Katja Lenz

Lexical Appropriation in Australian Aboriginal Literature

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Abbreviations

AborE	Aboriginal English
ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
AIATSIS	Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies
AND	Australian National Dictionary
AusE	Australian English
CanE	Canadian English
FATSIL	Federation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages
HRA	*Historical Records of Australia*
ME	Māori English
NILS	*National Indigenous Language Survey*
NSW	New South Wales
NT	Northern Territory
NTPE	Northern Territory Pidgin English
NZE	New Zealand English
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
Qld	Queensland
SA	South Australia
SAPE	South Australian Pidgin English
SOIL	*State of Indigenous Languages in Australia* (Report)
StAusE	Standard Australian English
StE	Standard English
TSE	Torres Strait English
Vic.	Victoria
WA	Western Australia

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1 Introduction

Aboriginal English is an ethnic dialect of English which is spoken as a first or second language, or as a first or second dialect by speakers monolingual in English, by the great majority of Aboriginal people living in Australia. The dialect developed through a process of indigenisation of the colonisers' language, and in a situation in which large parts of the pre-colonial language ecology have been destroyed and many Aboriginal languages are lost beyond retrieval, Aboriginal English has become the major medium of communication within the Australian Aboriginal community where it functions both as an intra-group language and in interaction with the mainstream society.

Aboriginal English (hereafter also 'AborE') shows significant differences to Australian English (hereafter also 'AusE') that result from speakers' attempts to adapt the colonial language to their own communicative needs. These differences are apparent at every level of language use, including those of phonology, grammar, pragmatics, and the lexicon. While many phonological and grammatical features are shared with other non-standard varieties of English, the Aboriginal English lexicon reveals various unique characteristics. The lexico-semantics of AborE have been elaborated in such a way that they now allow speakers to convey ideas that are culturally bound and reflect a worldview that clearly differs from that maintained by Anglo-Australians; the dialect provides the lexical tools needed to verbalise a unique set of values, beliefs, and attitudes, one that accesses meanings and interpretations which are strongly influenced by the socio-cultural background of the Aboriginal speakers. Many of these salient lexical features are lexemes which occur in the same form in Australian English and other varieties of English, but in AborE have acquired a new meaning or a whole range of new meanings; other lexemes may occur in uncommon combinations or show applications which appear remarkable for speakers of the standard dialect. Still, the components most obviously setting apart Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal varieties of English are borrowings from traditional languages, or words from pidgins or creoles.

Apart from its more immediate function as a tool for inter- and intra-group communication, the dialect is now increasingly employed to disseminate Aboriginal ideas, viewpoints, and meanings, and allows speakers to maintain and communicate a linguistic and cultural autonomy and distinctiveness. More recently, Aboriginal English has also become a medium for creative expression.

This thesis aims to investigate more thoroughly how the lexicon of Aboriginal English equips its speakers with the lexical means needed to express concepts not shared with speakers of Australian English, and how these same

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tools are employed by Australian Aboriginal playwrights who, in their texts, exploit the lexical resources of AborE for the linguistic construction and assertion of their own and their characters' Aboriginality. The theoretical base for this investigation is provided by two approaches which approximate the question of why Aboriginal speakers of English feel the need for lexical innovation to express themselves and their ideas properly from two different angles, viz. from that of Cultural Linguistics and from that of Post-colonial Studies. As a consequence, the present work is located somewhere along the way between these two areas of research.

Farzad Sharifian (e.g. 2003) has introduced the notion of 'cultural conceptualisations' into the study of Aboriginal English. His work stands in the tradition of the cultural-conceptual approach brought forward by Palmer (1996) as well as Ian Malcolm and his team (e.g. Malcolm &Rochecouste (2000), Malcolm & Sharifian (2002, 2005), Sharifian (2001), and Sharifian, Malcolm & Rochecouste (2004)), but also stems from the research of scholars such as Rosch and Bartlett on categories and schemes. Sharifian proposes that language can never reflect an objective view of reality. Rather, he maintains, language use is informed by conceptualisations that are culturally constructed, and these conceptualisations make it necessary for Aboriginal speakers to reinterpret and adapt the lexicon of AusE. He thus seeks to explain how Aboriginal peoples' ways of understanding and categorising the world have resulted in the emergence of a distinct lexical inventory. His work partly echoes older approaches such as that of Harkins (1994) who argues that the way in which speakers of AborE use language is influenced by a uniquely Aboriginal conceptual system that determines the meanings and applications of English forms. She, too, suggests that AborE lexical items express concepts which are culturally derived and correspond to those found in Aboriginal languages.

Ashcroft *et al.* (2002) deal with language use in post-colonial literature. They investigate how authors adapt the colonisers' language to suit their own purposes and put forward that in many colonial and post-colonial contexts, the standard variety is manipulated so as to convey a distinct cultural identity. The processes commonly employed to achieve this type of adjustment of the literary language are known as 'abrogation' and 'appropriation'. The latter is of special relevance here as it describes those features which are used to modify the dominant language in such a way that it permits indigenous authors to communicate a different socio-cultural experience and world-view and also to 'teach' their readers about aspects of their cultural heritage. The strategies employed to achieve these goals in fact mirror those that also occur in real language use, as authors insert words or phrases from their native or ancestral language or employ English terms which differ in their semantic scope or application. Ashcroft *et al.* (2002) thus provide the tools needed for the empirical analysis that will constitute the main part of the present work. In it, we will

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scrutinise how Indigenous Australian playwrights exploit the lexical resources of Aboriginal varieties of English to adapt the standard language in their texts.

Before we tackle this task, however, we have to step back and direct our attention to several more fundamental and preliminary questions, the answers to which will provide the framework for this investigation. The present work is divided into four parts. In the first part, *Setting the Stage – Old and New Australian Language Ecologies*, we shall explore how the colonisation of Australia affected pre-colonial Aboriginal society and culture. As such, the first chapters of this thesis attempt a short outline of the history of colonisation in Australia and briefly summarise the most important socio-political developments affecting the country's Indigenous population. In addition, we will detail the impact of the English language on the languages spoken on the Australian continent prior to British invasion and sketch the development of the post-contact language ecology. Since these issues are only indirectly related to our actual research questions, we will limit ourselves to an outline of the major developments that have taken place. Addressing them is however central for a better understanding of the remainder of the work: the parts that are concerned with the linguistic changes that have occurred in the past two centuries will provide necessary background information on the developmental paths of Aboriginal English and on the nature of its lexicon, and addressing issues of language change will further aid to understand the role of the dialect in the present situation. Examining both historical and socio-political developments will help us comprehend the topics discussed in the plays and establish possible motivations for lexical appropriation.

Part two, *Aboriginal English(es) – an Aboriginal Code in an English Guise?*, will then take a closer look at those forms of English commonly referred to as 'Aboriginal English'. First, we shall determine whether we are dealing with one uniform dialect of English or rather with a whole range of varieties spoken by Aboriginal people, before we inspect the role and functions that Aboriginal English has assumed in the post-contact language ecology. This will be followed by a feature description which takes into account some of the more salient characteristics of Aboriginal English in the domains of phonology, grammar, pragmatics, and the lexicon. The remainder of part two will deal with the conceptual frameworks underlying AborE usages of English. Here, we will discuss Sharifian's notion of cultural conceptualisations in more detail and also address related approaches to the subject.

In part three, *Forms of Lexical Appropriation in Australian Aboriginal Drama*, we shall then undertake the actual empirical analysis. The subsections of chapter 0 investigate how seven Aboriginal Australian playwrights modify and adapt the language of their texts in order to communicate aspects of their Aboriginal heritage. Since our focus will be on lexical appropriation, we will concentrate on the occurrence of items which form part of the lexicon of AborE

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and examine their potential as instruments of linguistic appropriation. We will discuss the nature of these lexical appropriations, try to determine the individual element's origin, and investigate the concepts they express, in an attempt to discover larger conceptual patterns. In addition, we shall examine which motivations exist for lexical appropriation and which functions can be associated with such an adaptation of the standard language. The results obtained from the analysis of the plays have given rise to *A wordbook of selected Aboriginal English words in Australian literature*, a separate publication which can be accessed via the *Virtual Linguistics Campus*: http://bit.ly/2gUv4Cn (see also 8.3.3). In it, all items which have been identified as instances of lexical appropriation that were encountered in the drama texts are listed in alphabetic order. Each entry provides information on the item's meaning, source language, part of speech, the type of appropriation strategy involved, its occurrence in earlier Australian contact languages, and its use in present-day varieties of English. It is further specifies in which of the texts the word occurs and a quotation is provided which exemplifies the item's usage.

Finally, part four, *Findings and Conclusions*, will round off the present work: Chapter 9 summarises and evaluates the results of the previously conducted text analyses and chapter 10 compares them to findings obtained from examining two additional plays from the canon of postcolonial literature which were studied in an attempt to detect parallels and discrepancies in the way authors from different cultural backgrounds appropriate the colonial language. Chapter 11 then takes up salient points that deserve further discussion and attempts to draw final conclusions regarding the nature and the functions of lexical appropriation, comparing the outcome of the analyses to our initial assumptions and the research questions derived from them.

Having outlined the path that will be taken in the following, a note on terminology seems advisable. Readers should be aware that terms such as 'Indigenous', 'Aboriginal' and 'Torres Strait Islander' are labels introduced by the European colonisers to collectively refer to Australian peoples who spoke more than 200 distinct languages and 500 dialects and belonged to just as many different cultural groups. Before the destruction of their linguistic and cultural ecologies, Australian peoples derived their identity from their country, an identification that usually reflected the name of their language group (Flinders University. n.d.). Examples include the language and culture group names Kamilaroi, Wiradhuri, Bibbulmun, Nyul Nyul, and Palyku that will also reappear in the following. While some Aboriginal Australians continue to define their identity in this way, others now favour the use of an Aboriginal language term that denotes a wider, regional identity, such as *Koori* (Victoria and southern NSW), *Murri* (northern NSW and south-east Queensland), *Yolŋu* (eastern Arnhem Land), *Anangu* (Western Desert) (Arthur 1996: 223). Torres Strait Islander people may prefer to identify with a particular island and de-

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scribe themselves, for example, as Murray Island Peoples or Mer Island Peoples (Flinders University. n.d.).

In the present work, we shall resort to regional terms or the names of local groups when and where they apply. Many names of language and culture groups have multiple spellings, so that the spelling of a particular name may differ from that found elsewhere in the literature. All language group names used in the course of the empirical analysis are in line with the spellings used by the authors themselves, language group names used elsewhere in the thesis are based on the spelling suggested in the literature cited. Note however that it will often be necessary to refer to the Aboriginal community of Australia in more general terms. Therefore, we shall use the terms 'Aboriginal people(s)' and 'Aboriginal person(s)' to refer to the Indigenous population of mainland Australia and Tasmania. These designations, however, do not include Torres Strait Islander peoples. When reference is made to all Indigenous Australian peoples, 'Indigenous' or 'Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people(s)' is used. However, as the focus of the present thesis is on Aboriginal English, i.e. those varieties of English spoken by Australian Aboriginal people, most chapters will only make reference to the inhabitants of the mainland and not to Torres Strait Islander people. The term 'Indigenous' will be capitalised when it describes the original inhabitants of a particular country, whereas a lower case letter indicates that it is used as a generic term. Likewise, 'Aboriginal' will always be capitalised when used with reference to Australian Aboriginal people, their cultures and languages.

Further, there is a consensus that terms such as 'traditional' or 'modern' should not be used when talking about Aboriginal people and culture, as they evoke stereotypes of the 'authentic' 'full blood' Aboriginal person, generally associated with 'traditional' forms of living in the bush on the one hand, or the urban Aboriginal person deprived of his or her culture, on the other. Still, their use cannot always be avoided. Whenever these terms are employed in the present work, it is usually with reference to Aboriginal language varieties, especially when contrasting the pre- and post-contact language ecologies. In the description of the pre-contact language ecology, the term 'Aboriginal languages' may be used interchangeably with 'traditional languages' to denote the 500 or more varieties spoken before European invasion. We need to acknowledge that this might be criticised as a somewhat inaccurate approach, given that post-contact varieties such as Aboriginal English and creoles, too, are Aboriginal languages. Note also that many of the definitions and glosses which are cited in the context of the corpus analyses make use of terms such as 'traditional' when describing Aboriginal cultural knowledge or practice which goes back to pre-colonial times. For example, Arthur (1996: 225) defines the term *Aboriginal way* as 'the customs, beliefs, habits, practices and so forth that belong to Aboriginal society, esp. those that relate to traditional life'. Other

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sources use terms such as ‘spirituality’ or ‘spiritual’ in their descriptions of concepts related to the Dreaming or to Dreaming Stories. Here, ‘religion’ or ‘religious’ would be more appropriate terms. Since most definitions were adopted more or less verbatim, these terms have nevertheless been retained.

Lastly, it needs to be pointed out that many of the meanings inherent in Aboriginal English terms will be rendered in a reductionist manner and that the definitions provided are often insufficient to fully grasp the complexity of the concepts described. A thorough understanding of the concepts underlying words such as *Dreaming* or *law* demand expert knowledge in the domain of religion, as can only be achieved by ongoing exposure to Aboriginal culture.

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2 Studies of Aboriginal English – Where Do We Stand?

Like the creoles, forms of Aboriginal English have long been denigrated as incorrect and incomplete linguistic codes, an attitude which also reflects on how they are perceived by the speakers themselves. Until today, some Aboriginal people feel that AborE is 'bad English' while others have gained pride in their own dialect (Eades & Siegel 1999: 266). The systematic linguistic description of these varieties has contributed to a change in the way they are seen today. Still, it was not until the late 1960s that Aboriginal English became the subject of academic study. Since then, numerous works have appeared which deal with a wide range of aspects of AborE (see for example Kaldor & Malcolm (2004) for an overview of publications from the period 1970-1990, as well as Eades (2014), Malcolm (2000b), and Leitner (2004b)). Yet, despite the number of publications that were available by the end of the 20th century, Kaldor & Malcolm (2004: 69f) argued that these fail to provide an all-encompassing picture. Rather, they suggest, the work of the past decades has created "a jigsaw puzzle from which many pieces are still missing but in which some major patterns are detectable". Recently, new approaches to the study of AborE have tried to fill the existing gaps, but there still remains ample scope for further research (see for example Eades (2014) who discusses possible contexts and fields of research).

In the following, we will provide a rough sketch of the major works on AborE published so far. This should not be taken as an exhaustive list of all publications on the subject, rather, the works discussed below largely reflect subject areas that are also addressed in the present thesis and the literature consulted in this context. What is more, a large number of works on AborE are unpublished bachelor, master, or PhD theses. While some of these are available online, many are not accessible and have thus not been considered here. For information on further studies of Aboriginal English, readers are advised to consult the publications mentioned above.

A large part of the publications on Aboriginal English are linguistic descriptions that take into account a wide range of features and often cover several domains of the language, including phonology, morphology and syntax, the lexicon, pragmatics, and discourse structure.

a) Linguistic Description

Many studies focus on a particular geographical location and describe particular regional varieties of Aboriginal English. One of the first studies of regional AborE varieties was the *Queensland Speech Survey* conducted in the 1960s under E.H. Flint (e.g. Flint 1968). Eades (1983, 1988) focuses on AborE in south-

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east Queensland and Kaldor & Malcolm (1982) study the speech of Western Australian Aboriginal primary school children. Eagleson (1982) investigates AborE in Sydney, and so do Malcolm & Koscielecki (1997) whose work also includes information on properties of other varieties of AborE. Sutton (1975) investigates Cape Barren English spoken on the Cape Barren Islands in the Bass Strait and Wilson's study (1996) is an unpublished description of South Australian Nunga English. Fesl belongs to a still comparingly small group of Aboriginal researchers. Her 1977 thesis investigates Aboriginal English in Melbourne. According to Malcom (2000b: 17), research on AborE developed a broader focus in the 1980s and studies moved away from centring on the differences between AborE and StAusE. The aforementioned thesis by Eades (1983), fittingly entitled *English as an Aboriginal Language in Southeast Queensland*, is one example of an early work which points out the existence of deviating pragmatic principles, and identifies communicative intentions and interpretations that deviate from StAusE. Harkins (1994) is a detailed study of the properties of AborE varieties used around Alice Springs which also takes into account the substrate influence of the local languages.

b) Varieties of Aboriginal English

Other works on AborE have a more general character and either discuss widely shared characteristics common to more than one variety or contrast features from different varieties, e.g. Butcher (2008), Eades (1996), Harkins (2000), Kaldor & Malcolm (2004), Malcom (2001a and 2001b), Malcolm & Grote (2007), Malcolm & Koscielecki (1997). Leitner (2004b) and (2007) discuss different aspects of AborE in the context of the wider pre- and post-colonial Aboriginal language ecology. Malcolm (2000a) provides a summary of Malcolm & Koscielecki's 1997 findings and also compares them to features observed in 19th century varieties. Many of the above studies also consider the social and other functions that AborE fulfils for its speakers and the contexts in which it is used. Eades & Siegel (1999) further address the status of AborE changing from 'bad English' towards a linguistic marker of Aboriginal identity.

c) Developmental Studies

Again other works adopt a historical perspective and investigate the origins and the development of AborE and its relationship to Australian pidgins and creoles, as for example Amery & Mühlhäusler (1996), Mühlhäusler (1996b, 1996c, 1996d), Mühlhäusler & McGregor (1996), all of which are found in Wurm, Mühlhäusler & Tryon's *Atlas of languages of intercultural communication in the Pacific, Asia and the Americas*, or Sandefur (1983). Troy (1990) offers a comprehensive description of the emergence of NSW Pidgin, one of the contact varieties that preceded the development of AborE. Her findings are summarised in Troy (1993). Foster, Monaghan & Mühlhäusler (2003) further provide information on the lexicon of early AborE in the south of Australia. See

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also Meakins (2014) for a discussion of the literature on Australian contact varieties.

d) Aboriginal English in Education

Detailed linguistic descriptions of AborE varieties are also frequently found in works which discuss AborE in educational contexts or provide guidelines and resources for teachers of Aboriginal students. Those consulted for the present work include Christie (1987), Department of Education and Department of Training and Workplace Development (2012), Eagleson, Kaldor & Malcolm (1982), Königsberg & Collard (2002), as well as Malcolm (1979), (1994a), and Malcom & Königsberg (2007). Many more works have studied AborE in education contexts and several are listed in the above mentioned sources.

e) Studies focussing on individual aspects of Aboriginal English

Some authors have published works which concentrate on individual aspects of AborE such as the lexicon, e.g. Arthur (1990, on kinship terms) and (1996). Malcolm & Sharifian (2007) define the morphological and syntactic mechanisms which AborE speakers use to express concepts not found in StE. Several studies investigate AborE discourse genres and conceptual schemas (e.g. Malcolm 1980-1982, 1994b, Malcolm & Rochecouste 2000, Malcom & Sharifian 2002, Sharifian 2001, Muecke 1981). Diana Eades has published widely on distinct communicative strategies of AborE speakers and resulting implications for the treatment of Aboriginal people within the legal system; she has also written a handbook for legal practitioners (Eades 1992). Several of her works are published in Eades (2013) and many more are listed in Eades (2014). Sharifian (e.g. 2003, 2005, 2006, 2007) has investigated cultural conceptualisations manifested in AborE. His work largely contributes to the theoretical foundation for our own research and will be discussed in more detail below. Malcolm (2013) addresses questions of language ownership, identity, and language rights.

A few of the aforementioned publications (e.g. Kaldor & Malcolm 2004, Malcolm & Grote 2007) also consider the role of AborE for the written medium, and in 2000, Malcolm (2000b: 22) remarked, "Another developing area of focus is the analysis of Aboriginal English as it has been used increasingly in literature by Aboriginal authors". He points out the work undertaken by Gibbs (1998) who provides a linguistic analysis of Sally Morgan's *My Place* and Jack Davis' *No Sugar* in her unpublished MEd dissertation *Educating readers: Aboriginal English in Aboriginal literature*. Still, sixteen years later, the author of the present thesis would like to disagree with Malcolm and argue that the linguistic study of how and to what end AborE varieties are employed in literary texts has deserved too little attention. Malcolm (2014) himself provides a feature analysis of an AborE text authored by Glenyse Ward. However, to my knowledge, only few other extensive linguistic analyses exist of the lan-

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guage featured in creative literature authored by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander persons, especially in regard to the role of the AborE lexicon as a resource for appropriation. Among the works written by an Aboriginal playwright, Jack Davis' plays are probably those which have been most frequently discussed, analysed, and commented on by scholars from various fields, especially by those working in the area of theatre and literature studies. Some of them, including Shoemaker (1989), Hodge & Mishra (1991), and Polak (2009) have also remarked on the language of Davis' plays. Yet, most of their observations are either concerned with individual features or provide a cursory look at the effects achieved by the inclusion of Aboriginal language words. Only Russo (2007, 2010a and 2010b) examines the issue in more detail. In her doctoral thesis (2007, published as Russo 2010b), she investigates how "appropriations of the English language, writing and visual art, provide [...] a terrain for discussing unexplored issues of intercultural representation, epistemology and interpretation" (Russo 2007: iv). In this context, she explores how persisting experiences of institutionalisation, suppression, racism, and cultural misunderstanding are presented and negotiated in Davis' plays and also discusses the role of untranslated Nyoongah words and phrases inserted in his plays. Still, Russo's approach differs from that of the present work in a number of aspects as she analyses different appropriation strategies in literary texts against the background of how these are employed as tools for obtaining control over literary self-representation and aid in the decolonisation of literary forms that continue to be defined by the colonial legacy. "Situated at the crossroads between Indigenous and Postcolonial studies" (Russo 2007: iv), her approach is not so much a linguistic one. In addition, while she, too, investigates how language is employed to communicate Aboriginal realities and which effects linguistic appropriation has on the reader, she is not concerned with a more detailed description of the nature of these appropriations, their role within the lexicon of AborE, and their function in connection with the expression and transmission of salient cultural concepts. Her findings will be referred to when appropriate to complement the present analysis.

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Part One:
Setting the Stage – Old and New Australian Language Ecologies

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3 The Situation Prior to Colonisation

The present chapter is intended to give an overview of the language situation on the Australian continent prior to the country's invasion by the British. In the following, we shall refer to the complex network of languages and dialects spoken in Australia before the arrival of the colonisers as the pre-colonial or pre-contact 'language ecology', using a term originally coined by Einar Haugen in his 1972 work *The Ecology of Language*. The concept was later adopted by Mühlhäusler who employs it as a metaphor to "explain and describe the complex interplay between languages, speakers and social practice" (1996: i). This already indicates that an outline of the linguistic situation of pre-colonial Australia needs not only to consider the complex relationships between the individual linguistic varieties but also has to include information on the speakers as well as on factors such as bi- and multilingualism and the social functions inherent in the use of particular varieties. Hence, we will begin by describing Australia's pre-colonial society and the basic principles of its social organisation before we present a sketch of the languages and dialects spoken before European colonisation. We will further discuss different approaches towards a classification of Australian languages and their relation to languages outside Australia and address the relationship between languages, speakers, and land. The impact of colonisation on the Australian language ecology and the emergence of English-based contact varieties will be addressed in the next chapter.

3.1 Australia's Indigenous Population Before 1788

The history of European colonisation of the Australian continent begins on 22 August 1770, the day Lieutenant James Cook landed on Possession Island off the tip of Cape York, claiming eastern Australia for the British Crown. After landing on Australian soil, Cook and his crew had several encounters with the local Aboriginal population that lived in small groups and had adopted a system of cyclical land occupation which differed from European ideas of land cultivation. As none of the groups Cook and his men encountered comprised more than forty persons, the coastal regions were assumed to be only sparsely populated; the interior was believed to be possibly completely unpopulated. Unlike in New Zealand, Aboriginal society seemed to lack recognisable 'chiefs'. "No signs of houses, villages, fields, domesticated animals, cultivation nor any system of land ownership or government were apparent" (Flood 2006: 16) to the British.

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Prevailing European opinion of the eighteenth century was that land which did not show traces of cultivation, and therefore private ownership, was considered 'common land', occupation of which was a recognised way of acquiring legal sovereignty. In the later twentieth century, the Latin phrase *terra nullius*, 'no man's land', was introduced to describe this concept of assumingly uninhabited land which could be legally acquired (Flood 2006:18f). Still, the country was by no means a 'no man's land', but home to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples who were effectively denied their right as the country's legitimate owners when on 26 January 1788 the arrival of the First Fleet on Australia's Eastern coast initiated a process of British occupation of the land.

Estimates of the size of the pre-colonial population on the Australian mainland vary from a minimum figure of approximately 300,000 to more than one million inhabitants. Walsh (1997:394) reports that for a long time, the figures postulated by Radcliff-Brown in 1930, who then suggested a native population of 300,000, were widely accepted. However, fifty years later, Butlin (1983) put forward much higher population numbers, claiming that former estimates did not consider the devastating effect of the diseases introduced by the European invaders to its full extent. He suggests that at least 250,000 people lived in south-eastern Australia alone. Butlin's proposal attracted considerable criticism, amongst other reasons for overestimating the impact of disease and assuming far too high death rates (Walsh 1997:394). Still, even higher figures are postulated by Blake and Dixon (1991) who suggest that the Aboriginal population of Australia may have comprised between one and two million people, an estimate that leads Walsh (1997:394) to remark: "[...] one wonders where this estimate might have come from since no argumentation or references accompany it". A population of one million is also suggested in one of Dixon's more recent works (Dixon 2002:3). Leitner (2004a: 68ff) reports that archaeological finds support figures of about 750,000, as a population of that size could have been sustained under the existing conditions.

The size and social structure of the pre-colonial Australian society is not only of interest for ethnologists and ethnographers, but can also help linguists to shed some light on questions of linguistic diversity, as the knowledge of the nature of the Aboriginal population's social organisation is crucial to make assumptions on the number of languages spoken. According to Flood (2006: 17), pre-colonial Aboriginal society was characterised by a three-tier organisational structure: on the most immediate level, we can observe an organisation into 'bands', that is, mobile small groups formed by the members of one or more extended families. Bands ranged from 8 to 70 members in size, with an average size of 14 to 33 persons. On a broader level, these smaller 'residence groups' were organised into 'clans' which Flood describes as 'country groups', occupying a fixed area of land. Clans also shared a common iden-

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tity derived from the concept of a common Ancestral Being. Clans in turn formed larger 'regional linguistic groupings', which Flood terms 'tribal groups'[1], the members of which "[shared] a common linguistic identification and hence a common identification with the area with which that language is traditionally identified" (Flood 2006: 17). Between 600 (Dixon 2002: 3) and 700 (Austin 1991b: 55) tribal groups are assumed to have existed in pre-colonial Australia. Their size seems to have been rather variable, since Flood (2006: 18) reports that it ranged from 25 members to several thousands. She suggests a mean of about 450 persons.

As with population figures for the mainland, population numbers for pre-contact Tasmania are largely based on estimates which vary considerably. While Ryan (1996: 14) assumes a pre-colonial Tasmanian population ranging from 3,000 to 4,000, the Australian Bureau of Statistics provides an estimate of between 4,000 to 10,000 original inhabitants (ABS 2002). Flood (2006: 67) believes that 5,000 is the most realistic number.

Analogous to the structures found on the mainland, the social organisation of pre-colonial Tasmanian population was divided into three levels that are comparable in their function to those described above. According to Ryan (1996: 14), Tasmanian Aboriginal society had nine tribal groups, each composed of between five or six to fifteen bands. The size of the tribes might have ranged from 250 to 700, with a possible mean of around 350 to 470.

Torres Strait Islander people constitute Australia's second Indigenous people, originally situated on the Torres Strait Islands, between Cape York Peninsula and Papua New Guinea. Torres Strait Islander people are assumed to be the descendants of Melanesian peoples from the southern coast of Papua New Guinea (Shnukal 2001: 181). They are thus usually perceived and also perceive themselves as distinct from the Aboriginal population of the rest of the Australian continent and will thus not be in the focus of the present study. However, a linguistic connection to the Aboriginal population of Australia exists: Kala Lagaw Ya, one of the two languages spoken on the Torres Strait islands has been shown to possess features of both Papuan and Aboriginal languages and is generally considered to be a relative of the Aboriginal languages of the mainland.

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1 Note that the term 'tribe' is rather controversial and that some anthropologists consider it an inadequate description of the complex social organisation of Australian Aboriginal society. Yet, Flood (2006: 17) argues that "belonging to a particular 'tribe' or 'nation' (strictly a group of tribes) has become central to the identity of Aboriginal people, who use the terms proudly to indicate their origins and ancestral territory or 'country'".

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3.2 The Pre-Contact Language Ecology

As for pre-contact population figures, estimates concerning the actual number of languages spoken on the Australian mainland before British invasion vary considerably, and range from approximately 200 to 300 (see for example Koch 2004: 17; Walsh 1997: 397). One of the reasons for these conflicting assessments is the languages' insufficient documentation. A more definite assessment of the Australian language ecology prior to the European invasion is not feasible, given the speed with which the Aboriginal languages were eradicated from the earliest days of contact and the fact that only few early observers showed any interest in the linguistic landscape of the country. Information on individual Australian languages and dialects was compiled at different periods of time, but even the earliest descriptions date back to a time when much of the linguistic diversity had already been lost. Thus, we must be aware that the picture we are dealing with is incomplete and that some of its details are based on assumptions rather than knowledge.

3.2.1 **Our Lack of Knowledge**

Due to the quick destruction of large parts of the original Aboriginal language ecology and the early observers' inability to fully comprehend the complex linguistic systems and structures, a lot of knowledge about the linguistic situation in pre-colonial Australia has been lost. More than half of the estimated ca. 250 languages once spoken are now extinct and a reconstruction is difficult since both the quantity and the quality of information available on these varieties varies considerably. The general lack of information on Australian languages can be attributed to the fact that, for a long time, these did not receive much attention from professional linguists. According to Dixon (1980: 17), it was not until the mid-1970s that the description of Australian languages reached a standard comparable to that found on other continents.

Dixon reports that today, detailed descriptions for about 95 languages exist, usually in the form of a grammar and a dictionary or wordlists, most of which were compiled by professional linguists after 1960. Still, for about 110 languages, the only existing materials are meagre and of insufficient quality, mostly wordlists put together by earlier untrained observers which frequently include inaccurate information and incorrectly observed language or tribal group names. Other works are descriptions based on information provided by the last remaining (partial) speakers. For some parts of Australia, hardly any or no data at all is available. For about 25 languages, all of which are now extinct, only a few wordlists remain (2002: 2). Yeeman, a language formerly spoken in the Brisbane area is only known by its name (Walsh 1993a: 9). The immense lack of documentation also affects our knowledge on the Tasmanian

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languages for which only a handful of amateur wordlists exist, apart from a few text fragments and a highly damaged Edison record of songs. The only information about grammatical structures is contained in a corpus of about 100 sentences, which is also of poor quality (Blake 1991: 60). It is thus impossible to make any definite statements on the nature of the pre-colonial language ecology of Tasmania[2] and how it relates to that on the mainland.

Table 1. ***Documentation of Australian languages*** **(based on Dixon 2002).**

Languages	**Materials**
95 languages	Detailed information: professional grammars and dictionaries/wordlists, compiled after 1960
110 languages	Incomplete documentation: wordlists compiled by untrained amateurs, often including inaccurate information; materials based on information provided by remaining (partial) speakers
Approx. 25 languages (all extinct)	Materials of poor quality: Small number of wordlists
Several other languages	Very little or no data at all

Unfortunately, Dixon does not detail which materials are available for which variety. AUSTLANG, the Australian Indigenous Languages Database, provides the most comprehensive information on Australian languages; the data available on their website http://austlang.aiatsis.gov.au/main.php also includes information on existing resources of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages and the languages' documentation.

3.2.2 **The Language-Dialect Distinction**

The majority of the assumed 250 or so languages comprised a number of dialects so that the total number of all varieties spoken before colonisation may have amounted to several hundred. If we recall what has been said about the social structure of the pre-colonial Aboriginal population in the previous

[2] Intensive contact between Tasmanian Aboriginal people and European colonisers began in earnest with the establishment of a convict colony in 1804.

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chapter, we will find that the estimates concerning the number of linguistic varieties correspond to the number of 'tribal groups' proposed above: between 600 and 700 distinct varieties are assumed to have existed on the Australian continent, that is, each group presumably had its own, identifiable variety (see for example Austin 1991b: 55; Dixon 2002: 3; Evans 2007: 19; Walsh 1997: 397). Hence, we might also speak of a 'language group' rather than a 'tribal group'. Another factor that sometimes complicates making definite statements on the number of languages that have existed before the British invasion is that it is not always possible to determine whether particular varieties should be considered languages in their own right or dialects of a particular language. While a differentiation into dialects and languages appears rather straightforward, we need to be aware that the assumed 250 languages are what Evans (2007: 38) terms "linguist's languages", i.e. sets of dialects that have been grouped according to structural reasons. Further, a distinction between languages and dialects may not be in line with Aboriginal people's viewpoints, as usually, all those varieties that have been classified as 'dialects' by linguists are or were labelled with a particular name by their speakers and perceived as independent tongues. Speakers often feel that the classification of their linguistic varieties as 'dialects' involves a downgrading of their forms of speech and insist on them being seen as languages of their own right (McConvell & Thieberger 2001:16).

Many of the superordinate labels that exist today, the names of our 'linguist's languages', on the other hand, were put forward by modern-day scholars. These function as head terms for particular groupings of dialects but do not represent languages actually spoken. Examples of such terms introduced from the outside which are now commonly accepted as superordinate language labels include the 'Western Desert Language' or the 'Western Torres Straits language'. In other cases, the name of a particular dialect has been adopted as language name; examples are 'Dyirbal' and 'Murrinhpatha' (Walsh 1997: 396f). In both cases, however, the naming practice is artificial and relies on labels introduced from the outside, even though Walsh argues that arranging different local varieties under a common language label reflects speakers' awareness that the dialects of 'their' language are more closely related to each other than to those of another language.

One approach to distinguish languages from dialects examines the percentage of shared vocabulary: if it is above 70%, the varieties are considered dialects of the same language. This method, however, has several drawbacks, as the cut-off point of 70% may be criticised for being arbitrary; apart from this, some languages may share a considerable amount of vocabulary even though they exhibit entirely different grammar systems and cannot be considered closely related. Therefore, many Australianists usually rely on the criterion of mutual intelligibility, that is, varieties which are mutually intelligible are

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considered dialects of a particular language (McConvell & Thieberger 2001: 16). This is an approach which may be criticised as too simplistic in many contexts, as often, the language-dialect distinction is influenced by a number of factors, and mutual intelligibility may only serve as one criterion among many. Yet, when discussing Australian languages and dialects, we must also keep in mind that the pre-colonial Australian language ecology is not comparable to other language situations such as the European one where dialects are defined along a number of parameters, e.g. geographically and socially, where regional, social and other dialects stand in contrast to an official standard variety, and where state boundaries often decide what counts as an independent language. Instead, as has been noted above, when talking about 'languages' in the Australian context, we are dealing with theoretical constructs that do not correspond to varieties that are actually in use. These are represented by what is described as 'dialect'.

Hence, the use of the terms 'language' and 'dialect', even though well-established among Australianists, is actually somewhat misleading for those unacquainted with the Australian situation. In addition, the application of the mutual intelligibility criterion, too, is not entirely unproblematic as we are dealing with a society in which multilingualism was – and in many areas still is – the norm and the majority of speakers easily understand the variety of the neighbouring group. Apart from that, the resulting distinction is frequently not in line with speakers' assessments. As we have stated above, speakers of Aboriginal languages perceive the variety used by their group as a separate language, independent of and distinct from the neighbouring group's variety. A closer look at these two local languages' structures might reveal a high percentage of shared vocabulary and closely related grammars. In terms of the mutual intelligibility criterion, these two varieties would then constitute two dialects of the same language. However, for the speakers, even small differences in vocabulary and grammar are of considerable importance and show the speaker's affiliation with one group or another, which supports the two linguistic varieties' identification as different languages (Dixon 1980: 35f).

To illustrate the discrepancy between the speakers' and the linguists' interpretation of what constitutes a 'language', Dixon (1980: 35) introduces the notions of "language$_1$", corresponding to what we have so far treated as 'dialect', and "language$_2$" which, technically speaking, may be defined as "a chain of mutually intelligible dialects" even though "there need not necessarily be intelligibility between dialects at the extreme of the chain, but each individual dialect must be mutually intelligible with its geographic neighbours". He uses the linguistic situation in Scandinavia as an analogy to illustrate that the term 'language' can have two different interpretations so that, for example, speakers of Danish and Norwegian will perceive themselves as speakers of two closely related but nevertheless separate languages$_1$. The linguist, applying

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strictly linguistic criteria, will classify the two varieties as dialects of the same language$_2$ which would be called 'Scandinavian', given the amount of similarities between them and their degree of mutual intelligibility. This language$_2$, however, is not recognised as a linguistic unit by the speakers of Danish and Norwegian, nor is 'Scandinavian' commonly accepted as a language label. This shows that the assessment of what constitutes a language is generally influenced by a lot more than strictly linguistic factors, since in our Scandinavian example, Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish are considered separate languages, despite the linguist's claim that the three varieties form a single language$_2$. Each variety is spoken as the national language of a politically independent nation state and their status as individual languages is derived from historical, social, and political factors rather than from differences in their phonology, grammar, and vocabulary. The idea that a separate nation has its own language is also reflected in the attitudes of speakers of Australian languages: each of the originally 600 or more tribal groups can be seen as constituting an independent unit with an own linguistic variety functioning as the group's language$_1$ in the same way that Danish or Norwegian are perceived as individual languages of sovereign countries. In the majority of cases, neighbouring languages$_1$ are nevertheless dialects of the same language$_2$ when applying the mutual intelligibility criterion. Only in some cases, neighbouring groups' varieties show so many deviant features that they are assumed to belong to different languages$_2$ (Dixon 1980: 35).

3.2.3 **Classification of the Australian Languages**

The languages of the Australian mainland belong to several language families of variable size. The biggest and most widespread family comprises more than 150 languages and covers more than eighty percent of the country. The remaining families are found in the far north of Australia. The now most widely accepted classification of Australian languages was put forward by Geoffrey O'Grady, Stephen Wurm, and Kenneth Hale, and results from survey work undertaken in the 1960s (O'Grady *et al.* 1966a). Their genetic classification scheme, which is largely based on lexicostatistic evidence, holds that all Australian languages except for the Tasmanian languages, Meriam Mir of the eastern Torres Strait, Barbaram in the Queensland rainforest, and New South Wales Aniwa[3], form one macro-phylum[4] (O'Grady *et al.* 1966a; also in O'Grady *et al.* 1966b). This superfamily is assumed to comprise 228 distinguishable languages belonging to no fewer than 29 families, with the largest

[3] Today the two languages are referred to as *Mbaram* and *Nganyaywana* (Koch 2004: 32).

[4] In later years, Crowley (1976) and Dixon (1991) attested that Mbaram and Nganyaywana were closely related to their neighbouring languages, radical sound changes being responsible for obscuring cognates (Koch 2004: 32).

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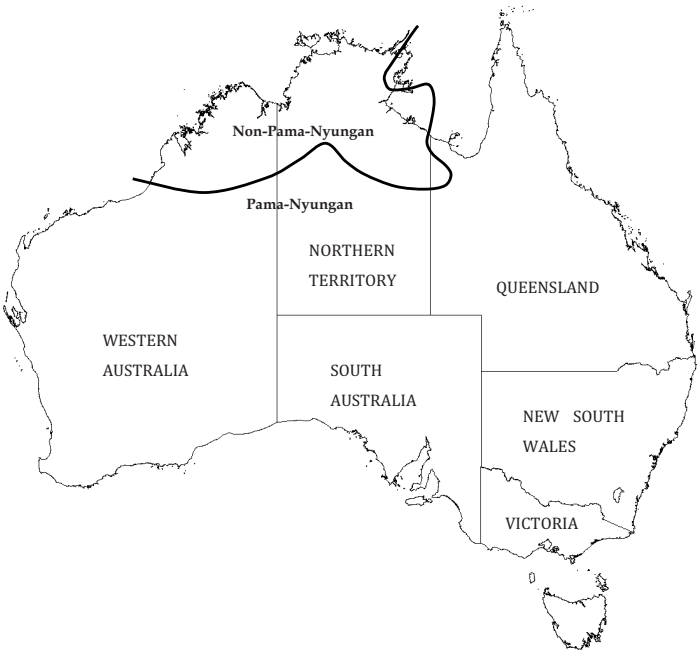
family spreading widely over the southern parts of the continent, covering seven eights of the Australian land mass, and even including several western islands of the Torres Strait (O' Grady *et al.* 1966b: 28f). Its name, 'Pama Nyungan', is derived from the terms for 'man' or 'person' in the languages spoken furthest northeast (Cape York Peninsula) and southwest. In the OWH scheme, the Pama Nyungan family comprised 160 languages which were divided into 33 groups and 67 subgroups. The remaining 68 languages were believed to belong to no less than 28 different families[5] subsumed under the heading 'non-Pama Nyungan'. These are found in the north-western and extreme northern parts of Australia, more precisely in Arnhem Land and the Kimberley region.



Map 1. ***The OHW Pama-Nyungan – Non-Pama-Nyungan division*** **(adapted from Dixon 1980: 20).**

5 In 1972, Wurm presented a somewhat revised classification scheme that establishes 27 non-Pama Nyungan language families (1972: 112ff).

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In contrary to the Pama Nyungan family with its large number of family members, some of the non-Pama Nyungan languages are assumed to be language-isolates. The remaining families usually have few members, never more than eleven (O' Grady *et al.* 1966b: 27ff). Even though the scheme put forward by O'Grady, Wurm and Hale was intended to be only preliminary and provisional, it has become widely accepted and continues to be the model most scholars agree upon, R.M.W. Dixon being a noteworthy exception (see Dixon 2002). Within the last decades, there have been several attempts to revise the OWH scheme and re-assessments have reduced the number of non-Pama Nyungan families to about twenty (Evans 2003: 14; Koch 2007: 29). In addition, even though conclusive evidence is still lacking, most linguists today agree that all the mainland languages are in fact genetically related, deriving from an assumed "proto-Australian" ancestor (Walsh 2004: 33).

Due to their fast and early extinction and the scarcity of the available data, only very little can be said about the nature of the Tasmanian languages and their connection with each other or with other languages and language families. In the previous chapter, we have stated that the Tasmanian population is believed to have comprised about 5000 individuals who formed nine tribal groups and more than fifty bands. In addition, we have reported that the Tasmanian varieties are not considered to belong to the Australian macrophylum in the OWH classification. Schmidt (1952: 10) who provides one of the most comprehensive, though early, works on Tasmanian languages also rejects the idea of a possible relationship:

> Anybody can satisfy himself or herself that there exist no connections with the languages of Australia, the nearest continent, neither in vocabulary nor in grammar, simply by reading my *Die Gliederung der Australischen Sprachen* (Vienna 1919) and my works published in *Oceania*.[transferred into English, K.L.].

Yet, other scholars do not so readily dismiss a possible connection between the Tasmanian languages and those on the mainland. Dixon (1980: 33), for example, notes that even though such a relationship cannot be shown, the existing information on the Tasmanian languages does not provide any clear evidence that it did not exist:

> All that we can conclude is this – there is NO evidence that the Tasmanian languages were NOT of the regular Australian type. They have been separated off for so long, and the available materials are so poor, that the likelihood of a genetic connection cannot be confirmed. The genetic affiliation of Tasmanian is, and must remain, unproven. [Emphasis in original]

In his 1952 work, Schmidt suggests five different Tasmanian varieties that he assumes to constitute separate languages and arranges into two groups. O'Grady *et al.* (1966b: 19) take up Schmidt's proposed five varieties but suggest two separate languages, one of which has four dialects. Based on the results of a lexico-statistic approach, Crowley & Dixon (1981) assume that at

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least eight different languages may have existed, maybe as many as twelve. Still, due to the scarcity of the data, they (1981: 404) concede:

> The real answer to the question 'how many languages were spoken in Tasmania' is 'we don't know'; to say 'probably somewhere between eight and twelve' is to hazard an only slightly informed guess.

Concerning the grouping of Tasmanian languages into one or more families, they explain that there is evidence for more than one family but that it is nevertheless impossible to clearly state whether two, four or maybe as many as eight families might have existed. They thus conclude that "[...] the data available are so slight that we can scarcely exclude any possibility – such as the languages making up a single family, although there is certainly no evidence in favour of this".

The languages of the Torres Strait, too, have received very little attention, and only few linguists have studied them or published on the subject. As has been indicated above, two mutually unintelligible languages were spoken in the Torres Strait. On the eastern islands, Meriam Mir, a Papuan language was in use, while on the western islands, Kala Lagaw Ya, an Australian language, was spoken. Each language exhibits regional dialects which reflect the cultural differences between the inhabitants of the different islands and may also point towards separate linguistic developments that have taken place in the individual locations: two dialects are recorded for the Papuan Meriam Mir and four dialects (Top Western, Mid Western, Lower Western, and Central) have been distinguished for Kala Lagaw Ya, but dialectal differences were only minor (Shnukal 2004b: 108).

The *World Atlas of Language Structures Online* (Dryer & Haspelmath 2013) provides information on selected structural features of 176 Australian varieties, including two English-based contact languages, Kriol and Torres Strait Creole. Of these 176 varieties, 122 belong to the Pama-Nyungan family, which is divided into Central Pama-Nyungan (16 languages), Northern Pama-Nyungan (33 languages), Western Pama-Nyungan (50 languages), and Southeastern Pama-Nyungan (23 languages). While not all varieties spoken in Australia at the time of British invasion are recorded, the WALS still provides a good starting point for the comparative investigation of a number of Australian languages in current use.

The web edition of *Ethnologue* (Lewis *et al*. 2015) lists 378 Australian languages, 281 of which belong to the Pama-Nyungan family. The remaining 97 languages listed in this publication belong to 17 non-Pama-Nyungan families, including a small number of isolates. A family tree of Australian languages based on *Ethnologue* data can be found in the appendix.

