*mask*	[mʌsk]
'bomb'	*pumpa*	[pʊmpʌ]

It is interesting to note that 'chairlift' has been borrowed, in teenage speech, nearly without any phonetic variation from the language source while the noun 'chair' appears in their speech under the assimilated form *tjii* as in old people's speech.

7- Material

• **old borrowing**

English	Traditional speech		Teenage speech
'glass, mirror'	*kalatji*	[kalʌcɪ]	[klɑcʌ] ~ [glɑsʌ] ~ [glɑs]
'iron'	*ayana*	[ayʌnʌ]	[ainʌ]

• **new borrowing**

(a) *lexical gap*

English	Teenage speech	
'diamond'	*taimana*	[taimʌnʌ]
'gold'	*golda*	[gʌldʌ]
'plastic'	*plastic*	[plʌstɪk]

(b) *gratuitous borrowing ?*

The term *laimi* from the English 'lime' was traditionally used by old people to refer to plaster. This word is absent from teenage speech, which has replaced this previous loan with a new one, a 'Pitjantjatjara-ised' form of the English 'plaster'. However, the term could be synonymous with the Pitjantjatjara *wantja* 'clay'.

English	Traditional speech	Teenage speech
'plaster'	*laimi*	*plataya, plastata*
	[laimɪ]	[platʌyʌ] ~ [plastʌyʌ]
	from English 'lime'	from English 'plaster'

8- Place, proper name, administration

• old borrowing

Most of the following terms are linked with community administrative and cultural life. They are easily identified as old borrowings. The church was built in the early days of Areyonga around 1945, the kitchen and the office circa 1954.

English	Traditional speech		Teenage speech
'office'	*uputju*	[upʊcʊ]	[upʊcʊ] ~ [afɪs]
'work'	*waaka*	[waːkʌ]	[waːkʌ] ~ [wʌrkʌ]
'army'	*aami*	[aːmɪ]	[ʌrnɪ]
'bank'	*panki*	[pʌnkɪ]	[pʌnkɪ] ~ [bʌnkɪ]
'town'	*taunu*	[taunʊ]	[taunʊ] ~ [taun]
'room'	*ruuma*	[ruːmʌ]	[ruːmʌ] ~ [ruːm]
'school'	*kuula*	[kuːlʌ]	[kuːlʌ] ~ [skuːlʌ] ~ [skuːl]
'church'	*tjaatji*	[caːci]	[caːci] ~ [caːc]
'kitchen'	*kitjina*	[kicɪnʌ]	[kicɪnʌ] ~ [kicɪn]
'canteen'	*kantina*	[kʌntɪnʌ]	[kʌntɪnʌ] ~ [kʌntɪn]

• new borrowing

The expression 'night patrol' appeared around 1992–93 when the first 'night patrol' car was introduced to Areyonga to ensure the security of the community. It is unlikely to be exclusive to teenage speech. It is interesting to note the appearance of *city* from the English 'city' when the word *taunu* from the English 'town' is widely used by the old people and teenagers. *City* seems to refer to a big and far away metropolis such as Sydney, Melbourne or Darwin. Alice Springs is described as both *city* or *taunu*, which indicates that the semantic difference between the two terms is not yet definite in teenage speech. Finally, the new loan *tolaita* from the English 'toilet' has replaced in teenage speech the old loan *lapaturi* which was once borrowed from the now dated English word 'lavatory'.

English	Teenage speech	
'women centre'	*wuman centa*	[wumʌn sʌntʌ]
'cemetery'	*cemetery*	[simʌtri]
'city'	*city*	[sitɪ]
'night patrol'	*night patrol*	[nait pʌtrʌl]
'toilet'	*lapaturi*	*tolait(a)*
	[lapʌtʊɽɪ]	[talaitʌ] ~ [talait]
	from 'lavatory'	from English 'toilet'

9- Date: day, month

• old borrowing

Date, month, birthday and anniversary, are all concepts from western society that have now been adopted by Aboriginal people.

English	Traditional speech		Teenage speech
'Monday'	*mandai*	[mʌndɑi]	[mʌndɑi] and so on
'September'	*Septemba*	[sʌptʌmbʌ]	[sʌptʌmbʌ] and so on
'Christmas'	*kritjimitji*	[krɪcɪmɪcɪ]	[krɪcɪmɪcɪ]

• new borrowing

These terms are also often found with an English orthography.

English	Teenage speech	
'week'	*wik*	[wiːk]
'weekend'	*wiken*	[wikʌn]
'smoko'	*smoko*	[smoʊkoʊ]
'birthday'	*birthday*	[bɜθdɑi]

10- Fruits and vegetables

• old borrowing

Aṉangu are not restricted to bush tucker. The Areyonga shop is well stocked with fruits and vegetables.