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3.3 The Relation between Language, Language Speakers, and Land

In Aboriginal people's belief, a direct relationship exists between a particular tract of land and the language spoken in the area which was installed there by the ancestral Dreaming beings when they created the land. As a consequence, the language 'belongs' to the land. The link which exists between the language and the people that inhabit the land, in contrast, is not a direct one but mediated through the people's affiliation with a particular place, that is, Aboriginal people are speakers of a particular variety since they have a connection to certain places which, in turn, are connected with a particular language (Dixon 2002: 3; see also Rumsey 1993). Dixon (2002: 3) explains this relationship between the land, its inhabitants, and the language as follows: "[...] Jarwoyon people are Jarwoyon not because they speak Jarwoyon, but because they are linked to places with which the Jarwoyon language is associated. And THUS [emphasis in original] they speak Jarwoyon". Consequently, maps illustrating the approximate location of Australian languages should not be interpreted as merely showing the distribution of their speaker populations, as Sutton (2004: 50) points out. Rather, such a map

> [...] is more accurately seen as a religious statement. What it marks are the lands whose owners under Aboriginal customary law were given particular languages during the mythic foundation of the world, the Dreaming, and it plots those land/language associations. It is a general rule in Aboriginal Australia that languages are held to have originated when Dreamings (Ancestral Beings, totemic heroes) invested the land with meaning and human beings.

One outcome of this connection between land, language, and people is the concept of 'language ownership'. A multilingual Aboriginal person may be fluent in a number of varieties. Yet, only if s/he belongs to a particular group that is associated with the tract of land where a certain language is or was spoken, s/he is seen as 'owning' this language. Others, however fluent in the respective variety, may not be accepted as speakers of the language (Evans 2007: 28f). At the same time, a person may even 'own' a language of which s/he has only very limited knowledge (McKay 2007: 121).

Despite the connection between land and language, we should be aware that language areas should not be equated with 'tribal' areas, since the former are fuzzy at the boundaries. The languages on the Australian continent were linked via "chains of relationships", that is, different linguistic varieties have been found to exhibit common features in close vicinity. Such border areas must be seen as marking points of transition which replace clear-cut language boundaries (Leitner 2004b: 11). This enabled Aboriginal people to communicate across great distances. Multilingualism was the norm in Aboriginal society, and since people were usually proficient in the language or dialect of their

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neighbours, they could easily communicate with more distant speech communities through this neighbouring language. Communication lines could stretch even further than that. A network of trade routes covered the entire continent, and songs, dances, and lexical items were transported into distant areas along with material goods. Harris (2007: 133) even suggests that some kind of lingua franca may have existed to serve communicative functions, yet only very little is known about contact languages in pre-colonial Australia.

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4 Indigenous Australia in the 21st Century

Almost two and a half centuries after the landing of the First Fleet, the traditional Aboriginal language ecology has experienced substantial changes and while it has been expanded to include a number of new, often English-based linguistic varieties, the traditional languages have suffered drastic losses. The greater part of the Australian languages has already died out and the number of those still in use is declining steadily.

However, the arrival of the British – and later also other that of other newcomers – has not only left traces on Aboriginal languages but also on the existing social structures as well as on contemporary definitions of Aboriginality in Australia. Hence, before contemplating the current Aboriginal language ecology, we need to have a look at the today's Australian Aboriginal population.

4.1 Australia's Indigenous Population: Census Data

A wealth of data from previous Australian Censuses can be obtained from the Australian Bureau of Statistics homepage at http://www.abs.gov.au/Census. This data collection presents a welcome, but comparatively recent advancement: it was not until 1967 that a Federal referendum resulted in a change of the Constitution that allowed all Australians to be counted in the Australian Census. For the first time, Australians of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander descent were included in the Australian Census in 1971, i.e. the first Australian Census after the 1967 referendum (ABS 2005). Before that, it was almost impossible to provide reliable figures about the size of the Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait population, and population numbers for the period prior to 1971 were usually mere estimates.

Still, Australian Census data is not always entirely unproblematic as statisticians are currently facing the difficult question of who should actually be counted as Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander person. In the last years, an increasing number of Australian citizens of part-Aboriginal descent have begun to identify as Aboriginal persons. This tendency is also acknowledged by the Australian Bureau of Statistics:

> More recently, changing social attitudes, political developments, improved statistical coverage and a broader definition of Indigenous origin have all contributed to the increased likelihood of people identifying as being of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander (Indigenous) origin. This is reflected in the large increases in the number of people who are identified as being Indigenous in

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each Census, increases in excess of those which can be attributed to natural increase in the Indigenous population. (ABS 2008a)

The estimated Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population in June 2006 was approximately 517,200 or 2.3% of the Australian population which was 20,701,500 in 2006 (ABS 2008b). In the 2011 Census, the number of those who identified as Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander person had risen to 548,370 (ABS 2012a). The reasons for this population growth are various and include increasing birth rates and decreasing death rates. Other factors are improved methods for census data collection and the aforementioned growing readiness to identify as Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander person. In the two last Census rounds, Aboriginal people comprised 90% of the total Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population; 6% of Australia's Indigenous population identified as Torres Strait Islander person and another 4% as being of both Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander descent (ABS 2008a).

In the 2011 Census round, 33% of those who identified as Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander person lived in capital city areas. The proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander citizens living in capital cities was highest in South Australia (51%) and in Victoria (47%). The lowest proportions of capital city dwellers were found in Queensland and in the Northern Territory where 73% and 80%, respectively, lived outside these areas (ABS 2012a).

Considering the total population of the states or territories, the Northern Territory has the largest proportion of Aboriginal residents. In the 2011 Census round, 56,779 persons, that is 26.8% of the total Northern Territory population, identified as Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander person. All other states and the Australian Capital Territory had an Aboriginal population of 4% or less in 2011: New South Wales 2.5%, Queensland 3.6%, South Australia 1.9%, Western Australia 3.1%, Tasmania 4.0%, Australian Capital Territory 1.5%. In Victoria, only 0.7% of the state's population identified as Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander person (ABS 2008a).

4.2 The Post-Contact Language Ecology

A good 225 years after the onset of British colonisation in Australia, much of the rich linguistic diversity that characterised the pre-colonial Australian language ecology has been lost. The graveness of the situation is highlighted by the authors of the *National Indigenous Language Survey (NILS)* who state that "Australia has been singled out as the country that has witnessed the largest and most rapid loss of languages of anywhere in the world, over the last century" (AIATSIS/FATSIL 2005: 24). More recently, there have been attempts to revive some of the extinct or near extinct languages with the help of what has

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been recorded of their grammar and lexicon. However, as many languages have died out before any kind of documentation took place, a lot is lost beyond retrieval.

Several authors have been concerned with issues of language endangerment in the Australian context and even though different indicators may have been applied to measure language vitality and different terms are used to describe the various stages of endangerment, there is general consent that the situation of Australia's languages provides reason for concern. Walsh (2007: 79) notices a direct link between early and constant contact to the British colonisers and the likelihood of languages to become threatened by extinction. Thus, it is not surprising that many of the languages which continue to be spoken are found in the geographically more remote parts of Australia, i.e. the Northern Territory and the northern parts of Queensland and Western Australia. Here, contact with the English language set in comparatively late and was often much less intensive, which allowed a greater degree of language maintenance. A large number of languages of the southeast, on the other hand, are now considered extinct.

Due to a different classification of languages and dialects than the one presented above, Wurm (2010: 436) estimates that approximately 500 Aboriginal language varieties have existed prior to first contact. He observes that a considerable number of these were eradicated in the earliest years of the British invasion:

> A catastrophic smallpox epidemic which started in Sydney around 1789 and is believed to have swept through many parts of Australia killing a considerable proportion of the Aboriginal population, is likely to have caused the extinction of at least a hundred of the very small local languages.

In the following two centuries, the remaining 400 or so languages were subject to enormous threats so that, at the beginning of the 21st century,

> [...] there are about twenty-five fully functional Aboriginal languages, about 120 threatened languages in various stages of endangerment, with at least fifty of them in the last stages of disappearance, with only a few elderly speakers left. In addition, about 170 other languages have become recently or relatively recently extinct, with their last few elderly speakers dying during the last two decades or so. This gives a total of about 320-30 languages to which quite a few long-extinct languages have to be added to arrive at a figure of about 400 languages a short time after the time of contact (Wurm 2010: 425).

The reasons for the enormous loss of Australian languages and the processes leading to the decline of linguistic variation are quite diverse. Generally, we can distinguish between two main types of language loss in the Australian context: Loss by *rupture* and loss by *attrition*. The former, an extreme and abrupt form of loss causes the total disruption of all language transmission that also makes later re-learning of the extinct language almost impossible (LoBianco & Rhydwen 2001: 394). Attrition, on the other hand, describes the

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slow decline of linguistic diversity, which, according to Grenoble (2011: 32), is a lot more common in most language situations where speakers are provided with different incentives to adopt the language of the politically, economically, and socially more powerful majority culture, a process which usually takes place over the course of a few generations. However, in the Australian context, *loss by rupture* was not infrequent in the earlier periods of contact, resulting from the extermination of entire language groups by diseases, natural disasters, war, or genocide (Wurm 2010: 438f). The smallpox epidemic and its consequences described in the above quotation is a prime example of loss by rupture, as is the killing of entire language groups on the Australian mainland and in Tasmania. Other groups experienced such a severe reduction of numbers that they were unable to continue as discrete cultural and linguistic units. Those that managed to do so nevertheless usually included English (or another (contact-) language used in the area) into their repertoire, while at first maintaining their traditional language (McConvell & Thieberger 2001: 9).

Loss by attrition may be brought about by different forms of direct or indirect pressure on the speakers of a minority language. In instances of direct pressure, speakers may be actively forced to shift to a dominant language (Wurm 2010: 438f). This shift can be aided or even activated by language laws and policies; in the Australian context, the boarding school system that actively discouraged the children's use of their ancestral languages is one example of such direct pressure (Grenoble 2011: 32). Indirect cultural pressure may cause the same kind of shift when speakers of minor languages are confronted with the economic and social advantages associated with the use of the majority language. In addition, speakers, especially of the younger generations, may be more attracted to the use of the mainstream society's language even if pressure is lacking, perceiving it as a "symbol of youth and modernity" (O'Shannessy 2011: 92); the colonisers' language further gains prestige and extends its role when used in public functions. So, while loss by rupture was characteristic of the earlier periods of colonial expansion which were frequently accompanied by violence and hostilities, loss by attrition was a more typical by-product of the ongoing contact, that "has involved a slow, seemingly inexorable attrition of all domains of life traditionally functioning in Australian languages and their colonisation by other forms of speech, especially various forms of English" (LoBianco & Rhydwen 2001: 394).

In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, initial attempts at segregating the Aboriginal inhabitants from the colonists were followed by policies of assimilation. During this period, natural mortality, low fertility rates, and the expulsion of entire groups from their territory led to the disruption of Aborig-

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inal communities (Leitner 2004b: 60)[6], and multi-tribal and multilingual missions and camps provided an environment that favoured the emergence of lingue franche or pidgin varieties. This process was even more likely to occur in contexts in which the use of Aboriginal languages was actively discouraged (McConvell & Thieberger 2001:26). The separation of children from their parents, which was a common practice on missions, further hampered processes of intergenerational language transmission. Instead of having their parents' mother tongue passed on to them through daily interaction, the children were placed in environments that favoured the development of contact varieties or triggered a shift to English (cf. 5.2.3 where we discuss the emergence of Kriol) (Wurm 2010: 449). Also outside missions and camps, Aboriginal languages came under increasing pressure exerted by the growing number of colonists and the colonisers' language caused a general process of language shift which sooner or later affected all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities of Australia, including those in the more remote areas of the country (McConvell & Thieberger 2001: 9). This pressure continued in later periods and, along with the assimilation strategies employed in the 20th century, it constitutes one of the main reasons for the extinction of Australian languages in more recent periods (Wurm 2010: 449).

The picture resulting from the developments described is one that mirrors the impact of the European invasion on Aboriginal society, its cultures, and languages, as well as the Aboriginal people's attempts to adapt to these changes by expanding their linguistic repertoire according to the new linguistic influences. As Mühlhäusler (1996d) suggests, language contact must not be seen as impacting on single languages, but affects the linguistic ecology as a whole. Thus, the presence of the colonisers' language has frayed the 'tissue' woven by co-existing and to some part interacting traditional languages beyond repair. New pieces of fabric were inserted in the periods from 1788 onward, but the resulting pattern is fundamentally different to the original one.

Over the past two centuries, a new linguistic ecology has emerged in which the remaining Aboriginal languages co-exist with indigenised varieties of English, forms of Australian English and contact varieties that draw on resources of both Aboriginal languages and English. The earlier contact varieties include, amongst others, New South Wales Pidgin and its successors that will be dealt with in chapter 5.2, Western Australian Pidgin English, Bass Strait English, and a number of local pidgin forms spoken on missions and stations (Mühlhäusler 2004: 164). Only a few of these were maintained in the face of an increasing influence of English, others have given rise for the development of strong modern Aboriginal languages (Leitner 2004b: 4). In some of

6 The massacres that accompanied pastoral expansion and caused the loss of numerous languages by rupture, however, continued into the late 19th and early 20th century.

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the geographically more remote regions, shift to a pidgin variety or a form of English has been resisted and traditional languages are still actively used by speakers of different age groups and continue to be passed on to the youngest generation. Still, the character of even those strong Aboriginal languages has not remained unaffected by the changes that have shaken the pre-colonial language ecology. For example, in those areas where Aboriginal languages remain in daily use, regional languages and dialects are increasingly replaced by koinés and lingue franche (LoBianco & Rhydwen 2001: 399). Elsewhere, the impact of English has triggered the formation of 'mixed' forms of traditional languages that combine features of a traditional Aboriginal language with the more dominant languages Kriol or (forms of) English (O'Shannessy 2011: 85f).

The most widely used modern Aboriginal languages, however, are English-based, and today, virtually all Aboriginal people in Australia use some form of English in their daily interactions with the mainstream community as well as with each other. Also, a number of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander persons speak a creole as their first or second language. The two major Australian creoles are Northern Territory Kriol and Torres Strait Creole with speaker populations of around 20,000 (Harris 2007: 145; AIATSIS/FATSIL 2005) and 23,000 (AIATSIS/FATSIL 2005), respectively. Both have been recognised as Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages in 1991 and have undergone standardisation; they are now also being used as languages of education and in the public domain (Mühlhäusler 1996a: 14).

Table 2. ***Post-contact languages Spoken by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples in Australia.***

	Language variety	**Examples**
1	English	(St)AusE, Aboriginal Englishes
2	English-based contact languages (pidgins, creoles, bilingual mixed languages)	Kriol, Torres Strait Creole
3	Other contact languages	Broome Pearling Lugger Pidgin (no longer in full use)
4	Traditional Aboriginal languages (including koinés and lingue franche)	Arrernte, Dhuwaya, Kala Kawaw Ya/Kala Lagaw Ya, Pitjantjatjara, Warlpiri,
5	'Mixed' and 'new' forms of Aboriginal languages	Gurindji-Kriol, Light Warlpriri, Modern Tiwi

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4.2.1 **Kriol**

The term *Kriol* describes an English-based creole language which emerged in the first half of the 20th century in the northern parts of Australia. Its cradle was the Anglican Mission at Roper River in the Northern Territory, which was established in 1908 (see also 5.2.3). Here, about 70 children of different linguistic and cultural background were forced into contact through the dormitory system. In need of a common language, the children created the creole as their primary means of communication, drawing on the resources of the Northern Territory Pidgin English used between the Aboriginal and European population of the region and the English they were exposed to at school (Harris 2004: 201). In the following decades, a number of regional Kriol varieties emerged in the Northern Territory and the Kimberley area of Western Australia, and today Kriol is spoken in more than 100 communities in the Australian 'Top End', the northernmost area of the Northern Territory, and in neighbouring areas of Western Australia and Queensland.

While in the early periods of creolisation, the creole was developed as a lingua franca and quickly adopted as a first language, the spread of Kriol in more recent periods has resulted in the use of Kriol as both a first and second language. Also, it is not a creole for the entire Kriol-speaking community. In some areas and for some speakers, Kriol is still a pidgin, as its predecessor, the Northern Territory Pidgin English did not undergo creolisation, even though in some areas it underwent expansion[7] (Harris 1986: 317ff). Harris (2007: 145) suggests that there are approximately 15,000 first language speakers and another 30,000 or more for whom Kriol is a second language or lingua franca. Concerning the social stratification of Kriol, we can observe a continuum of varieties which includes 'light' and 'heavy' forms of Kriol, i.e. varieties closer

[7] Leitner (2004b: 99) suggests that in some cases, the absence of a creolisation process may be attributed to the relative strength of the local languages that provided the opportunity to shift to another Aboriginal variety.

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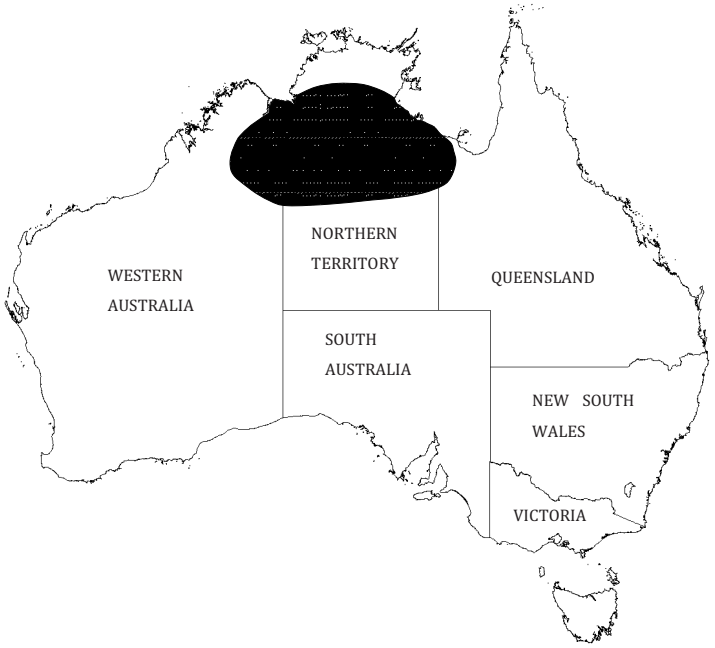
to English and others closer to the Aboriginal languages, as well as other varieties that have provided input. Leitner (2004b: 100), for example, distinguishes *lait* 'light', *hebi* 'heavy' and *prapa* 'proper' varieties of Kriol.

Hence, we must be aware that we are not dealing with one homogenous Kriol-speaking community. The regional varieties that can be identified differ in their phonological, lexical, and grammatical structures as well as in the different 'social attitudes' connected with them (Munro 2001: 249), and speakers acknowledge these regional differences and identify strongly with 'their' form of Kriol. The identification with a particular local variety is such that Munro (2001: 266) reports that "[i]t is offensive to suggest to speakers of one variety of Kriol, say Roper Kriol for example, that they speak the same as someone from Daly River, for example. Distinctions are even more strongly felt between the states".



Map 2. ***Kriol Speaking Region*** **(adapted from Munro 2001: 246).**

There is and has been some debate about whether the local forms should be defined as varieties of a single Kriol language or whether it is more appropriate to see them as separate Kriol languages (see for example Munro (2001),

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Mühlhäusler (1996c), Rhydwen (1993)). It is further unclear whether there was one place of creole genesis, i.e. in the Roper River area, from which Kriol has subsequently diffused into other parts of the NT, or whether the regional variation must be ascribed to several instances of creole genesis, and the different varieties have begun to converge into one. More recently, Bible translation programs and the development of a written norm appear to have promoted a standardisation process. Yet, according to Mühlhäusler (1996c: 128), the development of a set of uniform Kriol varieties out of a number of highly variable systems is related to "acts of identity", i.e. the speakers' wish to identify with a particular group and an identifiable language. He further argues that the idea of *one* Kriol language that is maintained by some linguists "appears to be the result of external status planning", as well as of Kriol's reported rising status among Kriol speakers and a growing acceptation as a language of its own also by non-Aboriginal people.

As O'Shannessy (2011: 92) points out, situations of bi- or multilingualism involving traditional languages, contact languages, and forms of English may favour "layers of pressure". While StAusE is the language of education, administration, and government, it is often only of limited use for Aboriginal people in northern Australia, where a form of AborE and/or Kriol are more common and where there exists considerable pressure to use these varieties in communication with other Aboriginal people. "All three languages, SAE [Standard Australian English, K.L.], AborE and Kriol, exert pressure on the local languages, by narrowing or removing the communicative space in which the local languages have prestige" (O'Shannessy 2011: 92), and thus the use of AusE, AborE, and Kriol increases in public and private domains. In the more remote areas, Kriol and/or AborE may even exert greater pressure on traditional languages than English does, given that here, speakers interact more frequently with other speakers of these varieties than with speakers of AusE. For many Aboriginal people, the use of Kriol is more attractive than that of other varieties, since it is clearly distinct from the colonial language English and since the language is (almost) exclusively used among the Aboriginal community; it is a marker of Aboriginal identity. The diverse substrate influences make it a pan-Aboriginal language that nevertheless exhibits regional variation and distinctiveness.

4.2.2 **Torres Strait Creole and Torres Strait English**

Torres Strait Creole is the second major Australian creole variety. The creole, known variously as *(Torres Strait) Broken*, *Cape York Creole* (Mühlhäusler 1996c: 79), *Pizin*, *Big Thap*, *Blaikman*, or *Ailand Talk*, is spoken by most of the inhabitants of the Torres Strait Islands, which lie between Cape York Peninsula and Papua New Guinea, as well as by many Torres Strait Islander people living in the Cape York communities on the adjacent northern Queensland

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mainland (Shnukal 2004a: 180). Torres Strait Creole originates from Pacific pidgins and is thus related to Pacific creoles. At the same time, it is assumed to be unrelated to its geographical neighbour, Kriol of the Northern Territory and the Kimberleys. According to Shnukal (2004a: 180ff), Torres Strait Creole is a creolised variety of the Pacific Pidgin English, carried to the Torres Strait Islands by Pacific Islanders involved in the trepang trade and the pearling industries which developed in the late 1840s and brought Europeans, Pacific Islanders, Papua New Guineans, Australian Aboriginals, Filipinos, Indonesians, and Japanese to the Islands (Shnukal 2004b: 112).

Albeit about 85% of the creole's lexicon is English-derived, Torres Strait Creole mirrors the phonological, semantic, and pragmatic structures of the traditional Islander languages rather than those of English, and when spoken at normal speed, the creole is unintelligible for speakers of AusE. Due to the substrate influence from the original Islander languages, two varieties of the creole can be distinguished, viz. an eastern variety, which shows influence from the Papuan language Meriam Mir, and a western variety that shows substrate influence from the Australian Pama-Nyungan language Kala Lagaw Ya (Shnukal 2004a: 182f). External influences were provided by Melanesian workers previously employed on Queensland sugar cane plantations who came to the islands in search of employment (Mühlhäusler 1996c: 79). Despite lexical and phonological differences, the two dialects are mutually intelligible (Shnukal 1988a: 3ff).

According to Shnukal (2004a: 182), Torres Strait Creole, which quickly became an important means of inter-Islander communication, bridging the communicative gap between the speakers of two mutually unintelligible traditional languages, has now largely replaced the islands' original languages[8]. She (2004a:180) assumes that at the beginning of the 21st century, Torres Strait Creole was a first language for about 3,000 of the 4,000 inhabitants of the islands and a second language for up to 12,000 people, including those living in the mainland communities of Cape York[9]. Yet again we are not dealing with one uniform variety. Rather, Shnukal (2004a: 182ff) observes that Torres Strait Creole shows traces of a post-creole continuum with the variety spoken by the younger generation being more strongly influenced by the dominating English substrate and resembling the phonological, semantic, and syntactic patterns of AusE more closely. According to her, it is not feasible to predict whether

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8 The *Second National Indigenous Languages Survey*, however, provides contradicting information, saying that "the data from the Language Attitude Survey shows that many if not all speak Yumplatok in addition to local traditional languages, such as Kala Kawaw Ya (and its close relatives) and/or Meriam Mir' (AIATSIS/FATSIL 2014:18).

9 See 4.5.2 for a discussion of speaker numbers in Census counts.

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Torres Strait Creole will continue to exist as a creole or develop into an ethnic dialect of AusE within a few generations.

In fact, the development of a Torres Strait Islander dialect of English can already be observed in some of the mainland communities. According to the 1996 Census, 85% of those who self-identify as Torres Strait Islander person now live in the coastal regions of the Western Australian Cape York mainland. In these communities, many Torres Strait Islander people have intermarried with the local Aboriginal population, and in the northern communities of the Cape York Peninsula, many young people are of a mixed Islander/Aboriginal/Asian and Pacific Islander descent. Like their peers on the islands, these young Australians perceive the creole as a marker of a new and distinct (multi-)ethnic identity, and a way to overcome the cultural and linguistic barriers previously existing between the different peoples. A similar phenomenon can also be observed in communities further south where young speakers, many of whom are also of mixed descent, refuse a categorisation as Aboriginal, Torres Strait Islander, or Pacific Islander person. Instead, they prefer to self-identify as 'urban blacks', an identification that is based on the wish to separate themselves from the European mainstream society rather than to express their affiliation with a particular group. Their speech, however, is not identical with the creole used in the northern communities, but is better described as a dialect of English which includes features from both Aboriginal and Islander languages, mixed with lexical features from African American Vernacular English (Shnukal 2004b: 116ff).

Like the forms of English commonly referred to as 'Aboriginal English', the English spoken by bi- or multilingual Torres Strait Islander people must be seen as distinct from the AusE used by the mainstream society and should be regarded as yet another variety of indigenised English which Shnukal (2001) has termed "Torres Strait English". She (2001: 182f) explains that while Torres Strait English is also clearly distinct from Torres Strait Creole, the two varieties continue to influence each other, and there is some degree of convergence between the two that makes it hard even for speakers of the two varieties to draw a clear-cut boundary between them. No one single form of Torres Strait English exists, rather, the name should be seen as describing a range of English varieties that are "characterised by a number of variable, phonological, grammatical and lexical features, some of which also occur in other non-standard AusE varieties, including Aboriginal Englishes, others which are unique to it" (Shnukal 2001: 184). The features most striking for outsiders belong to the field of the lexicon. Many younger speakers include lexical material from Aboriginal English varieties and African American Vernacular English. But Torres Strait English has also borrowed, and continues to do so, from the traditional languages of the Torres Strait Islands and the creole. The borrowed terms are typically used to express culturally significant concepts for

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which no equivalents in English exist, when English terms are inadequate for lack of cultural value, or for rhetorical reasons. In some cases, Torres Strait Islander language words are used as euphemisms when English terms are perceived to be too explicit. In addition, TSE makes distinctive use of kinship terms which may be extended in their meaning to be used with close friends e.g. *sissy/my sister* 'female sibling', *auntie* 'female of above generation', *uncle* 'male of above generation' (Shnukal 2001: 192ff). In the following, we will see that many of these features are shared with varieties of Aboriginal English; so is the motivation that underlies their use.

4.2.3 **Aboriginal English**

The impact of English on the Australian languages is described by Malcolm (2000a: 123) in the following way:

> Since the coming of English speaking colonists to Australia from 1788 there has been a massive shift to English among the formerly multilingual Indigenous population. Probably fewer than one in four Aboriginal people today use a traditional language and most would be monolingual in English.

Today, English is the first language for the majority of all Aboriginal Australians, and it is a second or other language for practically all the remaining Aboriginal population (Harkins 2000: 60). This is not surprising, given that English is the official language of education, administration, and law, and generally the language of the Australian mainstream society. In the course of the ongoing loss of the original languages – provoked by the very introduction of the English language on the Australian continent – the colonisers' language has come to adopt a significant role within the post-contact Aboriginal language ecology. Yet, in many instances, the forms of English spoken by Aboriginal people differ in many aspects from the Australian English spoken by the mainstream society, so that Malcolm (2000a: 123) continues as follows:

> However the English repertoire and patterns of language use among Aboriginal Australians are distinctive and show the enduring influence of culture-specific interactional norms and values. It has been argued (e.g., Eades 1983) that English has become an Aboriginal language. This language is marked by linguistic, semantic and pragmatic differences from Australian English and, for many Aboriginal Australians, forms part of a bidialectal repertoire which serves them for interaction in different contexts within Australian society.

This form of English is usually referred to as 'Aboriginal English' in the literature. According to Malcolm (2001b), AborE may be compared to other so-called "New Englishes" that have developed as the result of British colonisation. It is an indigenised form of English in so far as the language of the invaders was adapted to the Aboriginal cultural and linguistic tradition. Hence, even though its emergence occurred simultaneously to the development of AusE, beginning in the late 18th century (Malcolm 2001a: 201), AborE must be seen as an independent phenomenon. Further, it needs to be distinguished

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from the creoles that have a regionally restricted use. Kaldor & Malcolm (2004: 69ff) suggest further criteria that set AborE apart from the creoles:

Its origins. In the following chapters we will see that, albeit multiple and historically complex, the origins of AborE are clearly distinct from those of the major Australian creoles Kriol and Torres Strait Creole.

Its functions and motivations. Different to Kriol or Torres Strait Creole that arose as communicative tools in situations in which there was no full access to Standard English, some varieties of AborE (even though not all of them) developed from processes of formal learning that aimed for competence in Standard English. In addition, AborE has become a medium of communication both within Aboriginal society and with non-Aboriginal people. The creoles, on the other hand, are not used for the latter purpose.

Its mutual intelligibility with (Standard) Australian English. Even though the differences between AborE and AusE can cause misunderstanding and communication problems between speakers of the two dialects, varieties of AborE are generally better understood than Kriol or Torres Strait Creole, which are hardly comprehensible for speakers of AusE.

Speaker awareness. The use of the term 'Kriol' has become accepted in the northern parts of Australia and Kriol has increasingly been recognised as a linguistic variety of its own. In contrast, AborE is generally identified as a form of English, although it is usually classified as 'blackfella English' or 'blackfella talk' that clearly differs from the Standard varieties perceived as 'posh', 'flash' or 'strong' English, 'whitefella talk'.

Its lack of a unique orthographic system. Literary programmes, Bible translation, and bilingual education have led to the development of a Kriol orthography that is based on a phonemic representation of the spoken language. Texts in Kriol orthography unmistakably show that the written creole is not English. AborE, on the other hand, is usually presented through English orthography that has been modified to a certain degree in order to reflect its unique features that differentiate it from St(Aus)E.

Structural differences. The phonological, morphological, syntactic, and lexical features found in AborE generally differ from those of the creoles even though both AborE and the creoles exhibit continua ranging from 'light' to 'heavy', which sometimes makes it difficult to draw a clear line between the two and speakers may draw on a variety of resources.

As the last point indicates, in practice it is not always easily feasible to distinguish between forms of AborE and the creoles; neither is it always possible to straightforwardly define the linguistic repertoire of individual speakers as either Kriol or AborE. As should be clear by now, the post-contact Aboriginal language ecology encompasses a continuum of linguistic varieties that

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include (modified and traditional forms of) Aboriginal languages, Indigenous and English-based contact varieties, Aboriginal forms of English, as well as forms of standard and non-standard AusE, with AborE occupying a position between the (English-based) contact languages and AusE (Leitner 2004c: 81). Aboriginal speakers can thus draw on an array of different linguistic resources that form their personal speech styles and allow them to fine tune their speech according to the situation and their communicative intentions. Thus, it is often not possible to determine which elements should be allocated to AborE, the contact languages, and the traditional languages. The different varieties that constitute the post-contact Aboriginal language ecology, although identifiable as individual languages, may overlap, and AborE and the creoles share features with AusE and the traditional language varieties as well as with each other. In this context, Leitner (2004b: 144) suggests that "[...] even today, contact languages reveal a shared base that their speakers can exploit to signal specific shades of meaning, loyalties with their mob, their region of origin, an urban, rural or traditional orientation."

4.3 Assessment of the Endangerment Situation

Having taken a look at the post-contact Aboriginal language ecology and the processes that lead to its formation, it is time to return to the topic of Aboriginal language maintenance and loss. So far, we have merely provided a rough estimate of the current situation, stating that the degree of language loss is enormous and that only a small number of the traditional languages are still being retained. In the following, we will try to present a more detailed picture, based on the findings of the 2001 *SOIL* report and the 2005 *NILS* report which will be complemented with data from the last two Australian Census rounds.

In *State of Indigenous Languages in Australia – 2001 (SOIL)*, McConvell & Thieberger (2001: 2) point out that "[t]here has been a decrease of 90% in the number of Indigenous languages spoken fluently and regularly by all age groups in Australia since 1800". They further observe that "[t]here has been a decrease in the percentage of Indigenous people speaking Indigenous languages from 100% in 1800 to 13% in 1996". Still, these figures, alarming as they are, deal with a time period of 200 years. Contemplating the speed with which Aboriginal languages have declined in the recent past, the situation becomes even more worrisome. Considering the accelerating loss of languages and the decline of speaker numbers in the period 1986-1996, the authors warn that "[i]f these trends continue unchecked, by 2050 there will no longer be any Indigenous languages spoken in Australia." They concede that the stage of complete extinction will probably not be reached in the near future, but still underline the graveness of the situation:

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> It is unlikely that this prediction will be borne out in exactly this way since the trend will probably level out at the last leaving a handful of strong languages still spoken for another generation or two, but the overall scenario is nevertheless bleak.

The 2005 *National Indigenous Language Survey* is another comprehensive recent work on matters of language maintenance and loss in Australia. Its main findings concerning the vitality of the Australian languages are:

- Most of Australia's traditional languages are no longer fully or fluently spoken.
- The majority of the Australian languages have reached a stage of more extreme endangerment, that is, they have only older speakers. Few languages show an early stage of moderate endangerment.
- Once language shift starts, it usually spreads quickly through all generations. In some cases, a group of older speakers will continue to use the language for up to 20 years after language shift has reached all generations.
- About 145 languages are still spoken. Still, 110 of these need to be considered critically or severely endangered as they are only used by small groups of speakers, most of whom are over 40 years of age. These languages are in an advanced stage of endangerment and will die out within the next two to three decades, if not earlier.
- Only about eighteen languages can be considered 'strong' in the sense that they are spoken by all age groups. While this number has been relatively steady in the past few years and some of the 'strong' languages speaker numbers are even increasing, three to four others begin to show signs of endangerment status.
- Although many languages are no longer fully spoken, single words and phrases are remembered and continue to be used. In addition, considerable community support for revitalisation programs exists. (AIATSIS/FATSIL 2005: 3ff, 67)

In 2014, the results of the *Second National Indigenous Language Survey (NILS 2)* were published which complement and update the 2005 results. The findings of the 2014 survey confirm the fears voiced by many researchers in the field: within less than a decade, the number of Aboriginal languages spoken in Australia has dropped from 145 to 120, and only 13 languages can still be considered 'strong'. Thus, five of the formerly 'strong' languages must now be seen as 'moderately endangered'. This downwards trend stretches through all categories, even though in some cases, language maintenance and revival efforts appear to yield first positive results:

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> There appear to now be around 100 languages that can be described as severely or critically endangered, but at the same time a fair number of languages in this category, perhaps 30 or more, are seeing significant increases in levels of use as a result of language programs (AIATSIS/FATSIL 2014: xxi).

In the following, we will examine more recent Census data to find out if these trends are continuing.

Since 1996, the Census also records which languages are spoken by Australia's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population. Census data is thus the most comprehensive survey of speakers of Australian languages in the sense that it provides speaker numbers for the entire country on a regular basis. Still, Census results must be carefully interpreted and cannot be equated with data provided by releases such as the *NILS Report*, as the Census neither asks for speakers' levels of proficiency, nor for frequency of use of Aboriginal languages. In addition, the Census specifically asks whether individuals speak an Aboriginal language *at home*, which may possibly lead to under-reporting. This notwithstanding, the Census provides information on language use which is based on a regular and recurring collection of data, so that the results of several Census rounds can be compared to identify trends over a period of several years. Age group data further allows identifying patterns of language shift.

In 2006, the majority of the Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population, i.e. 372,000 persons, reported to use English as their only language. However, another 52,000 persons claimed to speak an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander language at home (ABS 2012b). In 2011, the number of those who reported to speak only English rose to 453,896 persons, or 82.8% of all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander respondents. Another 60,552 persons, or 11.0% of all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander persons, maintained to speak an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander language at home. The remainder either speaks another language or did not state language use (ABS 2012c).

The use of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander languages was more frequently reported by residents living in geographically remote parts of the country. In 2006, only 4% of the total of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander language speakers lived in major cities. In contrast, 14% lived in remote areas and 76% in very remote areas. More than half, i.e. 56% of those who reported to use an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander language at home lived in the Northern Territory. In this state, 59% of the total Aboriginal population reported to speak an Aboriginal language (ABS 2010a).

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Table 3. ***Most Commonly Spoken Indigenous Languages***[10]**, adapted from (ABS 2010b).**

	Language	Total no. of Speakers	% of Aboriginal Language Speakers
1	Torres Strait Creole	5,769	11.1%
2	Kriol	3,869	7.4%
3	Australian Indigenous Languages, nfd	3,671	7.1%
4	Arrernte	2,796	5.4%
5	Djambarrpuyngu	2,732	5.3%
6	Pitjantjatjara	2,592	5%
7	Warlpiri	2,468	4.7%
8	Murrinh Patha	1,833	3.5%
9	Tiwi	1,701	3.3%
10	Alyawarr	1,658	3.2%
11	Luritja	1,474	2.8%
12	Anindilyakwa	1,259	2.4%
13	Kala Kawaw Ya/Kala Lagaw Ya	1,069	2.1%
14	Burarra	1,007	1.9%
15	Wik Mungkan	990	1.9%
16	Anmatyerr	988	1.9%
17	Ngaanyatjarra	970	1.9%
18	Kunwinjku	907	1.7%
19	Guugu Yimidhirr	759	1.5%
20	Yolngu Matha, nfd	640	1.2%

The Australian Bureau of Statistics *National Tables on Population Characteristics, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians, Australia - Most commonly spoken Indigenous languages, Indigenous persons* (ABS 2010b), based on the results of the 2006 Census, details the 20 largest Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages with respect to speaker populations. Of these

[10] Note that the table includes two entries of languages classified as *nfd*. It thus exemplifies another problematic issue with regard to Census data, as in several instances, languages and dialects are arranged into larger groups and language names that cannot be identified properly are either coded as *nfd* 'not further defined' or *nec* 'not elsewhere classified'. In the former case, the respondent did not specify a language name, in the latter case, the language name is specified by the respondent but the name stated cannot be allocated to a variant in the Australian Bureau of Statistics Standard Classification thesaurus (McConvell & Thieberger 2001:42ff) Thus, the existence of multiple spellings and the complex naming patterns may complicate the interpretation of Census data.

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20 varieties, only fourteen have 1,000 or more speakers. Apart from the 'strong' traditional languages, the two largest Australian creoles, Torres Strait Creole and Kriol, are the most widely spoken Aboriginal languages. Still, the speaker numbers for the two large English-based varieties Kriol and Torres Strait Creole cannot be taken at face value. Much higher speaker numbers are suggested in the literature, e.g. Walsh (2010: 82) suggests a speaker population of approximately 20,000 for Kriol. LoBianco & Rhydwen (2001: 401), too, propose speaker populations of around 20,000 for both languages (cf. 4.2.1 and 4.2.2). Discussing this phenomenon in relation to 1996 Census data, McConvell & Thieberger (2001: 41) suggest that either respondents did not think that Kriol was an Aboriginal language or that it was identified as a second language and thus not counted, due to Census design. At the same time, we must also account for possible over reporting, e.g. respondents claiming to use an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander language while their speech is actually a variety of English or a creole interspersed with words and phrases of the traditional language.

For the latest Census round, the only information available concerns the most frequently spoken language groups instead of individual languages. According to the 2011 Census of Population and Housing, Arnhem Land and Daly River Region Languages were the most widely used varieties, spoken by 18% of those who reported to speak an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander language. Western Desert Languages were spoken by another 14%, and Yolngu Matha and Torres Strait Island Languages were each spoken by 11% of all Aboriginal or Torres Strait language speakers. Arandic languages were spoken by 9% and Northern Desert Fringe Area languages were spoken by 8% of language speakers (ABS 2012d).

4.4 Maintaining Cultural Identity in the Face of Language Loss

Despite these alarming numbers, some positive developments could be observed in the more recent past. In the 1970s, old negative language policies and practises were replaced by new approaches and the abolition of assimilation policies gave way to a new multiculturalism. A reawakening Aboriginal self-consciousness and a newly found ethnic identity have triggered a growing interest in Aboriginal languages which may help to slow down the decline and even result in efforts to revive a number of moribund or extinct languages (Wurm 2010: 449). Several initiatives aimed at revitalising Aboriginal languages have achieved that a number of threatened languages are currently being learnt and spoken again. Some languages that had been thought extinct or on the brink of extinction have been brought back and several languages

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now have partial speakers also among the younger generations (Walsh 2010: 85).

In addition, Walsh (2007: 79f) explains that there are only few Aboriginal people who do not at least know a few words or phrases of their ancestral language. Even though many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander persons may feel embarrassed, given their lack of knowledge of the language, the knowledge of these few words provides them with pride as they can be used as a marker of a linguistic identity. In some regions of the country, words and phrases of languages considered 'extinct' are still in regular use and the elders in the community have retained considerable vocabulary knowledge. They object strongly to the idea of their language being a 'dead' language (McConvell & Thieberger 2001: 22).

Jeanie Bell, Aboriginal linguist and educator, contends that even in urban areas, such as those of south-east Queensland, a significant number of traditional language words are remembered. Most of these are terms denoting body parts, kinship terms, and place names, but also 'swearwords' and entire sentences may be recalled and used (Bell 2003: 165). For many Aboriginal people, their ancestral languages are an integral part of their cultural heritage and identity. These in turn are expressed through the traditional languages which store crucial cultural and religious information. Examples in point are accounts of the creation of the land by the Dreaming beings: narrated through the medium of traditional languages, the Dreaming Stories provide explanations for the significance of particular sites and the land's relation to the people and the language. The continuing significance of this type of knowledge embedded in traditional languages is underlined by Bell (2003: 169):

> It's probably hard for non-Aboriginal people to understand how much our own languages enrich our lives as Indigenous people. To speak our language, even if we only know a few words, gives us a real connection with our land and our culture. We can never get that from English, no matter how well we speak it. Our languages are much more descriptive of the environment and the landscape they developed in. And they're much more descriptive of relationships in our culture. We have whole kinship systems in Aboriginal society that English just doesn't have accurate terminology for.

Despite its importance, the connection between language and cultural heritage often receives only little recognition, as is pointed out by McConvell & Thieberger (2001: 27):

> Language is often overlooked because it is an intangible part of culture and something which is used constantly by people, without them reflecting on it or being conscious of it. Nevertheless language is one of the most significant aspects of the cultural heritage of any group. It is both part of culture and the most important means of expressing culture and communicating culture to others and transmitting it to the next generation.

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According to these authors, traditional language is the "key" to culture. In the face of the changes brought about by the European colonisers, knowledge embedded in traditional languages continues to be relevant for Aboriginal society and "the old languages are providing crucial ways of understanding the present and are assisting Indigenous groups to survive as distinct peoples with a unique culture in the future" (McConvell & Thieberger 2001: 20). Aboriginal communities are known by the name of their language and this language contains unique cultural information. For this reason, McConvell & Thieberger define Australian languages as a "storehouse of knowledge and tradition" (2001: 1), which not only encodes crucial religious and socio-cultural concepts but at the same time also encompasses a wealth of expertise and understanding of the unique Australian environment and ecology.

Also, for many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, language provides the basis for the formation of a distinct identity as Indigenous Australians. Grenoble (2011: 36) points out that "for many groups, language is an integral part of identity, and people who lose their language often speak of a deep sense of loss of self, of loss of identity". Most Aboriginal Australians hold a particular language identity, identifying with a particular tribal group which, at the same time, is also a language group (AIATSIS/FATSIL 2005: 20f), and McConvell and Thieberger (2006: 56) observe that the identity functions of a language can continue even after the language has ceased to be spoken on an everyday basis.

Kriol, Torres Strait Creole and especially also AborE have been able to cushion the disruption of the traditional language ecology by providing speakers with new ways to express a distinctive cultural and linguistic identity and to seek techniques for the continued transmission of cultural knowledge. Despised as incorrect and corrupted speech forms in the past, the modern English-based language varieties have begun to liberate themselves from former pejorative views and are increasingly used by their speakers to fill the gaps torn into their language ecology by colonisation: today, most Aboriginal people participate in some way in the wider Anglo-Australian society, and also members of geographically remote communities do not live in isolation from English-speaking Australia. In such a situation, the new language varieties facilitate interaction between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal speakers. In addition, Kriol, Torres Strait Creole, and AborE have assumed the role of lingue franche in present-day Australian Aboriginal society. The linguistic varieties thereby serve to create and maintain a pan-Aboriginal and pan-Islander community, and moreover, provide their speakers with a tool for developing a pan-Aboriginal identity. At the same time as the creoles and AborE serve as a unifying element, the development of local and regional varieties permits speakers to express regional affiliations and to identify with

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individual language groups. Also, in a situation in which only a small part of Aboriginal people still speak a traditional language, the modern varieties represent invaluable instruments for the expression of aspects of cultural and religious tradition. They make it possible to communicate these and other issues to the wider Australian society.

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5 Contact-Induced Changes to the Traditional Language Ecology

In the previous chapter, we have discussed the impact which the English language had on Australia's original language ecology. Summing up, we can state that British colonisation caused considerable changes, destroying a large number of Aboriginal languages and restricting the status and functions of those that were maintained while at the same time producing a number of contact varieties, many of which sooner or later disappeared again. Still, a few of the contact varieties have survived on the long run and developed into important languages which have contributed to the formation of a new Aboriginal language ecology.