English	Traditional speech		Teenage speech
'tucker'	*takataka*	[tɑkʌtɑkʌ]	[tɑkʌ]
'banana'	*panana*	[pʌnʌnʌ]	[bʌnʌnʌ]
'orange'	*arantji*	[ɑrʌnci]	[ɑrʌnci] ~ [ɑrʌnc]
'apple'	*apula*	[apʊlʌ]	[apʊlʌ] ~ [apʊl]
'potato'	*putatu*	[putʌtʊ]	[putʌtʊ]

• new borrowing

(a) Lexical gap

English	Teenage speech	
'biscuit'	*biskit(a)*	[bɪskɪtʌ] ~ [bɪskɪt]
'cream'	*kriim*	[kriːm]

(b) gratuitous borrowing?

The Pitjantjatjara *puṉu* usually means 'bush'. In teenage speech, *puutji* seems to have replaced *puṉu*.

English	Traditional speech	Teenage speech
'bush'	*puṉu* [pʊɳʊ]	*puuṯji* [puːcɪ]

11- Animals

• old borrowing

With the European arrival came camels, horses and rabbits. A visit to Taronga Zoo in Sydney also increased the lexicon.

English	Traditional speech	Teenage speech
'chicken'	*tjikina* [cɪkɪnʌ]	[cɪkɪnʌ] ~ [cɪkɪn]
'camel'	*kamula* [kamʊlʌ]	[kamʊlʌ] ~ [kamʊl]
'rabbit'	*rapita* [rabɪtʌ]	[rabɪtʌ] ~ [rabɪt]
'mule'	*miula* [miulʌ]	[miulʌ] ~ [miul]

• new borrowing

(a) gratuitous borrowing?

The Pitjantjatjara word *kuka* is a generic term for 'animal'. But this word also refers to 'meat'. Therefore the teenagers may differentiate edible animals from zoo animals by using the English loan *animal*.

English	Traditional speech	Teenage speech
'animal'	*kuka* [kukʌ]	*animal* [ʌnɪmʌl]

• 'nonce-borrowing'

The following terms were recorded in teenage speech only in stories recalling their Sydney trip. It may be judicious to classify them as 'nonce-borrowing'.

English	Teenage speech	
'monkey'	*mangki*	[mʌŋkɪ]
'elephant'	*alapanta*	[alʌpʌntʌ]
'swan'	*swan*	[suwʌn]
'zoo'	*zoo*	[zuː]

12- Miscellaneous topics

• old borrowing

English	Traditional speech	Teenage speech
holiday	*alidai* [alɪdai]	[alɪdai]
lazy bugger	*litjipaka* [licɪpakʌ]	[licɪpakʌ]
race	*ritja* [ricʌ]	[ricʌ]
dollar	*tala* [talʌ]	[talʌ] ~ [dalʌ]

- **new borrowing**

English	Teenage speech	
'paint'	*piinta*	[piːntʌ]
'colour'	*kala*	[kalʌ]
'shopping'	*shopping*	[ʃapɪŋ]
'shop'	*shopa*	[ʃapʌ] ~ [ʃap]
'Maths'	*Maths*	[mʌts]
'English'	*Inglis, Inglish, English*	[ɪŋlic]
'everything'	*eprithing*	[epriθɪŋ]

Lexical gap borrowing (action verbs)

As for nouns, many English loan verbs have appeared in teenage speech due to lack of equivalent terms in Pitjantjatjara. As shown in Chapter 3, loan verbs are incorporated to the Pitjantjatjara class system by suffixing them to the loan root :

- the INCHOative verbaliser *-ri* to create intransitive loan verbs,

- the morpheme *-mila/-ma* LOAN to produce transitive verbs.

These two suffixations have given considerable flexibility to the language when it borrows English verbs.

13- Technical related verbs

- **old borrowing**

The traditional borrowing *puturu* 'photograph' is found as *foto* [fatʌ] in teenage speech (see earlier). However, the verb 'take photo' remains based on the traditional term.

English	Traditional/Teenage speech
'take a picture-LOAN-PRES'	*puturu-mila-ni*
	[puturumilʌɳi]
'call someone on the phone-LOAN-PAST'	*ringi[1]-ma-nu*
	[rɪŋimʌɳu]

- **new borrowing**

(a) lexical gap

English	Teenage speech
'type (on a computer)-LOAN-PRES'	*taip-mila-ni*
	[taipmilʌɳi]

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[1]   *Ringim* is the documented Kriol form of 'ring'.

(b) gratuitous borrowing?

The traditional term for flying is *paarpaka<u>ni</u>*, which covers both the meaning of 'flying' and 'taking off'. Lack of accurate data does not allow me to determine if the following verbs are restricted to a flying plane or if they also apply, for example, to birds.

English	Teenage speech
'fly, take a plane-LOAN-PAST'	*plai-ma-<u>nu</u>* [plaimʌɳu]
'take off, fly-INCHO-PAST.IMPF'	*plai-ri-ngi* [plairɪŋi]

14- Entertainment related verbs

• **old borrowing**

English	Traditional speech	Teenage speech
'dance-INCHO-PRES'	*taantji-ri-nyi* [taːncɪrɪɲi]	*taantji-ri-nyi'-nganyi* [taːncɪrɪɲi] ~ [tʌncɪrɪŋaɲi]
'start-INCHO-PAST.IMPF'	*tjaata-ri-ngi* [caːʈʌrɪŋi]	*tjaata-ri-ngi/stata-ri-ngi* [caːʈʌrɪŋi] ~ [staʈʌrɪŋi]

• **new borrowing**

English	Teenage speech
'actor-INCHO-PAST'	*acta-ri-ngu* [ʌctʌrɪŋu]
'read-LOAN-PRES'[2]	*riida-mila-<u>ni</u>* [riːdʌmɪlʌɳi] ~ [riːdmɪlʌɳi]

15- Miscellaneous topics

• **old borrowing**

English	Trad.speech	Teenage speech
'rubbish-INCHO-PAST'	*rapitji-ri-ngu* [rapɪcɪrɪŋu]	*rapitji-ri-ngu* [rapɪcɪrɪŋu]
'clean-INCHO-PRES'[3]	*kilina-ri-nganyi* [kilɪnʌrɪŋaɲi]	*klina-ri-nyi/nganyi* [klɪnrɪŋaɲi] ~ [klɪnʌrɪŋi]
'work-INCHO-PRES'	*waaka-ri-nyi* [waːkʌrɪŋi]	*waaka-ri-ny/nganyi* [waːkʌrɪŋi] ~ [wʌrkʌrɪŋaɲi]
'buy-LOAN-PRES'[4]	*pai-mila-<u>ni</u>* [paimɪlʌɳi]	*pai-mila-<u>ni</u>/ payi-ma-<u>ni</u>* [paimɪlʌɳi] [payimʌɳi]

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2   *Ridim* is the Kriol form of 'read'.
3   as in washing oneself
4   *Paiyim* is the Kriol form of 'pay'.

| 'count-LOAN-PAST.IMPF'[5] | *kaanta-mila-ṉingi* | *kaanta-mila-ṉingi* |
| | [kaːntʌmɪlʌɳɪŋi] | [kaːntʌmɪlʌɳɪŋi] [kʌntʌmɪlʌɳɪŋi] |

- **new borrowing (lexical gap)**

English	**Teenage speech**	
'shower-INCHO-PAST'[6]	*shawa-ri-ngu*	[ʃawʌrɪŋu]
'reck-LOAN-PRES'	*rika-ma-ṉi*	|rikʌmʌɳi|
'rinse-INCHO-PRES'	*riinsi-mila-ṉi*	[riːnsɪmɪlʌɳi] ~ [riːnsmɪlʌɳi]
'change-LOAN-PRES'[7]	*tjiintji-mila-ṉi*	[ciːncɪmɪlʌɳi]
'change-INCHO-PRES'[8]	*tjiintji-ri-nyi/nganyi*	[ciːncɪrɪŋaɳi] ~ [ciːncɪrɪɲi]

The verb *tiwila-ri-Ø* and its noun *tiwilpa* mean 'have a cramp'. During the study, I did not hear these two words in teenage speech. I believe that these forms have been replaced by the verb *krampa-ri-ngu* from the English 'cramp'.

'cramp-INCHO-PAST'		*krampa-ri-ngu*
'have a cramp'		[krʌmpʌrɪŋu]

Conclusion

It has been said that 'the first words Indigenous peoples adopted from English were words for things brought by colonisers' (Australia's indigenous languages 1996:135). This is still true in teenage Pitjantjatjara. However, some interesting results, emerging from the material in this appendix, deserve to be highlighted.

- Nouns are borrowed in a greater number than verbs, which conforms my earlier observations (see Chapter 6).
- Few items are believed to be gratuitous loans.
- Phonetic variations are noted between established borrowings in old people's speech and these same loans in teenage speech (see Chapter 2).
- New borrowings have sometimes replaced old borrowings. For example, old people use the terms *laimi* and *lapaturi* from, respectively, the dated English words 'lime' and 'lavatory'. The teenagers have chosen to borrow from a more contemporary vocabulary, for example, 'plaster' *plasta* and 'toilet' *toileta*. The exception remains the established borrowing *mutuka,* still widely used by teenagers, while the word 'motorcar' has fallen into disuse in English. However, the appearance of *kaar* in teenage speech may mean that *mutuka* will be soon obsolete or restricted to a certain kind of car.

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5   *Kaantim* is the Kriol form of 'count'.
6   Kriol form of *shawa* 'shower'.
7   as change one's clothes
8   as give smaller money in exchange (*tjeintjim* kriol form)

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