In this chapter, then, we will contemplate the social and political processes which have led to the emergence of these modern varieties. The British colonisation of the Australian continent resulted in massive changes for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people that affected every conceivable domain of their lives. In the following, the often devastating effects of the European invasion on pre-contact social organisation, culture, and languages will be summarised in order to achieve a better understanding of the multiple ways in which these ultimately triggered the disruption of the original Australian language ecology. The remainder of this chapter will deal with the major linguistic developments that have followed the introduction of the English language in Australia, focusing on the emergence of English-based contact varieties which were a result of early contact between European colonists and the Aboriginal population. Finally, we will discuss the status of these new Aboriginal languages and their role within the modern language ecology. Note that the following chapters are largely concerned with processes and events on the Australian mainland.

5.1 Sociohistorical Effects of Contact

Mühlhäusler (1996a: 11f) summarises the drastic consequences which British invasion had in store for Australia's Indigenous population:

a. The importation and (sometimes deliberate) spread of diseases lead to a considerable decline of the Aboriginal population, severely reducing the size of individual language groups. In some cases, entire languages died with their speakers.
b. The displacement of Aboriginal groups from their territories into less fertile areas meant that Aboriginal people became highly dependent on

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European support for survival. Former patterns of Aboriginal intergroup trade were replaced by trade with the colonists, which required new forms of cross-cultural and linguistic contact.

c. Due to the displacement from their traditional land, Aboriginal groups were forced into contact with other groups to which they never had had any previous connection. This frequently resulted in violent conflict.
d. Forced settlement on missions and government stations, too, brought about contact between formerly distant Aboriginal groups.
e. Assimilation policies and the ways in which these were implemented, especially the dormitory system, caused the separation of children from their parents, effectively stopping intergenerational language transmission. In boarding schools, the children received education in English.
f. Patterns of intergenerational language transmission were further weakened by the employment of male Aboriginal labourers in the pastoral and maritime industries, away from their communities.
g. Government and Church-run education in English usually transported negative attitudes towards Aboriginal languages.
h. The abduction of (mostly Tasmanian) Aboriginal women weakened the structures of Aboriginal society.

As the colonisation of the Australian continent proceeded from the southwest, these developments and their effects were visible first in the southern half of Australia. However, with the expansion of colonisation, they spread throughout the entire country.

Much of what has been described was a direct or indirect result of varying Government policies implemented at different periods of time. These included policies of protection, segregation, and assimilation. To obtain a clearer idea of the different attitudes and policies that prevailed, it may be helpful to present them in a rough chronological order which is based on Leitner (2007: 199f). Even though he cautions that history cannot always be neatly divided into clear-cut periods and that "[…] indeed some policies and approaches to contact continued to be practised well into the 20th century", he divides the last 225 years of contact between Europeans and Aboriginal people into five major periods:

1. 17th century to early 19th century: peripheral contact by explorers.
2. First settlement to the 1840s: lack of explicit policies.
3. 1840s to the early decades of the 20th century: policies of protection and segregation.
4. Until 1960s: Policies of assimilation and segregation of children of mixed descent.

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5. From 1970s onward (with forerunners already in the 1920s): limited self-development and self-control.

5.1.1 **The Early Period of European Colonisation**

When the British installed themselves at Sydney Cove, this was not the first encounter between the Aboriginal population and foreigners. But the British arriving in 1788 intended to stay permanently and to settle and harness the land, ignorant of its original inhabitants and the territories these occupied. British invasion thus created a situation which inevitably led to conflict and hostilities between the colonisers and the country's original inhabitants. Leitner (2006: 22f) suggests that this development was largely due to the fact that the Australian continent was settled for economic reasons. At first, the colonisation of Australia provided a welcome way to reduce the number of prisoners in the overcrowded British prisons, and for several decades, Australia became the new destination for convicts. After 1820, however, the number of free colonists increased and geographic expansion opened up new areas for pastoral ventures. What these demanded most was land – land that was occupied by Aboriginal groups which were soon driven out of their territories.

Prior to his departure for Australia, Captain Arthur Phillip, first Governor of NSW (1788-1795) had received the Crown's order, to

> [...] endeavour by every possible means to open an intercourse with the natives, and to conciliate their affections, enjoining all our subjects to live in amity and kindness with them. (Commonwealth of Australia, Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament 1914. HRA series 1, vol. 1: 13)

Still, the first violent conflicts would arise soon after the establishment of the colony. "Good intentions clashed with the order to possess, to dominate and to colonise" (Broome 2010: 22) on the part of the colonisers. Even though communication between Europeans and Aboriginal people was eventually established, conflicts would continue, fuelled by the British taking Eora[11] land rather than by a lack of communication (Leitner 2006: 24). In the following years, however, contact between the two parties was due to increase.

As European colonisation continued, violence at the frontier increased. Further settlements were established from the 1790s on, and initially, these occupied only small tracts of land so that there was little conflict between the colonists and the local Aboriginal population. When colonisation expanded,

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11 There is some uncertainty as to the correct naming of the people who lived in the area of the first colony. Broome (2010: 15) argues that the Eora were "the original owners of the foreshore that became Sydney" and explains that "[t]hey and adjoining groups, the Dharuk (of which the Eora were an Eastern part), Kuringgai and the Dahrawal, formed the 3000 interlinked Aboriginal people of the Cumberland Plain, which stretched to the Blue Mountains".

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hostilities broke out between the two groups competing over land and resources (Connor 2002: 33f). However, while guerrilla warfare went on at the colony's boundaries, many of those whose land had been taken began to move into Sydney, becoming dependent on the invaders for support (Troy 1990: 14).

The 1820s saw the beginning of the wool boom and by 1850, a quarter of a million immigrants had reached Australia, drastically speeding up frontier expansion. Australia experienced "a fantastic land grab that was unique in world history" and by 1860, 4000 squatters and about twenty million sheep occupied a more than 400 million hectare area from southern Queensland to South Australia (Broome 2010: 37f). Under increasing pressure due to the loss of their land and food resources, the increasing influx of colonists, the effects of diseases, and the frontier violence, a growing number of Aboriginal people were faced with a limited set of options, i.e. to intrude the lands of other tribal groups, to move into missions, or to become fringe dwellers living in camps near towns, settlements, or pastoral stations (Leitner 2006:24).

5.1.2 **Protection and Segregation and the Advent of Missions**

The perceived need to 'civilise' Aboriginal people through education and Christianisation culminated in the establishment of various government or church-run institutions. The first boarding school, the *Native Institution* was created in Parramatta in 1814, introducing the dormitory system under which generations of children had to endure the separation from their parents and communities[12]. Further missions followed from 1820 onward and were aimed at educating children while the adults were employed as farm workers or received (very) basic professional training. The missions' main objective, however, was to Christianise the Aboriginal population. Still, attempts at converting adults were often prone to fail as most Aboriginal people rejected the beliefs and morals of the missionaries who, after all, formed part of the colonisers' society. Aware of these attitudes, missionaries usually focused their efforts on children. For that purpose, parents were persuaded (or otherwise forced) to place their children in the dormitories (Broome 2010: 29ff, 153f). Whereas in the early periods, Aboriginal people still had the choice to leave the missions, this ended with the increasing influx of colonists and rising numbers of pastoralists who occupied their land. The actual conditions in the different missions could vary enormously, as Broome (2010: 153) explains: "[...] missions, like the convict system could be a lottery in which mis-

[12] Broome (2010: 29) suggests that the establishment of the Parramatta Native Institution in fact already marks the beginning of Australia's assimilation policies since the dormitory system initiated the systematic separation of children from their parents to prevent the transmission of linguistic and cultural knowledge and educate the children according to Christian beliefs.

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sionaries might be humanitarians or tyrants. Convicts could at least complain to the courts, a right Aboriginal people on missions were denied".

The same period also saw the introduction of policies of protection, initially in an attempt to shield Aboriginal people from increasing violence. Apart from the violent conflict with individual colonists, Aboriginal people had to deal with increasing and relentless commercial pastoralism. The companies engaged in the pastoral expansion frequently took brutal measures to ensure access to land, yet another factor in the rapid decline of the Aboriginal population (Leitner 2004c: 38). The answer to the problem was sought in establishing the office of the 'Protector of Aborigines' whose task was to "move with Aboriginal people, learn their language, and protect them from injustice and guard their country" (Broome 2010: 52). However, these goals were rarely realised. The increasing European demand for land made the protection of Aboriginal territory impossible and protectors soon established permanent protectorate stations where life for Aboriginal people became increasingly regulated. The instalment of the protectors started a period of physical and social control and initiated extensive relocation to government reserves (Leitner 2007: 200).

Segregation, then, was the result of these protectionist policies that relocated the Aboriginal population on reserves of land generally considered 'wasteland', unsuitable for farming, and separated from European settlements. The reserves were created and abandoned at random and inhabitants forced to relocate (Leitner 2006: 29). Missions and reserves exercised a substantial amount of control over their 'inmates', regulating almost all aspects of life and ripping apart families, thereby weakening existing social structures. The repeated relocation further separated the people from their ancestral territories, thus severing the bond between land, people, and language. This had immense consequences for the traditional language ecology since speech communities were disrupted and language contact with neighbouring groups was impeded (Leitner 2004c: 72). At the same time, the forced separation of parents and children was a crucial factor in the expansion of pidgins and forms of AborE and generally promoted the spread of English.

Fesl (1994: 195ff) provides a detailed record of missions, reserves, and stations in Australia. She lists 104 mission stations and schools, along with 307 reserves, stations, and government settlements. Many of these were still operating in the second half of the 20th century. The life as fringe-dwellers and employment on cattle stations provided an alternative to the highly regulated life on missions and in reserves, one that would allow for maintaining (part of) the original lifestyle so that traditional languages were more likely to be preserved. Still, also in these contexts, the contact situation helped the development of pidgins and creoles (Leitner 2007: 201).

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Violent conflict, the disruption of pre-colonial lifestyles and society, diseases, and low nutrition and health standards caused the Aboriginal population to dwindle rapidly. Leitner (2006: 28) reports that by the end of the 19th century, about 150,000 Aboriginal people were still alive, but in 1930 the number had gone down to about 70,000. Thus, the work of missions was seen as a 'humanitarian act', meant to prevent or at least slow down the population decline (Leitner 2004b: 38).

5.1.3 **Assimilation Strategies**

Aboriginal Protection Boards continued to control the lives of the Aboriginal population in the southern parts of Australia well into the second half of the 20th century. The boards specified where Aboriginal people were allowed to live and work, restricted their freedom of movement, exerted tight control over their finances, and had the power to remove children from their families and communities (Armitage 1995: 18). In the 1930s, policies of protection and segregation were gradually replaced by policies of assimilation and integration. While under earlier government policies, Aboriginal people had been forced to abandon their lands and were relocated on reserves, the new strategies aimed at their assimilation into white society, and Aboriginal families were pressed to settle in urban environments. The continued separation of children from their families was another strategy to increase assimilation (Armidale 1994: 19f). When the Aboriginal population did not die out as had been expected, attempts were undertaken to assimilate children of mixed descent who were removed from the reserves and separated even further from their parents, often for good. These children, now known as the 'Stolen Generations', were compelled to live with foster families and in training homes. Such assimilation strategies proved to be doubly rewarding: apprenticeship schemes ensured that the Aboriginal children provided cheap labour (Broome 2010: 96, 172ff), while the separation from their families and communities lead to an alienation from their culture, and, most importantly, triggered the shift to English. Forced intermarriage with Europeans was to further reduce the number of 'full-blood' Aboriginal people (Leitner 2006: 30).

The removal of Aboriginal children reached its peak in the period between 1940 and 1968. It cannot be said with certainty how many children were removed; the *Bringing Them Home* report (Wilkie 1997) suggests that the numbers range somewhere between one in ten and one in three Aboriginal children in the period between 1910 and 1970. Broome (2010: 215) suggests that between 1899 and 1968, 10,000 children were removed in NSW alone and estimates that in the entire country, more than 50,000 children may have been affected.

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5.1.4 **Aboriginal Resistance and Self-Control**

Although many of the events that promoted the emancipation of the Aboriginal population occurred in the second half of the last century, the foundation for resistance was already laid during the periods of protection and segregation. In the early decades of the 20th century, opposing forces were fighting for dominance in the domain of Aboriginal affairs. On the one hand, authorities increased their control over the Aboriginal population by removing children from their parents, settling Aboriginal people in reserves, and dictating conditions of labour; Aboriginal Protection Acts were severely restricting people's daily lives. At the same time, black and white activists began to fight for civil rights. White activist groups formed in the 1930s, and women's groups had already become concerned with Aboriginal matters in the 1920s (Broome 2010: 195ff).

Neither the formation of the Commonwealth of Australia nor Aboriginal participation in the South African War had brought any changes for the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population. Many Aboriginal soldiers who had joined the Australian forces to fight in WWI were frustrated to see that despite their service for the Australian society, treatment of Aboriginal people did not improve and policies of segregation continued. At the same time, the war had promoted a change in public attitude, and the Australian society began to resent the ongoing bad treatment of Aboriginal people (Leitner 2006: 30).

Aboriginal opposition finally started to form in the 1920s with the foundation of several associations fighting for Aboriginal rights (Broome 2010: 205). The following years saw tentative steps towards an improvement in the treatment of the Aboriginal population (Leitner 2006: 31), and in the following decades, the political and public climate became increasingly sensitive towards Aboriginal issues. In the 1960s, finally, the continuing struggle of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal activists and groups effected a removal of discriminatory policies and Aboriginal people were finally given the right to vote in federal elections (Broome 2010: 217ff).

A major step on the way to equality and self-determination was the 1967 referendum. On 27 May 1967, 90.77% of the Australian population voted for amendments to the Constitution which made Aboriginal people subject to Commonwealth legislation (abolishing previous State legislation) and allowed for Indigenous Australians to be counted in the census (National Archives of Australia 2015). These events finally granted Aboriginal Australians the right to self-organisation, political representation, and the liberty to freely choose a place of residence. Leitner (2006: 32) explains that the result, however, was a massive move to the metropolitan areas that was accompanied by the for-

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mation of ghettoes, increasing unemployment, and further disruption of the bond to the land.

Within the same period, land rights became an issue in the north of the country, and Aboriginal groups began to struggle for recognition of the title to their tribal lands. An often quoted example of public protest is the Aboriginal Tent Embassy that was established on 26 January 1972 in order to call for progress in land rights issues. On 3 June 1992, Australia finally witnessed a landmark decision when The High Court of Australia delivered a judgement in the Mabo case that rejected the concept of *terra nullius* and recognised the Meriam claimants' right to their land. The decision provided the basis for the 1993 Native Title Act (Broome 2010: 227ff, 284ff).

The year 1980, then, can be seen as the onset of the period of multiculturalism which lasted until about 1995. Aboriginal concerns became a matter of political interest in the fields of social, educational and language policies. Political activism went hand in hand with the formation of a broader Aboriginal intellectual elite (Leitner 2006: 34f). In May 1997, the *Bringing Them Home* report documented the dimension of Australian Aboriginal child removal practices. One year later, on 26 May 1998, the first national *Sorry Day* was held in response to the findings of the report. In 2005, the day was renamed *National Day of Healing* and has since become an annual event, with marches, speeches and other activities around the country. On 13 February 2008, Kevin Rudd, the then Australian Prime Minister, finally made a formal apology to the Stolen Generations in parliament, an act that the former PM, John Howard, had continuously refused (Australian Government 2015).

5.2 Linguistic Effects of Contact: Post-1788 Contact Varieties

Mühlhäusler (1996a: 11) explains that isolated language ecologies such as the Australian one which developed over a time period of more than 40,000 years are extremely vulnerable to sudden outside contact. From the early days of colonisation, the complex linguistic network formed by the Australian languages was affected by the presence of the British and their language which created a situation that forced the Aboriginal population to rapidly adjust to new social and linguistic demands. While the early English-based contact languages developed from the need for communication between Aboriginal people and the British arrivals, they were soon also adopted as tools for intracultural communication (Leitner 1996: 235). Many of the newly formed contact varieties did not last, but some have developed into primary languages that are spoken by large Aboriginal communities. The present chapter is intended to provide an overview of the processes that have led to the formation of the

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post-contact Australian Aboriginal language ecology, that is, we will sketch the developmental paths of Kriol, the major Australian creole variety, as well as that of the ethnic varieties of English commonly referred to as 'Aboriginal English'. The first stable Australian English-based contact variety, NSW Pidgin English, which can be considered "the ancestor of all other English-based pidgins in Australia" (Mühlhäusler 2004: 170), will serve as a starting point from which we will proceed to describing the emergence of later varieties.

On arrival in Australia, the British were unaware of the rich linguistic landscape that existed in this country and the intricate communication networks formed by the Aboriginal languages and dialects. Early attempts to communicate with the Aboriginal population of the Port Jackson area relied on the use of a list of Guugu Yimidhirr terms, a language spoken in the north of Queensland. The word list, which had been compiled by Captain Cook on his 1770 expedition to the Endeavour River, was of little use at Port Jackson; one of the major accomplishments resulting from its use was that the colonists unintentionally introduced the term *kangaroo* to the Sydney people who adopted the term in the belief they had been taught an English word. The early colonists remained ignorant of Australia's linguistic diversity for a considerable period of time and it took them several years to recognise that the land they occupied was home to more than one language group (Troy 1993: 43).

Not all contact varieties that existed or still exist in Australia arose from contact with the British colonists and Aboriginal people and not all of them are English-based. As we have seen above, Aboriginal lingue franche and koinés developed in some places. Other varieties developed as the result of contact between Aboriginal and non-European peoples, such as the Macassan pidgin of the trepang trade or the WA Broome Pearling Lugger Pidgin of the pearling industry (Walsh 1993a: 7), or emerged as other non-European people came in touch with the English language, e.g. the Queensland Kanaka English that developed as the pidgin of the Queensland sugar plantations from the 1860s on (Mühlhäusler 1996d: 74ff). Since the discussion of these varieties is outside the scope of the present work, they will only be treated with reference to the development of the major English-based contact languages discussed below. The same holds for those English-based varieties that did not survive in the long run. For more information on the topic see for example Wurm *et al.* (1996). Mühlhäusler (2004) provides an overview of Australian pidgins and creoles. The developmental process of Torres Strait Creole will also not be treated here as the remainder of the present thesis is primarily concerned with language varieties spoken by Aboriginal people on the Australian mainland.

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5.2.1 **The Sydney Jargon and NSW Pidgin English**

New South Wales Pidgin has played a crucial role in the history of Australian contact languages. The first English-based contact language to emerge on Australian soil has greatly influenced the development of many other pidgin and creole varieties of Australia. In fact, Amery & Mühlhäusler (1996: 33) argue that the pidgin which came into being in the early years of colonisation as a lingua franca between the colonisers and the Aboriginal population around Sydney "has given rise directly to the majority of pidgins and creoles that have ever been spoken in Australia since 1788, with the possible exception of the pidgin spoken in Bass Strait and pidgins spoken in various locations in Western Australia". With the expansion of the colony and the incessantly moving pastoral frontier, the new variety was carried into most of the continent, creating a family of related pidgins and becoming a major influence on the Australian post-contact language ecology.

When in January 1788 the First Fleet landed at Botany Bay, first attempts of contact between the British newcomers and Aboriginal people involved the use of gestures and "simple verbal exchanges" (Troy 1993: 33). At Port Jackson, the site of the first colony, early communication between the two parties mainly involved obtaining information that would progress the establishment of the colony. When the Aboriginal population of the area[13] developed the habit of keeping away from the Europeans, Phillip felt compelled to kidnap members of the local Aboriginal community in order to establish contact. Bennelong, one of the kidnapees who displayed considerable linguistic skill, played a crucial role in the formation of the first contact variety between colonists and Aboriginal people. After spending several months among the colonists, he assumed the role of an ambassador upon returning to his people, informing the Aboriginal population about the colonisers and their language. With Bennelong's assistance, renewed interaction between the British and the local Aboriginal people was established (Troy 1993: 40ff).

The thus emerging early contact language had the character of an unstable jargon, but a continuing influx of Aboriginal people into the colony guaranteed regular communication between the two groups and communication

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13 Troy (1990) refers to the traditional Aboriginal language of the Indigenous population of the Sydney district simply as the "Sydney language". Dixon *et al.* (2006) provides *Dharuk* as the name for the variety spoken in the Port Jackson area. According to Moore (2008), the use of the term *Dharuk* is controversial since it was not recorded until a century after the establishment of the first settlement and possibly refers to a language spoken further inland from Port Jackson. The name *Eora*, initially recorded as a name of a people, has been suggested as an alternative. According to Troy (1994: 9), there is evidence that there were at least two dialects of the Sydney language. The term *Eora* has been used to refer to the coastal dialect of the Sydney language while *Dharuk* has been used to refer to either the entire Sydney language or the inland dialect.

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patterns eventually began to stabilise (Troy 1993: 41), preparing the ground for the development of New South Wales Pidgin, which emerged between 1793 and 1804 as a "particularly Aboriginal response to a new situation" (Amery & Mühlhäusler 1996: 37).

In its early jargon stage, the NSW contact language was mainly based on English and the language of the Port Jackson Aboriginal population and appears to have been highly influenced by the lexical and syntactic features of the latter. Sydney soon became a major port in the Pacific and southern oceans, and the colony developed into a "linguistic melting pot with many different Aboriginal languages and a variety of European languages and dialects of English" (Amery & Mühlhäusler 1996: 38). The South Seas Jargon, a 19th century Pacific contact variety and predecessor of the Pacific Pidgin English, is assumed to have made further important contributions to the formation of the NSW contact variety. With the increasing influence of the South Seas Jargon and English, the Aboriginal input into the new language gradually decreased (Amery & Mühlhäusler 1996: 36ff).

Unfamiliar with the Australian landscape and Aboriginal culture, colonists frequently questioned Aboriginal people about terms to describe flora and fauna as well as aspects of their lifestyle. The Aboriginal population, on the other hand, had to find ways to refer to a multitude of concepts hitherto unknown to them. Both aspects influenced the formation of the NSW Pidgin lexicon which relied on lexical borrowings from the Sydney language as well as on new coinages. Many of the lexical items that were used in NSW Pidgin have also entered Australian English (Troy 1993: 47).

When Aboriginal population numbers in the Sydney area declined, so did the use of the local language. According to Troy (1994: 5), the Sydney language was extinguished by the late 19th or early 20th century. Its remnants, however, are still visible in many of the varieties that form the post-contact Aboriginal language ecology and, to some extent, also in Australian English where features of the extinct NSW contact language remain in the form of loanwords.

5.2.2 Colonial Expansion and the Spread of NSW Pidgin English

Amery & Mühlhäusler (1996: 38f) suggest that NSW Pidgin was well established by 1804, and in the following years it developed into an important tool not only for communication between colonists and the Aboriginal population but also, and more importantly, between speakers of different Aboriginal languages. With the expansion of the colony, the pidgin spread into further parts of NSW and became the colony's lingua franca.

Soon after the foundation of the penal colony at Sydney Cove, the British proceeded inland, driven by the wish to explore land suitable for settlement and find food resources which the coastal areas could not provide. The de-

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mand for land increased with the influx of free colonists that began in the 1820s and the presence of agricultural companies that opened up large areas for pastoral purposes (Troy 1990: 32ff). The wool boom further boosted the need for land and soon "it was clear that settlement in Australia could not be confined within any boundary" (Troy 1990: 35). This left the Aboriginal population with a limited number of options. One was to retreat from the advancing pastoral frontier by moving into the territories of other Aboriginal groups with whom there had been no previous contact and whose language was unfamiliar to them. The other option was to stay and find ways to cope with the presence of the colonists. Hence, in the course of colonial expansion, the processes that had led to the emergence of the Sydney contact language were repeated elsewhere when the arrival of the colonisers generated a situation which forced the original inhabitants of the land to adapt to new living patterns, promoting a context which supported the adoption and maintenance of the pidgin. The developing NSW Pidgin was carried further inland by the moving frontier, and when more and more Aboriginal groups became affected by colonial expansion, its use also increased within the Aboriginal community (Troy 1990: 36ff). When transported beyond the boundaries of what is now New South Wales, NSW Pidgin localised in different parts of the country, and in due course, a chain of related pidgin varieties emerged which stretched throughout the colonised areas. Contact with local Aboriginal languages in these areas added new items to its lexicon and we can assume some degree of relexification. Nonetheless, many of the original Sydney lexical features were preserved (Tryon & Charpentier 2004: 224).

While the NSW contact language expanded into further areas of the continent, its use in the south-east decreased with the consolidation of the settled areas in NSW where it was quickly replaced by English (Amery & Mühlhäusler 1996: 42). Queensland then took over the formative role previously assumed by the locus of the first colony.

Movement into what was to become Queensland began in 1823, and by 1859 a stable and standardised pidgin that was unmistakably based on NSW Pidgin had developed (Tryon & Charpentier 2004: 71ff). This Queensland NSW Pidgin-based contact variety was transmitted north- and eastwards, travelling along northern and eastern communication routes. It thus provided the base for Cape York Creole and Palm Island Aboriginal English and was a major catalyst in the formation of Northern Territory Kriol (Malcolm 2001a: 213). NSW Pidgin was simultaneously carried southwards to present-day Victoria and from there eastwards to South Australia where colonisation began in 1836 with the arrival of the first colonists directly from England. Once the colony of South Australia had been formed, stock was moved into the state from Victoria and NSW and the Aboriginal stockmen arriving with the overland parties brought with them the NSW Pidgin. In South Australia, the pidg-

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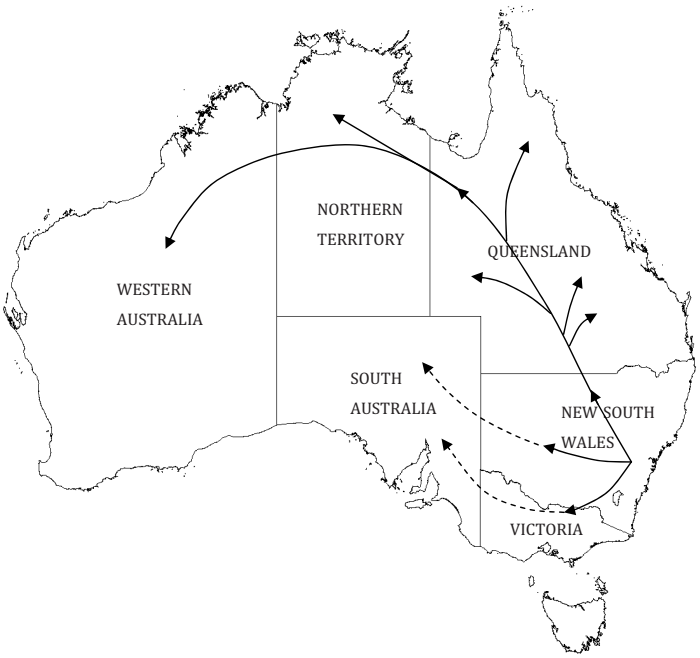
in gave rise to Nunga English, used in the southern areas between the 1840s and 1890s, and to cattle station English, used in the northern parts from the 1920s onwards (Amery & Mühlhäusler 1996: 44ff). From the second half of the 19th century on, South Australia may also have played a role in the pidgin's spread north and westwards when an overland telegraph from Adelaide to Darwin and a railway line between Sydney and Perth were constructed (Leitner 2004b: 76).



Map 3. ***The Spread of NSW Pidgin*** **(adapted from Munro 2001: 260).**

Munro maps the movement of the pastoral industry which carried NSW Pidgin along its stock routes. Her map has been adapted to account for the spread of NSW Pidgin into South Australia (arrows with dotted lines).

Western Australian contact varieties appear to have developed independently from the expansion of NSW Pidgin and its descendants. By the time the NSW contact language would have diffused into Western Australia, a Nyoongah Pidgin English variety was already in use in the south-west (Amery & Mühlhäusler 1996: 46) and there is only tentative evidence for an earlier NSW influence, even though neither Amery & Mühlhäusler (1996) nor Malcolm (2001a) want to rule it out completely.

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5.2.3 **The Birth of Northern Territory Kriol**

NSW Pidgin entered the Northern Territory in the second half of the 19th century when colonists arrived from the south and the pastoral frontier pushed into the state from Queensland in the 1870s (Harris 1986: 149ff). The first permanent settlement in the Northern Territory, however, was established in the area of today's Darwin. Officially founded in 1870, Darwin gained early significance through the construction of the Overland Telegraph and the discovery of gold deposits. With the influx of the gold diggers, the town continuously expanded and the local Aboriginal population was deprived of their land and forced to a life on the fringes of the European settlements (Harris 1986: 161ff). The emerging Darwin pidgin was fed by the contact varieties that had developed during earlier attempts to establish military settlements in the Northern Territory and by the contact language of the Darwin survey camp (Harris 2007: 141). In addition, with the arrival of colonists from NSW, South Australia, and Queensland, NSW Pidgin and its South Australian and Queensland successors were transported into the Northern Territory (Mühlhäusler 1996b: 124).

The Darwin pidgin subsequently spread through the Northern Territory and beyond state boundaries. At the same time, the pastoral frontier was relentlessly making its way across Australia. Its language was the Pastoral Pidgin English, another descendant of the NSW contact language (Harris 1986: 182). In the 1870s, the pastoral frontier started to spread from Queensland into the Northern Territory and the Kimberly region of Western Australia, transporting the NSW Pidgin-based variety north into these regions. Together with the Darwin pidgin, this variety provided the basis for a new Aboriginal language that was to develop at Roper River, a region in the northeast of the Northern Territory (Harris 2007: 142ff).

Europeans had started to come into the Roper River region with the construction of the Overland Telegraph in the 1870s. In the following years, cattle drives commenced when the pastoral frontier moved north, cattle stations were established and a township came into existence at Roper Bar, a crossing of the Roper River (Harris 1993: 147). The degree of mobility of both the Aboriginal and European population within the region led to the convergence of the different pidgin varieties that were in use in the Northern Territory, their common ancestry facilitating this fusion into one variety (Harris 2004: 199). By the turn of the century, the widely-understood pidgin that Harris (1986) terms 'Northern Territory Pidgin English' had emerged.

It has already been indicated that the history of European colonisation of Australia is also a history of violence against the Aboriginal population. While hostilities and aggression were a common phenomenon of colonisation in Australia, the degree of violence in the Northern Territory clearly exceeded

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everything experienced before. When the first cattle stations were established and pastoralists settled permanently in the Northern Territory from the 1880s onwards, Aboriginal resistance to the intrusion of their land was finally broken and Aboriginal people were 'settled down' at the stations. The thus created institutionalised contact between Europeans, Aboriginal people, and Chinese labourers contributed to the development of various cattle station pidgins. Life as fringe-dwellers on the margins of towns provided one of the few alternatives to station life. Here, contact involved the same participants as on the stations (Harris 1986: 184ff, 200-212).

Violence in the Roper River region reached another climax when the London-based Eastern and African Cold Storage Company began to establish an enormous pastoral empire from Roper River into Arnhem Land and sent out hunting parties with the aim to remove all the Aboriginal residents from the region. Their actions annihilated almost the entire Aboriginal population of the area (Harris 1986: 226). As a reply to the massacres, the Anglican Church established a mission at Roper River (now Ngukurr), which immediately acquired the status of a place of refuge for the remaining people in the area (Harris 2007: 143). In 1909, one year after its foundation, the mission gave shelter to more than 200 persons from eight different language groups (Harris 1986: 235). While the multilingual adults were able to overcome communication problems in the new environment, the approximately 70 children on the mission, separated for most of the time from their parents through the dormitory system, formed the new community that was in immediate need of a common primary language. In the new social and cultural context, traditional ways of language acquisition had been disrupted. Anyway, the acquisition of traditional languages, like the acquisition of Standard English, would have taken too long to meet the urgent communicative demands, so that the pidgin used in communication between Aboriginal people and Europeans became the obvious choice for a common language (Harris 1986: 306ff). A pidgin variety, however, could not entirely satisfy the new community's complex communicative needs, and under the influence of the English the children were exposed to at school the pidgin variety underwent creolisation (Harris 2007: 144). Despite the missionaries' efforts to establish Standard English, Kriol was created and continuously developed.

In the following years, further Kriol varieties emerged also elsewhere in the Northern Territory and under different circumstances. Loci of creole genesis include the Kimberley cattle stations and the army camps erected during World War II (Harris 2004: 202). In 4.2.1, we have already indicated that there is some debate about whether the different forms of Kriol should be classified as instances of local variation or must be seen as varieties of their own. According to Harris (2007: 145), the different northern creoles have now merged into one widely-used variety that exhibits local variation. Shnukal

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(1988b: 155f), however, distinguishes two regional Kriol dialects, i.e. an eastern dialect, usually referred to as 'Roper River Kriol' and a western dialect, Fitzroy Valley Kriol, spoken in the Kimberley region of West Australia. The latter had developed at Halls Creek, Western Australia, and by the 1940s was used as the primary language of the Aboriginal population of the area.

From what we have described above, it should be clear that the variety's development is marked by a comparatively low exposure to English, and many of Kriol's distinguishing features evidence the influence from Aboriginal languages and the northern contact varieties in use in the early 20th century (see for example Leitner (2004b) or Sandefur (2004) for a feature analysis of Kriol). NSW Pidgin was a major source for the lexicon of Kriol: we find lexical items from NSW languages as well as English lexical innovations that have originated in the NSW context (Harris 2007: 145). In addition, Kriol exhibits lexical items that are part of the lexical inventory of 'World' pidgins – such as *piccaninny, savvy* – or 'Southwestern' pidgins, e.g. *belong, all together, fellow*. Keeping in mind Sydney's role as a maritime hub, it is likely that the majority of these were also transmitted via the NSW contact variety.

Modern Kriol possesses a far more extended lexicon than its predecessor, the Northern Territory Pidgin English. Apart from the historical influences described, it draws on a variety of other resources, including diverse lexical borrowings from Aboriginal languages of the region that may be geographically restricted to the area in which the donor language is or was spoken (Harris 1986: 302). Many of the Aboriginal lexical items come from domains that are of importance for Aboriginal life and culture, e.g. terms that denote kinship relations, ceremonial actions, and local flora and fauna, such as *junggai* 'ceremony leader', *gojok* 'male skin group', *birlal* 'water lily leaf'[14]. Other lexical innovations are based on semantic shift and semantic widening of English terms, e.g. *jugabeg*, derived from the English 'sugar bag' (bag containing 25 kg of bulk sugar) that has acquired the meaning 'wild honey', *atjamp* (lit. 'heart jump') 'surprised', or *dabulum mijelp* (from 'double myself') 'curl up' (Harris 2007: 145). Another interesting example provided by Harris (1986: 302) combines the use of an Aboriginal loan and an Aboriginal interpretation of English terms: *budum la binji* describes the act of internalising an emotion, *budum*, lexically derived from 'put' + 'him' the latter used as transitive suffix (cf. the use of *-im* as a marker of transitivity in 6.3), plus the NSW Pidgin term *binji* 'stomach'.

[14] Harris (1986: 302) suggests that even though these terms may have been borrowed for a lack of adequate English terms, it is more likely that many of them denote activities or phenomena that were discussed or carried out within the family or language community at the time of creolisation.

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5.3 The Emergence of an Aboriginal Dialect of English

Malcolm (2001: 201) defines AborE[15] as "a range of varieties of English spoken widely, and sometimes written, by Indigenous Australians, which have developed independently of, but alongside, Australian English [...] since 1788". Hence, the developmental process of AborE varieties began with the emergence of the early contact varieties in the settled NSW areas even though their subsequent development into a distinct dialect "occurred progressively over a period of time and not, for the most part, in the hearing of Standard Australian English speakers" (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 165). Above we have already sketched the emergence of NSW Pidgin, its spread across Australia and its role in the formation of a number of Australian contact languages. The pidgin originating in NSW and the local varieties that have emerged under its influence also constitute a major source for many varieties of AborE. In order to trace the origins of AborE it is thus necessary to reinspect particular aspects of the contact situation in NSW.

From 1788 on, the Aboriginal population of Australia began to use English, to varying degrees, in their interaction with the English-speaking colonists. Eades (1996: 133) argues that the choice of English as the colony's lingua franca "is hardly surprising, given both the extreme Anglo-centric views of English speakers [...], and the tremendous linguistic diversity of Aboriginal languages at the time of contact". In the years following the landing of the First Fleet, the English language was increasingly forced upon the Aboriginal population which became progressively more affected by the dramatic effects of colonisation. Malcolm (2000: 125) explains that

> English was then, at least to this extent, forced upon Aboriginal people from the beginning, and the kind of English which the native speakers spoke was seen to be associated with a power which was progressively depriving Aboriginal people of their land, their livelihood and their liberty. In time, Aboriginal people were increasingly forced to come to terms with the language of those who quickly made themselves the majority in the new colony, as they suffered the disastrous effects of disease and bloody disputes over land and property.

The Aboriginal people in the region who had formerly relied on their land for sustenance became increasingly dependent on the colonists and their

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15 The use of the term 'Aboriginal English' to refer to the varieties of English that are used by the Indigenous population of Australia is a somewhat simplified approach since these cover a range of varieties which are also frequently distinguished by the use of local or regional names. The actual spectrum of varieties and implications for naming them will be discussed more thoroughly in the next chapter. For the purpose of this chapter, however, we will retain the term 'Aboriginal English (AborE)' that is used along with 'Aboriginal English varieties'.

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supplies. This relationship of dependence went hand in hand with the need to communicate, so that knowledge of the colonists' language provided a necessary basis for survival for the groups that lived on settled land, and the local population soon exhibited language skills superior to those of the colonists whose expressions they rapidly managed to mimic.

With the expansion of the colony, the pidgin that had become the primary means of cross-cultural communication between Aboriginal people and the colonists was carried into further parts of colonised Australia. Even though the Sydney Jargon had initially emerged from the need to engage in communication with the intruders, the contact variety soon developed into an Aboriginal lingua franca when the Aboriginal population began to perceive it as a valuable means for inter- as well as intra-cultural communication. As such, the variety "came to assume an increasing role as a tool for Aboriginal purposes rather than an entry to the heart of a foreign culture" (Malcolm 2000a: 134) and was used as a medium to express Aboriginal meanings and serve Aboriginal people's communicative needs. English phonological and morphological structures were adapted to the systems of the Indigenous languages; the semantics of the lexicon, albeit derived from various sources, remained Aboriginal (Malcolm 2001b: 222). Malcolm (2000a: 133) notes:

> From what we know of the contact experience, it is also likely that the Aboriginal speakers drew heavily on their Aboriginal language knowledge for words, concepts and semantic fields with which to express and reference what they were saying in English, and that they developed early ways of using English resources innovatively to express their own meanings.

When Aboriginal speakers started to exploit the inputs of the different English varieties for their own purposes, this marked the hour of birth of AborE. According to Malcolm (2000a: 141), the stabilisation of the early jargon variety into a stable pidgin meant that the diverse inputs from different Aboriginal languages were very likely merged into one shared pool of features and that we can assume processes of relexification that drew on the resources provided by the various English-based varieties that were in use.

At the same time, the pidgin provided the basis for the Indigenisation of the colonists' language: while its lexicon allowed the Aboriginal population to express their contact experience and to communicate it within a greater Aboriginal community, the semantic, phonological, and grammatical features of the pidgin still exhibited a continuing influence from the traditional languages. These properties were carried across the country with the spread of NSW Pidgin (Malcolm 2001b: 222), transported by the moving frontier but also diffused through its use as communication tool along traditional Aboriginal trade routes (Malcolm 2001a: 212). The dislocation of Aboriginal people from their territories and the need to communicate to both Europeans and members of other language groups promoted the pidginisation process as the linguisti-

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cally heterogeneous communities which emerged at missions, stations, and settlements contributed to the development of the pidgin. When it spread into areas north, west, and south from the Sydney region, NSW Pidgin became an important tool for both cross-cultural communication and communication within Aboriginal society in great parts of Australia (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 162).

Malcolm (2001a: 210) argues that "[t]here is general agreement that the development of AbE [Aboriginal English, K.L.] was preceded by the pidginisation and creolisation of English during the early years after colonisation". Still, he explains that the individual developmental paths of AborE and their respective outcomes vary in different areas of Australia. In some parts of Australia, including NSW, the pidgins (and probably also creole varieties) that emerged during the earlier periods of colonisation have now been replaced by English. In other regions, local pidgin and creole varieties never developed; instead, Aboriginal dialects of English emerged as an early and more immediate result of cross-linguistic contact, although possibly influenced by the spread of NSW Pidgin. In again other areas, AborE now co-exists with creoles, e.g. with Kriol in the Northern Territory and the Kimberley area and with Torres Strait Creole on the Cape York Peninsula.

In 5.2.2 we have attempted to trace the paths along which the NSW Pidgin spread across the country and the ways in which it influenced the development of Australia-wide Aboriginal contact languages. Its presence triggered different developments and resulted in diverse linguistic outcomes, given the varying conditions in different locations. Now, in order to comprehend the processes involved in the formation of modern Aboriginal varieties, we need to distinguish between movements towards and away from the basilect, viz. between processes of pidginisation/creolisation and depidginisation/decreolisation. In some cases, a contact variety progresses from a jargon to a stabilised and expanded pidgin, later developing into a creole. This process is often the result of severe social changes which have interrupted formerly existing patterns of language transmission, and examples of this type of development have been provided above. In the other case, we can observe how the contact variety undergoes a process of convergence towards the dominant language, usually in a situation of continuous and heavy exposure to it. Consequently, the structure and the lexical inventory of an existing pidgin or creole are gradually adapted to the dominant language (Malcolm 2001a: 213f). While pidginisation/creolisation and depidginisation/decreolisation frequently occur as sequential stages within one speech community, they may even happen simultaneously (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 163).

Instances of creolisation have led to the emergence of the Kriol of the Northern Territory and the Kimberley region as well as to the formation of Torres Strait Creole. Elsewhere, the increasing presence of the English-

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speaking colonists, and consequently, the high degree of exposure to the English language has favoured a process of depidginisation in which the pidgin began to converge towards a form closer to the English of the colonists. This development may be assumed for the southern parts of Australia where the once stable NSW Pidgin[16] became replaced by AborE. A similar process of decreolisation may have occurred in those northern areas in which AborE has developed from earlier Kriol varieties. So, while AborE chronologically follows the development of creoles in some (northern) areas, creolisation of the earlier pidgins did not take place in most of the south and in some desert areas. Here, the development of AborE occurred simultaneously with that of one of the extended pidgins or creoles in other locations.

In yet other contexts, AborE varieties may have emerged when English was acquired as a second language, and in some instances, especially in later periods of colonisation, when English was acquired as a first language. In such cases, the language of the colonisers has been 'Aboriginalised' by its speakers, and adapted to their needs by drawing on the resources of traditional languages and Kriol. We are thus dealing with a much more complex pattern of developmental processes than that described for the creoles, and have to take into account the different historical, social, and linguistic factors that have impacted its development in different loci (Eades 1996: 133). Leitner (2004b: 112) argues that it is further unclear whether AborE shares the same functions and has the same social position throughout the country. In addition, he suggests that

> [...] one should expect regional and dialectal patterns, remnants of the influence of indigenous languages after speakers have shifted to AborE, or else the effects of the attempts of learners to master English. Fossilization is a prominent characteristic of what learners do when they use a foreign or second language. One might expect deliberate attempts of speakers to include features from their indigenous heritage.

The resulting picture can be illustrated with reference to Leitner (2004b: 112ff) who distinguishes four separate developmental paths that have led to the formation of AborE varieties. Here, we must also bear in mind the diachronic dimension: different developmental processes may have occurred in different locations and at different periods of time; in some regions, several processes may have co-occurred. Consequently "one should expect temporal layers, with some varieties of AborE being further advanced on the way to mAusE [mainstream Australian English, K.L.] than others" (Leitner 2004b: 114.).

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16 Malcolm (2001a: 214) suggests that in some southern loci, the pidgin may even have creolised.

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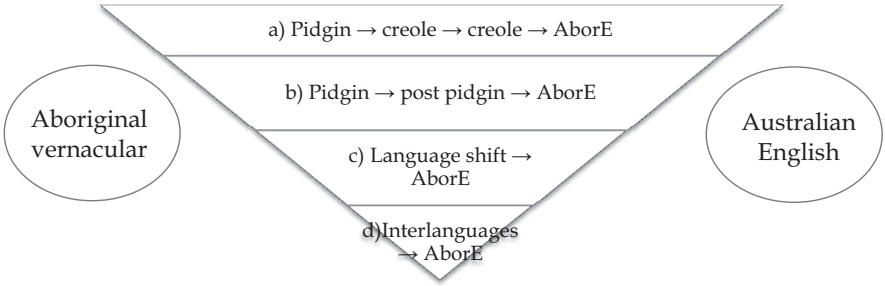

Diagram 1. ***Developmental Paths of Aboriginal English*** **(adapted from Leitner 2004b: 113).**

Paths (a) and (b) describe processes of depidginisation and decreolisation, brought about by an extensive contact with the English language which causes speakers to shift from a pidgin or creole language to a form of English closer to the standard variety. With the disappearance of NSW Pidgin in the 1840s, speakers in the south-eastern parts of the country adopted the English language as their primary means of communication; in the northern and central areas, the shift to English only occurred at the end of the 19th century or in even later periods. In some areas, it may not have occurred at all. Path (c) also describes a shift to English, yet one occurring in situations in which learner varieties of English develop through open and persistent access to English. In Australia, contact situations in and around missions and stations often provided the necessary context. An interlanguage base also provides the basis for the path described in (d) which exhibits similarities to (c). Leitner defines Bennelong's 'broken English' as an advanced form of learner English, i.e. an example of such an interlanguage. He assumes that there must have been more Aboriginal people with equal competence in English during the early days of the colony, given their stay in the homes of colonists. Their numbers, however, were too few to trigger a more widely use of an interlanguage variety of English and thus the NSW Pidgin became established as the common contact language of early NSW. Still, Leitner (2004b: 114) argues that "those other circumstances where access to English was easy would make AborE a possible outcome at the end of the early decades of the 19th century". This was the case at mission and government schools such as the Native Institution at Parramatta where Aboriginal children experienced high exposure to English in an organised attempt to teach the language. It is difficult to estimate the actual degree of proficiency in English that the children acquired. However, it seems that some mission schools achieved reasonable results and Leitner (2004b: 116) suggests that the children's English can be described as a learner variety which may have laid the foundation for the development of AborE.

Despite this variation concerning possible developmental paths, forms of AborE spoken today show a range of common features. Some of them may be

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ascribed to the influence of NSW Pidgin that contributed features which have been retained over a process of divergence. Others may be the result of convergence processes in which originally diverse forms of AborE have developed a set of shared characteristics, indicating a process of koinéisation, "whereby the culturally integrated, increasingly mobile, and nationally-oriented speech community of Aboriginal Australia is expressing its perceived commonality in a reduction or attrition of variants, although retaining some degree of stylistic and regional variation" (Malcolm 2001a: 214f). Malcolm (2000a: 141) argues that the result is the emergence of a dialect that, despite noticeable variation, shows sufficient resemblance to be perceived as one single linguistic variety. Processes of overgeneralisation and regularisation that have been observed in later periods are possible consequences of the acquisition of AborE as a second language.

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Part Two:
Aboriginal English(es) – an Aboriginal Code in an English Guise?

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6 Aboriginal English

Aboriginal English, the major language variety spoken by Aboriginal people in Australia (apart from (St)AusE) is defined by Rigsby (1998: 825) as "those distinctive varieties of English which have been vernacularised in Aboriginal communities" and which "display significant structural, lexical and pragmatic [...] continuities with regional substrate indigenous [sic] languages, but they are kinds of English, not creole varieties". AborE is the variety of English which Aboriginal people have made their own through a process of indigenisation and appropriation of the colonisers' language (Harkins 2000: 61). The outcome of this process is a dialect which serves its speakers' purposes and provides "an alternative identity-bearing form of communication" (Malcolm 2013: 44) in a situation in which an increasing number of Aboriginal languages have become extinct. This new and appropriated form of the colonial language not only provides speakers with a language variety which caters for their communicative needs but also equips them with a tool for the expression of a distinct cultural and social identity. By today, AborE has developed into the most widely spoken variety within the new Aboriginal language ecology and functions both as an intra-group language and for wider communication with the mainstream society.

6.1 The AborE Continuum

AborE is best described as a "social dialect of English", in the sense that it is spoken all across Australia and that who acts as speaker is determined socially rather than regionally, that is, by membership in the wider Australian Aboriginal community (Hill 2002: 90). Still, we will see in the following that despite the pan-Australian character of AborE, regional variation resulting from the substrate influence of the local languages is a distinctive characteristic of the dialect.

AborE must be differentiated from the other linguistic varieties that constitute the post-contact Aboriginal language ecology, such as pidgins, creoles, and also AusE, even though it shows both lexical and grammatical influence from pidgin and creole languages, as well as grammatical features that can also be observed in various non-standard forms of English. AborE varieties further draw on the resources of local and regional Aboriginal languages. It can thus be described as occupying a position between the contact languages and the AusE spoken by the Australian mainstream society; it involves a range of varieties creating a continuum that, at one end, shares many features with creoles, while the varieties at the other end of the continuum bear much re-

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semblance to (standard) forms of AusE (Malcolm & Grote 2007). Consequently, as Harkins (1994: 187) points out, even though usually defined as *a* dialect of English, the term 'Aboriginal English' is better understood in analogy to terms such as 'British English', 'Australian English' or 'American English' which express a social reality in that they allow their speakers to identify as Britons, Australians, Americans, independent of factors such as use of standard/non-standard forms or regional and social characteristics. Just as there is not one single, homogeneous dialect of British or Australian English, AborE is far from being uniform and involves a range of forms, or even "a range of continua of Aboriginal English dialects" (Eades 1996: 134). These vary from acrolectal or 'light' varieties close to Standard English to basilectal or 'heavy' varieties which are close to the creoles. While the former typically occur in urban or metropolitan areas, the latter are more likely to be spoken in the more remote parts of Australia where creoles and traditional languages are still in use and bilingualism or multilingualism in these linguistic varieties influence the local or regional forms of AborE.

However, not all variation within AborE can be explained by pinning a speaker's form of speech down to a certain point along the Standard English-creole continuum. Instead, we must consider three additional types of variation that cannot be accounted for on the basis of proximity to the substrate or superstrate alone, viz.

regional variation, i.e. variation that is due to geographic distribution,

social variation, i.e. differences arising in connection with different social contexts,

stylistic variation, i.e. variation within a speaker's linguistic inventory

(Kaldor & Malcolm 2004: 71f; Malcolm & Grote 2007: 168ff).

Regional variation is the result of those linguistic influences that have shaped AborE in different localities, that is, of the (varying degree of) exposure to other language varieties, including standard and non-standard forms of English, Aboriginal languages, and contact languages. Many of the lexical, phonological, and grammatical features that are characteristic of a particular variety of AborE can be attributed to the traditional language substrate influence. This influence is most notable in the area of lexicology where borrowings from Aboriginal languages, pidgins, and creoles provide a kind of 'local flavour'. Still, regional lexical variation can also be observed in the use of English-derived lexemes which denote particularly Aboriginal concepts. Cases in point are words which describe events or situations that make a person feel 'shame': in South Australia, the expression *shame job* describes the concept which in Western Australia is known as *big shame* (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 168f).

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Less notable perhaps is variation on the level of grammar and phonology. Disparity in morphological and syntactic features is often due to the exploitation of resources of different (dialectal) varieties of English. However, it also appears as a regional phenomenon. For instance, whether or not grammatical features derived from creoles occur in a particular variety of AborE depends on the degree of exposure to such creole varieties. Since the use of creoles is regionally restricted, this degree of exposure varies in different areas. Exposure to pidgins, creoles, and Aboriginal languages is further responsible for much of the variation observed in the domain of phonology, even though many of the phonological features of AborE can be traced back to the influence of non-standard varieties of English that are in use in the respective areas, including features derived from 'transported' dialects, such as the Scottish and south western English element in Cape Barren English (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 169f).

Arthur (1996: 3) argues that despite all the variation found within AborE, it is possible to make one major distinction between the varieties spoken in the south of Australia (south-western WA, southern SA, Victoria, Tasmania, NSW, and south-eastern Queensland) and those prevailing in the northern parts (the Northern Territory, central Australia, the major part of WA, northern and western Queensland). This north-south division results from the paths taken by the colonial expansion on its way inland and the intensity of early European colonisation in the south which went hand in hand with the eradication and displacement of large parts of the Aboriginal population and led to a severe loss of Aboriginal culture and linguistic variety. Much of northern Australia, on the other hand, was settled in later periods so that here the percentage of the Aboriginal population is much higher than in the south, and the delayed colonisation allowed Aboriginal people to preserve aspects of their cultural and linguistic heritage. These factors impact on the types of English spoken in the Australian north, and the northern varieties are generally closer to the basilectal end of the continuum than those in the south. Also, AborE is more frequently spoken as a second language in the north. Kaldor & Malcolm (2004: 72) further suggest that additional variation may arise from differences between town and camp speech forms, a type of variation that might also be included in the broader category of regional/geographic variation.

Social variation involves the speaker's choice of a particular form of speech that fits the situation in which communication takes place and caters best for the participants in the conversation. Speakers of AborE, like most bilingual or bidialectal speakers, adapt their way of speaking to the social context, the communicative purpose, and their audience, so that, for example, the dialect of English used in official contexts is commonly adjusted to that variety within the speaker's repertoire which comes closest to Standard English. It thus differs from the English used in communication with family members or within

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the community where this more formal style would be perceived as inadequate. Also, the linguistic output may be fine-tuned to either allow a better understanding of what is said for non-Aboriginal interlocutors or deliberately prevent them from understanding the contents of a conversation (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 170f).

Stylistic variation, the third type of variation discussed here, is the variation within a speaker's linguistic inventory which, through the exploitation of different resources available, allows him or her to express a linguistic identity and communicate particular meanings. Hence, it enables speakers to distinguish themselves from others by choosing an individual style and by expressing social meanings that are different. At the same time, the speaker expresses his or her biological or cultural affiliation with a particular socio-cultural group, or an emotional or ideological connection to it. This expression of a special identity can be effected on different linguistic levels, e.g. phonologically, through use of certain intonation patterns or pronunciation features, grammatically, or lexically through the choice of particular words or expressions (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 171ff). The latter two may also be used in written language, along with particular discourse markers, and according to Malcolm & Grote (2007: 172), lexical items and expressions are "[p]erhaps the most distinctive linguistic features to communicate style (and identities) in writing". In addition, while the use of particular grammatical features varies among different speakers, even those whose variety comes close to StAusE frequently employ lexical items that relate to Aboriginal cultural features.

Keeping these differences in mind, it is understandable why Eades argues that we not only have to deal with one continuum, but with a whole range of continua. In addition to the types of variation discussed, Kaldor & Malcolm (2004: 72) explain that we must allow for second-language/interlanguage continua as well as developmental/acquisitional continua. Above we have contemplated the different developmental processes that led to the formation of AborE varieties in different parts of the country: in some areas, forms of AborE developed in processes of depidginisation from contact languages. Elsewhere, AborE developed as the result of a process of indigenisation when speakers learnt English as a second language. Other AborEs emerged in a context of (almost) total traditional language loss and a relatively high exposure to English.

Diagram 2 is based on Trudgill's (2000, but first published in 1974) model of the relationship between regional and social variation in British English. Like Trudgill's model, it acknowledges that regional variation is reduced when speakers choose a more formal, acrolectal variety of AborE that approaches StAusE, in comparison to when they use a more basilectal variety which is marked by a greater degree of substrate influence.

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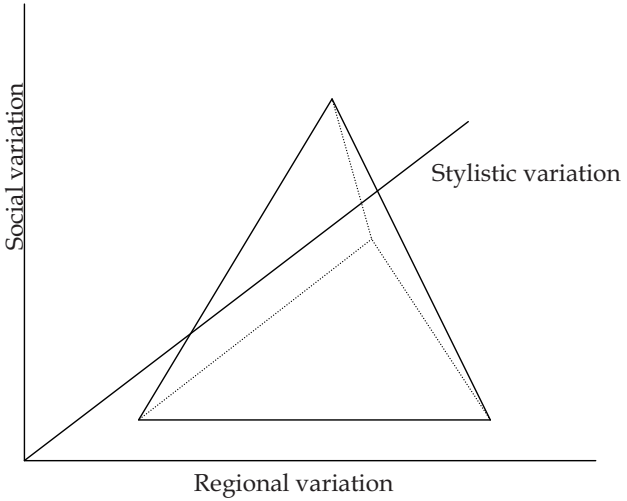

Diagram 2. ***Variation in Aboriginal English.***

And yet, irrespective of this wide range of variation and the heterogeneous historical, social, and linguistic factors that have led to a complex pattern of developmental paths of different forms of AborE, Malcolm (2001: 201) and Malcolm & Grote (2007: 163) argue that we are dealing with one single English dialect, subsumed under the heading 'Aboriginal English'. They explain that the different varieties have undergone a process of levelling, so that today, forms of AborE are sufficiently homogeneous to be recognised as one dialect that is fit to express the cultural and social realities of Aboriginal Australians across the continent. Not all scholars, and especially not all speakers of AborE, agree with this position. According to Eades (1996: 134), many speakers do not identify their variety as 'Aboriginal English', but simply refer to it as 'English'. Others are well aware of the characteristics of their dialect and prefer a term such as "Koori English" which may, but need not, be used in a regionally restricted sense.

Russo (2010a: 41ff) explains that the variation which exists within the AborE continuum is a testimony to the diverse traditional language ecology and the heterogeneity of the Aboriginal society at the time of contact. Aboriginal people were denied their diverse cultural and linguistic heritage by the colonisers who introduced the notion of a single homogeneous Aboriginal culture and community. She (2010: 43) maintains that a re-labelling of AborE as 'Indigenous English varieties' confirms the diversity of Aboriginal culture and reflects the diverse developmental processes. According to her, the term 'Aboriginal' was employed in the 1960s to stress the notion of pan-

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Aboriginality and strengthen pan-Indigenous political movements. At the time, AborE was an important element of this pan-Aboriginal movement, as it was the language that was shared by the Aboriginal community, one that could function as a common medium of protest and action against white administration. Still, more recently, "the strategies associated with pan-Aboriginality or Aboriginality have altered [...] with Indigenous peoples reasserting their identification with specific societies defined by place, language, cultural practises, and kinship".

6.2 The Role of AborE in the Post-Contact Aboriginal Language Ecology

Kaldor & Malcolm (2004: 82, 67) report that the number of Aboriginal people who are gaining competence in Standard Australian English has been growing in the last decades and, moreover, some speakers are shifting to a monodialectal use. Mühlhäusler (1996a: 15) recognises a similar trend, arguing that in fact, these developments noticeably affect the post-contact Aboriginal language ecology with its new forms of multilingualism:

> The possible change in the linguistic picture of Australia is one from traditional multilingualism, involving over 250 Aboriginal languages, to monolingualism in English. In most parts of Australia this transition is completed, but in the more remote communities there have been a number of alternative responses to the impact of English. These developments are still evident, such as pidgins and creoles, Aboriginal koinés, Aboriginal English and multilingualism or bilingualism. It would appear that of these, any solution that does not involve Standard Australian English in some way, will not be a lasting one.

If we reflect on these developments, it seems that we must ask ourselves whether this gradual shift to English and, more importantly, to the dialect spoken by the Euro-Australian majority, marks the beginning of the end of a distinctive Aboriginal language ecology?

The answer to this question, however, is 'no': despite the widening relevance of (St)AusE for Aboriginal speakers, (St)AusE and AborE complement each other and function in different contexts. Kaldor & Malcolm acknowledge this and concede that even though the use of Standard Australian English has been increasing among Aboriginal Australians in the last years, AborE fulfils functions which the standard language cannot perform. The role of AborE within the post-contact Aboriginal language ecology and the ways in which its position differs from that of AusE becomes clearer in the following quote from Malcolm & Grote (2007: 153):

> Aboriginal English is at once the product and the symbol of the maintenance of Indigenous identity in the face of linguistic and cultural domination by immigrant Australians. Ironically, it represents a colonisation of the language

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brought by the immigrants in order to make it serve the purposes of Indigenous speakers. Like the habitat involuntarily shared by its original inhabitants with the newcomers, the language of the newcomers came to be shared for their own purposes by its new Indigenous speakers.

In a quite similar vein, Eades (1996: 133) defines AborE as a dialect of English that "differs from Standard Australian English in systematic ways, and which reflects, maintains and continually creates Aboriginal culture and identity", and Mudrooroo Narogin (Colin Johnson), Australian writer and activist, points out that it is this range of English varieties which Aboriginal speakers "are most at home with" (Johnson 1995: 58). Originally a foreign language, English has now become "the default medium of communication in interactions among the majority of Aboriginal people" (Malcolm 2000a: 140). Even though many Aboriginal Australians are bi- or multidialectal, fluent in AusE as well as in (several forms of) AborE, the standard dialect is often regarded as inappropriate for communication within Aboriginal society. Elsewhere, especially in the geographically more remote areas of the country where a creole or a traditional language is used in interaction among Aboriginal speakers, AborE may be employed in communication with non-Aboriginal interlocutors. It also increasingly serves to communicate Aboriginal ideas, viewpoints, and meanings to the mainstream society.

During its history, AborE has held a number of communicative and social functions, and it continues to do so. The most important ones are summarised by Malcolm & Grote (2007: 164ff):

a. (early) contact with Europeans,
a. communication in employment situations,
b. exchanges with Aboriginal people from other language groups,
c. the indexation of Aboriginal identity,
d. the transmission of Aboriginal culture within families and communities,
e. informing non-Aboriginal people about Aboriginal culture and world views through language based art forms.

Above, we have seen that the functions (a)-(c) began to be of significance already in the earlier periods of colonisation when forms of English and English-based contact languages enabled cross-cultural communication in a variety of contexts. AborE as medium for inter-group communication, too, quickly gained relevance in the post-contact situation, especially when mission and station life and multilingual employment situations such as those on sheep and cattle stations, in the pearling industry, or in the camel industry forced speakers of non-mutually intelligible Aboriginal languages into contact. Here, early forms of AborE served purposes comparable to those of the NSW contact varieties, that is, it provided speakers with a tool for conceptualising and sharing the contact experience and served as a lingua franca in communities

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formed by members of different linguistic backgrounds. In present-day Australian society, AborE continues to fulfil these purposes; according to the authors (2007: 166), communication within the Aboriginal community remains the primary function of AborE, even today.

As to (d)-(f), it seems that the significance of these functions has been growing in the last few decades. The use of AborE as the language of literature, film, and pop songs is a more recent development. In addition, the role of AborE as marker of Aboriginal identity and transmitter of culture, as well as its use as medium for creative expression, I would suggest, may be related to the changing attitudes towards AborE, its rise in status, its recognition as a dialect of its own, and a growing awareness of and pride in Aboriginal culture. At the same time, (d) and (e) are reactions to the ongoing destruction of what is left of the traditional language ecology, i.e. the loss of the Aboriginal language as carriers of cultural and religious knowledge. Malcolm & Grote (2007: 166f) suggest that for younger speakers who have grown up monolingually with English, AborE provides the connection to an Aboriginal view of the world and creates a bridge to Aboriginal understandings of different domains, such as family, religion, or notions of space and time. It further familiarises the children with traditional communication patterns that, as we will see below, persist in AborE.

In the face of the various forms of pressure exerted by the mainstream society, many Aboriginal people struggle to maintain an identifiable linguistic and cultural identity, and AborE has come to be perceived as a possible answer to their needs. As Eades (1996: 134) points out, the dialect has assumed an important role in the creation and expression of a pan-Australian Aboriginal identity. While in the past, the use of AborE was reason for embarrassment and shame on the part of the speakers, it has developed into a symbol of Aboriginality which an increasing number of speakers recognise as a linguistic variety in its own right that is different, but not inferior, to the Standard dialect. As such, AborE is central for the expression of a distinct identity for many Aboriginal people whose physical appearance and lifestyle do not distinguish them from the Australian mainstream community (Eades & Siegel 1999: 267). Perhaps one of the most salient examples of how an Aboriginal identity can be expressed by drawing on the resources of AborE is the utilisation of lexical items that signal the speaker's affiliation with a particular geographic area and its language(s). This includes the use of regional names for Aboriginal Australians, such as *Koori* (south-east), *Murri* (great parts of Queensland), *Nyoongah* (south-western WA) and *Yolngu* (north-eastern Arnhem Land), as well as various names of smaller local language groups (Leitner 2004c: 81).

AborE may further create a feeling of solidarity among its speakers and, as a bi-dialectal speaker of a Kimberley Aboriginal community has pointed out, provides them "with not only 'a sense of identity' but 'belonging'" (quot-

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ed in Malcolm & Grote 2007: 166). The use of AborE not only strengthens the bonds between those who share a common linguistic and cultural heritage but also provides a means to set oneself apart from those who do not. It has been shown that even those speakers whose variety is closest to StAusE and who make efforts to improve their proficiency in the standard dialect are increasingly becoming aware of the dialect's social function and role as a symbol of an Aboriginal identity, and deliberately maintain a form of AborE in their repertoire (Kaldor & Malcolm 2004: 81f).

Since its development and early use as a lingua franca, the functions of AborE have continuously been expanded, and the dialect has come to be applied in a number of contexts. It is now increasingly being recognised as a functional system of its own by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people alike and thus gaining acceptance as a modern Aboriginal language. As such, it may become a major influence on AusE (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 168), and some, e.g. Leitner (2007: 222), argue that this process has already been set in motion. Already, we can observe that features of the AborE lexicon have been adopted by speakers of the younger generation and are gradually entering more widely used forms of AusE (see for example Harkins 2000: 73, 76). As the number of those who identify as Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander Australians is growing, so is their influence in the wider Australian society, and Aboriginal voices are becoming 'heard' by all Australians. This is also due to the work of Aboriginal writers, playwrights, singers, and other artists who increasingly rely on Aboriginal modes of expression and whose works now also reach Australian mainstream audiences. These issues will be explored further in chapter 7.

6.3 Feature Description of AborE

In order to understand how Aboriginal people have appropriated the language of the colonisers to suit their own purposes and to define the ways in which AborE is employed to index an Aboriginal identity, we must take a closer look at those properties that set AborE apart from AusE and other varieties of English. Like other dialects of English, AborE is distinguished by a set of characteristic features which spread across all levels of the language. As an indigenised form of English, the language has been adapted phonologically, grammatically, lexically, and pragmatically to the social and cultural realities of Aboriginal people and has developed innovative structures which allow for the expression of these realities through English. While some domains, including the lexicon and the field of pragmatics, show many features that are exclusive to AborE, a number of grammatical properties are shared with other (non-standard) forms of English. Therefore, Harkins (2000: 75) argues that "the combination of them [both unique and shared linguistic features, K.L.] and the

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patterning of variable features is what makes Aboriginal English an identifiable dialect among other varieties of world English".

The study of AborE varieties began in the 1960s with descriptions of the speech varieties used in different Queensland communities. Since then, a number of studies have investigated the grammatical, phonological, and lexico-semantic structures of AborE varieties spoken across the country. Other fields of research include discourse structures, oral narrative, and AborE pragmatics. Still, a comprehensive description of all the phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexico-semantic, pragmatic, and discourse features occurring in AborE is not feasible for several reasons. Even though Eades (1996: 135) asserts that the majority of these features occur widely in different varieties of Aboriginal English, there is still a considerable amount of variation across the different forms. As such, feature descriptions of AborE are usually limited to the portrayal of a particular variety or a range of neighbouring varieties and cannot be seen as representative for the entire continuum of AborE. Also, several scholars (e.g. Eades (1983), Harkins (1994)) have pointed out that accounts of AborE which focus solely on those features that differ in their form or application from Standard English are not representative of the dialect's character, as such an approach

> tends to obscure the real nature of AborE as a vital, expressive and creative linguistic resource – a living tongue which serves the speakers in a large array of functions and situations and which expresses and reflects their culture and social world (Kaldor & Malcolm 2004: 72).

In a similar vein, Harkins (1994) argues that instead of contrasting properties of AborE with their StAusE 'equivalents', it is necessary to take into consideration the underlying structures and processes that bring about the evolution of novel forms and regulate their usage, and to explain why these features persist in AborE. In her interpretation of the features occurring in the AborE spoken around Alice Springs, Harkins (1994) emphasises the role of transfer from the regional languages, operating on the assumption that most features of Alice Springs AborE reflect structural properties of the local languages rather than pidgin or creole influence. Some of the results of her analysis of Alice Springs AborE will be presented in more detail below in an attempt to comprehend the ways in which the colonisers' language has been appropriated to answer the Aboriginal speakers' demands and to express Aboriginal ideas and meanings.

Even though the focus of our empirical research will be on the characteristic lexico-semantics of AborE, a brief discussion of AborE phonology, grammar, pragmatics, and the lexicon seems advisable in order to become acquainted with features we might encounter in a later corpus analysis. Since the purpose of the following sections is to provide an outline of those aspects that make AborE a distinguishable dialect of English, it is nevertheless inevitable to

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revert to a more superficial description and present a list of features which set AborE apart from other varieties of English, first and foremost AusE. In this context, we must also keep in mind that a comparison between AborE and StAusE is not entirely unproblematic as standard forms of any variety are usually associated with a formal, official register and written language, whereas AborE is most commonly used as a spoken language. Further, as should be clear by now, AborE has emerged as a distinctive dialect in a context of multilingualism, with Indigenous languages and contact varieties impacting on its linguistic structures and use. In many regions, this type of language contact still persists as traditional languages and creoles provide a continuing substrate influence which accounts for much of the existing regional variation (Harkins 2000: 61). As a result, varying degrees of influence from the traditional languages and creoles may be distinguished, with the more basilectal varieties of AborE showing a greater number of substrate features than the more acrolectal varieties. And yet, many authors (e.g. Eades 1996; Harkins 1994, 2000; Malcolm 2001a) emphasise the homogeneity and structural similarities which exist across the different varieties. In addition, processes of stabilisation and levelling continue; they are the result of AborE assuming the role of a pan-Australian lingua franca for an Aboriginal population which is increasingly interacting beyond regional boundaries while at the same time becoming involved in the wider Australian society (Harkins 2000: 61).

However, before we turn to a more detailed feature description of AborE, we once more need to underline that we are dealing with a variety of English which expresses an Aboriginal worldview. One of the consequences is that differences to AusE and other varieties of English do not only manifest themselves at the level of grammar, the sound system, or the lexicon. Rather, this underlying world view determines how speakers use language, how they behave in particular communicative settings, how they structure spoken and written text, and how they convey and interpret meanings. While these factors, too, are reflected in the dialect, it is not always obvious for speakers of AusE that some of the salient characteristics of AborE need in fact be attributed to different attitudes, perspectives and conversational principles. Königsberg & Collard use the image of an iceberg to show the different levels on which AusE and AborE may vary from each other:

> [There are] three crucial parts of language difference: the parts that are exposed and obvious, the parts that are very hard to get at and the parts that are hidden under the water. Like the parts of an iceberg that are exposed to the air, some language features are very obvious; they are easily observed in speech and writing. Some aspects of language are almost irretrievable – like the part of the iceberg visible just under the water. Lastly, there are aspects of a language which cannot be understood without being deeply submerged in the culture (Königsberg & Collard 2000, quoted in Hill 2002: 90).

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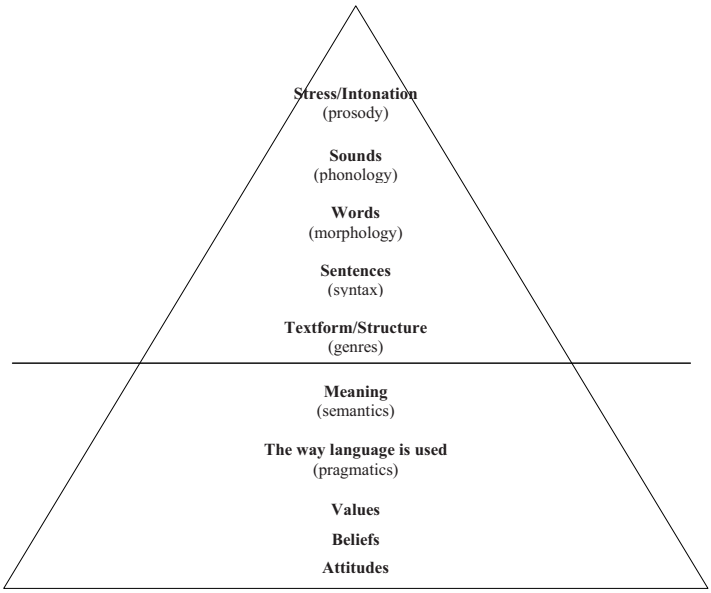

Diagram 3. ***The Language Iceberg*** **(adapted from Hill 2002: 91).**

On the upper half of the iceberg, the part that is clearly visible above the water, we find the most obvious and most readily recognised features of AborE. These include the sounds employed by speakers of AborE as well as characteristic stress and intonation patterns, grammatical features, such as unfamiliar morphological and syntactic forms, and the ways in which AborE speakers structure oral and written text. Just beneath the surface of the water are the features which, though still discernible, are not as easily identified, viz. the lexical and pragmatic structures which govern meanings and language use. Further down, deeply hidden under the water are the values, beliefs, and attitudes that create the Aboriginal worldview.

The following feature analysis is largely based on Malcolm & Grote (2007) who focus on characteristics that generally occur in the "more distinctive varieties of contemporary Aboriginal English", i.e. those varieties further away from the StAusE end of the continuum. However, as Eagleson's (1982) study on the forms of AborE used by urban speakers shows, many of the features prevailing in the 'heavier' varieties can also be observed in more acrolectal speech forms, if to a lesser degree. Additional information comes from Arthur (1996), Butcher (2008), Eades (1996), Harkins (1994, 2000), Kaldor & Malcolm (2004), Hill (2002), Leitner (2004b), Malcolm (2001a, 2001b, 2002, 2004a, 2004b), Malcolm & Sharifian (2007), Rochecouste (2002), and Sharifian

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(2006). Discourse features will not be treated here; for a discussion see for example Malcolm (1994b), Malcolm & Rochecouste (2000), and Malcolm & Sharifian (2002).

6.3.1 **Phonological Features**

AborE varieties show a number of distinctive features which can be traced back to the sound systems of the traditional language substrate. The extent of this substrate influence ranges from being quite profound in the 'heavy' varieties of AborE to a minimal influence in the 'lighter' and 'lightest' AborE varieties which exhibit only few distinctive features. While in the former case, the phonological system of AborE may be nearly identical to that of the traditional languages, acrolectal varieties are frequently only discernible by features such as/h/-dropping or by few instances of allophonic variation. As such, the features discussed in the following should be seen as phonological characteristics that may, but need not, occur in different varieties of AborE.

Broadly speaking, we can say that in many varieties of AborE, the consonant and vowel inventory differs from that of StE in such a way that fewer phonemes can be observed, and Malcom and Grote (2007: 154) suggest that the vowels/i/,/e/,/a/,/o/, and/u/"are the most readily distinguished". Apart from that, the realisation of the individual phonemes may be quite distinct in many varieties. The processes discussed below, e.g. the substitution of fricatives, the reduction of consonant clusters, and the occurrence of h-dropping, can usually be traced back to the phoneme inventory of the traditional languages in which the sounds do not occur.

a) Vowels

Reduced opposition between high front and mid back vowels

- The opposition between high front /i/ and /ɪ/ as well as between mid back /ɒ/ and /ɔ/ is reduced. As a consequence, /i/ and /ɪ/ and /ɒ/ and /ɔ/ may be used interchangeably, as in /krɪk/, 'creek' and /dɔg/ 'dog' (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 154f).

Shortening of long vowels

- The long vowels /i:/and /u:/ may be shortened and merge with short vowels so that both *seek* and *sick* may be realised as /sɪk/ (Leitner 2004b: 123).

Absence of mid central /ɜ/ and /ə/

- Mid central /ɜ/ may be replaced, so that terms such as 'first' are realised as /fæs/. Also, /ə/ may be substituted by mid central

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/ʌ/ or low central /a/, e.g. /rɒbat/ 'Robert' (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 154f).

Monophthongisation

- Diphthongs tend to undergo monophthongisation, e.g. /dɛ:/ 'there', /ra:dəræʊnd/ 'right around'(Malcolm & Grote 2007: 154f).

b) Consonants

Distinct fricatives

Perhaps the most common feature of AborE phonology is the distinct use of a set of fricatives which typically do not occur in Aboriginal languages (Malcolm 2001b: 225):

- Initial /h/ may be absent in words in which its pronunciation is required in StE, e.g. /ɒladei/ 'holiday'. As noted above, h-dropping can be observed even in lighter varieties (Butcher 2008: 629).
- In other cases /h/ may be inserted before an initial vowel even though it is not required, e.g. /handi/ 'auntie' (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 154f).
- Stops may take the place of fricatives, so that labio-dental /f/ and /v/ become replaced by bilabial /p/ and /b/, e.g. in /pɪnɪʃ/ 'finish' or /dɛbɪl/ 'devil'. Interdental /ð/ and /θ/ may be replaced by alveolar stops /d/ and /t/, e.g. /deɪ/ 'they' and /tɪŋ/ 'thing'. The fricative /θ/ may also be replaced by /s/ as in /sɪŋ/ (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 154f).
- Kaldor & Malcolm (2004: 76) further suggest that /θ/ may alternate with /f/, e.g. /fɪŋ/ 'thing', and that /ð/may alternate with /v/, as in /wɪv/ 'with'. They also put forward a possible alternation of the fricatives /s/, /ʃ/, /z/ and /ʒ/, e.g. in the terms *boyce* 'boys' and *fiss* 'fish'. According to Butcher (2008: 628), this type of alternation is more common in lighter varieties, while in heavier varieties fricatives and affricates tend to be replaced by stops.
- The pronunciation of /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ is generally weakened, and the affricates may be replaced by /ʃ/ or reduced to /t/, e.g. /ʃʌk/ 'chuck' or /mʌt/ 'much' (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 154f).

Absence of voiced/unvoiced contrast and replacement of/t/and/d/

- Voiced and unvoiced consonants are not always distinguished so that 'bed' may be realised as /bɛt/ (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 154f). Leitner (2004b: 123) assumes that this phenomenon predominates in areas with less exposure to StAusE.

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- /t/ and /d/ may be replaced by the flap /ɾ/ in *put it* and *got it* (Kaldor & Malcolm 2004: 76).

c) Phonotactics

Reduction of consonant clusters

- Consonant clusters tend to be reduced, as in /mita/ 'mister'. This may lead to the final /s/ being omitted, thus affecting the representation of plurals and third pers. sing. forms of the present tense (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 154f). The ending *-ing* may be realised as /ɪŋ/ or /ən/, a feature which, according to Malcolm (2001b: 225) is "readily recognised by Australian English speakers because of its stigmatisation".

Aphesis

- Forms such as /ɔla/ 'all the' result from the omission of /ð/ in the lexeme *the* (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 154f; Malcolm 2004a: 667.

Prothesis

- Reanalysis of the word boundaries may result in forms such as *this nother one* (reanalysis of *another*) (Kaldor & Malcolm 2004: 76; Malcolm 2004a: 667).

d) Morphophonemics

Elision

Elisions may be used differently than in standard dialects:

Liaisons tend to be absent, so that *the* is invariably pronounced /ðə/ or /ða/ also before vowels; in addition, there is no insertion of /n/ when the article a is followed by a vowel, e.g. *a egg* (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 154f).

- Forms such as *I'll go* are exceptional since 'will' is rarely used as an auxiliary (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 154f).
- /w/ + vowel may be elided in lexemes such as *was* or *want*, e.g. /wi(ə)z/ 'we [wa]s' and /aint ə aiskrim/ 'I want an ice cream' (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 154f).

e) Suprasegmental features

Distinctive stress and intonation patterns

- Aboriginal languages prototypically exhibit prosody patterns in which stress falls on the first syllable of a lexeme. This pattern is often retained, especially in the more basilectal varieties of AborE (Butcher

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2008: 631), e.g. /ˈkæŋgru/ 'kangaroo'. In other cases, initial vowels tend to be elided in words beginning in unstressed vowels, e.g. *way* 'away', *long* 'along' (Malcolm 2001b: 225).

- Questions are not necessarily marked by grammatical and morphological change so that rising intonation is more often employed than in StAusE (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 154f).
- Final tags, such as *eh, inna, unna, inti*, on the other hand, which ask for the interlocutor's affirmation of shared knowledge are usually marked by falling intonation (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 154f).
- Intonation and vowel length may also mark duration, as in *We was ri-i-i-ide, riding for lo-o-ong time* or serve to express intensification, e.g. *she got a bi-i-ig mouth* (Harkins 2000: 67).

6.3.2 **Morphological and Syntactic Features**

Also in the domain of grammar, AborE varieties exhibit salient morphological and syntactic structures, which are more pronounced at the basilectal end of the continuum. It is most readily observable for speakers of St(Aus)E that several grammatical structures required in StE are optional in AborE or may be absent altogether. Malcolm & Grote (2007: 155) explain this phenomenon as "a carry-over of the processes of simplification from earlier contact varieties from which the dialect has evolved, but also the result of deliberate communicative strategies, as the users of the dialect tend to avoid explicitness and to expect a significant interpretive role on the part of the listener, taking due account of context". Other grammatical elements may differ in their form from what would be expected in StE. Again, many of these features can be attributed to the substrate influence of traditional languages (Butcher 2008: 631). Hence, it is not surprising to find that many of those grammatical elements the lack of which is a salient marker of AborE do not have a direct equivalent in pre-contact varieties. Other characteristics described below are shared with creoles and non-standard varieties of English. They may have entered AborE via the contact languages (Department of Education and Department of Training and Workforce Development 2012d: 102f).

Again, all of the features discussed in the following show a certain level of variability in the sense that while some may occur in a given variety of AborE, others may not. Also, distinctive AborE grammatical features may be used interchangeably with their StE counterparts (Harkins 2000: 69).

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a) Verb phrase

Unmarked verbs and subject-verb agreement

- Neither third person singular nor past tense forms are necessarily marked by inflection, e.g. *he still live in that house* or *on that night my dog jump on my head* (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 155ff).
- In analogy, past-tense forms of '(to) be' are regularised so that *was* is used for all subjects (Malcolm 2001b: 226).

Tense and Aspect

- Future is expressed through *gonna* or, more rarely, through *gotta* (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 15ff).
- Perfect tense is only rarely used (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 155ff).
- Certain verbs, such as *see, go, come* may take on past participle forms when used to express simple past tense; some verbs show irregular inflection, e.g. *brang, shined*, formed in analogy to other verb forms (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 155ff)
- Especially in rural and geographically remote areas, the pre-verbal marker *bin* signals past tense, e.g. in combinations of *bin* + invariable present verb stem, as in *Jim bin go to Derby*; it may also be used as copula, as in *'e bin in hospital yesterday* (Kaldor & Malcolm 2004: 75).

Auxiliaries and forms of (to) be

- The use of auxiliary verbs in continuous forms is variable. According to Harkins (2000: 71), constructions without auxiliary verb are more common in the present continuous, e.g. *we goin*, than in past continuous forms where the auxiliary marks tense. Regularisation of the auxiliary is more common in past tense forms, e.g. *they was goin* (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 155ff).
- Also interrogative sentences do not need a copula or auxiliary verb, e.g. *What class you in, Kevin?* 'What class are you in, Kevin?' and *Where they went fishing?* 'Where did they go fishing?' (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 155ff).
- Zero-copula forms may be found in present tense constructions where the copula is not needed to mark tense, e.g. *this my place* (Harkins 2000: 72).
- Due to its rare use as copula or auxiliary, *be* occurs less frequently than in StE. Seldom applied in the present tense, it is mostly used in the forms *was* and *bin* in the past tense. *Get* is preferred also in passive constructions or existential sentences, e.g. *e got some sand there* 'there is some sand' or *got kill* 'were killed' (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 155ff).

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Negation

- *Not, never,* and more rarely *nomore* negate the verb, and also double negatives occur frequently, possibly indicating influence from 'transported' dialects, e.g. *my father don't shear no more* (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 155ff).

Passive

- The passive is rare in Aboriginal English which often employs active voice where Standard English has a passive form, e.g. *A bee sting him* 'He was stung by a bee'). When it is used, the passive is either formed without an auxiliary verb, e.g. *Most books made of paper* or with the auxiliary *get*, as in *Uncle Steve, he got hit* (Malcolm 2004b: 671).

Transitive

- In areas with stronger creole influence, the affix *-im* marks transitivity, e.g. *you can see im alla fish* 'you can see a lot of fish' (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 155ff).
- Some intransitive verbs may be used transitively in AborE, as in *I growled him* or *my mother grew me up* (Kaldor & Malcolm 2004: 77).

Emphasis

- Verb repetition serves to indicate emphasis, e.g. *I bin running, running, running, running, running* 'I ran and ran' (Department of Education, Western Australia and Department of Training and Workforce Development 2012d: 105).

Adverbs

- Many adverbs may lack the *–ly* suffix required in StE (Malcolm 2004b: 671). Adverbials may be constructed using the suffixes *-way* for adverbs of manner, e.g. *quick-way*, 'quickly' or *-time* for adverbs of time, e.g. *all time*, 'always'. According to Malcolm & Sharifian (2007:387), this suffixation process displays the influence of Kriol on AborE.

b) Noun phrase

Determiners

- Noun phrases in subject position requiring a determiner in StE may not require one in AborE, e.g. *man went hunting* 'a man went hunting', or they may feature a different type of determiner, e.g. *one* may be used as indefinite article, as in *one little boy trouser bin come down* 'a lit-

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tle boy's trousers came down'. In analogy, the noun in the object position does not require a determiner, e.g. *I went to sandhill* 'I went to the/a sand hill' (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 155ff).

- Other characteristic determiner+noun combinations involve the use of *this/dis*, *that/dat*, or *them/dem* in contexts where StE would use an article, e.g. *We 'as in that old house* or might not require any determiner at all, e.g. *We went to dat Malcolm Dam*, 'We went to Malcolm Dam' (Malcolm & Sharifian 2007: 383).
- Combinations such as *lotta/(big) mob (of/a)* or *all the/alla* may be used as determiners when indefinite plural is expressed, as in *mob a little cats* 'a lot of little cats' and *e cutting all the fish tails off* 'he is cutting the tails off the fish' (Malcolm & Sharifian 2007: 383f).

Number

- Regular plural inflection occurs where irregular forms would be expected, e.g. *womans, mens* (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 155ff).
- Inflectional plural markers such as plural *-s* may be optional when plurality can be inferred from context; in such cases, the plural may be expressed by non-inflectional markers such as the determiner forms *two*, *lotta, alla* (Harkins (2000: 70).
- Count and non-count nouns may not be distinguished, e.g. *little woods* 'bits of wood' (Department of Education and Department of Training and Workforce Development 2012d: 103).

Gender

- Third person singular pronouns may not be differentiated for gender, so that 'he', 'she' or 'it' may be expressed by *e* (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 155ff); female referents may also be denoted by *he*, e.g. *He a big girl* (Malcolm 2004b: 672).

Possessive constructions

- Possessives may, but need not, be expressed by *-s* inflection. Alternatively, possession can be indicated by juxtaposition, e.g. *my mum mum* 'my maternal grandmother', or by periphrastic possessive markers, e.g. *he was for my sister husband* 'he was my sister's husband' (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 155ff).

The pronoun system

- Differentiations of case in third person singular and plural pronouns may not be made, so that both elements of the pairs *(h)e* or *(h)im*, *they/dey* and *them/dem* can be found in the subject slot (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 155ff).

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- In some of the 'heavier' varieties, characteristically those used in areas where creoles exert a stronger influence on AborE, the pronoun system can show differentiations unknown to StE. In these varieties, dual forms may exist along plural forms, e.g. *you two* and *you-n-him* may exist along *you mob* (south-eastern Qld), *minyu* exists along *yupala* (Kimberley region, WA). Further dual forms include *dattufela/distufela* (north-western Qld). Another widely employed plural pronoun which is found in many AborE varieties is *yous* (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 155ff).
- Pronouns may also be reanalysed so that, for example, *his* becomes *hees* while *himself* and *themselves* change to *hisself, theyself/theirself*. The third person singular *they* may function as a possessive pronoun, as in *they all got they hat on* (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 155ff).
- *Them* is widely employed as demonstrative pronoun, e.g. *them blokes* (Kaldor & Malcolm 2004: 74).

Adjectives

- Superlative suffixes or reduplication may be used to intensify adjectives, e.g. *we catch one biggest turtle* 'we caught a really big turtle'; *e bin catch long-long one* 'he caught a very long one' (Butcher 2008: 635).
- In comparatives, *more* and the *-er* suffix may occur simultaneously, e.g. *my daughter more older than im* 'my daughter is older than him/her' (Butcher 2008: 635).
- English suffixes may also be attached to lexemes borrowed from Aboriginal languages, e.g. *winyarnest* 'very sad', 'saddest' (Nyoongah, Western Australia) (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 155ff).
- Especially in predicative use, adjectives may have suffixes attached that suggest nominalisation, e.g. *same-one, cheeky-fella* (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 155ff).
- Adjective forms may function as transitive verbs, as in *they cruellin that little boy* (Butcher 2008: 639).

Change of grammatical category

- Aboriginal languages generally do not make a distinction between nouns and adjectives (Arthur 1996: 201). As a result, we find a number of terms that are unusual in their adjectival application, e.g. the noun phrase *big mob* as in *big mob trailers* 'a lot of trailers' and the verb phrase *camping out* as in *camping out spot* (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 158f). The element s*hame* may be used as a noun, as in *she getting big shame* and as an adjective, e.g. *I was shame* (Butcher 2008: 638).

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Prepositions

- Prepositions may be omitted, as in *long time ago when I was goin [to] Boulder School*; when they are used, *in, at, on* may be used interchangeably, e.g. *they went fishing at bush* (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 155ff).
- Kaldor & Malcolm (2004: 75) report the use of the prepositional elements *la/longa* from northern locations, e.g. *hit him la guts* 'hit him in the guts'.
- Prepositional phrases involving motion may feature the element *to*, e.g. *I climb up to the pepper tree*, 'I climbed up the pepper tree' (Malcolm & Sharifian 2007: 384).
- The preposition *for* introduces an intended prey or harvest, e.g. *then they went for kangaroos*, or may be used in the sense of 'on account of' in reference with human relationships, e.g. *I am pregnant for you* (Malcolm & Sharifian 2007: 385).

c) Syntactic structure

Statements

- Word order may be reversed to emphasise a particular element, as in *only one they caught* 'they only caught one' (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 155ff).
- Objects may be followed by adjectival elements, e.g. *we get five sheeps fat one* (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 155ff).

Questions

- Questions may be formed by attaching one of several (invariant) tags to non-inverted structures, e.g. *He can walk to Newry, eh?* 'Can he walk to Newry?' and *Sonia talks to no one, unna?* 'Sonia talks to no one, doesn't she?' (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 155ff).

Predicate marking

- Two separate elements may refer to the same subject, viz. a resumptive pronoun may follow the subject NP, as in *my uncle he slept at the back of the car* (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 155ff).

Apposition

- When the topicalised element in a sentence is a pronoun or generic noun phrase, it is followed by an appositional NP expansion, e.g. *I kill im, that old kangaroo* 'I killed the old kangaroo' or *'e buy muticar, that blue-one Toyota* 'he bought a blue Toyota' (Butcher 2008: 632).

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Successive pronoun subject deletion

- Subjects may not be repeated even though different verbs in the sentence refer to them, e.g. *We went with Christine, with bus, to get alla wild bananas, and then Ø come back Trucking Yard, Ø drop us of, then Ø eat them wild bananas* (Harkins 2000: 69).

Parataxis

- Complex sentences may lack conjunctions and other structuring sentence elements such as relative pronouns, e.g. *no rain they don't camp in the cave* 'If there is no rain, they don't camp in the cave' and *I saw one bird was going across* 'I saw a bird that was going across' (Kaldor & Malcolm 2004: 74).

6.3.3 Pragmatic Features

Most Aboriginal people in Australia, including those who live in geographically remote communities, maintain some degree of contact with the AusE speaking mainstream society. As a result, many speakers of AborE are at least to some extent bidialectal and may adapt their speech according to their needs. The choice of an appropriate form of English in a particular situation usually depends on factors such as the interlocutors and the topic of the conversation. Generally, AborE is chosen in situations where all those present are Aboriginal people, especially so if the conversational topics deal with aspects of Aboriginal life, or when Aboriginal narrative genres are employed. Use of StAusE in a context that demands AborE is regarded as improper and the speaker risks being chided for 'talking flash', that is, for using inappropriately formal language. In contrast, institutional settings, impersonal matters, and topics relating to the anglophone European society trigger the use of the standard dialect or a variant closer to the StAusE end of the continuum (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 160).

In contrast to AborE phonological and grammatical features which are evident to any listener, the domain of pragmatics is easily overlooked as a field in which AborE differs from StE. Deviating pragmatic principles do not generally manifest themselves in salient forms that stand out as they are obviously different from standard usage. Rather, AborE pragmatics depends heavily on factors such as a culture-specific understanding of what constitutes appropriate communication behaviour and on the assumptions that underlie the interpretation of a given message. The different pragmatic standards operating in StE and AborE can become a source for concern in communicative settings involving Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal speakers of Australian English, e.g. in educational contexts or in court rooms where they may cause severe communication problems or lead to a wrong assessment of the AborE

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speakers intentions or truthfulness[17]. In order to appreciate the difficulties that may arise in such situations, it is necessary to understand some of the principles that underlie AborE communication.

Group-oriented behaviour

- As Malcolm & Grote (2007:161) point out, the communicative behaviour of many speakers of AborE reflects the norms found in traditional languages in so far as it is group-oriented and avoids singling out the individual from the group. Thus, speakers of AborE address their contributions and questions to the group as a whole rather than to an individual person. Likewise, it is generally the group that responds collectively.
- In addition to showing group-oriented behaviour, speakers are expected not to speak on behalf of others, a requirement which may result in a person falsely claiming ignorance of a particular fact (Malcom and Grote 2007: 161).

Questions

- Direct questions are often avoided, especially if they are targeted at gathering personal information or (culturally) significant knowledge. Instead, a person will provide some of the information he or she holds and waits for the interlocutor to add new information. This approach reflects the idea of reciprocity that is a crucial principle in Aboriginal society. It further takes into account that certain knowledge may only be shared among small groups of people and that not everybody is entitled to the same amount of information (Eades 1996:137).
- The use of uninverted questions and question tags such as those discussed above supports this way of sharing information (Harkins 2000: 69). Uttering a question such as *He can walk to Newry, eh?*, the speaker suggests a particular proposition and invites the addressee to confirm or deny it. Interlocutors are not required to answer to a question unless they wish to do so. If they choose to respond, it is respected that they take as much time as they need. The silence that may unfold in such situations is another example of what Eades (1996: 137) calls the "different meaning for same form principle". While silence in StE is usually seen as a sign for the breakdown of a communication, AborE speakers use silence as a way of establishing a relationship

[17] For implications in educational contexts, see Eagleson *et al.* (1982), Malcolm & Königsberg (2007), or one of Malcolm's many publications on the topic (e.g. 1979, 1994a, 1995). Diana Eades has published several works that focus on miscommunication in legal settings.

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with the other interlocutor(s) or they just remain silent while contemplating their answer.

Respect

- Other characteristics of AborE pragmatics that are frequently misinterpreted by non-Aboriginal speakers are the tendency to avoid eye-contact and the use of low volume to convey respect (Department of Education and Department of Training and Workforce Development 2012d: 107).

Politeness

- Another obligation which prevails in Aboriginal society is the duty to share. This entails that politeness strategies found in standard forms of English are not required in AborE when making a demand for something (Malcom and Grote 2007: 161). Harkins (1994: 166f) explains that requests expressed through imperatives such as *Give me X* do not carry any connotations of impoliteness when interpreted as transfer from traditional languages.

6.3.4 **Lexico-semantic Features**

Even a brief and superficial illustration of AborE features as the one attempted on the last pages serves to underline the status of AborE as an independent dialect of English which is to be distinguished from AusE as it relies on a distinct set of sources. Especially in the domain of grammar, we can observe several features that are shared with informal AusE and other non-standard forms of English. Yet, several other characteristics of AborE phonology and grammar can be attributed to the structural influence of traditional languages and contact varieties, most notably, creoles. In the domain of pragmatics, the influence of the former is even more pronounced as speakers of AborE frequently resort to culture-specific patterns of behaviour and ways of conceptualising the world, even though this type of influence is less obvious for the non-trained observer. The domain of lexico-semantics, on the other hand, once again reveals more readily observable differences between AborE and Australian English. Here, characteristic lexical items stand out as salient markers of the ways in which Aboriginal speakers have indigenised the English language and created a lexical inventory which reflects Aboriginal socio-cultural concepts. As such, the AborE lexicon is a vital resource for the linguistic construction and assertion of Aboriginality, and as has been noted above, even speakers whose varieties come close to StAusE show a distinctive Aboriginal usage of vocabulary.

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As Harkins (1994: 167) points out, one of the central mechanisms of language change is linguistic reanalysis, and while this process also operates at the levels of grammar, phonology, and pragmatics, it is perhaps best exemplified at the level of the lexicon. However, a better understanding of this process is essential if we wish to outline how the unique lexical features of AborE have developed. We find that a notable parallel to the domain of pragmatics exists: albeit the major part of the AborE lexicon is based on English, the lexical elements' meanings and their interpretation are strongly influenced by the socio-cultural background of the Aboriginal speakers. As a result, not only the lexemes' use but also the denotations and connotations associated with them may deviate considerably from what would be expected by speakers of AusE (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 158). Many distinctive AborE lexical elements may be described as following the 'same form-different meaning' principle which has already been alluded to in our discussion of AborE pragmatics. That is to say, a great portion of the AborE lexicon are lexemes which are found in the same form in AusE and other varieties of English, but in AborE exhibit a new meaning or a range of meanings. Among these English terms that are used with a differing semantic scope in AborE, we may distinguish between lexemes that have experienced a change of meaning through processes of semantic widening, semantic narrowing, or shift. Other terms used in AborE might be better described as 'new form-new meaning', whereby the 'new form' derives from an innovative application of existing lexical components. Most commonly, English lexemes are used to create neologisms which reflect the structure of the underlying semantic concepts they denote, e.g. *cousin brother*, a cousin who has the same status as a brother. In other cases, words occur in uncommon lexical combinations or are applied in ways that appear remarkable for non-Aboriginal speakers of English, e.g. they may change their word class.

Another category of lexical items that contribute to the special flavour of AborE are borrowings from traditional languages, pidgins, or creoles. Their frequency of occurrence is generally a lot more limited and the degree to which they are used depends on a number of factors, including regional and social variation. Still, borrowings, especially those from traditional languages, are probably the most salient markers of Aboriginality in English, as they rely on entirely 'foreign' terms in order to express uniquely Aboriginal semantic concepts. Their use thus reinvokes both the conceptual categories and the physical representation of traditional language lexical items. Apart from that, the use of Aboriginal language words reflects the great heterogeneity of the original Australian language ecology, parts of which are preserved in varieties of AborE.

Below, we shall illustrate those processes that are most commonly applied in the formation of the AborE lexicon. Readers should be aware that although many of the examples presented are among the most frequently and

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most widely used vocabulary items of AborE, they only constitute a fractioned representation of the wealth of lexical features that make AborE unique.

We will begin our discussion with English words which, though in form equivalent to their StE counterparts, have developed differing senses in AborE. The changes can be ascribed to different processes of linguistic reanalysis:

a) Semantic changes

Extension

The most common form of meaning change occurring in AborE is that of semantic widening. Examples of semantic widening include:

- Terms for body parts, e.g. *hand* 'hand and arm' and *head* 'head and neck' (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 158f).
- Verbs such as *learn*, which also incorporates the meaning 'teach' (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 158f) and *hear*, which in many Aboriginal languages is additionally used in the sense of 'understand', a meaning that has also been transported into the English usage. A similar type of extension is found in the term *kill*, which also covers the meanings 'hit' and 'injure' (Butcher 2008: 639).
- Adjectives such as *raw*, meaning both 'uncooked' and 'unripe' (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 158f).

Other semantic extensions include a more obvious reference to Aboriginal ways of conceptualising experience. Two of the most well-known examples are:

- The term *shame*, described by Arthur (1996: 107) as "'embarrassment', 'fear', a sense for having transgressed the social and moral code of society, intentionally or unintentionally", which denotes a feeling of embarrassment and shyness resulting from being put in an uncomfortable position, e.g. when singled out from a group.
- The term *country*, frequently used in the sense of 'place of belonging' (Eades 1996: 136), which refers to a tract of land that is traditionally linked to an Aboriginal group and their language.

Shifts

- Shifts of meaning abound in AborE and many of them are inversions, such as *hungry* 'desirable' or *cruel* 'terrific' (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 158f). *Deadly* 'excellent' is another frequently quoted example of semantic shift and a commonly employed term in AborE; this usage has even been adopted into (some forms of) AusE (Eades 1996: 136). Conversions such as these demonstrate how speakers of AborE rein-

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terpret the terms that in the colonial history have been used against them and provide them with a positive or at least neutral meaning. Many Aboriginal people refer to themselves and to one another as *blackfella* or *nigger*, using the offensive and demeaning terms positively or ironically (Malcolm 2002: 114). The term *flash*, on the other hand, may be used to mean 'ostentatious' or 'pretentious', especially with reference to (contextually inappropriate) non-Aboriginal ways of speaking or behaving (Butcher 2008: 638).

- Examples of semantic shift which are not based on inversion include *(to) camp* 'sleep over', *too much* 'very much', *sing out* 'call out', *stop* 'remain at a place for some time', *boss* 'very good' (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 158f).

Narrowing

- Processes of semantic narrowing are applied in terms such as *language* 'Aboriginal language', *clever* 'possessing spiritual powers', and *police* 'police officers' (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 158f). According to Butcher (2008: 639), however, semantic narrowing is less frequent than widening or shift.

Metaphor

- A number of terms are based on metaphor, often created by a transfer from the domain of nature and environment to that of human experience, as in *emu* 'a person with thin legs and distinctive Aboriginal ankles', *horse* 'great', *bony* 'thin', *in the ashes* 'in the context of Aboriginal life' (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 158f). A hungry person may be described as *hollow* (Malcolm 2001b: 231). Other terms based on metaphor relate to the contact experience, e.g. *behind bars* 'in an institution' (which must not necessarily be a prison), *crown* 'really good', or *cheeky* 'dangerous' (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 158f). Conceptual mapping from the domain of kinship onto the domain of land can also frequently be observed, manifested in the use of kin terms such as *mother* or *grandfather* for one's 'country' (Sharifian 2006: 18).

Kinship terms

AborE has a range of words that denote family relationships, many of which can also function as address terms. These may differ to a considerable extent from StE usage and allow speakers to express the relationships which are encoded in the corresponding traditional language terms:

- *Mother* is frequently used with the extended meaning 'the woman who gave birth to a person, and that woman's sisters' and may even be ap-

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plied to other female relatives of the same generation. Similar semantic ranges are found in the terms *father*, *grandmother*, *grandfather*, as well as *son* and *daughter*, which refer to the biological (grand-) parent and child as well as their (same sex) siblings and sometimes also other persons of the same generation. Likewise, *brother* and *sister* may be used to refer to parallel cousins, i.e. the sons and daughters of those addressed as *mother* and *father* (Butcher 2008: 637).

- Address terms such as *bro*, *sis*, and *cuz* serve to signal solidarity and are also applied to members of the community who are not relatives. Older persons may be respectfully addressed as *auntie*, *uncle*, or *grannie* even though the speaker is not related to them; in the third person, the terms may be used as honorifics (Butcher 2008: 637).
- Kinship terms can be used reciprocally, e.g. *grannies* may refer to grandparents and grandchildren alike (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 158f). Malcolm (2001a: 229) reports a young mother referring to her new born daughter as *mummy*.

b) Terms that show an unexpected form or usage

Other AborE lexical items do not necessarily involve a change in meaning but are outstanding because of their form or usage in AborE. Examples of words which catch the eye (and ear) of non-Aboriginal speakers of English include:

Words rarely used in AusE

- AborE has retained the use of some terms that are no longer commonly employed in AusE, e.g. *supper* 'evening meal', *jar* 'scold' (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 158f), *gammon* 'nonsense', 'false' (adj.), *humbug* 'nuisance', 'trouble', '(to) annoy', '(to) molest' (Butcher 2008: 636).

English words with English meanings

- English terms that are used with the same meanings as in other varieties of English also sometimes stand out as they may exhibit changes in pronunciation and spelling that can be attributed to the phonological characteristics described above, e.g. 'motor car' may be rendered as *modoga* and 'river' as *riber* (Department of Education and Department of Training and Workforce Development 2012b: 38).

Function words, adverbs, and adjectives

Function words, adverbs, and adjectives can differ from their AusE equivalents both in form and meaning, and examples of characteristic usages of prepositions and determiners have been mentioned above. AborE spatial and temporal expressions deserve a more detailed de-

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scription as they are used in specific ways and correspond to concepts of space and time in Aboriginal languages:

- Harkins (1994: 155) has shown that in the Alice Springs area, the adverb *everyday* is used in the sense of 'predictably' or 'regularly', and *always* signifies 'frequently, regularly', as in the utterance *Sometime we always ride horse*.
- As stated above, the suffixes *-time* and *-way* are productive in the formation of adverbial expressions. Examples of adverbial expressions of time include *all time* 'always', *everytime* 'all the time', *longtime* 'a long time ago'/'for a long time', *sometime* 'sometimes'/'at some time', *dark time* 'in the dark'/'when it's dark'. Manner and place adverbials with *-way* include *quick-way*, 'quickly', *long-way* 'a long way'/'a long way away', *north way* 'towards the north' (Malcolm & Sharifian 2007: 387). Like *-side*, the element *-way* may express the meaning 'in the manner of', e.g. when speaking about *English-side/English-way* education (Harkins 1994: 155) or as in the example *firestick way* 'in the traditional manner' (Arthur 1996: 32).
- The noun *time* may further be used to denote a particular period, reflecting the established pattern of indicating time by reference to (1) natural phenomena, e.g. *hot time*, (2) the name of a significant person, e.g. *Gough Whitlam time*, (3) events or a period characterised by and associated with particular conditions, e.g. *welfare time*, or (4) cultural events, e.g. *corroboree time* (Arthur 1996: 63). Malcolm & Sharifian (2007: 394) suggest that the use of *-time* and *-way* allows speakers to express time and manner experientially (e.g. *long time*) instead of abstractly (*x hours*), providing the means to view experience in an integrated way rather than abstractedly and analytically as in AusE.
- The terms *along* or *longa* are frequently used prepositions in the more basilectal varieties. While their core meaning is 'next to' or 'with' as in *I sit longa you*, they may also express 'to', 'at', 'into', 'onto', 'for', 'from', e.g. *I go along his country* (Butcher 2008: 639).
- The meaning of *allabout* includes 'everywhere', 'everything' but also 'everybody' as in *allabout been get sick* (Butcher 2008: 639).
- Extent and excess may be contained in the same expression in AborE, as can be observed in the cases of *too much* 'a lot' and *everybody*, describing a number of people but not the entire group present. Malcolm (2001a: 230) suggests that this feature may go back to pidgins or possibly even traditional languages.
- The element *might be* 'perhaps', 'possibly' is used as a fixed adverbial expression indicating lack of conviction or assertiveness, e.g. *might be they gone to town* (Butcher 2008: 639).

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Lexical combinations

Another salient feature of AborE lexico-semantics are multiword units not found in standard varieties of English. Quite a number of these combinations express realities that are alien to speakers of AusE.

- AborE exhibits a comparatively high number of compounds, some of which have developed independently in AborE while others have been borrowed from other English varieties or contact languages. According to the Department of Education and Department of Training and Workforce Development (2012d: 102), the term *eyeglass* 'spectacles' is from Kriol.
- A great number of these terms relate to distinctive aspects of Aboriginal culture and express concepts which cannot be described properly through the use of simple English lexemes. Thus, many examples of characteristic AborE compounds come from those semantic domains in which differences in conceptualisation between AborE and AusE are most prominent:

  a) In the field of kinship we find examples such as *cousin brother* 'a cousin who is a brother in Aboriginal terms', and *mom mob* 'mother's relations' (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 158f). The element *poison* may be added to refer to a person with whom the speaker is in an avoidance relationship, e.g. *poison cousin* (Butcher 2008: 637). The truncated form *lation*, from *relation* may be combined with *own*, resulting in *ownlation* 'one's own relation' (Sharifian 2006: 16).

  b) In the domain of religious and cultural knowledge, we find examples such as *law man* 'a person very knowledgeable in the law' (Arthur 1996: 42), *featherfoot* 'an avenger who has feathers bound to his feet to cover his tracks' (Malcolm & Sharifian 2007: 381f), and *hairy man* 'a spirit being taking on the form of a large hairy man' (Arthur 1996: 35). The element *shame* can be used in various combinations, including the adjective+noun combination *big shame* 'embarrassing situation, embarrassment' (Kaldor & Malcolm 2004: 76). The term *shame job* 'embarrassing situation' is reported to have entered some varieties of AusE (Butcher 2008: 638); initially adopted by younger speakers of AusE, it is now used more widely (Harkins 2000: 73).

- Lexical combinations, too, can be motivated by metaphor, e.g. *roo dog* 'a skilled hunter' (Malcolm & Sharifian 2007: 380, 394).
- Some combinations do not describe culturally specific concepts but still combine meanings in a way that is not found in AusE, e.g. *foot track* 'track for walking', 'footprint', *finger ring* 'ring worn on the finger', *cold sick* 'cold'. The terms *man head* 'precious little boy' and *woman*

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head 'precious little girl', are used as a form of recognition of the (cultural) knowledge shown by a child. Note that, while the meaning of many of the quoted examples can be deduced from the meaning of their parts, *man head* and *woman head* are examples of lexicalising (Malcolm & Sharifian 2007: 380f, 394). Some terms, such as *waterflood* 'flood' are instances of L1 lexico-semantic transfer, exhibiting use of generic classifiers (Department of Education and Department of Training and Workforce Development 2012d: 102).

- Other distinctive lexical combinations include the adj.+noun combination *big mob* 'a lot, many, much', which can also function as an adjective, e.g. *big mob trailers* (Malcom and Grote 2007: 158f), as well as compounds involving prepositional elements, such as *camping out* which may also be used adjectivally, as in *a camping out spot*, or *dinner out* 'a meal out in the open' (Malcolm & Sharifian 2007: 382).
- Verbal compounding is also common in AborE, e.g. *kangaroo-marry* '(to) live in a de facto relationship'. The elements *lie* or *liar* occur frequently in verbal compounds, as in *liar-cry* '(to) cry crocodile tears', lie-smile '(to) smile insincerely' or *lie-say* '(to) lie'[18] (Butcher 2008: 639).
- Further, AborE exhibits a high number of phrasal verbs, many of which are constructed using the particles

  up, e.g. *we cook im up* 'we cook it', *block im up* 'give him plenty of food', *learn it up* 'learn it',
  out, e.g. *[I] sing out to them two* 'I called out to the two of them',
  in, e.g. *e punch in that ole fella* 'he bashed that old man'
  off, e.g. *she took off over the fence* 'she escaped/fled over the fence'
  down, e.g. *I chased that little one down* 'I chased the little (e.g. Kangaroo) and captured it',
  away, e.g. *like he was leading him away* 'as if he was stealing/leading/taking him away'
  (Malcolm & Sharifian 2007: 390).

- AborE verb phrases may also feature collocations formed with *go* and *walk* + *go*, e.g. *they was goin singin on the way* 'they were singing on the way', *we 'as goin walking* 'we were walking' or *get*, as in *them two bin get scared* 'the two of them were scared', *S was getting shame* 'S was deeply ashamed' (Malcolm & Sharifian 2007: 390f).

Lexical conflations

An area of AborE semantics that has not been mentioned so far concerns lexical conflations that result from a phonological confusion of two

[18] Kaldor & Malcolm (1982:98) suggest 'say pretendingly' for *lie-say*.

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words. This goes hand in hand with the semantic conflation of the two lexemes:

- the best known example of such a conflation is *secret/sacred*, where, under the influence of the basilect, the difference of the two high front vowels and the voiced/unvoiced distinction of the final plosives are neutralised, resulting in the phonological representation of both terms as [ʈikrɪt]. Still, the semantic conflation of the two terms is of even greater importance: According to Aboriginal belief, things that are sacred are usually also secret so that the two terms readily apply and there is little need for them to be distinguished. Other examples of conflations recorded by Harkins in the Alice Springs area include *buy/pay* [pai] '(to) give someone money for something' and *catch/get* [ket] that corresponds to *caught/got* [kɔt] (Harkins 1994: 161ff).

c) Lexical transfer

Lexical transfer from contact varieties

A number of terms used in AborE are words borrowed from creoles, including Northern Territory Kriol. Other lexical elements were carried over from (earlier) pidgin varieties.

- Creoles constitute a source for lexical borrowings such as *olgaman* 'old woman' (Kaldor & Malcolm 2004: 77). Note that the adjective *old*, in expressions such as *old man, old woman*, usually carries connotations of respect in AborE (Harkins 1994:156), and apart from age, *old* may also refer to size and importance. As a result, not only living beings but also objects and plants of exceptional age, size, or importance may be defined as *old man* (Arthur 1996: 51).
- NSW Pidgin has contributed a number of lexical elements which possess considerable currency in modern AborE, e.g. *blackfella* 'Aboriginal', *dreckly* 'in a while', *kill* 'hit or kill' (Department of Education and Department of Training and Workforce Development 2012d: 102).

Borrowings from traditional Aboriginal languages

Lastly, the most outstanding AborE lexical features are borrowings from Aboriginal languages. While the use of some terms can be observed across the entire country, others have only regional currency. The lexemes' form was often modified to some degree as it was adapted to the phonological system of English. Borrowings occur in practically all varieties of AborE although they are mostly found in higher numbers in the more basilectal varieties. In the more acrolectal varieties, Aboriginal language words are most commonly employed to denote Aboriginal

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people, e.g. *Koori* (Victoria and southern NSW), *Murri* (northern NSW and south-east Qld) (Butcher 2008: 636).

- Other frequently applied terms refer to non-Aboriginal people. While some of them are borrowings from Aboriginal languages, others have developed in contact varieties. Among the most widely used names for white people are the English-derived *gubba*, from 'government (man)', *balanda*, from a Macassareese corruption of 'Hollander', and *waybala* 'whitefella'. In other areas, the terms come from Aboriginal languages, e.g. *migaloo* 'white' (from Mayaguduna). The term *goonya* translates as 'excrement' in many Australian languages (Butcher 2008: 636).
- A number of early borrowings from the Sydney language have been carried across Australia as part of the lexicon of NSW Pidgin and its successors and are now in wide use (see 5.2.2). Many of the NSW terms that have been retained in AborE have also entered AusE, e.g. *waddy* 'wooden club', *corroboree* 'Aboriginal assembly of sacred, festive, or warlike character', *coo-ee* 'come hither' (Malcolm 2001b: 224).
- In many parts of Australia, borrowings from the local language(s) may pertain in regional varieties of AborE even though the traditional languages are no longer spoken. The majority of these terms typically denote people and cultural concepts but adjectives are also often borrowed. For example, the Nyoongah people of south-western Western Australia frequently include terms such as *yorgas* 'women', *choo* 'shame', *nyorn* 'sorry', *kat wara* 'stupid' and *moordich* 'strong, healthy, good' in their variety of AborE (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 158f).
- All of the above examples are used in their original meaning. Other borrowings, however, may have developed additional meanings to cover concepts introduced by the colonisers, e.g. Nyoongah *monartj* 'policeman' (lit. 'black cockatoo'), *kepa* 'alcohol' (lit. 'water') (Department of Education and Department of Training and Workforce Development 2012b: 38).
- The processes of borrowing from regional languages have resulted in a considerable degree of synonymy in the AborE lexicon. For a number of concepts a whole range of regionally restricted denotations now exist. Take, for example, the different terms for a temporary shelter that are listed by Dixon *et al.* (2006), e.g.

  gundy (Yuwaalaraay and Gamilaraay (east NSW), also Wiradhuri (s/w NSW)),
  gunyah (Dharuk (Sydney region)),
  humpy (Yagara (Brisbane region)),
  mia-mia (probably from Nyoongah (Perth-Albany region), but also reported from Victoria),

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wiltja (Pitjantjatjara/Yakunytjatjara and Pitupi/Luritja dialects of Western Desert language),
yu (Western Desert language).

- While spelling conventions have been determined for some of the better known Aboriginal loanwords, others have a range of variants in writing, e.g. the term for 'white person' in the Kimberley area of northern Australia may be rendered as *kartiya*, *cardiah*, *cuddyair*, *cudeha*, *gardia*, *gardeja*, *gadia*, *gudeeah* or *kardiya*. Similarly, the name for the Aboriginal people of south-west WA may be spelt *Nyoongah*, *Noong-ah*, *Noongar*, *Nyoongah*, *N-Yoongar*, *Nyunga*, or *Nyungah*. Common to all spelling variants, however, is that they are used with regular English grammatical endings such as plural *-s* (Arthur 1996: 6f, 238).
- Often, Aboriginal language words used in AborE have English suffixes attached, e.g. the *winyarnest (saddest) thing* (Malcolm 2002: 116).

6.4 Aboriginal English: An Aboriginal Language 'in Disguise'?

When speakers adopt a new linguistic variety as their own, they usually modify this variety in order to adjust it to their linguistic needs. Above, we have seen how Aboriginal people have done exactly this by adapting the English language in such a way that it has become fit to convey meanings not shared with the dialect spoken by the Australian mainstream society. Let us now take one more look at the major processes which have made this adjustment possible before we discuss the capacity of AborE to function as a cultural mediator.

6.4.1 Cultural Conceptualisations in an English-derived Lexicon

More recently, the notion of 'cultural conceptualisations' (Sharifian 2003) has been introduced to the study of AborE in order to account for the different ways of understanding and categorising reality that have the power to trigger processes of language change. The notion of cultural conceptualisations, which is closely connected to and partly based on the cultural-conceptual approach brought forward in the last years by cognitive and cultural linguists (for example Palmer (1996), Malcolm & Rochecouste (2000), Malcolm & Sharifian (2002, 2005), Sharifian (2001), and Sharifian *et al.* (2004)), is grounded in the assumption that language "does not always encode an objective reality" but is "entrenched in conceptualisation, which is largely culturally constructed" (Sharifian 2006: 14). Conceptualisations, in Sharifian's use of the term, are "the analytical tools that have been either developed or employed [...] to examine

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how various features of human languages may be grounded in non-linguistic cognitive and perceptual systems" (2006: 14). The major types of conceptualisations, none of which should be seen as entirely separate phenomena or entities, include

> a) schemas, i.e. units of knowledge which are based on patterns derived from the ways in which we perceive or construe the world around us,
> b) categories, formed by entities that are perceived to belong to certain classes,
> c) metaphors, i.e. processes of mapping schemas or categories onto each other, and
> d) blends (Sharifian 2006: 11f).

Cultural conceptualisations, then, are conceptualisations that are culturally constructed, and although they are initiated at the level of the individual speaker, these conceptualisations emerge at the group level of cognition. Their development stems from the ongoing interaction between the members of a cultural group within which they are then shared, allowing group members "to think, more or less, in one mind" (Sharifian 2003: 190). The size of the cultural group may vary; some cultural conceptualisations may even emerge at the level of the family (Sharifian 2003: 190f). Cultural conceptualisations are not static but may be negotiated and renegotiated across generations and thus expand or change over time while the corresponding lexical forms remain the same (Sharifian 2007: 182). This non-static nature of cognitive structures is also the reason why Sharifian prefers the term *conceptualisation* over *concept* (2006: 11). Also, the fact that particular cultural conceptualisations prevail in a group does not mean that they are "equally imprinted in the minds of the members of a cultural group". Rather, "members may in fact *more or less* share these conceptualisations" (Sharifian 2003: 193, emphasis in original).

Sharifian (2003: 199) explains how cultural conceptualisations are manifested in language use; his explanations remind of the 'Language Iceberg':

> In discourse, a marked conceptualisation may surface as an unfamiliar vocabulary item, a distinctive pattern of use, a distinctive pattern of association, a distinctive frequency of usage, etc. […]. It should however be noted that cultural conceptualisations are not always distinctively marked by surface features of discourse. The analyst may in fact need to seek emic explanations for every aspect of discourse to identify conceptualisations that are culture-specific. The emic perspective is required in this approach to provide 'insider' interpretations of discourse.

Examples of how cultural conceptualisations are expressed at the level of grammar include the use of inclusive/exclusive dual pronouns, such as *minyu* or *you two* and *you-n-him* that have been considered in 6.3.2 (but see also Sharifian 2007: 188). Many of the pragmatic features discussed above, too, can be

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seen as representations of cultural conceptualisations, e.g. silence or the use of low tone to convey respect.

In the following, we will focus on how cultural conceptualisations are expressed lexically, that is, we shall explore the concept(ualisation)s that underlie particular AborE vocabulary items. In order to gain an understanding of why the underlying meanings differ from those expressed by the same terms in AusE, it is crucial to recognise that these items index schemas and categories that reflect cultural norms and knowledge as well as the experiences and worldviews of Aboriginal people. The schemas and categories associated with AborE terms for family and kinship are among the most obvious examples of culturally based conceptualisations and thus provide an ideal starting point. Above we have seen that the use of *cousin brother* or the semantic extension of the terms *mother* and *father* to include aunts and uncles does not reflect a biological reality. Rather, the use of these terms conveys information about the role schema associated with them, including the generational level of the person thus referred to and mutual responsibilities and obligations associated with that person. While a speaker may thus address his mother's or father's brother as *father*, the term *uncle* is frequently used as a term of respect for people of the older generation. Likewise, *auntie* serves to address a female of the older generation, typically one who possesses cultural knowledge and has status in her community. Terms such as *mum mum* 'maternal mother' underline the importance to distinguish between maternal and paternal relatives, and a *cousin brother* is a cousin who is perceived to have the same social status as a brother, often a parallel cousin. However, when terms such as *brother* or *cousin* are used to address people of the same generation who are only remotely related to the speaker, they serve a different but nevertheless related purpose: their use generally evokes a feeling of solidarity between the speaker and the addressee while the very schema 'solidarity' conveys expectations of a certain behaviour such as support and protection. As such, solidarity terms not only establish the speaker's and addressee's relationship but also remind all interlocutors of both the rights and the responsibilities that come along with it (Sharifian 2007: 188f). In addition, Sharifian (2011: 26f) suggests that 'cultural models' exist, which he defines as "conceptualisations that hierarchically characterise higher nodes of our conceptual knowledge and that encompass a network of schemes, categories and metaphors." An example for such a cultural model would be that of Australian kinship, which comprises categories such as *mum*, *aunty* as well as schemas that conceptualise norms and values and define what is regarded as accepted behaviour towards a particular family member or another person referred to by means of a kinship term. The cultural model of kinship may further comprise conceptual metaphors employed in relation to kin.

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Another area of cultural conceptualisations that heavily influences the way in which Aboriginal people have reinterpreted and adapted the English lexicon is that of cultural and religious practice. Here, culturally constructed conceptualisations are evident in terms such as *sing* 'exercising an incantation on a person by getting hold of a belonging of him/her' or *smoke* 'walking through smoke for the sake of protection against certain spiritual exercises' (Sharifian 2006: 15ff).

Other lexical items exhibit the mapping of concepts from one domain onto another, e.g. when Aboriginal people refer to their ancestral land as their *mother* or *grandfather*. The underlying conceptualisation metaphor here could be phrased as LAND AS KIN. It underlines the importance of the relationship between a person and his or her country which is grounded in the belief that people are connected to the land through their ancestors who, during the Dreaming, created the land before they became part of it themselves, transforming into features of the landscape. "This use of kinship terms in referring to one's country is not merely a matter of labelling but arises out of a system of conceptualisation that underlies the Aboriginal Dreamtime" (Sharifian 2006: 18).

An earlier study concerned with the meanings and concepts that motivate Aboriginal speakers' ways of using English is Harkins' (1994) analysis of the AborE spoken in several Aboriginal camps in the Alice Springs region (henceforth referred to as 'Alice Springs AborE'). Her investigation was undertaken before the cultural-conceptual approach was established in the study of AborE. Yet, her analysis, too, is grounded in the assumption that AborE speakers' language use is influenced by a uniquely Aboriginal conceptual system that informs the meanings and applications of English terms. Harkins argues that the distinctive meanings she observed are motivated by the fact that even though the speakers use the language of the mainstream community, the concepts that are expressed correspond to those found in the traditional languages of the area. Harkins' study focuses on a regionally restricted variety of AborE, and several of the examples she quotes may occur only or mostly around Alice Springs. However, she (1994: 186) maintains that despite the cultural heterogeneity of Aboriginal society, a great number of cultural concepts are widely shared. The widespread use of unique kinship terms, of lexical items with spiritually significant meaning such as *country* and *Dreaming*, and other expressions that form some kind of a 'core vocabulary' used in very many varieties of AborE confirm this. At this point, we will present some of the Alice Springs AborE vocabulary features discussed by Harkins, as well as additional examples from other sources to provide further illustrations of how the lexical manifestation of cultural conceptualisations triggers processes of semantic widening, narrowing, and shift.

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As explained above, semantic widening is the most common of the mechanisms which are used to express Aboriginal meanings through English words. An example from Alice Springs AborE is the term *fire*, which is extended to include firewood, firesticks, matches, and electric heaters. Thus, the semantic range of *fire* corresponds to that of the Arrente/Luritja categories *ure/waru* (Harkins 1996: 148f), which demonstrates the tendency of Aboriginal languages to use one term for both the object and the material the object is made of. Likewise, the purpose of use of a thing is closely connected to the thing itself, so that animals which serve as food may be referred to as *meat*. Also verbs may undergo semantic extension, covering the semantic range of the corresponding traditional language word. Often, a verb not only describes the action itself but also the intention of an action, so that the English term *kill*, which denotes any kind of forcible impact on a living being or thing is extended to include the meaning 'hit', while *look* also entails the meaning 'see' (Arthur 1996: 7). Other verbs occur in ways that are uncommon in AusE usage, e.g. intransitive verbs such as *grow up* may be used transitively, as in the example *my mother grew me up*. This transitive usage is guided by the semantics of *grow up*. For speakers of AborE, the central meaning of the verb *grow up* is 'be nurtured while young', an interpretation that demands for an agent who fulfils the action of *growing somebody up*. In other cases, the semantic scope of English verbs is extended to cover particular cultural and religious practices. The meaning of *dancing*, for example, also covers ceremonial dancing, and as we have seen above, *sing* describes a practice of exercising an incantation over someone (Harkins 1996: 170).

A number of AborE vocabulary items that exhibit distinctly Aboriginal usages relate to cultural, religious, and ritual concepts. Again, semantic extension is commonly employed where English lacks corresponding concepts or terms. The important connection between people and the land that was already addressed above is also manifested in terms such as *camp* and *place*. Both terms may refer to a dwelling and location that is home to a person or group, but also to the person's or group's ancestral land and its significant sites (Harkins 1996: 152f). A very similar concept is conveyed by the term *country*, describing a tract of land to which a person belongs. Moreover, one's *country* is strongly associated with religious knowledge, i.e. knowledge about the significance of particular sites created by the Dreaming beings; this knowledge also involves responsibility for the land (Arthur 1996: 119). This usage of *country* is further an excellent example of the ways in which the physical and the spiritual world are connected. In Aboriginal understanding, the spiritual is manifested in the physical as the *Dreaming beings* walked across the country and created particular sites (Arthur 1996: 28). *Cut* 'circumcise' (Malcolm 2001b: 230) refers to a cultural practice often employed in initiation rites; these rites and other cultural and religious practices are generally covered by the term *busi-*

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ness 'Aboriginal ceremony and ritual' (Arthur 1996: 17). The connection between religion, social structures, and codes of behaviour is expressed in the term *law* 'body of religious and cultural knowledge that informs and directs Aboriginal society' (Arthur 1996: 39), and the term *payback* is best understood as a "system of punishments for offences under traditional law" (Butcher 2008: 638). The cultural or religious references with which these terms are used demonstrate the continuity of AborE with the conceptual frameworks found in the languages of the destroyed pre-colonial language ecology and stress the dialect's function as a "repository of spiritual meaning" (Malcolm 2001b: 230).

The continuity of traditional languages in AborE can also be observed in the way natural phenomena are categorised. Semantic narrowing is applied in terms for animals and plants which usually involve a greater degree of specification in the traditional languages, so that for example *kangaroos* are distinguished from *euros* [hill kangaroo, *Macropus robustus erubescens*, K.L.] in Alice Springs AborE[19], a distinction that is less frequently made by non-Aboriginal speakers (Harkins 1996: 154). A related instance of semantic narrowing is reported by Malcolm (2001b: 228) who illustrates how *boomers* (older male kangaroos) were distinguished from *roos* (smaller female kangaroos) by his Nyoongah informants. The distinction is an important one when judging the quality of the meat which the animal provides.

Compounding or combining serves as another means of conveying Aboriginal concepts for which no adequate English term exists, as in *bush medicine*, which Alice Springs AborE speakers use in the same sense as Arrernte *awelye*, a word that not only covers medicinal plants and prepared substances, but also splints and dressings and medical practices such as smoking, massage, special foods, healing rituals, songs and ceremonies as well as the objects associated with them. Compounding may also express a higher degree of specificity, as can be seen in the specification of grandparents as *father's father*, *mother's father*, concepts for which Aboriginal languages provide specific terms (Harkins 1994: 150ff). Likewise, *men's business* needs to be distinguished from *women's business* (i.e. specialised ceremonies and rituals which are carried out either only by men or only women) and from *sorry business*, which describes an act or a period of mourning (Butcher 2008: 637).

Harkins (1994: 156) suggests that the use of emotional terms constitutes another major area of semantic differentiation between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal meanings. The distinctive usage of these terms is of special concern since in this area "considerable cross-cultural misunderstandings can result from a lack of knowledge, by both non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal people, of the semantic differences in usage". The terms *teasing* or *swearing*, for example,

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19 Note that both terms are actually loanwords from Aboriginal languages.

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not only have a much more serious meaning in AborE; the acts of doing so also involve a considerably more serious offence for Aboriginal speakers. The extent to which the usage of emotional terms may differ becomes apparent in the semantic scope of the word *sorry*, which in AborE has the meaning 'sorrowful, full of grief, grieving' and is used especially in connection with death or with issues concerning one's country (Arthur 1996: 111). This usage goes far beyond the term's meaning in StE, as does the AborE use of *cry for* '(to) lament, to call out in need' (Arthur 1996: 94). The above mentioned lexical item *shame* is defined by Arthur (1996: 107) as 'embarrassment; fear; a sense of having transgressed the social and moral code of society, intentionally or unintentionally'. *Shame* is felt in situations that may not cause non-Aboriginal speakers any uneasy feelings, e.g. when receiving praise or public attention. Aboriginal people may also *get shame* in the presence of certain people (such as a particular relative), or when they are near places they should not be near to. On the other hand, Aboriginal people may not *feel shame* in situations in which non-Aboriginal people would feel *ashamed*. One of Harkins' informants, for example, explained that he did not *feel shame* when being arrested, as this was an experience shared with many others in his community (Harkins 1994: 158).

6.4.2 **Aboriginal Language Terms**

Our discussion has shown that in AborE many English words convey a worldview that clearly depends on Aboriginal ways of categorising and conceptualising the world. Their distinctiveness often lies in their meaning and usage rather than in their form. To continue with the iceberg analogy, one has to take a thorough look to identify the differences in meaning that are hidden below the water's surface. Borrowings from Aboriginal languages, on the other hand, combine a distinctive semantic content, grounded in a culturally-bound worldview, with an unusual outward form. They are thus more readily identified as salient features of the AborE lexicon since they are easily recognised as foreign elements. As such, loanwords are "the most obvious expressions of Aboriginality" (Hill 2002: 98) in the lexicon of AborE. In 4.4 we have seen that even in areas where the original languages have been lost, speakers have retained a number of terms or even some stock phrases from their ancestral language. The use of Nyoongah loanwords in the AborE spoken in the southern parts of Western Australia is an often cited example of this attempt to preserve what is remembered of the language. Even though much of the original Nyoongah language has been lost, a comparatively large quantity of terms is used in everyday speech, as is attested in the writings of Nyoongah authors such as Jack Davis. A similar use of traditional language words can be observed in other varieties of AborE all across the country, even though the actual frequency of the Aboriginal language terms may depend on several factors, including the speaker's idiolect.

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A great part of the English terms that express distinctly Aboriginal meanings are known and used by AborE speakers across the whole of Australia. Many of these widely shared terms encode key cultural and religious concepts, e.g. the elements *business*, *Dreaming*, *shame*, and *sorry* which we have already discussed above. There are also several Aboriginal language terms that have a similar wide range of use and are known and employed throughout large parts of the country. Often, these terms relate to religious and cultural aspects of Aboriginal life or denote groups of Aboriginal people. Many of these widely used borrowings have also entered AusE where they may even have developed (additional) non-Aboriginal meanings. The NSW Pidgin term *corroboree*, for example, originally describing a dance ceremony, may be used in the sense 'any social gathering, especially of a boisterous nature' in AusE (Dixon *et al.* 2006: 151f). Other terms have a wider regional currency, such as the Wiradhuri term *gwangy* 'soft in the head', which is used among Aboriginal people in NSW, not all of whom are of Wiradhuri origin (Arthur 1994: 98). The majority of Aboriginal language words occurring in AborE, however, are borrowings from local languages and their usage is geographically restricted. These local borrowings provide the dialect with a regional flavour and contribute to the diversity and variation of AborE, which, according to Arthur (1996: 223), is "in part a heritage of the pre-colonial local culture, and also in part a result of the different colonising experiences that Aboriginal people in different parts of Australia have had". For speakers of AborE, local or regional borrowings not only allow them to flag their Aboriginality; more importantly, they serve to express local or regional affiliation and indicate the speakers' link with a particular Aboriginal group. This emblematic function may be deliberately exploited in more formal and public contexts such as public discourse (Harkins 2000: 72).

There appears to be some uncertainty concerning the actual status and frequency of use of Aboriginal language words in AborE: Leitner (2004b: 129) argues that borrowings from Aboriginal languages are less prominent than many researchers estimate and that the uniqueness of the AborE lexicon is largely due to the innovative usages of English terms. According to him,

> [...] the use of indigenous words seems to be rare. Aboriginal concepts are now normally expressed by means of mAusE [mainstream Australian English, K.L.] words. It is them that may have acquired different cognitive meanings and connotations; they may occur in the company of unusual words from the anlge [sic] of mAusE or with different frequencies.

In their study on Western Australian Aboriginal children's English, Kaldor & Malcolm (1982: 97) note that the frequency of use of Aboriginal loanwords is higher in geographically more remote regions, and that more Aboriginal language words are employed by speakers living in desert areas with a high degree of bilingualism. They nevertheless also maintain that some terms are in wider use among monolingual speakers of AborE. This view is support-

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ed by Butcher (2008: 636) who observes that loanwords from Aboriginal languages are an important lexical source for basilectal varieties, especially when describing aspects of local flora and fauna. He further states that loanwords occur less frequently in the lighter varieties and suggests that those which do occur denote people. Eagleson's (1982) study on the forms of AborE spoken in the Sydney area confirms that Aboriginal loanwords are less frequently used by urban speakers. He (1982: 137), too, observes that the most commonly employed terms are designations for people, such as *Koori(e)*or *Murri* for an Aboriginal person, or *gubbah* 'white'.

Today, the names for Aboriginal people have a much larger group of referents than the original language names had. The term *Koori(e)* is used widely in south-eastern Australia whereas *Murri* is used further north. Sometimes, people prefer a more specific identification with a particular language group, so that *Kooris* may also refer to themselves by language names such as *Wiradhuri*, *Yuin*, or *Wathaurong* (Arthur 1996: 234ff). Some regional designations for Aboriginal people are known and used widely across the country:

Koori	Victoria and southern NSW, formerly also used for the people of Tasmania where it has now been replaced by *Palawa*,
Murri	northern NSW and south-east Queensland,
Bama	northern Queensland,
Nunga	southern SA,
Nyoongah	south-west WA,
Wongi	Goldfields area of WA (south-east WA),
Yammadgee	Gascoyne area of WA (north-west WA),
Yolŋu	eastern Arnhem Land,
Anangu	Western Desert (Arthur 1996: 223).

All of these names are Aboriginal language terms for 'person' or man'. The use of such regional terms reflects that a great deal of cultural heterogeneity within the Australian Aboriginal society continues to exist. At the same time, however, it also testifies to the destruction of the original structure of Aboriginal society which was characterised by a division into much smaller language groups. For many Aboriginal people, the connection to their ancestors' language group has been lost and the identification by means of a regional but more extensive name, such as *Koori(e)* or *Murri* better represents their cultural identity. Others may have been able to keep up their affiliation with a local group but acknowledge the need for a wider, shared cultural identification. However, in some areas, e.g. in much of northern Australia, original language names have been retained (Arthur 1996: 234ff).

Similarly, terms denoting non-Aboriginal people are used widely in AborE. These, too, show considerable regional variation:

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migaloo Queensland, from the Mayaguduna language term for 'white',

yirili south-eastern Queensland and northern NSW, from the Bandjalang language term for 'white',

goonya southern SA, term for 'excrement' in many languages (Butcher 2008: 636).

Several regionally used terms for 'policeman' in AborE are derived from English words, e.g. *bulliman*, which is frequent in Queensland, or the NSW term *gunjie*, from *gunjabal* 'constable' (Butcher 2008: 636). Yet, also a number of Aboriginal language words for the police exist. Since contact with the police was an early phenomenon in many parts of the country, often happening at the same time or shortly after the first contact with Europeans, many terms developed during a time when Aboriginal languages were still in everyday use. The high number of terms for the police can be explained by their omnipresence and the high degree of control they exerted over the lives of Aboriginal people. McGregor (2000: 4) explains that

> [...] it is quite reasonable to expect that the police were regarded with fear and trepidation, and that this might be discernible in terms for them [...]. Moreover, it is quite common for languages to develop sets of synonyms for potent entities which, like the police, guns, and alcohol, inspire strong emotions.

Again, we can distinguish between terms that have only a more restricted currency such as Wik Mungkan *thapangumpan*, denoting different types of sharks (McGregor 2000: 9), and Aboriginal language terms used in wider areas. In addition to animal terms, we find words that involve extension from quality terms and derivations from nouns or verbs, e.g.

barabaldain western NSW, literally 'copper', from Wiradhuri '(to) grab hold' (Butcher 2008: 636),

linyju northern WA, denoting sour, bitter, or salty tastes,

manatj WA, from Nyoongah 'black cockatoo', referring to the old black or dark blue uniforms with a red stripe at the side (McGregor 2000: 10)[20].

According to Harkins (2000: 73), there is a small range of other terms that show how part of the cultural information stored in traditional languages continues to exist in AborE. These terms include the names of bush foods, terms for people belonging to various age categories, as well as place names. Thus, there appears to be a quite limited set of domains for which Aboriginal language words are employed regularly and in different varieties of AborE.

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[20] As with many Aboriginal language words, the terms' spelling varies in different sources and the above spellings (suggested by McGregor) differ from those that will be employed in chapter 8.

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6.4.3 **Negotiating the Bicultural Experience**

The preceding section has shown that AborE has numerous vocabulary features which correspond in their semantic scope to lexical items found in the traditional languages and thus reflect culture-specific conceptualisations. For this reason, Harkins (1994: 167) argues that in the domain of the AborE lexicon, we are actually dealing with "Aboriginal semantics in English guise". In addition, the feature description in 6.3 has indicated that phonological, grammatical, and pragmatic features of AborE, too, echo structures found in traditional languages. In Harkins' 1994 study of Alice Springs AborE, her investigation of these features yielded results similar to that of her lexico-semantic analysis, i.e. she found that many of the grammatical and pragmatic aspects that are characteristic of Alice Springs AborE correspond to patterns she observed in the local Aboriginal languages. Other studies, such as those conducted by Malcolm and his team on discourse features in the speech of Western Australian Aboriginal adolescents (see, for example Malcolm & Rochecouste (2000), Malcolm & Sharifian (2002, 2005), Sharifian (2001), and Sharifian *et al.* (2004)), as well as Eades' (1983) study of south-eastern Queensland Aboriginal English confirm the weight of the structural influence of traditional languages on AborE. Hence, when discussing aspects such as distinctive usages of vocabulary, grammatical constructions, or unique pragmatic features, we must be aware that while form and outward appearance of the dialect we are dealing with correspond to that of AusE, many of the underlying rules and the meanings conveyed belong to an Aboriginal conceptual world. AborE therefore bears witness to how speakers of AborE succeeded in preserving part of their cultural and linguistic heritage in the face of the overwhelming presence of English. In adapting the invaders' language to their communicative needs, Aboriginal people have appropriated the English language in such a way that it may be used to express all of those meanings that "form and inform contemporary Australian Aboriginal experience"; the dialect has thus come to assume a vital role "as both product and instrument of cultural survival" (Harkins 2000: 60). Moreover, it is also a symbol of this cultural maintenance. The distinctive semantics of the dialect, rooted in an Aboriginal world view, sustain and transmit the awareness of cultural and religious concepts, rules of behaviour, kinship structures, and environmental knowledge. It is through AborE that these continue to be vital and preserve their spiritual, cultural, and social significance even though the traditional languages from which the terms and/or semantic concepts are derived have fallen into disuse (Butcher 2008: 637). Moreover, the insertion of borrowings from regional and local languages not only contributes to the preservation of a (small) part of the languages' lexical inventory; these borrowings symbolise and continue the heterogeneous character of the pre-colonial language ecology. The significance of maintaining a meaning system that is distinctively

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Aboriginal and carries aspects of the traditional language systems and the information stored within them into the present becomes even greater in the face of the ongoing extinction of these languages. Despite the loss of the traditional language ecology, key aspects of Aboriginal culture survive in the use of AborE (Malcom 2001a: 217). As such, AborE has adopted the function of a "language of enculturation" (Malcolm 1995: 29) for children who grow up with English as their first and only language. It is also through AborE that they acquire an Aboriginal understanding of the world and come in contact with knowledge and concepts formerly transmitted through the acquisition of the traditional languages.

As Harkins (1994: 177) points out, this does not mean that the minds of AborE speakers' only and exclusively work along the lines dictated by the categories and structures of the traditional languages, and that the speakers' use of English is restricted to Aboriginal usages and interpretations only. On the contrary, the non-Aboriginal concepts and usages provided by the standard dialect offer speakers the means to embrace StAusE as well as AborE conceptual frameworks.

While AborE is the dialect most frequently used by Aboriginal Australians, all Aboriginal people in Australia are, to varying degrees, in contact with the standard language used in education, the workplace, institutional settings, and the media. At the same time, they keep up a close connection to their Aboriginal cultural heritage. As Malcolm (2001b: 220) points out, also those speakers who live in urban settings and maintain a lifestyle which does not differ greatly from that of the mainstream society are part of a network of Aboriginal people and thus preserve certain cultural and linguistic principles. For them, too, AborE presents a way to express concepts and meanings which are of particular relevance for themselves and for the wider Aboriginal community, but not necessarily for the general Australian public. In this sense, AborE serves as a signal of and a tool for dealing with what he (2001b: 219) terms "the bicultural experience" of Aboriginal Australians, "maintaining their own cultural values and relationships alongside their participation, to a greater or lesser extent, in the wider Australian society". As such, being bidialectal in different forms of English is both an expression of and a means to negotiate this bicultural experience. As members of the wider Australian society but with a cultural heritage not shared by the majority of Australians, an Aboriginal person's identity might be described as having a 'dual' character and the use of AborE is a signal of this duality.

Along with this type of bidialectism comes a certain ambiguity of feeling towards the English language. On the one hand, AborE may be understood as an Aboriginal language 'in English guise', as Harkins (1994) has argued, while on the other, it is the language of Anglo-Australia, the invaders' language, which was one of the most powerful tools in the disruption of the Australian

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language ecology and the destruction of Aboriginal culture. So while for many Aboriginal people, the English language is a symbol of ongoing oppression and racism, it has also become a vehicle for the maintenance as well as for the advancement of Aboriginal culture (Malcolm 2001b: 220).

Having said that, it should be clear that the dialect combines both functional and symbolic or representative aspects. Most Aboriginal people have a multilingual or multidialectal repertoire and many speakers are proficient in several dialectal varieties of English, including StAusE or a variety that approaches it. In geographically more remote locations, e.g. in the Australian north where many speakers are bi- or multilingual in (one or more forms of Aboriginal) English, contact languages such as Kriol, and traditional Aboriginal languages, AborE provides a means of communicating in mainstream contexts. Elsewhere, that is, in those regions where traditional languages or Kriol are not spoken, it is the first language for most Aboriginal people (Eades 1996: 134). In these settings, the dialect often takes on emblematic functions, and according to Kaldor & Malcolm (2004: 81), even speakers of the most acrolectal varieties perceive AborE as a medium for the expression of an Aboriginal identity. Due to the salient features discussed above, AborE is readily identifiable as a dialect distinct from AusE, and lexical features such as the application of regional names for Aboriginal people allow speakers to identify as Indigenous person and to express their link to a particular part of the country and its people. As Eades (1996: 134) points out, AborE is thus an unmistakeable signal of Aboriginality, which is of particular relevance to those Australians whose heritage is not evident in their physical appearance. Also, despite its variation and the possibility to express local or regional affiliations, AborE is an expression of a pan-Australian Aboriginal identity.

As a marker of Aboriginal identity, AborE also carries an important emotional role. Kaldor & Malcolm suggest that AborE provides its speakers with a "feeling of belonging and warmth with persons with whom one shares a linguistic and cultural heritage" (2004: 81). Drawing on linguistic and conceptual resources not shared with the mainstream society, the use of AborE has an inclusive function, evoking a sense of group solidarity. These resources also allow speakers to extend their stylistic repertoire, leading to a greater degree of linguistic variation and "enable them to construct identities and affiliations that express social meanings" (Malcolm & Grote 2007: 171). The resulting indexation of identities can be directed both towards non-Aboriginal as well as Aboriginal people. Malcolm & Grote (2007: 171f), for example, relate how an Aboriginal speaker consciously incorporated pidgin features in his Standard English while addressing a group of politicians and other non-Aboriginal listeners, reminding them of his own Aboriginality and the Aboriginality of those he spoke for. Another example provided by the same source details how adolescents use lexical and grammatical features from AborE and from Afri-

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can American hip hop culture as means of identity construction and expression of solidarity. Malcolm (2001b: 234) in fact argues that the role of AborE as a tool for stylistic variation is one of the reasons for (lexical) borrowing from AborE into AusE. The wide spectrum of grammatical, phonological, lexical and pragmatic resources ranging from light to heavy that is contained in the continuum of AborE varieties allows speakers to fine tune their speech according to the situation and the interlocutors, and make culturally and contextually appropriate linguistic choices. Thereby, AborE functions to fulfil the communicative needs of Aboriginal speakers in (almost) any social, cultural, and intercultural context (Harkins 2000: 75). At the same time that the shared dialect serves the purpose of creating a feeling of inclusion among members of the Aboriginal community, it may also create a linguistic barrier between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal society. The features described can make it difficult for non-Aboriginal speakers to follow communication among speakers of AborE, so that stress and intonation, lexico-semantics, and pragmatic features such as extended silences function to (deliberately) exclude Anglo-Australian speakers (Malcolm 2001b: 233f). The exclusion of and non-identification with the mainstream community in situations of in-group communication is also evident in the idea of 'talking flash', which condemns the use of the mainstream dialect when those involved in the communication and the topics discussed are Aboriginal.

The dialect's dual function as a means of communication with the wider Australian public and as a tool to express Aboriginal concepts and world views has also contributed to a change in its status. The ways in which AborE is perceived, both within the Aboriginal community and within the wider Australian mainstream society, are complex and, like the pertaining attitudes towards the creoles, continue to be marked by the denigration of the Aboriginal contact languages in the past. Eades & Siegel (1999: 266ff) report that AborE still produces ambivalent feelings: while some speakers are still convinced that it is 'bad English', others show pride in their unique dialect that distinguishes them from speakers of AusE. At the same time, those who proudly use AborE may be reluctant to accept it as a medium of education of their children, feeling that this will prevent these from learning the standard language, i.e. the language of power in the mainstream Australian society. Like many creole speakers, they are afraid that the use of AborE will result in their children being stuck in a position of inferiority, of being 'second class'. Still, there are also indicators for an increasing acceptance of AborE within the wider Australian society and a growing awareness of the value of these speech forms also among Aboriginal Australians. This is partly due to the work of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal educators and linguists who have contributed to a better understanding of the nature of AborE and the need to develop tools for improving inter-dialectal communication (Eades & Siegel 1999: 268ff).

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7 Aboriginal English as a Medium for Creative Expression

In 6.2 we have seen that with the emancipation of the dialect growing out of its former role as 'improper English', AborE has taken on new functions. Today, it is increasingly perceived as marker of Aboriginality, and a growing number of speakers show pride in their dialect that serves them to express a distinct identity. This is also reflected in more recent developments in the field of the arts and in the media. For many years, Aboriginal Australians have sought for ways to inform the Australian mainstream society about their perception of the world, facets of Aboriginal life, and cultural understanding (Malcolm 2001a: 217f). The work of Aboriginal artists, musicians, and film makers helps to achieve this goal and to raise an awareness of Aboriginal issues in the wider Australian society. They are increasingly exploiting the resources of AborE in their works, and the dialect is featured in TV and radio broadcasting. Another area in which forms of AborE are gaining more and more importance is that of creative writing, and this has resulted in a growing body of literature authored by Indigenous Australian writers that is intended for Aboriginal as well as non-Aboriginal readers.

7.1 Writing and Aboriginalities

In his 2003 essay *The End in the Beginning: Re(de)finding Aboriginality*, Michael Dodson describes how for two centuries, Aboriginal people have been defined and written about by others, that is, by members of the Anglo-Australian majority. Many of these accounts testify to the racist and ethnocentric attitude with which the colonisers looked upon the Aboriginal population. Early descriptions portraying Aboriginal people as human beings who "may appear to some to be the most wretched people of [sic] earth" (excerpt from Capt. James Cook's Journal, 1770, quoted in Dodson 2003: 25) are no longer imaginable today, but for a long time, Aboriginal Australians continued to be deemed inferior to the colonist society.

The emergence of contemporary Aboriginal writing in the 1960s not only allowed authors to address problems, desires, and concerns hitherto unheard by the mainstream society and to introduce Aboriginal perceptions of life to the wider public. It further ended the long period during which Aboriginal people were made the object of descriptions by others; it provided them with the opportunity to raise their voices and speak for themselves, to define themselves and assert their identity. Since the second half of the 20th century, Aboriginal authors have exploited the written medium to introduce their readers

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to various aspects of Aboriginal culture and their linguistic heritage. By doing so, these authors built bridges for a cross-cultural exchange between the Aboriginal community and the mainstream society and, as Morrissey (2000: 314) points out, they have adopted, willingly or unwillingly, the role of a representative for the Aboriginal community.

In 6.1, we have noted that in the period from the 1960s onwards, Aboriginal cultural and political activism advanced the creation of a pan-Aboriginality, and in the 1970s and 1980s, Indigenous writers "voiced a sense of responsibility towards an Indigenous community" (Russo 2010a: 113). More recently, writers and playwrights of Aboriginal descent wish to be perceived as individuals rather than representing this wider community and have begun to foreground personal experience in their works rather than acting as spokespersons for the entire Aboriginal population. Demonstrating the diversity that exists in Aboriginal society – in terms of biological heritage, lifestyle, as well as identification and affiliation with individual groups – they make their readers and audiences aware of their multiple identities. The complexity of present-day Aboriginal identity is best illustrated by two statements by Wesley Enoch and Jimmy Chi, two of the authors whose work will be discussed in the following chapters. In a speech given at the 2012 Song Summit in Sydney, Enoch sketches his complicated heritage:

> My father's side of the family is Noonuccal Ngugi, as well as Goenpul and Kaanju. My father's father's family is from Stradbroke Island, my father's mother's family are from Babinda and out through into Lockhart River [an Aboriginal community on Cape York Peninsula, K.L.] in the north of Queensland. […] I have a great-grandfather called Fernando Gonzales who's a Filipino fisherman […]. As well as the whole Scottish-Irish-English breed. [...] On my mother's side of the family, I have a great-grandfather who's Spanish, a great-grandmother who's Danish, ... and Irish, and English, and all those other things 'cause all you white people interbreed somehow. (Song Summit's channel 2012).

Chi points out the problems with self-identification which may arise from a mixed heritage. He also touches on another issue, viz. that of acceptance by others – in this case, his acceptance as Aboriginal person by the Aboriginal community. Born in the Western Australian town of Broome, Chi's heritage mirrors the ethnic diversity found in this former centre of the pearling industry:

> I was born in Broome in 1948 of a Japanese-Chinese father and of an Aboriginal-Scottish mother. [...] In some respects I can't come to terms with my own Aboriginality. I'd like to research my language, my culture on the Aboriginal side – but at the same time I'd like to research those other ethnic groups that I belong to as well. I think to become a complete human being you've got to look at the history of all your composites. I feel I can make a contribution to Australia as an Aboriginal. I can't say I'm Chinese, I can't say I'm Scottish. I *can* say I'm Aboriginal; but will the Aboriginal people themselves look on me as Aboriginal? (Jimmy Chi 1991: 24f, emphasis in original)

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Portraying the diversity of Aboriginal experience and culture, and more importantly still, the variety of existing identities, Aboriginal authors correct the mainstream society's perceptions of what constitutes Aboriginality and who qualifies as an Aboriginal person. Until today, stereotypes of the 'authentic' 'full blood' Aboriginal, generally associated with 'traditional' forms of living in the bush, stand in contrast to the urban, 'hybrid' or 'part-Aboriginal', deprived of his/her culture (Schürmann-Zeggel 1999: 58ff). Often, those who do not correspond to the prevailing picture of Aboriginal Australians, due to their physical appearance, language use, education, way of life, or for any other reason – that is, those who are perceived as being 'not Aboriginal enough' – continuously have to assert their identity (Heiss 2003: 21). At the same time, they are also not accepted as equals in the white mainstream society. As Tiffin (1985: 156) suggests, the prevailing rejection of people of Aboriginal descent as the 'other' by white Australian society is the major reason why many Australians of mixed heritage prefer to identify with the Indigenous community rather than with the mainstream society, rejecting those who reject them. Just as the mainstream society accents their Aboriginal heritage as a reason for exclusion, people of mixed descent rely on it for their self-identification as Aboriginal person. The poet Oodgeroo Noonuccal (then Kath Walker) argued the point in an interview:

> No-one ever recognised my white blood in me all these years – why the hell should I have to declare it now? I don't want to declare it. To hell with the white blood in me! I'm Black. [...] It's been forced upon me, I'm glad it's been forced upon me now. I hated it in the first place, but I'm glad it's happened this way, because I'd rather be black than white now... (Davidson, Jim. 1977. Interview with Kath Walker in *Meanjin*, vol. 36(4): 434f).

Despite recurrent manifestations of racism, suppression, and inequality experienced by Indigenous people in Australia, one of the main goals of many authors is to express a feeling of confidence and pride in their heritage and to stress the value of Aboriginal culture. Mainstream media representations of the culturally deprived Aboriginal often negate the possibility of an independent, authentic cultural identity in the 21st century (Schürmann-Zeggel 1999: 23). The literary portrayal of Aboriginal culture in its present-day forms counteracts such notions of a total loss of culture. Rather, it emphasises its non-static and changing nature and the many aspects which have survived until the present day. Authors use their texts to 'educate' their non-Aboriginal readership by introducing them to their cultural heritage, disseminating cultural and religious knowledge, and presenting Aboriginal socio-cultural perspectives. Others intend to portray and discuss Australian colonial history and its effects from the often neglected standpoint of the Australian Aboriginal population.

Contemporary Aboriginal literary writing is generally assumed to have begun in earnest with the publication of Oodgeroo Noonuccal's first volume of

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poetry *We Are Going* in 1964 which "ended a period of white deafness by bringing a powerful Aboriginal voice into earshot of large, mainstream audiences both in Australia and overseas" (van Toorn 2000b: 29)[21]. The publication of Noonuccal's collection of poetry coincided with a period of increased Aboriginal political activism and major socio-political changes that would affect the lives of many Aboriginal people, and Shoemaker (1989: 6) suggests that the growing numbers of texts published by Aboriginal authors during this period reflect this climate of change. Aboriginal authors started to perceive creative writing as a means to raise their voices and raise awareness about their concerns and the situation of Aboriginal Australians in the wider Australian society. Many of the works published in the 1960s and 1970s were written in the spirit of a time when Aboriginal politics stepped into the national spotlight. Oodgeroo Noonuccal, Jack Davis, Kevin Gilbert, and Colin Johnson, also known under his *noms-de-plume* Murooroo Narogin and Nyoongah[22], are generally considered the pioneers of contemporary Aboriginal writing (van Toorn 2000b: 29f).

In the 1970s and 1980s, these and other Aboriginal writers and artists often found themselves faced with accusations that their works were political rather than artistic. Many pointed out that this necessarily had to be so, given the role they played in Australian society. Jack Davis argued the point when he explained that his plays could not but be political, since "to confront white and black audiences with a truthful uncompromised picture of urban Aboriginal life is in itself political" (quoted in Casey 2004: xxi). Portraying past and present aspects of Aboriginality in Australia and describing the socio-political

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21 As Russo (2007: 98) points out, many scholarly publications on the subject of Aboriginal literature follow the convention of locating the beginnings of Australian Aboriginal writing in the second half of the 20th century when poetry and life stories authored by people of Aboriginal and Torres Islander attracted the eye of non-Indigenous publishing houses. Other works refer to Davis Unapion's *Native Legends*, written in the 1920s, as the starting point of Aboriginal writing. These approaches are obviously based on an understanding of Aboriginal literature that focuses on fictional or non-fictional works of art composed for the entertainment of a mostly Anglo-Australian readership and underline that, for a long time, "letters, poems, essays, pamphlets, newspaper articles, petitions, speeches, traditional stories, and traditional inscriptive practices, which precede the date of the conventional classification of the commencement of Indigenous Australian writing in the 1960s, have been overlooked as legitimate forms of literature" (Russo 2007: 98). For the sake of conciseness, we will nevertheless follow the same approach here.

22 Colin Johnson's heritage and his identity as Aboriginal Australian have been put into question in the mid-1990s and the author himself eventually confirmed that he did not have and Aboriginal family background (Gibbs 1998: 43). This revelation, together with the exposure of other authors as of non-Aboriginal heritage set in motion a debate on authenticity and identity in Aboriginal writing (see for example Heiss (2003) on this matter).

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consequences of two centuries of suppression, early writers attempted to correct perceptions of present-day Aboriginal society and confronted prevailing racist attitudes and injustice, re-writing Australian history from an Aboriginal perspective.

7.2 Australian Aboriginal Drama

Since the 1960s Aboriginal writing has increased in quantity, and in the last few decades it has also gained in importance and recognition as authors have begun to reach a widening audience. The same can be said about Australian Aboriginal drama which, since its beginnings in the early 1970s with Kevin Gilbert's *The Cherry Pickers*, has developed into an important branch of Australian theatre that now receives attention by critics and audiences alike. Already in the 1990s, Katherine Brisbane, theatre critic and co-founder of Currency Press, contended that Aboriginal drama was "the most important new Australian voice and one which will, in due course, be the most widely heard in other countries" (Brisbane 1995: 15). Like their colleagues from the fields of fiction and life-writing, Aboriginal playwrights have come to the attention of curriculum developers, and Aboriginal drama texts are being studied at High School and University level.

The texts written for the stage tell stories out of the lives of Indigenous Australians and portray aspects of Australia's colonial past and present as experienced by different generations of Aboriginal people. According to Glow (2007: 21), the effects on potential audiences are diverse: Aboriginal audiences are educated about and get the chance to recognise their own culture that is celebrated in these plays. At the same time, non-Aboriginal audiences take part in an intercultural dialogue which addresses and recognises grievances that Aboriginal people have had to face in the past and may even continue to experience. They become aware of how racial and cultural background determines the life experiences of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians and are presented with multiple facets of 'Australian-ness'.

Since the 1970s, we can observe a change in the contents that have been portrayed. Casey (2009: 193) maintains that the greater part of the early plays were concerned with contemplating "contemporary issues of survival", and many of the texts written during the first wave of Aboriginal drama in the 1970s and 1980s have an unmistakeable political message. Since the 1990s, many plays have focused on (auto-)biographic storytelling as Aboriginal playwrights have used their own set of histories to appropriate the official mainstream perspective (Glow 2007: 23). Other texts blend individual and shared history and narrate collective stories, while again others describe indi-

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vidual fates and life choices and treat an array of themes related to contemporary forms of Aboriginal identity and black and white coexistence in modern Australian society.

Only a part of the drama texts authored by Indigenous playwrights have been published, individually or in collections of plays such as the volumes *Blak Inside* (2002) and *Contemporary Indigenous plays* (2007). On stage, these plays provide "an immediate and total sensory impact" (Shoemaker 1989: 12) on their audiences, creating effects that the written word cannot achieve. According to Shoemaker, this immediate impact is one of the reasons why many writers who are concerned with informing the mainstream society about the socio-political and socio-cultural situation of the Australian Indigenous population choose drama as their preferred medium.

Of all the different literary genres, drama probably comes closest to precolonial oral traditions. "Theatre offers an opportunity to use all the talents of speech and body-movement present in Aboriginal oral literature and dance since time began", as Jack Davis (in Chesson 1988: 191) explains. Many of the characteristics of contemporary Aboriginal drama, e.g. the emphasis on storytelling, the inclusion of music and song, and a strong sense of humour, reflect Aboriginal modes of expression. On the linguistic level, the inclusion of material from Aboriginal languages further underlines this link and Glow (2007: 32) suggests that the incorporation of untranslated traditional language elements provides an immediate cultural context that is essential to fully appreciate the character of the works. According to her, it further constitutes a technique that "calls to attention the relationship between language and power and underlines the reality, vibrancy, and currency of contemporary Indigenous cultural life". The Aboriginal language material used in drama texts can thus be seen as the writers' successful attempt to preserve elements of their cultural heritage in contemporary representations of Aboriginality. Like the modern Aboriginal language ecology, these characteristics underline the transforming potential of a culture which, while being anchored in one of the world's oldest cultural traditions, has adapted to the challenges it faces in the 21st century and constitutes a framework which provides a meaningful source for self-representation.

7.3 Language Use in Aboriginal Literature

As van Toorn (2000b: 30) points out, the pioneers of Aboriginal writing "faced a linguistic dilemma" when they started writing in the 1960s and 1970s. In their early poetry, Oodgeroo Noonuccal, Jack Davis and others used Standard English to write about Aboriginal issues and express Aboriginal voices. Those

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who did not adhere to the requirements of the standard language, such as Kevin Gilbert, had to see their works extensively revised by their editors to live up to the readers' expectations. In later years, Aboriginal authors increasingly embraced and enforced the use of AborE in their works, in an attempt to narrate their stories and the stories of other Aboriginal people in the language of the people. Until today, however, financial and other reasons continue to dictate a language use that takes into consideration the expectations of the (mostly white) readership. Many authors adjust the language they employ in their writing according to the audience they intend to reach. For most, their main goal is to inform their audience about past and present aspects of the Aboriginal experience and they are aware that in order to do so, it is crucial to make the texts accessible for readers. As a consequence, authors often attempt to reconcile their own and their audience's expectations by "adapting largely western genres and integrating them with sufficient AborE to produce a discernible and distinct Aboriginal flavour" (Gibbs (1995), quoted in Rochecouste (2002: 66)). Also, many authors, especially those of the earlier generations, have had to deal with editors and publishing houses that were unwilling to recognise the value of AborE varieties for their works and tried to limit the use of the dialect in their publications. Only few have successfully resisted the editorial makeover of their work. Among them is Robert Bropho, whose autobiographic novel *Fringedwellers* (1980) has been published without any changes or corrections to his use of English. His work emphasises the need for an authentic representation of Aboriginal discourse but also confronts the non-Aboriginal reader with a language that greatly challenges the understanding of the text (Schürmann-Zeggel 1999: 156ff). More often than not, however, editors have attempted a standardisation of the written language, and Bruce Moore (2008: 190) suggests that up to the 1980s, "it was the usual practice for writings in Aboriginal English to be 'sanitised' by white editors". Only in the last decades, an increasing number of works has been published without this type of interference. With the establishment of Aboriginal publishing houses and a growing involvement of Aboriginal editors in the publishing process, editorial practices have been changing towards a more authentic representation of Aboriginal speech styles.

Some critics have shown to be rather ignorant of the value of Aboriginal Englishes for Aboriginal writing. Raines (1991: 102), for example, suggests that the English dialect used in the writings of Aboriginal authors (incorrectly referred to as a 'pidgin'), is unfit to express Aboriginal identity and act as a tool for cross-cultural communication: "It is unlikely that such a clumsy instrument is capable of fully expressing the diversities of Aboriginal experience without distortion". Contemplating the degree to which the pre-colonial language ecology has been destroyed in the past two centuries, we may wonder what might be a more suitable instrument.

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Other commentators show a more sensitive understanding of the role played by Aboriginal varieties of English in the communication of Aboriginal issues. As Russo (2010a: 42) points out, "Indigenous Australian writers have diversely interrogated the English language as an ideological tool for colonial consent and for the discursive reduction of the multiplicity of Indigenous cultures". Hence, the authors' use of distinctly Aboriginal varieties of English resists the Anglo-Australian society's contention that their variety of English is the only acceptable one. Moreover, because of its heterogeneous character, grounded largely in the wide range of substrate influences, AborE calls back to mind the diverse pre-contact language ecology and stresses the linguistic variety that prevails today.

In many literary works, his or her use of language allows the author to relate to other speakers who share the particular variety featured. Many texts exhibit a regional orientation as authors choose a variety of English that makes reference to their own cultural and linguistic background. These varieties generally embrace a number of Aboriginal language terms that mark the author's affiliation with a group of people and a particular region. Yet, the language chosen can also serve a number of other functions, e.g. it may evoke multiple lifestyles and mindsets and associate characters with an urban or rural environment, cultural and linguistic assimilation vs. cultural maintenance, etc., as well as with different social groups. On a stylistic level, careful choice of language may be essential to enforce irony or render the character's speech more authentic. As has been pointed out above, language may further assist the inclusion or exclusion of (some parts of) the audience or readership (Russo 2007: 57f).

Many authors exploit forms of AborE not only in a deliberate attempt to stress a particular heritage or background, but also wish to convey contemporary Aboriginal experience and transmit deeper cultural and social meanings. For them "many of the ways of constructing reality can only be expressed using Aboriginal English" (Rochecouste 2002: 66). Originally a foreign language, the colonisers' tongue has been adopted as a source of stylistic creativity on the one hand and as a tool for conveying cultural and religious concepts on the other. By doing so, Aboriginal writers create the possibility of a 'counter-discourse' in a field in which the viewpoints of the non-Indigenous Australian community still dominate. Ariss (1988: 132f) proposes that the position of Aboriginal people

> [...] is changing in Australia and I do not think this is attributable to an evolving state benevolence in itself. The intervention of Aborigines [sic] has been an essential force behind these innovations. It is they who are establishing progressively greater control over the constructions of Aboriginality.

Including AborE in their texts, these authors acknowledge a linguistic reality, viz. they portray how the English language is used by Aboriginal people

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to fulfil their communicative needs. In a work on the functions of Caribbean English-lexicon creoles in writing, Mühleisen (2002: 184) asserts that "writing is one of the most important socio-cultural domains in determining language prestige". This assumption is equally true for dialects which differ from the national standard. As such, the use of Aboriginal forms of English in writing includes a socio-political dimension in that it contributes not only to a growing understanding of these varieties outside of academic circles, but also to their being accepted as linguistic forms in their own right. With the recognition of Aboriginal varieties of English comes recognition of the cultural concepts inherent in them.

7.4 Lexical Appropriation in Australian Aboriginal Drama

By now it should be evident that facets of language use constitute major tools for the representation of an Aboriginal identity in the works of Aboriginal Australian writers. In many colonial and post-colonial contexts in which a Western language has become a tool for the repression or even (partial) destruction of the languages spoken before colonisation, indigenous authors often resort to strategies which allow them to convey a distinct cultural identity while using the dominant society's language. Two of the processes commonly employed to achieve this are known as 'abrogation' and 'appropriation'. These enable authors to adapt the "language of the center" (Ashcroft *et al.* 2002: 37) to suit their own purposes, an act which not only allows them to describe a different set of socio-cultural realities but also triggers a shift in the power relations inherent in the use of the mainstream society's language. The term 'abrogation' refers to "the refusal of the categories of the imperial culture, its aesthetic, its illusory standard of normative or 'correct' usage, and its assumption of a traditional and fixed meaning 'inscribed' in the words" (Ashcroft *et al.* 2002: 37). While abrogation thus involves the rejection of the standard language as the only legitimate norm of communication, 'appropriation' describes a process "by which the language is taken and made to 'bear the burden' of one's own cultural experience" so that it may be "adopted as a tool and utilised in various ways to express widely differing cultural experiences" (Ashcroft *et al.* 2002: 38). Although the two are distinct processes, abrogation and appropriation are closely connected in the sense that the latter springs from the former. While the use of a variety other than StE per se constitutes an act of abrogation, the features through which this variety is adapted to its new surroundings and contexts, that is, those features which render it different from the standard language, represent instances of appropriation.

How speakers of AborE appropriate the English language to 'bear the cultural burden' of Aboriginality is perhaps most readily recognised at the

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lexical level where characteristic AborE lexical elements describe unique socio-cultural concepts and favour the formation of a distinct cultural identity. In order to fulfil these functions, language needs to bridge the socio-cultural differences that exist between the Aboriginal community and the Australian mainstream society. In literary forms such as the novel or drama, authors may accomplish this by accustoming their readers or audiences not only to their linguistic heritage, but also by introducing them to different aspects of Aboriginal culture, such as cultural or religious beliefs and practices, the structure of Aboriginal society, or perceptions of kin- and social relationships. Yet, recognition of these concepts can only be achieved when the terms employed to describe them are correctly understood. Here, borrowings or code-switches may cause difficulties as they involve a code unfamiliar to members of the dominant society. What is more, they frequently reveal an underlying conceptual system that is different from that of the mainstream society, which is also why borrowings and code-switches often defy a verbatim translation into the dominant language. However, English elements, too, can cause confusion on the part of the reader or audience. Above we have seen that the lexicon of AborE heavily relies on English terms which exhibit semantic modification or a usage unparalleled in AusE. Hence, they combine an established form with a meaning that belongs to an Aboriginal conceptual word. As such, the inclusion of AborE vocabulary items in texts authored by Indigenous Australians creates what is known as the 'metonymic gap', viz. "that cultural gap formed when appropriations of a colonial language insert unglossed words, phrases or passages from a first language, or concepts, allusions or references which may be unknown to the reader" (Ashcroft *et al.* 2009: 122f). These appropriations, most notably the readily identified borrowings and code-switches from indigenous languages, take on a synecdochic function in that they stand for the colonised culture in the way that a part stands for the whole. At the same time, their "resistance to interpretation" creates a gap between Aboriginal and mainstream culture. As such, the insertion of foreign language elements enables the author to

> [...] represent his or her world to the coloniser (and others) in the metropolitan language, and at the same time signal and emphasize a difference from it. In effect, the writer is saying 'I am using your language so that you will understand my world, but you will also know by the differences in the way I use it that you cannot share my experience' (Ashcroft *et al.* 2009: 123).

Linguistic appropriation therefore serves to alert the non-Aboriginal readers to the fact that they are dealing with a text that embraces socio-cultural norms and world-views which differ from their own.

In contrast to other literary works that are written with the intention to be read, drama is written to be performed. Therefore, theatre audiences lack the opportunity to apply strategies that ensure a better understanding of the language which are available for the written text, such as the possibility to re-read

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single passages. In addition, while a number of authors of fiction and life-stories enhance their readers' understanding by providing glossaries, often in the form of wordlists that are outside the main text, theatre audiences generally cannot revert to this instrument.

In her analysis of indigenisation strategies in the West African Europhone novel, Zabus (1991: 158ff) discusses the techniques of 'cushioning', and 'contextualisation' both of which provide alternatives to the glossing of unknown terms and facilitate readers' comprehension of words and phrases from the authors' native languages. The term 'cushioning' describes the strategy of adding an English explanatory word or phrase to a foreign language term, while in the case of 'contextualisation', the interpretation of a term's meaning is supported by providing immediate context. Yet, she points out that cushioning and contextualisation strategies may involve serious pitfalls: an explanatory tag used for cushioning may prove to be an oversimplified rendition of the original meaning which can result in an incorrect understanding on the part of the reader and an inadequate rendition of the concept in the European language which, in turn, is reinforced as the linguistic norm. Contextualisation, on the other hand, may result in a "guessing game" (Zabus 1991: 161) unless sufficient context is provided. Both may further introduce a somewhat artificial flavour to the text.

Despite these drawbacks, authors who resort to the inclusion of words from their native or ancestral languages and the techniques discussed call attention to the fact that the European language is unfit to describe the culture of the colonised country:

> We have seen that the twin methods of cushioning and contextualisation reveal the ultimate untransferability of the African logos and "other" the European language by fixing its function to that of providing an area of immediate context "cushioning" the African word or phrase. These methods seem to indicate that the European language is so foreign or, more exactly, so "other" that it cannot convey African culture (Zabus 1991: 182).

The omission of cushioning or contextualisation strategies contributes to a more authentic language use. At the same time, it makes the text more confusing for those unfamiliar with the language and authors run the risk of alienating their readership. Nevertheless, authors sometimes deliberately choose to include uncushioned borrowings and stretches of traditional language precisely because they wish to create particular effects, and Ashcroft *et al.* (2002: 63) provide several examples of how the refusal to explain unknown words may be used to establish English as the 'other' language, underline cultural differences, or force the reader to become more involved with the cultural contexts which inform the texts. When techniques for a better understanding of the language lack or fail, however, this has consequences for the transmission of cultural information: audiences unable to understand the

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meaning of a particular term remain ignorant of the cultural significance associated with the concept and cannot appreciate the reasons for the term's use.

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Part Three:
Empirical Analysis – Forms of Lexical Appropriation in Australian Aboriginal Literary Texts

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8 The Indexation of a Distinctive Cultural Identity in Australian Aboriginal Texts

In the empirical analysis that follows, we will investigate how Indigenous Australian playwrights exploit the resources of Aboriginal varieties of English in their works. Our focus will lie on the lexicon, that is, we will determine if, and to which degree, these drama texts make use of salient AborE lexical features such as those discussed in 6.3.4 and 6.4.1, and try to detect what functions these assume and what effects are created by their inclusion.

There are several reasons why a corpus of drama text is preferable to one comprising other literary forms such as the novel: the main criterion which supports the choice of a corpus of drama texts is the individual works' length. Since plays are usually much shorter than novels, a larger number can be analysed, which in turn allows for a greater geographic, chronological, and stylistic variation within our corpus. This again provides us with the opportunity to compare pieces from different parts of the country, written at different times, and against different socio-political backgrounds. Drama was further preferred over other genres as it relies most strongly on direct speech in the form of dialogues and monologues. Therefore, we can assume that the texts more readily reflect spoken AborE than the novel. Of course, we must be aware that the language of any literary text is different to samples of natural speech, and also in the case of drama we are dealing with dialogues devised by the playwright who puts them into the characters' mouths. Hence, any attempted reproduction of a linguistic reality, or what authors perceive as such, is always also subject to linguistic creativity. In addition, as should be clear from what has been said above, published texts undergo editorial processes and plays are written with particular audience expectations in mind. This notwithstanding, we may still assume that when portraying episodes out of the lives of Aboriginal people, playwrights strive to present their characters in a realistic manner and also seek to portray their speech as naturalistically as possible. On a related note, we also need to be aware that, since drama is always written to be performed, the published text cannot be more than an approximation of the actual production so that the language use set out in the written script may not always be identical with the dialogue brought to life on stage.

8.1 Focus of Research

From what has been detailed so far a number of questions derive which concern the ways in which Indigenous Australian playwrights use the language of

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their texts to express aspects of Aboriginal cultural identity. As has been pointed out above, our analysis will concentrate on the lexicon and thus, we will focus on the occurrence of salient AborE vocabulary items in the individual texts and examine their potential as instruments of appropriation of the standard language. In order to do so, the following points need to be considered:

1. The first question that needs to be answered is one which, in a manner of speaking, sets the stage for the lexical analysis: it concerns the degree to which the language portrayed in the individual texts differs from (St)AusE, and investigates which features mark it as a form of AborE. Therefore, every texts analysis will be preceded by a short, more general assessment of the language of the respective text which will also touch upon salient grammatical phenomena.
2. The next step then brings us closer to our actual research question, as we will need to identify those lexical elements that contribute to the appropriation of the English language. For the purpose of our analysis, we shall differentiate between different types of lexical appropriations which have been determined on the basis of the discussion of AborE lexical features in 6.3.4:
   - words from Australian languages,
   - longer passages, such as phrases, sentences, or whole paragraphs in Australian languages,
   - hybrid compounds involving an English as well as an Aboriginal language element,
   - English terms that have undergone semantic modification, e.g. semantic shift, semantic widening, semantic narrowing, or metaphor (in the following named 'sematically modified English terms'),
   - English terms that have undergone phonological modification,
   - English terms that exhibit a form or usage which is rare or not found at all in the standard dialect, e.g. distinctive lexical combinations, function words, adverbs and adjectives that show non-standard applications, or words and expressions no longer or only rarely used in AusE (in the following referred to as 'Aboriginal usage of English term(s)') .

Note that words which AborE has borrowed from pidgins and creoles will not be listed as a separate category. Many of the AborE terms that originally derive from contact languages such as the NWS Pidgin also involve a shift in meaning (e.g. *kill* 'hit or kill'), show a characteristic form or usage (e.g. *all about* 'everywhere'), or have undergone phonological modification (*bacca* 'tobacco'). As such, it appears wise to categorise these items along the lines suggested in (d)-(e). Still, the lexemes' pidgin or creole origins will be specified whenever possible.

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In addition, it should be obvious that when dealing with written texts, only those phonological deviations can be identified and discussed which are clearly marked by a spelling which differs from that found in StE. While spelling indicates how individual words are frequently pronounced by speakers of AborE, an actor on the stage may adopt a much more or much less characteristic AborE pronunciation as suggested by the text.

3. We will then determine the elements' meaning; for those elements that have been adopted from Australian languages, it will further be necessary to establish their source language.
4. Another aspect worth investigating is the elements' role within the sentence. As such, we will attempt to establish the individual appropriations' part of speech.
5. In order to determine their value as agents of appropriation that 'other' the standard language, our analysis must also take into account the AborE lexical elements' currency in different varieties of AborE, AusE, or even in other varieties of English. Hence, it is useful to distinguish between
   - 'localisms' which are geographically restricted and link the text to a specific area or region,
   - pan-Aboriginal terms, used and understood throughout the wider Aboriginal Australian community,
   - words that have entered the lexicon of (Standard) Australian English, and
   - lexical elements that are also found in varieties of English spoken outside Australia.

Again, we need to keep in mind that, due to the design of our research and the resources available, all information obtained will be based on written sources. This poses a problem since the currency of a lexical item is difficult to determine on the basis of written evidence alone, and although dictionaries of different varieties of English may be able to provide useful clues, the information contained therein cannot make up for the lack of real-life data. As such, all statements concerning the currency of the lexical material need to be understood as being of a very tentative nature.

6. In addition, it will also be worth examining if, and to which degree, playwrights employ strategies that ensure their readers' and audiences' understanding, and accordingly, to explore possible reasons if these are absent. Hence, we need to ask the following questions:
   - Do authors apply strategies such as cushioning or contextualisation to clarify the meaning and relevance of the Aboriginal language elements?

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- If these strategies are missing, is there any indication that this has been a conscious decision on the part of the author? Does their absence serve particular purposes?

Contemplating the outward form as well as origin, syntactic function, and currency of the different types of lexical appropriation, however, does not provide sufficient information on how the unique conceptual system that is assumed to underlie AborE discourse is manifested in the language of drama texts. Therefore, the most vital questions posed in the context of our research concern the elements' underlying meanings and their ability to convey cultural conceptualisations:

7. We thus need to examine the concepts associated with the individual lexical appropriations, and explore whether these are culturally bound and grounded in a distinctly Aboriginal rather than mainstream understanding of the world. Hopefully, this will further allow us to clarify whether the lexical elements convey meanings which belong to a definable set of conceptual domains and to determine if some of these domains are more prominent than others.
8. Last but not least, we will try to determine if the elements classified as lexical appropriations always fill a lexical gap by describing concepts for which no appropriate St(Aus)E expression exists, or whether they also assume functions which go beyond catering for a lexical need.

In order to answer the above questions, especially those posed in (7), we will in large parts rely on Jay M. Arthur's *Aboriginal English: A cultural study*, which is "a collection of words from Aboriginal English" (1996: 4). While she acknowledges that her work "is not a complete dictionary of Aboriginal English" (1996: 5), it is nevertheless the most extensive compilation of AborE vocabulary presently available, including English and English-derived words as well as a considerable number of borrowings from Aboriginal languages. Arthur has arranged her vocabulary into eight thematic categories:

a. *'Always was, always will be'*: words which manifest the continuity of cultural and religious tradition.
b. *'Kin'*: words that describe kinship patterns.
c. *'Us Mob'*: words which relate to different forms of social interaction and the domain of feelings.
d. *'Country'*: words which express the people's relationship to the land.
e. *'Living with whitefellas'*: words connected to the contact experience.
f. *'The quiet run and the wild bush'*: words that chronicle how Aboriginal people came into contact with the English language in pastoral industry contexts.
g. *'Aboriginal way'*: words which evidence the structural influence of the Aboriginal substrate languages.

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h. *'Survival'*: words that describe more recently developed concepts of Aboriginality, created in a context of social and political change and struggle for cultural and physical survival.

The organisational principle according to which Arthur has arranged her dictionary indeed provides an ideal starting point for an investigation of the meanings expressed by AborE lexical items and their underlying concepts. However, some of her categories were felt to be too broad to adequately characterise all appropriations encountered in the texts so that they were broken down into a more fine-grained classification. The following catalogue of conceptual domains thus constitutes a differentiated rendition of Arthur's categories:

a. *The continuation of cultural and religious tradition*
Terms that denote material and immaterial aspects of Aboriginal culture and belief systems, and exemplify the conservation of cultural and religious knowledge. These also include the names of (local) languages and language groups.
b. *Kinship structures*
Terms which describe Aboriginal understanding of family and kinship ties and the roles, privileges, and responsibilities associated with them.
c. *Human relationships and social interaction*
Terms that illustrate power relations and interactions between people or describe people with whom the speaker maintains social relationships other than kin relations.
d. *States of feeling and being and ways of conduct*
Terms which describe mental and emotional states, including reference to concepts such as 'feeling shame'; proper and improper forms of behaviour; terms that portray a person's appearance, character, and habits.
e. *Body parts and body functions, intimate and personal aspects of live*
Terms which describe body parts and bodily functions; terms for a range of issues of a delicate nature, including sexual intercourse; descriptions of a person's state of health.
f. *Relationship to the land*
Terms testifying to the bond between a person and his or her home country, describing the connection with, dependence on, and responsibility for the land.
g. *Nature and environment*
Terms which describe aspects of Australian flora and fauna and environmental features.
h. *The contact experience*
Terms that describe various aspects of institutionalisation; words for concepts introduced by the colonisers, such as designations for introduced

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substances and for other concepts of every-day life unknown before European colonisation; terms used in employment contexts.

i. *Novel conceptualisations of Aboriginality and cultural survival*
Terms that illustrate aspects of Aboriginal culture and society which are informed by more recent social, political, and cultural developments. This includes names for Aboriginal people and their language varieties that have a wider, regional, applicability. After the destruction of a large part of the pre-contact language ecology, these regional names have replaced former identities which were based on original language names. Terms which describe aspects of physical and cultural survival.

j. *Aboriginal way*
English words which are manifestations of structural substrate influence, e.g. terms expressing notions of direction, place, time, manner, and quantities; terms that reveal Aboriginal ways of classifying and describing experience.

Still, it needs to be said that there are also additional factors for which Arthur's classification is not entirely unproblematic. While the eight domains according to which her dictionary is organised indeed provide a reasonable and, for the most part, adequate structure for ordering her vocabulary, she does not explain how she developed these categories. What is more, while she provides a thematic outline at the beginning of each chapter, she generally does not state her motivation for allocating individual lexemes to particular domains and not to others. In many cases, her arrangement of vocabulary items is obvious and does not call for further discussion. In others, alternative classifications would have been conceivable. Admittedly, it is not always easy to provide a straightforward and uncontestable classification for all vocabulary items which can be identified as being part of the lexicon of AborE (as the author of the present thesis has had to learn, too). Still, in some cases, we might have wished for a more detailed explanation as to why the author groups particular words in the way that she does. For example, *whiskers* 'facial hair, the beard' is included in category *(a) Always was, always will be* among a variety of words describing the continuity of cultural and religious tradition. This classification seems unusual, even after reading the definition which states that the word "is used to locate an event in a man's life by reference to whether it was before or after he had whiskers" (1996: 66, emphasis removed).

However, since the usefulness of Arthur's organisational structure by far exceeds any assumed or actual shortcomings, both the conceptual categories established for the present work as well as the classification of the individual items largely follow hers. The extended set of categories (a) – (j) presented above is supposed to constitute a way to compensate potential inadequacies, as it hopefully allows for a more exact definition of the appropriations' underlying conceptual domains. On rare occasions, individual items have in fact

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been assigned to different domains in the present work than in Arthur's. In addition, contestable classifications shall be justified, which is to say that when necessary, we will discuss the reasons for allocating a particular item to one conceptual category rather than to another. However, even these amendments will not completely prevent that the present work, too, reveals a handful of instances in which the allocation of conceptual categories may seem arbitrary – here we have to acknowledge that these are the possible pitfalls of adopting a predetermined set of conceptual categories that is limited in number.

8.2 The Corpus

In the following, we will examine seven plays for instances of linguistic appropriation. The texts, written in the period from 1968 onwards, are meant to represent a cross-section of contemporary Aboriginal drama and were chosen according to several criteria. For a start, it was important to choose texts by comparatively well-known Australian Aboriginal playwrights, whose works have reached a wider audience and have thus had the chance to inform a larger number of non-Aboriginal readers and theatre-goers about Aboriginal issues. Resorting to pieces written by renowned authors has another, entirely practical reason: as has been stated, only a part of the dramas that were successfully performed on stage have also been published, and many plays written by less known or emerging playwrights have never appeared in print.

Above, we have learned that during the past decades, the contents portrayed in Aboriginal drama have changed, so that while earlier texts were more strongly influenced by the desire to make a political statement and discuss socio-cultural issues, more recently written plays are often concerned with describing individual Aboriginal experience. Since these differences in content might also be reflected on the level of the language, it seems fruitful to let our corpus cover a period from the 1970s onwards. In addition, this temporal variation in our texts, though encompassing a rather short time span of only four decades, might bring to light possible variation on a diachronic level or testify to changes in the way that publishers have handled texts written by Indigenous Australian writers.

The next criterion that has been taken into account while compiling the corpus is that of geographic variation. Depending on the region in which AborE is spoken, the dialect shows varying substrate language influence, which on the lexical level is manifested in the use of words or expressions from different regional or local Aboriginal languages; in some areas, we can further observe the influence of post-contact Aboriginal languages such as Kriol. In addition, while many of the English-derived lexical features of AborE

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have wider currency and are used widely across Australia, some occur only in parts of the country. The same holds for lexical items that have developed as contact language features. Therefore, an attempt was made to select plays set in different regions of Australia, in both urban and rural locations. Also, the authors' place of birth and their linguistic and cultural affiliations have been considered in this context.

According to these criteria, the following texts were chosen to constitute our corpus; the order in which they will be treated is determined by their publication date:

The Dreamers, written by Western Australian playwright Jack Davis and first staged in 1982, published as
Davis, Jack. 1982. The Dreamers. In Jack Davis. *Kullark/The Dreamers*, 67-139. Sydney: Currency Press.

The Cherry Pickers, written by NSW playwright Kevin Gilbert and first staged in 1971, published as
Gilbert, Kevin. 1988. *The Cherry Pickers: The first written Aboriginal play*. Canberra: Burrambinga Books.

Murras, written by South Australian playwright Eva Johnson and first staged in 1988, published as
Johnson, Eva. 1989. Murras. In Jack Davis, Eva Johnson, Richard Walley & Bob Maza (eds.) *Plays from Black Australia* (Currency plays), 79-107. Sydney: Currency Press.

Bran Nu Dae, written by Western Australian playwright Jimmy Chi and first staged in 1990, published as
Chi, Jimmy & Kuckles. 1991. *Bran nue dae: A musical journey*. Paddington: Currency Press.

Up the Road, written by Victorian playwright John Harding and first staged in 1997, published as
Harding, John. 1997. *Up the road* (Current theatre series). Sydney: Currency Press in association with Playbox Theatre Centre, Monash University, Melbourne.

Windmill Baby, written by Western Australian playwright David Milroy and first staged in 2005, published as
Milroy, David. 2007. Windmill Baby. In Vivienne Cleven, Wesley Enoch, David Milroy & Jane Harrison (ed.), *Contemporary Indigenous plays*, 201-228. Sydney: Currency Press.

The Story of the Miracles at Cookie's Table, written by Queensland playwright Wesley Enoch and first staged in 2007, published as

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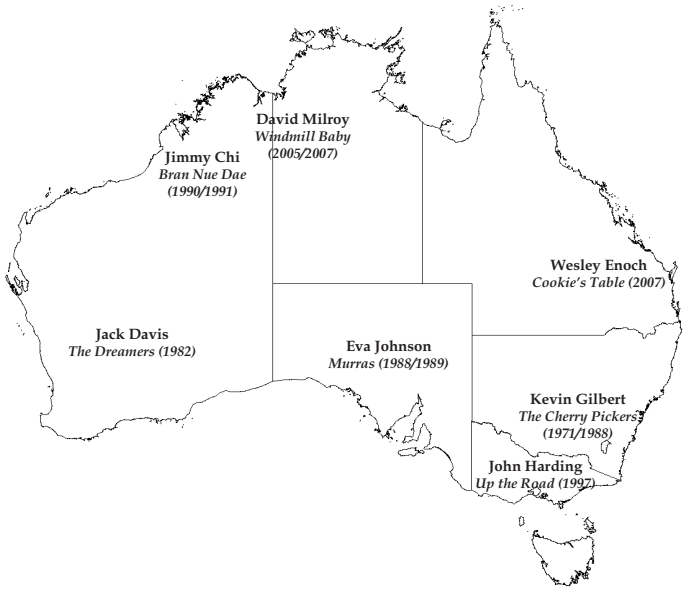
Enoch, Wesley. 2007. *The story of the miracles at Cookie's table.* Sydney: Currency Press; in association with Griffin Theatre Company.



Map 4. ***A Corpus of Australian Aboriginal Plays.***

Due to the small number of plays that will constitute our corpus, it is needless to say that the present analysis cannot do more than exemplify how a limited number of Indigenous Australian playwrights have used the English language to express themselves and communicate their concerns by means of their characters' discourse. While the results will allow us to make tentative statements on the nature and function of lexical appropriation in AborE drama, we need to be aware that these will merely be able to illustrate how lexical features of AborE *may* be applied as tools for the appropriation of the colonisers' language rather than being representative of language use in Aboriginal writing per se. In fact, any attempt at generalising our findings would imply that features exist that can be determined as linguistic 'trademarks' of Aboriginal drama, and while our corpus might actually reveal that parallels exist between the different texts, we should be very cautious in our interpretation and avoid any suggestion that there is such a thing as a characteristically 'Aboriginal style' of writing.

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8.3 Jack Davis

Jack Davis, the "grandfather of Aboriginal theatre" (Jose *et al.* 2008: 57), was among the pioneers of Aboriginal drama, and to this day, he continues to be one the most celebrated Aboriginal Australian playwrights. Like a number of other well-known Aboriginal writers, including Kim Scott, Glenyse Ward, Richard Walley, and Robert Bropho, Davis had affiliations to the Nyoongah community of south-west Western Australia. His plays, all of which he wrote when he was already in his sixties and seventies, were the first drama works by a Nyoongah playwright to achieve admission to commercial mainstream production (Casey 2004: 129). They continue to be landmarks of Australian drama.

Born in Perth on 11 March 1917, Jack Davis was the son of an Aboriginal-Sikh father and an Aboriginal-Afghan mother. Both of his parents had been taken away from their families as children. Davis and his ten siblings grew up in Yarloop, WA, a small town in the south of Western Australia where the Davis family was widely accepted within the community. Concerning his childhood and adolescence and the cultural roots he grew up with, Davis once acknowledged: "I have had access to rich and varied cultural experiences, having been fortunate enough to have my feet in two worlds, Anglo-Saxon and Aboriginal" (in Chesson 1988: 5). As a teenager, Davis and his older brother were sent to Moore River Native Settlement where, instead of the professional training that their father had envisaged for them, the boys were confronted with abominable living conditions and indwellers suffering from malnutrition, improper medical care, with assaults from black guards and the tyrannical and sadistic Superintendent Neale. These experiences have influenced many of his works and feature most prominently in *No Sugar* (Chesson 1988:5ff, 20ff). After their father's death, the Davis family moved to the Brooktown Aboriginal Reserve and Jack Davis recalled "a number of very fine old patriarchs living in the district, [...] custodians of a great body of Nyoongah tradition" (in Chesson 1988: 49). In this environment, Davis learnt about Nyoongah lore and culture and gained knowledge of the Bibbulmun language (Chesson 1988: 40ff), one of the local varieties that have merged into the post-contact language known as *Nyoongah* (Davis 1982: 141).

As a young man, Davis held a row of temporary jobs that lead him to different places in WA, where he learned about the local culture but also witnessed the exploitation of Aboriginal people as cheap workforce and the sexual abuse of female Aboriginal workers. After World War II, Davis became involved in Aboriginal activism; he joined the *Aboriginal Advancement Council* and the *Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islander* (FCAATSI). In 1967, Davis took on the post of the managing director of

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the AAC Aboriginal Centre in Perth and later on became the first president of the AAC in Western Australia (Chesson 1988: 120ff). In 1971, he was appointed chairman of the WA Aboriginal Lands Trust (Casey 2004: 130).

During his time as the AAC Aboriginal Centre's manager, Davis published his first volume of poetry *The First Born and Other Poems* (1970). In 1973, Davis took over as managing editor of the Aboriginal Publications Foundation and became the editor of the magazine *Identity*. In 1975, Davis was among the participants of a six-week workshop held at the Black Theatre in Redfern, where, for the first time, he more seriously engaged in writing drama (Chesson 1988: 169ff). Still, it would take another four years before Davis finally decided to trade his job as an editor for that of a playwright and actor.

When, in 1979, the State of Western Australia celebrated its 150th anniversary of colonisation, the establishment of the colony was celebrated as the first time that man set foot in Western Australia, effectively denying the Aboriginal people's presence. As a response to the official program, Davis sat down to write *Kullark*, a play which portrays the effects of colonisation on the Aboriginal population of Western Australia. After its premiere in Perth, the play extensively toured the state before it was brought back to Perth where it ran for another sold-out season (Casey 2004: 135ff). After the success of *Kullark*, Davis decided to rework an older piece he had written in 1972, and in 1982 a new version of *The Dreamers* was performed by the newly founded Swan River Stage Company (Chesson 1988: 190, 198ff). After its premiere at the Festival of Perth, the play went on a national tour, consolidating Davis' reputation as a playwright. In the following years, Davis wrote a number of other plays, including *Honey Spot* (1985), a play for children, as well as *No Sugar* (1985) and *Barrungin* (1988), which together with *The Dreamers* form the *First Born Trilogy*. All of them have successfully toured Australia and have been staged abroad. By the late 1980s, Davis had become recognised nationally and internationally as one of the leading Australian playwrights. *Moorli and the Leprechaun*, his second play for children, and *In Our Town* were staged for the first time in 1989 and 1990 respectively (Casey 2004: 144ff, 268ff).

In his plays, Davis attempted a re-writing of the history of European colonisation in Australia from the perspective of an Aboriginal person. Revealing truths that had been overlooked in official records, he was the first Aboriginal playwright to confront mainstream audiences with distressing and uncomfortable aspects of Australian history and introduced them to the often bleak realities of present-day Aboriginal life. According to Davis (in Chesson 1988: 197), writing drama commends itself to an Aboriginal author:

> I had spent virtually a lifetime writing poetry and hoping to become a writer. Within a few short years I was writing successful plays. I am not really surprised that my Aboriginal background has been a great asset in theatre. The Nyoongah language was always full of humour and music. Theatre, in a bush

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> arena, is the very essence of an Aboriginal corroboree and performances are always full of brilliant dance and mime. There was and is great opportunity for theatre to draw upon the rich Aboriginal oral literature.

Davis further continued to publish poetry and was one of the editors of *Paperbark: A Collection of Black Australian Writings* (1990). Davis always perceived his writing as yet another tool to improve the situation for Aboriginal people:

> I had long been convinced that writing was the best means of influencing public opinion and bringing about an improvement in the Aboriginal situation, and was determined to build upon the small beginning made by *The First-born* (in Chesson 1988: 191).

In 1981 he was named *Aboriginal Writer of the Year* and in 1983 became a member of the *Aboriginal Arts Board*. His work as a writer and activist was acknowledged through a variety of awards, including the *British Empire Medal for Services to Literature and the Aboriginal people of Western Australia* (1977), the *Australia Medal* (1986), and the *BHP Award* in 1988 (Casey 2004: 283, 309); in 1985, he became a member of the *Order of Australia* and in 1998, he was named an *Australian Living National Treasure* (Jose *et al.* 2008: 57). Jack Davis passed away in 2000, but his plays remain to be among the most well-known and successful drama pieces by an Aboriginal author. In his days as playwright, poet, and actor, Davis influenced the work of a number of younger Aboriginal artists, including Lynette Narkle, Ernie Dingo, Bob Maza, Richard Walley, and Jimmy Chi.

8.3.1 **The Play: *The Dreamers* (1982)**

The text that will be analysed for instances of lexical appropriation is *The Dreamers* (1982), the second play (but the first to be written) in Davis' *First Born Trilogy*, which portrays the fate of an extended Aboriginal family in Western Australia over a period of 50-60 years. The text addresses issues of cultural displacement in contemporary Aboriginal experience and narrates episodes of the life of the Wallitches, an urban family whose living conditions and daily routine are in many ways representative of Aboriginal life in contemporary Australia. The men, father Roy, the eldest son Peter, and cousin Eli are chronically unemployed and spend the major part of the day drinking, yarning, and quarrelling, while mother Dolly tries to make ends meet with what remains of their social security money. The two younger children, Meena and Shane, are still in High School; they only have little knowledge of Nyoongah language and culture. When Uncle Worru, an elderly relative, is released from hospital to stay with the family for the last months of his life, his tales and reminiscences confront the Wallitches with both their family's history and their heritage. In the course of the play, Worru's health deteriorates and his mind becomes increasingly absorbed in images of the past; while his condition wors-

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ens, the family's situation, too, becomes more troubled as Peter has to serve a prison sentence and Meena decides to leave school. Worru's death ends the play, but the Wallitches' story is continued in *Barrungin*, the last text of the *First Born Trilogy*.

8.3.2 **Interlude: Borrowing vs. Code-switching**

Jack Davis makes extensive use of AborE vocabulary in his text *The Dreamers*, which is characterised by the frequent occurrence of words and phrases from the Western Australian Nyoongah language. The term *Nyoongah*[23], lit. 'man', has been adopted to describe Aboriginal people of the south west of Western Australia, their language and cultural heritage. The Nyoongah language developed from the synchronisation of a dozen or more varieties originally spoken in the area; it is a result of the disruption of pre-colonial social and linguistic structures and the extinction of a large part of the Aboriginal population of Western Australia. Today, there are hardly any Nyoongah speakers left and the language has been replaced by what has been termed 'Neo-Nyoongah' by Douglas (1968), a mixture of English and Nyoongah words (McCarron 1993; Thieberger 1996).

The Aboriginal language material found in the play is neither restricted to single lexical items that could straightforwardly be classified as borrowings on the one hand nor to instances of code-switching on the other. Rather, we find single words, phrases of varying length, as well as longer passages in Nyoongah, and in many cases, it is not easily feasible to determine the status of these insertions with certainty. Hence, before we begin with our analysis of *The Dreamers*, it appears necessary to address some theoretical questions which will hopefully help us in our classification of the lexical appropriations found in the text, and to discuss different approaches which have tried to differentiate between processes of borrowing and code-switching.

There seems to be little agreement among linguists about how to define and delimit the processes that apply when situations of language contact result in the insertion of lexical material from one language into another; neither is there any consensus about how to describe and distinguish the outcome of such processes. This uncertainty is also reflected in the use of the relevant terminology: Gardner-Chloros (2009: 10), for example, addresses "the vexed question of terminology" as she discusses different approaches to code-switching and the relationship between code-switching and mechanisms such

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[23] There are different orthographies for the term *Nyoongah*, which reflect the local variation grounded in the dialectal differences that pertained (and still pertain to some degree today) (McCarron 1993). In the following, we will use the spelling preferred by Davis himself and a number of other Nyoongah writers who acknowledge his influence.

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as borrowing, code-mixing, relexification, and interference. The distinction between borrowing and code-switching, which is of relevance for the purpose of the present analysis, seems to be especially hard to make and a whole range of different viewpoints exist in the literature. In the following, we shall outline the most important criteria that are commonly postulated in order to set code-switching and borrowing apart and discuss their value for our attempted analysis.

One factor frequently considered in the borrowing/code-switching debate concerns the length of the portion of foreign language material that is inserted. However, under close scrutiny, this approach proves to be insufficient: while borrowings are commonly assumed to have limited length, code-switches can comprise anything from a one-word utterance to longer passages. Some researchers (e.g. Thomason 2001: 135) have argued that code-switching can even occur at the morpheme level. As such, the length criterion does not provide a reliable means of distinction as it obscures the status of single lexical elements.

In order to account for the indeterminate status of single-word insertions, Poplack & Meechan (1995: 200) differentiate between established borrowings and what they call 'nonce borrowings', viz. elements that have not (yet) entered the lexicon of the target language. Both types are to be distinguished from code-switching which

> […] may be defined as the juxtaposition of sentences or sentence fragments, each of which is internally consistent with the morphological and syntactic (and optionally, phonological) rules of its lexifier language. […] 'Borrowing' is the *adaptation* of lexical material to the morphological and syntactic (and usually, phonological) patterns of the recipient language. Established 'loanwords' (which typically show full linguistic integration, native-language synonym displacement, and widespread diffusion, even among recipient-language monolinguals) differ from 'nonce borrowings' only insofar as the latter need not satisfy the diffusion requirement. [Emphasis in original, K.L.]

Thus, borrowing involves a high degree of integration. For a start, the phonological structure of a borrowed item is likely to be adapted to that of the target language. Unluckily, phonological criteria cannot be relied on in a written text, and while the element's spelling may provide some indications, we cannot establish with certainty the degree to which a particular lexeme has been adapted to the phonological structure of English. Integration can also be observed at the level of grammar and the lexicon: the borrowed element receives grammatical morphemes, such as plural markers, comparative and superlative suffixes, and inflectional endings; the use of determiners from the target language and the borrowed element's position and function in a sentence is subject to the target language's syntactic rules. In addition, a borrowed element enters the lexicon of the target language and thereby becomes available to all speakers of that language. Nonce-borrowings, too, are assumed to

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exhibit a considerable degree of structural integration which shows most readily at the level of syntax and morphology, though not necessarily at that of phonology (Romaine 1989: 142). As follows from the above citation, they differ from established borrowings in their frequency of use and consequently in their degree of acceptance. Code-switches, on the other hand, are prone to maintain the grammatical, syntactic, and phonological rules of the donor language.

Myers-Scotton (1993) advocates a less strict separation between one-word code-switches and borrowings, which she sees as two ultimately related phenomena. She further points out that integration into the system of the target language cannot function as an absolute criterion, claiming that one-word switches may also undergo integration while different degrees of integration may prevail among borrowings. Accordingly, she (1993: 176) proposes absolute and relative frequency of occurrence of a given element as the main criterion to determine its proximity to the target language's lexicon. This point of view is not entirely unproblematic: how should we determine how many occurrences are needed, both at the level of the individual speaker as well as within a greater community of speakers, for a lexical element to be accepted as a borrowing without establishing arbitrary cut-off points? Further, in order to make any statement on the frequency of occurrence of a particular lexical item, a large sample of the target language is needed, especially when investigating the occurrence of lexical elements that express concepts of a very specific nature and therefore only occur in a small number of contexts.

Gardner-Chloros (1987), too, subscribes to the notion of a continuum but has a more flexible understanding of the frequency criterion. She (1987: 102) argues that

> […] the distinction between code-switching and loans is of a 'more or less' and not an absolute nature. […] If it is an innovation on the speaker's part, it is code-switching. If it is frequently used in that community – whether or not in free variation with a native element – then it is at least on its way to becoming a loan. In short, a loan is a code-switch with a full-time job.

Like Myers-Scotton, Gardner-Chloros favours a diachronic interpretation of the relationship between code-switching and borrowing, indicating that the two may not be understood as distinct but roughly simultaneously occurring processes which yield separate outcomes. They both suggest that the processes of code-switching and borrowing need to be seen as located within the same developmental continuum, as code-switches provide the basis for the emergence of new borrowings that enter the mental lexicon.

The quotation from Poplack & Meechan (1995: 200) indicates yet another factor that distinguishes borrowings from code-switches. According to them, loanwords "typically show full […] widespread diffusion, even among recipient-language monolinguals". Hence, borrowings that have become established

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in the lexicon of the target language can readily be employed by monolingual speakers. Code-switching, which involves the exploitation of the donor language's lexicon, demands linguistic proficiency and knowledge of the system of the language. It thus requires a high level of bilingual competence.

Where does this leave us? Summing up, we can state that the criteria most commonly cited for distinguishing borrowings from code-switches include

a) the degree of integration of the lexical material into the system of the target language,
b) the lexical element's frequency of occurrence,
c) its adoption into the mental lexicon of the target language, and hence,
d) its availability to monolingual speakers.

Even so, several problems arise: as the discussion has shown, drawing a strict boundary between borrowing and code-switching is hardly possible and while we have been able to determine criteria that are supposed to set the two processes and their outcomes apart, none of them is entirely conclusive and can guarantee a straightforward classification of foreign lexical features. In addition, they only have limited applicability in the context of our analysis and the nature of the material we are dealing with. This becomes evident when we try to apply them to a few of the elements found in Jack Davis' text *The Dreamers*:

Davis' play includes several instances of lexical appropriation for which a classification seems relatively easily feasible. In *The Dreamers*, we can observe the use of

1. single lexical elements from Nyoongah and other Aboriginal languages which occur more than once in the text, show signs of structural integration, and are listed in dictionaries on AborE and other varieties of English, that is, they can be assumed to have entered the (Abor)English lexicon,
2. single lexical elements that originate from south-eastern Australian Aboriginal languages and have spread across the country, becoming part of the lexicon of AborE and possibly also AusE,
3. independent clauses, some of which are self-contained sentences, e.g. *Gnyny nooniny barmy* 'I will strike you' (Davis 1982: 107) while others are embedded in a larger sentence, e.g. "Hey Pop, *boondah wah*?" 'do you have money?' (Davis 1982: 88). Further there are a handful of longer passages, e.g. monologues and songs. All of the clauses and longer stretches of traditional language appear to have internal consistency with the Nyoongah grammatical system, some of the clauses, for example, do not contain an overt verb, as in *koong minditj*, 'my side hurts', lit. 'side', 'ribcage' + 'sick'.

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The items in (1) and (2) clearly constitute borrowings and their status as regularly occurring features of the AborE lexicon of AborE is in fact confirmed by the relevant literature. The length criterion and the consistency with the grammatical structures of Nyoongah, on the other hand, suggest that the elements described in (3) are examples of code-switching.

However, *The Dreamers* also contains a number of elements for which a classification as borrowings or code-switches proves a lot more difficult. These show different degrees of morphological and syntactic integration and are not attested as part of the Nyoongah English lexicon in any of the dictionaries consulted. As has been indicated, structural integration cannot function as the sole indicator for borrowing, as borrowed elements have been shown to exhibit different degrees of integration, while, at the same time, also code-switches may to a certain extent be integrated into the target language's structure. While some of the Nyoongah elements found in the text exhibit morphological integration, mostly in the form of the plural morpheme *-s* (e.g. *tjennuks* 'evil spirits'), the majority of the single lexemes and phrasal units is integrated only at the syntactic level. Nouns are generally used with English determiners, verbal and adjectival elements, on the other hand, frequently exhibit integration only in terms of their position and function within the sentence.

As we have seen, frequency of occurrence, too, is not an entirely unproblematic criterion, especially in the more restricted definition provided by Myers-Scotton (1993). In addition, when dealing with a small corpus such as ours, frequency of occurrence cannot provide a reliable measure to distinguish borrowings from code-switches. In practice, several loanwords that are attested by Arthur (1996) and in sources such as Dixon *et al.* (2004) or the *Australian National Dictionary* (e.g. *boolyaduk* 'cleverman', *doak* 'throwing stick') only occur once in *The Dreamers* while other terms not documented in the literature occur repeatedly in the text. We also need to keep in mind that many of the Aboriginal language terms, even those items that have become established as loanwords in Australian English, express very specific cultural or religious concepts and only apply to very limited contexts, so that their frequency of use is generally very low. Many of the terms used by speakers of AborE nevertheless fill a gap in the lexicon as they denote concepts that can otherwise not be expressed in English, and this, in turn, is a frequently assumed motivation for lexical borrowing (see for example the 'borrowing scale' in Thomason 2001: 70f). In many cases, a classification of the elements as borrowings seems plausible as their use appears to be motivated by the lexical element's wider currency. In fact, many Nyoongah terms found in *The Dreamers* reoccur in all of Davis' texts, which indicates their currency in Nyoongah English. Even so, due to the limited information on the lexicon of WA Nyoongah English it is impossible to ascertain whether a particular Nyoongah word has become established as a loanword. Also, while nominal elements such as *tjennuks* 'evil

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spirits' or *karda*, the name of a dance, have a low frequency in the text, their status as borrowings is supported by their ability to fill a lexical gap in English. Still, most of the verbal and adjectival elements found in the text do not fill such a gap.

As will become evident in the following, very similar problems arise when we attempt a classification of the Aboriginal language material found in the remainder of our corpus. The texts *The Cherry Pickers* and *Bran Nue Dae*, for example, include a number of Aboriginal language words which are neither attested in a dictionary nor in any other source on AborE and AusE, which suggests that these terms are code-switches rather than established lexical elements. On the other hand, many of these elements exhibit some degree of syntactic and morphological integration and their spelling often indicates phonological adaption to the English language. Also, while *The Dreamers* contains several longer passages of untranslated Nyoongah, the Aboriginal language material that occurs in the other texts is largely restricted to single lexical items and hybrid elements.

The last criterion discussed above maintains that code-switching requires bilingual competence. This, too, is hardly of any value as we are not dealing with real life language data but fictional dialogues. In the literature, there is no indication that any of the playwrights are active bilinguals, although we know that Jack Davis has acquired at least some knowledge of Nyoongah. As such, it is probable that many of the Aboriginal language terms used in the plays have at least a wider regional currency.

In conclusion, we need to admit that while for some of the Aboriginal language elements found in the plays a classification as borrowings or code-switches is possible, the texts also include an amount of lexical material for which this is not easily feasible. We may assume that most of the single lexical items have at least some currency and are thus very likely part of the lexicon of regional AborE varieties. Still, mere assumptions do not provide sufficient proof for their classification as borrowings. Hence, it appears that the most reasonable approach for the present study would be to actually neglect the borrowing/code-switching distinction when dealing with non-English lexical appropriations. Instead, all single items, phrases, and longer stretches of Aboriginal Australian languages shall be treated as instances of insertion of foreign lexical material. These will be differentiated in terms of their length, i.e. we will distinguish single-word insertions from multi-word insertions. Another distinguishing feature is the source language, so that lexical elements that can be traced back to languages spoken in the authors' native region shall be distinguished from lexemes which originate from languages spoken elsewhere. These terms can be assumed to have spread across the country and entered the lexicon of AborE and possibly also AusE. Whenever possible, the elements' currency in AborE, AusE, and other varieties of English will be

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determined on the basis of their being included in dictionaries on these varieties. In the following, the terms *borrowing* and *loan(word)* will only be used when referring to single-word insertions which have become established lexical features in AusE or other varieties of English.

8.3.3 **Analysis of *The Dreamers***

The great extent to which *The Dreamers* employs AborE lexical features becomes evident even before we engage in a close reading of the text. The play's two acts '*Beeruk* – Summer' and '*Moorga* – Winter' use Nyoongah vocabulary in their heading, and the play's title *The Dreamers*, although not an Aboriginal language word, evokes a central religious concept, viz. that of the Dreaming. The Wallitches' family name itself is derived from the Nyoongah term *walitj* 'night hawk', a bird that is believed to announce an approaching death (Davis 1989: 36); it anticipates both Worru's decease and the demise of the Nyoongah culture he symbolises. Also in the dialogue, we find a strong emphasis on Aboriginal modes of expression. Except for a brief appearance of Darren, one of Meena and Shane's 'whitefella' friends, all characters in the play have an Aboriginal background and belong to the (extended) Wallitch family. Most of the adult characters speak a variety of AborE which is situated at the acrolectal end of the AborE continuum and thus comparatively easy to understand for non-Aboriginal audiences. Nevertheless it features a wealth of lexical elements that can be attributed to the Nyoongah English lexicon and function as salient markers of their Aboriginality. Mena's and Shane's speech approaches AusE albeit they, too, occasionally employ distinctive AborE features, including the (rare) use of Nyoongah terms. Their idiolects resemble that of Robert, a cousin who works as a legal aid officer. His speech, like his lifestyle, is closest to that of the mainstream society. Uncle Worru's variety of Nyoongah English shows more differences to StE than the speech of the other characters, both on the lexical as well as on the grammatical level.

All characters employ a range of distinctive grammatical features[24]. These include characteristic verb forms: third person singular may lack *-s* inflection, while other verbs may not be inflected to express past tense, as in "I tell 'em a lotta stories. [...] An' they laugh somethin' cruel." (Davis 1982: 84). Elsewhere, the past tense form *was* is used for plural and 2. pers. singular. Frequently, past participle forms are employed to express simple past tense, as in "You

[24] Once again, I am fully aware that a description of AborE grammatical features which is based on a negative comparison with StE is unfit to really capture the nature of AborE. The reason for relying on this approach lies in the purpose mentioned above, which is to provide a brief– and by no means complete – overview of the major grammatical features that set the language used in Davis' text apart from texts written by non-Aboriginal playwrights.

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know who done all that?" (Davis 1982: 84), and auxiliaries tend to be omitted in declarative sentences as well as in questions, e.g. "You comin'?" (Davis 1982: 89). While some verbs show irregular inflection, others are inflected regularly where an irregular form would be expected, as in "I runned away with Melba." (Davis 1982: 134). Future is expressed through both *will* and *gonna*, as in "I dunno what I'm gonna do with you." (Davis 1982: 92). Some passive constructions show use of *get* rather than a form of *(to) be*, as in "all got sent Mogumber" (Davis 1982: 134), and expressions such as "'Ow you going?" (Davis 1982: 91) underline that *go* can occur in a variety of functions in AborE. Occasionally, *never* is used to negate the verb, and also double negation can be observed, as in "You can't prove nothin'."(Davis 1982: 83). Plural forms, too, are realised differently: plural is not always marked by inflection, as in "nearly six mile" (Davis 1982: 93), and in a few cases, regular plural forms are used where irregular forms would be expected, e.g. *foots* 'feet'. Occasionally, elements such as *lotta* indicate plurality, as in "lotta moodgah up there" (Davis 1982: 85f). Whereas some of the Nyoongah single-word insertions exhibit the plural suffix *-s*, others do not carry English inflection markers, e.g. *marta* 'legs', *djenna* 'feet'. In some cases, the omission of prepositions can be observed, as in "if you go Mogumber old settlement" (Davis 1982: 85), and pronoun forms such as the possessive pronoun *me*, e.g. "me own fuckin' people" (Davis 1982: 84) and the 2. pers. plural *youse* remind readers of the influence of Irish English and other British dialect forms. On a few occasions, *us* is used as a 1. pers. singular pronoun, as in "I dunno, give us a look." (Davis 1982: 100). In addition to the frequent occurrence of demonstrative *them*, determiners may be omitted or replaced by *this/that*, e.g. "Well, you know that Christmas tree, that's the *moodgah*, that's the *Nyoongah* name." (Davis 1982: 85). Adverbials may be formed with the suffixes *-way* and *-time* and the element *-one* occurs as adjective suffix, as in "She pretty one too." (Davis 1982: 84). Some complex sentences show the absence of structuring elements such as conjunctions, as in "Watch out he don't fall." (Davis 1982: 112) or relative pronouns, e.g. "What about them big boats come into Freemantle?" (Davis 1982: 127). Elsewhere, a resumptive pronoun is introduced, as in "One wetjala bloke, hippy, he give me two dollars." (Davis 1982: 105). The lengthening of vowels, as in the term *l-o-o-ng*, 'long', indicates intensification, a feature frequently found in AborE. Other noticeable imitations of AborE phonological features indicate the reduction of word-final consonant clusters and the elision of consonants as well as of unstressed, initial vowels, as in "She might wanna give me 'nother needle." (Davis 1982: 82). The transcription of the dialogue further suggests occasional *h*-dropping, as in "'Ere. And don't forget to bring me some *gnummari*. You 'ear me?" (Davis 1982: 89) and the raising of vowels, as in "Ay, an' how you gunna git on for a drink?" (Davis 1982: 83). Occasionally, fricatives are replaced by plosives, as in "Nurse gib 'em to me" (Davis 1982: 84).

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Davis' massive use of Nyoongah, especially the monologues and songs, suggests that the author had some degree of proficiency and lexical knowledge of the virtually extinct language. Still, when we compare *The Dreamers* to his other plays, it becomes obvious that many of the single words and shorter phrases found in *The Dreamers* also occur in his other texts, which suggests that they have wider currency in Nyoongah English. The longer passages of Nyoongah are followed by an English translation within the main text; all other Aboriginal language elements need to be looked up in the comprehensive glossary that follows the text. The glossary, however, only contains translations for single lexical items and a few of the shorter phrases; it does not provide translations for longer phrases and sentences, the meaning of which must be reconstructed by looking up their single components. Also, no grammatical information is provided. On the level of orthographic representation, all 'foreign' language elements, that is, Nyoongah words and phrases as well as terms from other Aboriginal Australian language, are rendered in italics in Davis' text; English terms which express specific cultural conceptualisations and loanwords that are established in (Aus)English (e.g. *kangaroo*) are not. Only the Aboriginal language elements of hybrid compounds are in italics.

For our analysis of *The Dreamers,* Davis' text was examined for instances of lexical appropriation which were isolated in order to determine the type of lexical appropriation strategy applied, the elements' source language and their meaning, and the underlying conceptual category. In addition, the part of speech of the single lexemes and their currency in different varieties of English inside and outside Australia were established whenever possible. The results of this analysis will be summarised and discussed below.

Based on what has been laid out in 8.1, but taking into account the above discussion on borrowing and code-switching and the conclusions drawn from it for the present study, the following types of lexical appropriation shall be identified in the text:

(1) single-word insertions from Aboriginal languages (formerly) spoken in the area where the play is set,
(2) single-word insertions from languages (formerly) spoken in other parts of the country,
(3) multi-word insertions from the languages of the area,
(4) hybrid compounds, which combine Aboriginal language terms and English elements, and
(5) English-derived AborE lexicon features, including

- English terms that have undergone semantic modification, as brought about by extension, narrowing, shift, or metaphor (e.g. *black*, 1. 'Aboriginal', 2. an Aboriginal person, *country*, 'the tract of land where an Aboriginal person or community belongs, to which

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they have a responsibility, and from which they can draw spiritual strength') (in the following named 'sematically modified English terms'),

- English terms that have undergone phonological modification (e.g. *baccy* 'tobacco'),
- English lexemes that exhibit a usage which differs from StAusE and StE practice, for example, lexical items that are no longer or rarely employed in AusE (e.g. *supper* 'evening meal'), function words, adverbs and adjectives which differ from their StE equivalents in form and/or meaning (e.g. adverbials using *-time* and *-way*), distinctive lexical combinations (e.g. *big mob* or *cousin brother*), including unique verb phrases and different types of compounds (e.g. *lie-smile* '(to) smile insincerely', *eye glasses* 'glasses'), as well as lexical conflations (e.g. *secret-sacred* or kin terms such as *bruz*, from 'brother' and 'cousin') (in the following referred to as 'Aboriginal usage of English term(s)').

As will transpire in the following, the above groupings 'semantically modified', 'non-standard usage', and 'phonologically modified' tend to overlap in some cases as several English-derived lexical appropriations show semantic modification or an unexpected, non-standard usage plus phonological modification, e.g. *whitefella* 1. 'a white person, a European Australian or other person with a similar appearance' 2. (as adj.) 'white', 'European'. Here, phonological modification has been judged secondary so that these elements were classified as examples of either semantic modification or characteristic AborE usage.

In a few cases, English words have been identified as instances of appropriation even though the terms are also found in AusE in an identical form and with the same meaning. These were included in the count as they are of special relevance for Aboriginal people and describe significant aspects of past and present Aboriginality. An example of such a term is *mission* 'an Aboriginal settlement which may or may not once have been a religious institution', which is of special relevance to speakers of AborE due to the experience of institutionalisation and the control which the government and the church exerted over the lives of Aboriginal people. Another one is *Land Council* 'a body appointed to represent the interests of Aboriginal people in Aboriginal land'.

It further needs to be acknowledged that some of the texts may in fact contain more instances of lexical appropriation than those identified and discussed here. This is because it is not always possible to determine with certainty if a particular English element that exhibits a non-standard meaning or usage actually constitutes a feature of AborE, and only those lexical items

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were included for which it could be established with certainty that they are part of the AborE lexicon. Here, the information provided by Arthur (1996) and in the relevant literature on AborE was taken as guideline. Some lexical items were found to occur either in their StE or in their AborE sense, depending on the context of the utterance. It should be understood that only the latter were counted as instances of appropriation. In this context, we also have to consider that a number of Aboriginal language terms have become established loanwords in AusE and beyond. These, too, pose a problem. Can terms that have such a wide diffusion be regarded as manifestations of culturally bound conceptualisations and are the concepts they express of particular significance for Aboriginal speakers? Here, the decision was usually based on the ways in which these terms were used in the text and on the meanings and conceptualisations associated with them. This sometimes leads to a rather paradox situation, viz., that a particular word is counted as instance of lexical appropriation in one text analysis but not in another. To provide an example: in *The Dreamers*, the term *kangaroo* refers to the meat of the animal which is prepared for supper. It is thus used in a sense that is relatively common in AborE but usually not found in other varieties of English. Elsewhere, the word describes the animal itself as a typical part of Australian fauna, a usage that is not based on a culturally-bound interpretation of the term. Similarly, other established borrowings have been included in the count if their application emphasises Aboriginal people's ways of understanding the world, but also whenever they are used to describe artefacts or practices specific to Aboriginal cultures. An example of such a term is the word *corroboree* defined by the *AND* as 'a dance ceremony, of which song and rhythmical musical accompaniment are an integral part, and which may be sacred and ritualised or non-sacred, occasional and informal'. While the term is shared with AusE, it relates to an important aspect of Aboriginal culture which justifies the term's status as instance of appropriation. As Dixon *et al.* (2006:151f) show, the word has further developed additional meanings in AusE where it may be used to describe 'any social gathering, especially of a boisterous nature'.

Whenever possible, the definitions provided for the Nyoongah words and phrases are taken directly from Davis' glossary, although in some cases, they are complemented by additional information from Arthur (1996) and other sources for AborE as well as by own observations. The individual sources from which definitions and glosses that specify the lexical appropriations' meanings as well additional pieces of information have been taken are detailed in the wordbook.

Besides, the definitions were cross-checked with the respective entries in the Nyoongah dictionaries compiled by Douglas (1991) and Whitehurst (1997), and the wordlist compiled by Dench which is published in *Macquarie Aboriginal Words* (Thieberger & McGregor 1994). We nevertheless need to keep in

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mind that the concepts underlying particular lexical signs may differ across languages so that often, verbatim translations need to be seen as approximations of the meaning in the original language rather than exact renditions of it. This is all the more true when we deal with languages which differ as profoundly in their underlying conceptual frameworks as English and Australian languages do. Longer Nyoongah phrases and clauses are thus very often not translated word by word.

Readers should be aware that the information provided below is merely a summary of the data which are in far greater detail presented in *A wordbook of selected Aboriginal English words in Australian literature* which has beenpublished separately. The wordbook can be found as part of the *Virtual Linguistics Campus* and is accessible via

http://bit.ly/2gUv4Cnat

or via QR code:

For a better understanding of the context in which the lexical appropriations are used, one or more text passage(s) in which they occur is/are quoted in the wordbook entry. Note that some types of appropriation are used repeatedly in the text, so that the passages quoted constitute only one or few example(s) taken from a variety of occurrences. Italics in the original text are removed in the quotations.

Davis' glossary also includes a handful of Aboriginal language terms which are not Nyoongah words. For these, no source language is provided in his glossary, in fact, it is not specified for any of the terms that they are not Nyoongah terms. Most of the lexical elements that come from a language other than Nyoongah, however, are more widely used so that the information provided by Arthur (1996), Dixon *et al.* (2006), the *AND*, as well as on the Nyoon-

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gah dictionaries by Douglas (1991) and Whitehurst (1997) and Dench's Nyoongah wordlist was relied on to verify the source language of the Aboriginal language elements. If the donor language could not be verified on the basis of these sources but the term is listed in Davis' glossary, it is treated as a Nyoongah word.

The part of speech of the single borrowed items was determined on the basis of their occurrence and function in the sentence and, if available, the information provided in Arthur (1996), Whitehurst (1997), and Douglas (1991). An exact grammatical determination of the elements in the longer Nyoongah phrases is not easily feasible without any knowledge of the language and has therefore not been attempted. Longer stretches of Nyoongah that exceed the length of a phrase are classified as monologue or song.

Several of the lexical elements encountered in the text are also documented in early contact varieties by Troy's (1990, 1993, and 1994) and Malcolm & Koscielecki's (1997) works on NSW Pidgin, by Foster *et al.* (2003) on South Australian Pidgin English (henceforth also SAPE), by Harris (1986 and 1988) on Northern Territory Pidgin English (henceforth also NTPE), and in the relevant literature on Australian pidgins and varieties of AborE cited in the bibliography. However, the information gathered from these sources can only serve as a tentative indication of the lexemes' past usages. Several terms are documented in pidgin varieties which developed during the colonisation of the northern and western parts of the country in the middle and late 19th century. Still, it is possible that the terms were already used elsewhere in earlier periods. In 5.2 we have seen that the NSW Pidgin and its early south-eastern descendants constituted a major influence on the contact varieties that developed in later periods and that a great part of the lexicon of varieties such as the NTPE is ultimately based on the New South Wales input. Thus, many lexical elements attested in the southern contact languages spread north, as is confirmed by borrowings from New South Wales languages that are found in Kriol and other northern varieties. Likewise, many of the elements documented in NTPE are likely to go back to south-east contact varieties even though it has not always been possible to find confirmation in the above mentioned sources. A number of terms are not documented at all in the contact languages. Again, this does not mean that none of them was used in these varieties, but simply that it has not been possible to find any written evidence in the literature consulted. The terms' currency in present-day contact varieties has not been investigated, but it is likely that many of the more widely distributed terms are also employed in those pidgins and creoles that continue to be used.

In order to determine the currency of the single-word insertions from Australian languages and English lexemes in AborE, these were cross-checked with Arthur (1996) and (if available) other dictionaries, glossaries, or word lists of (regional) AborE varieties. Dixon *et al.* (2006) and other works on re-

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gional varieties of AusE, e.g. Brooks & Ritchie's (1994) *Words from the West – A glossary of Western Australian terms*, as well as the online edition of the *Australian National Dictionary* have provided information on the words' use in AusE. Finally, the online edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* was consulted for information on the terms' occurrence in varieties of English outside Australia. As has been outlined above, it is unwise to make any definite statements on a word's currency and use that are based on lexicographic sources alone, without access to real-life data. Therefore, we will refrain from any suggestions such as "the word X is used in Y and Z" and only specify the sources in which the lexical items are listed. For those elements that are listed in the *AND*, the date of the earliest citation is provided. Citation dates provided by the *OED online* have only been considered if the terms are Aboriginal language words, English terms that are either identified as AusE in the respective *OED* entry, occur in a citation that is from an Australian source or refers to Australian usage, or describe concepts that are specific to Australian contexts. Any additional information that could be obtained on the lexemes' usage is presented as additional comment.

Issues of synchronic and diachronic usage of individual lexemes aside, we must not forget that this study's main purpose is to trace the ways in which forms of AborE have the potential to provide the means for the expression of an Aboriginal identity and to investigate how a literary text can allow for the transportation of cultural information. Above, we have elaborated on the various ways in which the lexicon of AborE varieties may be appropriated to express culture-specific concepts, and the thematic categories according to which Arthur (1996) has structured her dictionary have helped to determine a set of conceptual domains which shall be briefly repeated here:

a. *The continuation of cultural and religious tradition*
b. *Kinship structures*
c. *Human relationships and social interaction*
d. *States of feeling and being and ways of conduct*
e. *Body parts and body functions, intimate and personal aspects of live*
f. *Relationship to the land*
g. *Nature and environment*
h. *The contact experience*
i. *Novel conceptualisations of Aboriginality and cultural survival*
j. *Aboriginal way*

However, while the conceptual categories presented above allow for a relatively straightforward classification of the Nyoongah single-word insertions and English lexemes, the large amount of multi-word insertions found in *The Dreamers* once again challenges the conditions laid out for our analysis as it is not always possible to determine an adequate conceptual category for

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them. The stretches of Nyoongah language which have been classified as songs can easily be assigned to the conceptual category *(a) Continuation of cultural and religious tradition* since they are representations of cultural practices remembered by Worru. Most other instances of multi-word insertion, however, pose a far greater challenge. Many do not easily fit into any of the above categories as they express propositions that could just as well be expressed through English. Indicating the speaker's proficiency in and identification with the traditional language, their function is comparable to that of Myers-Scotton's (1993) 'core-borrowings' which do not fill a lexical gap but replace existing English words. The same applies for a few of the single-word insertions. As such, these instances of appropriation are best assigned to a category that pays respect to the speaker's linguistic knowledge and desire to incorporate what he or she remembers of the ancestral language:

k. Traditional language maintenance

Admittedly, (k) is not a conceptual category. Instead, it shows many parallels to our category (j): while the lexical elements in (j) bear witness to the *structural* influence of the Aboriginal language substrate, those elements included in (k) are examples of how the text makes room for the representation and, at the same time, the continuation of Nyoongah language use. The elements found in this category therefore signal the speaker's linguistic affiliations, reminding the reader and the audience of his or her Aboriginal background and identity.

As a last step, we shall try to relate our findings to the wider context of the play, that is to say, we will investigate to which extent the concepts expressed by the lexical appropriations and the conceptual categories they invoke reflect the thematic outline of the text. In addition, we will determine which effects are created by the different types of lexical appropriations, how these affect the tenor of the play, and what feelings they are likely to create on the part of potential readers and audiences.

8.3.4 **The Results**

The text analysis reveals that *The Dreamers* contains a total of 190 different types of lexical appropriation[25]. Davis' text makes use of all the different types of lexical appropriation strategies that have been outlined above: we find lexical items borrowed from the author's ancestral language Nyoongah, in-

[25] All numbers refer to different types of appropriation, not the actual number of tokens found in the text. Thus, the term *Nyoongah*, which occurs more than 25 times in Davis text, counts as one instance of appropriation. Lexemes that exhibit spelling variations, e.g. *fella* and *fellow* were counted as one type, so were singular and plural forms of the same lexeme.

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cluding one borrowing compound which combines two Nyoongah lexical elements (*goonamia* 'toilet', from *goona* 'excrement' and *mia* 'hut', 'temporary shelter'), as well as Nyoongah multi-word insertions and English terms that have changed their semantic scope or exhibit an AborE usage. In addition, the text contains a small number of single-word insertions from other Aboriginal Australian languages (such as the aforementioned *corroboree* from the Sydney language or *kangaroo* from the northern Queensland language Guugu Yimidhirr) and hybrid compounds comprising Nyoongah and English elements (e.g. *boolya man, mirrolgah stance, waitj dance, yongara dance*). Only 36 elements are documented in earlier Australian pidgin varieties; of these, 21 items can be traced back to NSW Pidgin.

Note that, in the following, no individual sources will be provided for the definitions and glosses which specify the lexical appropriations' meanings. These are detailed in the wordbook.

a) Single word insertions from Nyoongah form the bulk of lexical appropriations in the text; their number amounts to 88 items. Note that the complex elements *bitjarra gnoorndiny* 'sleep', lit. 'sleep' + 'sleep', *kobble wert* 'hungry', lit. 'stomach' + 'empty', *meowl birt* 'blind person', from *meowl* (elsewhere as *miyal*) 'eye', *tjen kooliny* '(to) walk', from *tjenna* 'feet' and *kool-* 'go', *tjenna guppi* 'featherfoot', from *tjenna* 'feet' and *guppi* 'feathers', and *woort beerny* '(to) strangle', from *woort* (elsewhere *wort*) 'throat', have been included in this category. Even though, technically, they have multiple constituents, their meaning and use suggest that they are fixed expressions, which justifies their being treated as compounded single-word insertions.

The major part of the single-word insertions are nominal elements (55 types), including two elements best defined as adjective-derived nouns (*meow birt*, in Davis' glossary 'blind person', elsewhere glossed as 'blind' and *winyarn*, in Davis' glossary 'weak-willed person', elsewhere glossed as 'frightened', 'pathetic'), as well as *choo* 'shame', *kynya* 'shame', both of which are generally used as exclamations. To these we can add the second most frequently occurring Nyoongah English lexical element, *Nyoongah*, which occurs as noun and adjective, as well as the two pronouns *gnyny* 'I', 'me' and *nietjuk* 'who'. Thirteen of the Nyoongah words are adjectival elements and another five terms are verbal elements, including the imperative *allewah* 'watch out'. The element *gnoorndiny* 'sleep' occurs as verb and as what appears to be a nominalised verb. Six of the Nyoongah single-word insertions are adverbs and another two elements are best described as interjections (*koorawoorliny*, an expression of disbelief, and *woolah*, a shout of praise). Two elements have not been assigned any part of speech: the affirmative *kia* 'yes' and the negative *yuart* 'no' are most commonly used at the beginning of an utterance to signal emphasis, agreement, or disagreement and thus serve an emotive function.

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Finally, there is the question word *wah* which is used with the meaning 'is there?', 'do you have?'.

None of the Nyoongah elements is documented in earlier contact varieties, and only eight items are established for AusE or other varieties of English; in fact, only 13 of the Nyoongah single-word insertions are listed in Arthur (1996) as AborE lexical items, which suggests that most only have restricted, regional currency. The items recorded in Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal varieties of English are: *boolyaduk* 'cleverman' (AborE), *bridaira* 'boss', 'master' (AborE), *choo* 'shame' (AborE), *kynya* 'shame' (AborE), *doak* 'throwing stick' (AusE), *gidtji* 'spear' (AusE), *gnoop* 'wine', lit. 'blood' (AborE), *gnumarri* 'tobacco' (AborE), *goonamia* 'toilet' (AborE), *kwon* 'arse' (AborE), *kylie* 'boomerang' (AusE), *manatj* 'police officer', 'the police', lit. 'black cockatoo' (AborE, AusE), *minditj* 'sick' (AusE), *moorditj* 'good', lit. 'hard', 'strong', 'solid' (AborE), *moorlies* 'evil spirits' (AusE), *Nyoongah*, 1. an Aboriginal person, 2. 'Aboriginal' (AborE, AusE), *winyarn* 'weak-willed person' (AborE), *tjarraly* 'jarrah' (AusE), *yorga* 'woman' (AborE).

The etymology of the verb *bunjin'* 'play around (with women)' is unclear. Arthur (1996:140) suggests that the term, which is derived from the noun *bunji-man* 'a white man who sexually exploits Aboriginal women, or who particularly seeks out Aboriginal women for purposes of sex', might be derived from an Aboriginal pronunciation of *fancy man*. The online edition of the *AND* provides Goreng Goreng (south-eastern Queensland) *banji* 'friend' as origin. The term is thus documented for AborE as well as for AusE but not in any early contact variety.

b) The 73 English items recorded in the text constitute the second largest group of lexical appropriations. Of these, 47 elements are semantically modified English terms and another 24 items are examples of characteristically Aboriginal usages of English terms[26]. Two elements are best described as phonologically modified forms of an English lexeme, viz. *bacca* 'tobacco' and *nother* 'another'.

Again, nominal elements dominate: we find 42 types, including no less than six noun phrases, viz. *big mob*, *little fellow*, *old fellow*, *old girl*, *white man*, and *young fella*, one element that is also used as an interjection (*shame*), and a proper noun derived from a verb, viz. *Patchy*, from *(to) patch up* '(to) ask around for contributions'. In addition, we find two elements that are used as both noun and adjective in the text (*Wetjala* and *blackfella*) and the pronominal element *that one*. Another 13 items are adjectival elements and six items are

[26] These two categories include the terms *Wetjala* (semantic modification) and *unna* 'isn't it?' (Aboriginal usage of English term), which also exhibit phonological modification.

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adverbs. The text further includes six English-derived appropriations that are verbs. Finally, the three elements *ay, eh*, and *unna* are interjections.

About half of the English items, viz. 34 lexemes, are documented in earlier pidgin and creole varieties, including 19 items that could be traced back to NSW Pidgin: *all gone, bacca* (NSW), *before, big mob, black* (NSW), *blackfella(s)* (NSW), *boss, brother* (NSW), *camp, cheeky, country* (NSW), *directly/drecktly* (NSW), *eh* (NSW), *fella* (NSW), *finish, missus* (NSW), *mob, never, no good* (NSW), *nother, old fella/ole fella, old girl, one (s), plenty* (NSW), *poor old fella* (NSW), *sing out, stop (out)* (NSW), *tea leaf, that one* (NSW), *this way/that way* (NSW), *tucker* (NSW), *Wetjala (s)* (NSW), *what for* (NSW), *white man* (NSW). In addition, 32 English items are listed in Arthur (1996) as part of the lexicon of AborE and a considerable number of items have an entry in the online versions of the *AND* and the *OED*, although many are defined as 'pidgin' or AborE terms in these sources, as for example *Aunty*, an older woman, often wise in traditional language, having status within her community; also a term of address, *big mob*, a large group (of people, animals, etc.), a large amount of something, *plenty* 'much (of)', 'many', *Wetjala*, from Engl. *whitefellow*, 1. a white person, a European Australian or other person with a similar appearance 2. (as adj.) 'white', 'European', *young fella*, a young person, usually a young man. Others appear to have only restricted currency in dialectal or regional varieties of English, e.g. *coz*, a familiar form of address for a cousin, also used as a term of solidarity, *cruel*, here 'very', *plenty* 'much (of)', 'many'.

c) The next major lexical appropriation strategy in *The Dreamers* is that of **multi-word insertion**. All in all, 20 examples of this appropriation type were counted, including phrases, clauses, as well as longer, more complex sentences. The Nyoongah multi-word insertions also include four stretches of traditional language that have considerable length, viz. one monologue (or rather, a dialogue with an imaginary interlocutor) and three songs. In addition, we find several instances in which items counted as single-word insertions are combined, e.g. *choo kynya*, 'real shame', lit. 'shame' + 'shame'. These have not been considered here as they were already counted in (a).

d) Two more types of lexical appropriation remain to be discussed, viz. **hybrid compounds** and borrowings from Australian languages other than Nyoongah. These only make up a minor portion of the lexical appropriations found in the text. All five hybrid compounds found in the text are nouns and only one does not include a Nyoongah term:

boolya man 'cleverman' (Nyoongah and English),
gin tailer, a (non-Aboriginal) male seeking for sexual encounters with Aboriginal women (Sydney language and English),
mirrolgah stance 'balance', the act of throwing a spear (Nyoongah and English),

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waitj dance, a dance (Nyoongah and English),
yongara dance, a dance (Nyoongah and English).

None of the hybrid compounds is accounted for in an early contact variety but *boolya man* 'cleverman' is listed as an AborE word in Arthur (1996), in different sources for AusE, as well as in the *AND* and the *OED*.

e) Two of the three **single-word insertions from Aboriginal languages other than Nyoongah** are nouns, viz. *kangaroo*, from Guugu Yimidhirr (Cooktown/northern Queensland) and *kulumans*, from Kamilaroi or a related NSW language: The remaining term, *corroboree*, a dance ceremony, '(to) dance', from the Sydney language occurs as both noun and verb. *Kangaroo* and *corroboree* are also documented in NSW Pidgin by Troy (1990 and 1993)[27]. All three lexemes are established loanwords in AusE and other varieties of English even though in these varieties, the term *kangaroo* has a different semantic scope and usually denotes the animal rather than its meat.

Summing up all examples of lexical appropriation and the conceptual categories into which they fall, we obtain the following picture:

a. **Continuation of cultural and religious tradition (34 items)**

- 15 single-word insertions (Nyoongah):

boolyaduk 'cleverman', *doak* 'throwing stick', *gidtji* 'spear', *karda*, a dance, *kylie* 'boomerang', *kunya* 'soul', 'spirit of a deceased person', *middar*, a dance, *moorlies* 'evil spirits', *nyumby*, a dance, *tjenna guppy* 'featherfoot', *tjennuks* 'evil spirits', *Wahrdung* 'Black Crow', *Wallitch*, the characters' family name, from *walitj* 'night hawk', an omen of death, *widartji* 'evil spirit', *yahllarah*, a dance.

- 10 English items:

Dreaming, a collection of events beyond living memory which shaped the physical, spiritual and moral world and which is still manifested in and sustains the present, *featherfoot*, a person with 'clever' powers used on a mission of revenge, *kidney fat*, the fat surrounding the kidney, secretly removed by ritual killers to cause a delayed death in their victims, *livin'*, from *just living* 'living together in a sexual relationship, one that may have Aboriginal validity', *doctor*, a spiritually powerful person whose powers include healing; a 'clever person', *song*, a traditional Aboriginal song, used to hold the knowledge of the 'law' or the 'Dreaming', *story*, a true account, which may include spiritual truth of a thing, event or place, *strong* 'spiritually powerful', *way*$_1$, the manner in which one lives as an Aboriginal person, uses language, and performs social and personal activities; the beliefs

27 Note that *kangaroo* was originally used by the NSW Aboriginal population to denote all animals introduced by the colonisers except for dogs.

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and customs which provide meaning for this way of living; the term may also be applied to non-Aboriginal ways, *yarn* 'Aboriginal story'.

- 4 hybrid compounds:

boolya man, a 'cleverman', *mirrolgah stance* 'balance', the act of throwing a spear, *waitj dance*, a dance, *yongara dance*, a dance.

- 3 multi-word insertions (3 Nyoongah songs that have been included in this category both for their content and form):

Allewa! Tjenna guppi nyinanliny, a nyinanliny, a nyinanliny, a nyinanliny, Mundika Nyinanliny, Mundika nyinanliny, Ngunyinniny kaka woorniny, A kaka woorniny, Tjenna guppi nyinanliny, Tjenna guppi, Tjenna guppi, Tjenna guppi, Woolah!

'Watch out, featherfoot there, There, there, there, There in the bushes, There in the bushes, I'm laughing, Laughing, Featherfoot there, Featherfoot, Featherfoot, Featherfoot, Hooray!'

Nitja Wetjala, warrah, warrah! Gnullarah dumbart noychwa.Noychwa, noychwa, noychwa.Wetjala kie-e-ny gnullarah dumbart.Kie-e-ny, kie-e-ny, kie-e-ny, Kie-e-ny.

'The White man is evil, evil! My people are dead. Dead, dead, dead. The white man kill my people, Kill, kill, kill, Kill.'

Wahra biny, wahra biny, Koor Ndillah boorndilly dorniny. Yoongoo bootjahrahk kippulyiny kippulyiny, Mahri wahrabiny, wahrabiny, wahrabiny, Woolah!

'Look at the clouds rolling, rolling, Thunder crashing, smashing. The rain has soaked the earth. Clouds rolling, rolling, rolling, Hoorah!'

- 2 single-word insertions (other Aboriginal languages):

corroboree, 1. a dance ceremony, of which song and rhythmical musical accompaniment are an integral part, and which may be sacred and ritualised or non-sacred, occasional and informal, 2. '(to) perform a corroboree', *kuluman*, a shallow wooden dish.

b. **Kinship structures (10 items)**

- 10 English items:

Aunty (also *Auntie*), an older woman, often wise in traditional language, having status within her community, also a term of address, here used to denote a female relative of the parents' generation[28], *brother*, a close relative

[28] In AborE, the terms *auntie* and *uncle* are frequently employed to refer to a person of one's parents' generation who may but need not be a (close) relative of the speaker. Often, the persons designated or addressed as such have considerable cultural and linguistic knowledge and enjoy high status within the community. The use of *auntie* and *uncle* is thus in many contexts comparable to that of terms such as *old fella* or *old girl* insofar as they may function as more general terms of respect for older people. Still, in the following, both *auntie* and *uncle* will be treated as belonging to conceptual category *b. Kinship structures* as their scope of reference also covers elderly relatives. Similarly, other kin terms such as *brother* and *sister* will be included in this category even though these, too, may also be used to address or to refer to persons who are not direct rela-

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of the same generation, often a parallel cousin; a form of address for a sibling, or a gesture of solidarity with another Aboriginal person of the same generation, *grannies*, from *granny*, a relative of either sex of one's grandchildren's generation or of one's grandparents' generation, *cousin*, a relative of either sex, not necessarily close, but of one's own generation, also an address term, *coz*, a familiar form of address for a cousin, also an item of solidarity, *lot*, a section of a family, *nephew*, a person/a relative of the younger generation, *relation*, a relation; the term is used much more inclusively than in StE, *sister*, a female of the same generation, a biological sister or a close cousin, or a person classified as such; also used to express solidarity, *uncle*, a respectful term of address for an older man.

c. **Human relationships and social interaction (9 items)**

- 5 English items:

little fella, a child, *old fella*, also *ole fella*, 1. an older person, also 2. a person of recognised authority within the community, normally an older person, *old girl*, a respectful reference to a women of an older generation, *sing out* 'call out', *young fella*, a young person, usually a young man.

- 4 single-word insertions (regional languages):

gunny 'I', 'me', *koolangarah* 'children', *nop* 'boy', *yorga* 'woman'.

d. **States of feeling and being and ways of conduct (13 items)**

- 7 single-word insertions (Nyoongah):

choo 'shame', *kynya* 'shame', (also in combination: *choo kynya* 'real shame'), *moorditj* 'good', *nyoornditj* 'pitiful person', *tjurip* 'pleased', *wayarning* 'frightened', *winyarn* 'weak-willed person'.

- 5 English items:

Cheeky 'causing pain', 'dangerous, violent', 'poisonous', 'mischievous, but possibly also dangerous', *make out* 'give the impression', 'pretend', *poor*, of a person who has died, (a euphemism for) 'deceased', 'late', *poor old fella*, from *poor fellow*, referring to the condition of oneself or others, implying recognition of the plight of the human condition, *shame* 'embarrassment', 'fear', a sense for having transgressed the social and moral code of society, intentionally or unintentionally.

- 1 multi-word insertion (Nyoongah):

noonuk gnitiung 'are you cold?'.

e. **Body parts and body functions, intimate and personal aspects of live (20 items)**

- 16 single-word insertions (Nyoongah):

bootjari 'pregnant', *gnarnuk* 'beard', *goonamia* 'toilet', *kobble wert* 'hungry', *koomp* 'urine', *kwon* 'arse', *marta* 'legs', *meow* 'eye', *meowl birt* 'blind person',

---

tives of the speaker. See also chapter 11 for a more detailed discussion of the different meanings and applications associated with kinship terms.

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minditj 'sick', *moorlin* 'back', *noych* 'dead', *nyoondiak* 'brains', *tjenna* 'feet', *tjuelara* 'skinny', *yimmung* 'forehead'.

- 2 multi-word insertions (Nyoongah):

kwotjut noych 'long gone', *koong minditj* '[my] side/ribcage hurts'.

- 1 English item:

finish '(to) end, to die', '(to) destroy, to kill'.

- 1 unclear item:

bunjin' 'play around (with women)'

f. **Relationship to the land (3 items)**

- 3 English items:

camp, a living place, temporary or permanent; the term can refer to the living place of either a single person or a small or large group, and can include in its reference a group of houses or a swag under a tree, but always in an Aboriginal-controlled environment, *country*, the tract of land where an Aboriginal person or community belongs, to which they have a responsibility, and from which they can draw spiritual strength, *nor'west*, of or from the north-west of Western Australia[29].

g. **Nature and environment (14 items)**

English items:

- 13 single-word insertions (Nyoongah):

bantji 'banksia', *beeruk* 'summer', *dwerts* 'dogs', 'dingoes', *kohn* 'wild potatoe', *kudden* 'red gum tree' *kulkarna* 'mullet', *moodga*, the Western Australian Christmas tree, *moorga* 'winter', *muttlegahruk* 'sand plain tree', *nyngarn* 'echidna', *tjarraly* 'jarrah', *yonga* 'kangaroo', *yuron* 'bobtail goanna'.

- 1 single-word insertion (other Aboriginal languages):

kangaroo, here denotes the animal as an item of food.

h. **The contact experience (26 items)**

- 16 English items:

bacca 'tobacco', *barefooted* 'without footwear', thus in transferred sense 'lacking European possession or knowledge of European ways', *black* 1. 'Aboriginal', 2. an Aboriginal person, *blackfella* (also *blackfellas*), 1. an Aboriginal person, 2. 'Aboriginal', *before* 'before the present time, i.e. in the past, in the old days, particularly before the time when the country was finally controlled by Europeans', *boss*, a form of address from an Aboriginal person to a European man, not necessarily an employer, *church married,* 'married in a European church, as opposed to married according to Aboriginal law', *feed* 'meal', *Jacky*, a person subservient to whites, *missus*, a form of address to a white woman, not necessarily an employer, *open* 'broke', *supper* 'evening

[29] *Nor'west* has been included in category 'Relationship to the land' as it relates not only to artefacts, practices, and traditions found in the north-west of WA but also to the people and their place of belonging, a concept that is based on the link between a person and the land and its characteristics and features.

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meal', *tea leaf* 'tea leaves', 'tea', *tucker* 'food, particularly European food', *Wetjala* (also *Wetjelas*), 1. a white person, a European Australian or other person with a similar appearance, 2. (as adj.) 'white', 'European', *white man*, a non-Aboriginal person.

- 9 single-word insertions (Nyoongah):

bridaira 'boss', 'master', *boondah* 'money', *gnumarri* 'tobacco', *gnoop* 'wine', *keep* 'water', 'liquor', *manatj* 'police officer', also 'the police', lit. 'black cockatoo', *marngk* (also *mahngk*) 'tea', *merrany* 'bread', *woonana* 'behind bars'.

- 1 hybrid compound:

gin tailer, a (non-Aboriginal) male seeking for sexual encounters with Aboriginal women.

i. **Novel conceptualisations of Aboriginality and cultural survival (1 item)**

- 1 single-word insertion (regional languages):

Nyoongah 1. an Aboriginal person, 2. 'Aboriginal', in south-west WA[30].

j. **Aboriginal way (23 items)**

- 23 English items:

all gone 'not present', 'no more', *ay*, an interjection, used as rhetorical comment, usually at the end of statements, *big mob* 'a large group (of people, animals, etc.)', *cruel* 'very', *drecktly* 'shortly', 'very soon', *eh*, an interjection, used as rhetorical comment, usually at the end of statements, *fella*, 1. a person, either male or female though usually male, 2. any animate or inanimate thing, *mob*, 1. a group of Aboriginal people, linked by relationship and culture, 2. a group of people or animals, 3. an expression of number, *never*, an emphatic negative, *no good* 'not any good', 'worthless', *nother* 'another', *one* (also *ones*), (as a noun) used with adjectives, with the resulting combination, while appearing noun-like, still functioning as an adjective, *Patchy*, an eye patch, a pun on the verb *(to) patch up (for)* '(to) ask around for contributions', *plenty* 'much (of)', 'many', *proper* 'real', 'really', 'truly', also 'adequate', 'adequately', *reckon* 'say' as well as 'think', *solid* 'terrific', 'fantastic', *stop (out)* '(to) remain at a place for some time', *that one*, cf. *this one*, used to indicate sth. with particularity, often used alongside the thing indicated, to distinguish it from another in the same category, (*this* also *that*) *way*$_2$, from *way* as a productive element in the formation of adverbials of manner and place, here 'in the direction indicated', *time*, a specific period, *unna*, an in-

30 Used to describe (WA) Aboriginal people who formerly belonged to several smaller language groups and their cultural and linguistic heritage. Covering a much larger geographical area and referring to a whole set of linguistic varieties and cultural traditions, terms such as *Nyoongah* acknowledge the changes that have affected Aboriginal society since the beginning of colonisation. This is why terms describing a wider, regional identity are included in category *(i) Novel conceptualisations of Aboriginality and cultural survival.*

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tensifier to a statement or response to a statement, meaning 'isn't it?', 'wouldn't you say', 'don't you think', *what for* 'why'.

k. **Traditional language maintenance (37 items)**

- 23 single-word insertions (regional languages):

allewah 'watch out', *bitjarra gnoorndiny* 'sleep', *boh-oh* 'a long way', *boordah-woon* 'so', 'directly', 'now', *doogeearkiny* 'flee', *doot* 'burnt', *dubbakyny* 'slowly', *dytje* 'meat', *gnoorndiny* 'sleep', *kia*, 'yes', *karlawoorliny* 'hot', *koora* 'long-time', 'before', *koorawoorliny*, an expression of disbelief, *moornawooling*, 'black', *nitjal* 'here', *nietjuk* 'who', *tjen kooliny* '(to) walk', *warrah* 'bad', *winjar* 'where', 'which way', *woolah*, a shout of praise, *woort beerny* '(to) strangle', *yuart* 'no', *wah* 'is there, do you have'.

- 14 multi-word insertions (regional languages):

baal koorliny 'they were going', *gnank weerdiny* 'after sunset', *gnyny nooniny bahkininy* 'I will bite you', *gnyny nooniny barmy* 'I will strike you', *kia gnullarah bridaira nyinning*, lit. 'yes' + 'our(s)'+ 'boss'+ 'here', *kia kurnan, kunarn!* 'yes, it's the truth', *keert koolny* 'going quickly', *wart arny yit* 'move along', *winjar koorl* 'which way (where) are we going?', *warrah wangeing* '(to) bad mouth', *winjar noonuk* 'where are you?', *woolah, yongarah, kwobinaryarn, kwobinaryarn* 'hurray, kangaroo, excellent, excellent', *yuarl nyinaliny gnullarah*, lit. 'you' + 'there' + 'ours'.

Milbart, Winjar Noonuk? Make a kaal. Gnuny gnitiung.Witjar gnank weerdiny, Milbart. Gnuny wanta kaal koong dookan gnoordiny.Milbart yuarl nyinaliny gnoordiny.Milbart yuarl nyinaliny gnullarah.Milbart kaal wah.

'Milbart, where are you? Make a fire. I'm cold and the sun is going down. I want to lie with my side to the fire. Milbart, are you coming to lie down with me? Milbart, come here to me. Milbart, make a fire.'

The greatest number of lexical appropriations found in Jack Davis' text *The Dreamers* falls into categories *k) Traditional language maintenance* and *a) Continuation of cultural and religious tradition*, which contain 37 and 34 elements, respectively. The high number of items in category (a) confirms what has been suggested in the above chapters, namely that the lexicon of AborE greatly contributes to the maintenance and transportation of cultural knowledge. The majority of the elements in this category are Nyoongah single- and multi-word insertions, demonstrating the importance of the traditional languages in the transmission of culturally and spiritually significant concepts. All English lexemes that fall into this category are listed in works on AborE and other varieties of English and thus appear to be more widely used. The value of the Nyoongah language is further stressed by the large number of elements in category (k). Their inclusion in the text provides a stage for the promotion and portrayal of the ancestral language that is only remembered by a small number of speakers and threatened by extinction. The large numbers of items in these categories and the high percentage of Nyoongah elements meet the

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thematic focus of the play, which contrasts contemporary urban Aboriginal realities with the lifestyle remembered by the old man Worru.

The third major category is *h) The contact experience*, which comprises 26 items and includes several Nyoongah single-word insertions that have developed new or additional meanings and therefore allow Nyoongah speakers to describe concepts related to black and white co-existence and interaction in settled Australia, e.g. *boondah*, money', lit. 'stone', *gnoop*, 'wine', lit. 'blood', *manatj* 'police', 'police officer', lit. 'black cockatoo', *marngk* 'tea (leaf)', lit. 'leaf'. The majority of items in this category, however, are English lexemes that appropriate existing meanings and applications and thus communicate Aboriginal people's viewpoints and experiences. The use of elements such as *Jacky*, a stereotypical name for a person subservient to whites, exemplifies how the characters also resort to irony to achieve this end.

How AborE expresses a perspective not shared with the mainstream society is further manifested in the 23 English-derived items that fall into category *j) Aboriginal way*. These testify to the different conceptualisations that underlie lexical elements which may deviate in form, function, and meaning from StE.

Another 20 items fall into *e) Body parts and body functions, intimate and personal aspects of live*. Here, the verb *finish* '(to) end', '(to) die' is the only English item; the etymology of *bunjin*' '(to) play around (with women)' is unclear; all other elements are from Nyoongah. The high number of Nyoongah elements in this category, as well as in category *d) States of feeling and being and ways of conduct* which includes 13 lexical items, eight of which are from Davis' ancestral language, indicates that the traditional language terms are preferred over English whenever speakers wish to convey concepts of a personal or delicate nature. This aspect will be discussed in more detail below. It should be noted, however, that in category (d), a central concept of Aboriginal ethics and feeling, viz. that of *shame* is variously referred to by the Nyoongah items *choo* and *kynya* as well as by the English term.

Nyoongah items also abound in category *g) Nature and environment*. The Guugu Yimidhirr borrowing *kangaroo* is the only one among the 14 elements that describe features of the (Western) Australian flora and fauna which is not a Nyoongah term.

Category *b) Kinship structures*, on the other hand, exclusively contains English lexemes that employ semantic modification to describe non-mainstream understandings of family relationships which do not express biological realities, e.g. *brother*, a form of address for a sibling, or a gesture of solidarity with another Aboriginal person of the same generation, *cousin*, a relative of either sex, not necessarily close, but of one's own generation, *sister*,

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a female of the same generation, a biological sister or a close cousin, or a person classified as such, *Uncle*, a respectful term of address for an older man.

The nine elements in conceptual category *c) Human relationships and social interaction* are more or less evenly distributed: four elements are from Nyoongah and another five are English terms. Here, it is noteworthy that while the Nyoongah insertions *gunny* 'I', 'me', *koolangarah* 'children', *nop* 'boy', *yorga* 'woman' describe people in more general terms, the English items *little fella*, *old fella*, *old girl*, *young fella* all involve some type of characterisation by age and/or status.

Three English items, viz. *camp*, *country*, and *nor'west* are found in category *g) Relationship to the land*. Finally, *Nyoongah*, which describes a regional, Western Australian identity, is the only lexeme found in category *i) Novel conceptualisations of Aboriginality and cultural survival*.

8.3.5 *The Dreamers* and the Creation of a Nyoongah Cultural Identity

The borrowing *Nyoongah* and the English lexeme *Wetjala* are among the most frequently occurring Nyoongah English appropriations found in Davis' text. Both describe a group of people and their culture: while the term *Nyoongah* refers to the Aboriginal people of south-west WA, their lifestyle, cultural heritage, and a shared set of experiences and worldviews, *Wetjala* describes the members of the non-Aboriginal mainstream community and their 'white' modes of behaviour. In the text, the two items create an opposition, contrasting the Indigenous people of (Western) Australia with the Euro-Australian society whose members are the descendants of the British colonists. As such, they are major agents in the creation of inclusive and exclusive group identities, a salient aspect of Davis' text. As has been noted above, *Nyoongah* is a more recent construct, a regional name which denotes Aboriginality in much of south-west WA and has replaced the names of the smaller language groups that have been destroyed in the wake of colonisation. It therefore encompasses a larger but nevertheless distinctive cultural and areal identity that is based on identification with a (larger) group of people, a particular region, a common ancestral language or a group of related language varieties, and a shared cultural heritage. The term thus underlines what those who self-identify as *Nyoongah* have in common and evokes a feeling of solidarity among Western Australian Aboriginal people. The English-derived pidgin term *Wetjala*, on the other hand, denotes members of the mainstream society who take on the role of the outsiders who do not share the same background and understandings, let alone are capable of grasping their significance. The terms *Nyoongah* and *Wetjala* thus create a gulf between 'us' and 'them', between insiders and outsiders. Often, the two terms are employed as the defining parts in combinations such as *Nyoongah way* and *Wetjala way*.

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The large amount of Nyoongah lexical material further stresses the desire to express a distinct Aboriginal identity. The lexical appropriations relating to aspects of Nyoongah cultural lore and religious knowledge, such as the references to dances, spirits, to the figure of the *Wahrdung*, or to the *tjenna guppy* or *featherfoot*, reinforces this regionally restricted identity; so does the use of Nyoongah terms to describe the flora and fauna, e.g. *kohn* 'wild potato', *kudden* 'red gum tree', *nyngarn* 'echidna', *yuron* 'bobtail goanna', which demonstrates knowledge of the local environment and familiarity with the land. It is remarkable in this context that there are actually only three elements that fall into category *(g) Relationship to the land* in the text, viz. the English terms *camp*, *country*, and *nor'west*, although mention is made of some place names.

In the play, it is the character of Worru who constantly reminds us of the family's Nyoongah heritage. Re-evoking the past in his 'dreams' and introducing the Wallitch family to his memories of a lifestyle unknown to them, he sets the family's present situation in opposition to that of their ancestors and thereby triggers the merging of old and new perceptions of Aboriginality. At the same time, Worru's language use serves as a tool for the exclusion of the white readership or audience, thus enforcing in them the feeling of being an alien to the world presented on stage. Many of his utterances illustrate how appropriation goes hand in hand with a process of abrogation, defined above as "the refusal of the categories of the imperial culture, its aesthetic, its illusory standard of normative or 'correct' usage, and its assumption of a traditional and fixed meaning 'inscribed' in the words" (Ashcroft *et al.* 2002: 37). With AusE no longer the norm, the Euro-Australian audience suddenly becomes the 'other', unable to fully understand the discourse and ignorant to the relevance of the utterances. Through Worru's massive use of Nyoongah single- and multi-word insertions, Davis turns around the power relations, establishing Nyoongah English as the standard in his text and affirming it as a viable code. He thus manages to reverse common power relations that establish the English language as the norm, which, perhaps for the first time, causes the speakers of the dominant language to experience a sensation of linguistic alienation. This is carried to extremes when Worru tries to teach Meena's and Shane's Euro-Australian friend Darren *Nyoongah way*, continuing the practice of passing on knowledge to younger generations:

> WORRU: [Pointing to his beard] Do you know what this is, Nyoongah way? This is my *gnarnuk*. [Pointing to his eye] And this my *meow*. [Indicating his forehead] And this my *yimmung*.
>
> (Davis 1982: 96, italics in original)

Even though all of Davis' published plays include a glossary, readers and theatre audiences are constantly challenged by Davis' practice of interweaving his text with Nyoongah lexical items which complicates their understanding of the text. Throughout the entire play, but especially when confronted with

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Worru's yarns, the reader has to face the trying task of repeatedly going through the lengthy glossary and looking up each individual item in order to grasp what is being said. Being outside the main text, the glossary is not available at all for theatre audiences who have to rely on the context and clues in the remainder of the text as well as on their own interpretation to make sense of passages such as the following:

> WORRU: Warrah[31] Place [sic], Mogumber, awright daytime, but *gnank weerdiny*, couldn't walk around, stay near the fire. [*Shuddering*] Too many *tjennuks*, *moorlies*, an', an' *widartjies*. [*Gesturing north*] They come from that way. They was real bad. Round face, an' they was white, jus' like *Wetjalas*, an' they 'ad red eyes, an' red 'air, an' them scream, an' shout, sing out in the night time, in the pine plantation, jus' like *koolongahs*.
>
> [SHANE pushes DARREN through the door and throws the ball to him. DARREN falls and yells as he catches it. Worru and Dolly get an enormous fright]
>
> *Allewah!*
>
> DOLLY: *Choo! Choo!* You frightened the livin' daylights out of me.
>
> (Davis 1982: 94, italics in original)

From the above passage it becomes apparent that Davis frequently aids his audience's understanding of the text by placing the foreign language elements in a context that facilitates their interpretation. Elsewhere, he makes Worru's explain the meaning of particular terms and concepts to the younger family members, educating them as well as the reader/audience:

> MEENA: [...] Why do *Nyoongahs* call it *mahngk*?
>
> WORRU: That's his name. You see leaf of a tree, that's a *mahngk*, that one *mahngk*, too, tea leaf.
>
> (Davis 1982: 103, italics in original)

Although it may not always be possible to infer the exact meaning of a lexical item, the author provides sufficient context to help the audience come to terms with the key statements of the passage. Still, while this approach works quite well for single lexical items and shorter multi-word insertions, it is impossible to infer the meaning of phrases such as *kia gnullarah bridaira nyinning*, or *yuarl nyinaliny gnullarah*. Since they do not express culturally-bound concepts, both passages seem to be nothing more than instances of traditional language maintenance. Yet, these utterances are noteworthy because of their capacity to puzzle those unacquainted with the language. The sheer length of *kia gnullarah bridaira nyinning* makes it difficult for theatre audiences to make sense of what is being said despite the contextualising function of the preceding text:

31 Italics missing in original.

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MEENA: Hello Pop, you look super. New clothes? You look real *moorditj*.

WORRU: *Kia gnullarah bridaira nyinning*.

(Davis 1982: 87, italics in original)

Readers have to make an effort to look up each term in the glossary and then combine the constituents 'yes' + 'our(s)'+ 'boss'+ 'here' into a meaningful sentence. This, however, is not always easily feasible. The sentence "Milbart, *yuarl nyinaliny gnullarah*" (Davis 1982: 122) is one of the most prominent examples of the impossibility of directly translating stretches of the traditional language used in the text. Consulting the glossary at the end of the play, the reader learns that the meaning of the individual terms is 'you', 'there', 'ours', but the meaning of the utterance as a whole remains inaccessible. As Hodge (1984: 85) observed, David's use of Nyoongah thus provides a major tool for the exclusion of the (non-Aboriginal) reader and the audience who "have less chance of understanding 'Milbert, yuarl nyinaliny gnullarah', for instance, than Shane […] has of knowing that London is the capital of England." (quoted in Shoemaker 1989: 254). Frequently unaware of the exact meaning of the Nyoongah lexemes and code-switches, readers and audience suddenly find that 'their' language is being turned into a foreign and 'exotic' code that demands of them the willingness to get involved with an unknown conceptual world he or she might not readily understand, both linguistically, but also in terms of content.

As Polak (2009: 252) suggests, it is not only the form of the language that demands for a special effort on the part of the reader/audience, but also the content of Worru's yarns that needs decoding. This could already be observed in the excerpt above in which Worru speaks about the evil spirits ("*tjennuks*, *moorlies*, an', an' *widartjies*") that roamed the settlement at Mogumber. The *yarn* about the *moodgah*, the Western Australian Christmas tree exemplifies how strongly Worru's tales are rooted in the oral tradition of storytelling. Note also Worru's awareness of the fact that his account contains knowledge inappropriate for the two younger men, Eli and Peter:

PETER: Aw right, Pop, but you gotta tell us another yarn now.

[…]

WORRU: By right, I shouldn' be tellin' you fellas this. [*Pointing to* ROY] Aw right for him.

ROY: It's all right, Unc.

WORRU: All right. Well, you know that Christmas tree, that's the *moodgah*, that's the *Nyoongah* name.

PETER: Yeah?

WORRU: Well, when our people was *nyoch [dead]*, their *kunya [freshly departed spirit]* – that's what *Wetjala* call soul, *unna [isn't it]*?

ROY: Yeah, that's right, Uncle.

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WORRU: Well their *kunya* would go and stay in the *moodgah* tree, some time for a l-o-o-ng time, an' when the *moodgah* flowers were gone, summertime, their *kunya* would leave the *moodgah* an' go to Watjerup. That way, over the sea, Watjerup, thaty [sic] way, *boh-oh [a long way]*

PETER: Where's Watjerup, Popeye?

WORRU: *Kia [yes]*, Watjerup, that's what *Wetjalas* call Rottnest. An' if you go Mogumber old settlement, lotta *moodgah* up there 'cause, 'cause that be *Nyoongah* country for l-o-o-ng time. An' them *moodgah* they strong, they kill other tree if they grow near them, *bantji [banksia]*, *muttlegahruk [sand plain tree]*, *tjarraly [jarrah]*, *kudden [red gum tree]*, kill 'em, finish, cause *kunyas* make him strong an' only *boolya [magic]* man can go there near the *moodgah* 'cause the *boolya* man is strong too, like that tree; an' 'e can drink water an' take 'oney from the *moodgah*. Anybody else, that's *warrah [bad]*, they could be finish, *unna*?

(Davis 1982: 85f, italics in original, my glossing)

Hence, in addition to the difficulties presented by the interpretation of the foreign language elements themselves, readers and audiences need to develop a sense for the religious concepts that are linked to the Nyoongah terms. This once more highlights the inadequateness of a direct translation into English. As such *The Dreamers* is one among a handful of Australian drama texts which "makes [the white Australian reader or theatre goer, K.L.] feel a stranger in the continent, which, after all, has been occupied by Europeans for only two hundred years" (Shoemaker 1989: 253).

Still, appropriations that refer to cultural and religious knowledge and practice are not the only elements in the text that contribute to the (partial) exclusion of a non-Aboriginal readership and audience. In Davis' text, the utilisation of Nyoongah terms which describe everyday concepts provides an additional mechanism to distinguish the family members from outsiders who not only have a differing world view but also do not share the experiences of institutionalisation, exploitation, and racism that have affected Aboriginal people's lives. As such, non-Aboriginal people cannot relate to the inherent meanings of Aboriginal language terms such as *boondah* 'money' or *woonana* 'behind bars', which reflect different aspects of the contact experience. This also means that they may not even be able to follow the discussion of daily matters:

> The impossibility of sharing the pains of dispossession, displacement, colonisation, deaths in custody, etc., is made evident in the resistance to translation of Nyoongah words related to everyday experience, such as *mahngk* (cup of tea), *boondah* (money), *gnoop* (blood and also wine), *gnummari* (tobacco)[32]. The use of these words implies a sense of solidarity, intimacy and common experience that forms a counter-discourse [...] to assimilating colonial understand-

[32] Note that the examples provided by Russo would here be classified not only as relating to everyday concepts but as more specifically expressing aspects of the colonial contact experience.

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ing. Domesticity becomes a site for decolonisation and subversion (Russo 2007: 50).

This not only applies for terms used to talk about everyday concepts. Nyoongah also serves an important function as a code for in-group communication when discussing upsetting issues such as violence and death. Switches and insertions such as *kwotjut noych* 'long gone', lit. 'dead' + 'a long time' or *woort beerny* '(to) strangle' address distressing and unwelcome memories and their use may be interpreted as strategies to linguistically soften hurtful realities and coming to terms with the traumatic experiences described. These instances of appropriation are comparable in their purpose to many of the elements that are used to describe body parts and intimate or sensitive aspects of live. As has been noted above, Nyoongah terms are preferred when discussing matters of a delicate or personal nature for which English terms would be felt to be too explicit and overt. Moreover, they would be inappropriate for in-group conversation as they are readily available to the wider public. What all these speech situations have in common is that the concepts discussed evoke strong feelings, e.g. of anger, fear, sadness, or embarrassment. Rendering the terms' meanings opaque for cultural outsiders promotes a sense of solidarity among those who share the same experiences and understandings. In other cases, the use of Nyoongah words pertaining to the conceptual domain of the body and private matters allows speakers to criticise or tease each other on an intimate and amicable level, as in "He's talking out of his *kwon*." (Davis 1982: 127). Another example is the Nyoongah expression *meowl birt* 'blind person', used by the speaker to chide his interlocutor in an affectionate manner, a function of Aboriginal language elements which has also been observed by Eades (1983: 153) in south-eastern Queensland AborE.

The use of Nyoongah language words in these various contexts thus points towards yet another, though related function of the dialect: by exploiting the vocabulary of the traditional language, the speakers take for granted a certain degree of knowledge of the Nyoongah lexicon and an understanding of the rules that regulate the language words' utilisation. As such, a speech situation is created in which the possible participants are restricted to members of a closed group that is defined by a shared cultural heritage, shared knowledge, and a common system of values and norms. This guarantees that personal matters are only discussed among participants who are likely to maintain relatively close social ties. The intimacy and privacy that is thereby created in conversations between speakers of Nyoongah English indicate the dialect's value as 'language of immediacy' ("Sprache der Nähe", Koch & Oesterreicher, e.g. 1985), which is used among speakers who maintain close relationships and are equal partners in the talk. In addition to this form of social and emotional proximity between speakers, the language of immediacy is marked by the informality of the conversational situation and the participants'

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cooperation in a dialogue rather than a monologue, factors that imply temporal and spatial proximity (Koch & Oesterreicher 1994: 587f). All of these features can be observed when the members of the Wallitch family discuss personal issues. The Koch & Oesterreicher model (2007: 356) further suggests that immediacy is closely associated with strong *diatopic* markedness, i.e. a high degree of variation based on geographical location. In Davis' text, this diatopic markedness is clearly represented by the inclusion of regional Aboriginal language words. According to their model, a low *diastratic* level as well as a comparatively low *diaphasic* level are further characteristics of immediacy. This is in line with the observation that AborE is less formal than StE and many speakers avoid 'big words' and complex structures. We shall come back to the role of Aboriginal language words as proximity markers in the course of this thesis, especially in chapter 11.

To conclude, we can maintain that Nyoongah identity is evoked by two different aspects of Davis' language use, viz. through *what* is being talked about as well as through *how* it is communicated. Davis' use of Nyoongah in the text adds socio-cultural significance by constantly reminding readers and audience of the language's existence, and, more importantly still, its persistence. It further creates a linguistic setting that is not easily accessed from the outside without getting actively involved with a tongue that, for the reader and the audience, is at the same time familiar and foreign.

8.4 Kevin Gilbert

Kevin Gilbert began his writing career in the late 1960s, in a period characterised by political protests and calls for a change in the treatment of the Aboriginal population in Australia. The development at the time went hand in hand with a variety of creative achievements, and a growing number of artists and writers sought to support the political struggle on an artistic level. Thus, it appears emblematic that Gilbert's writing career started in prison, where he "found that the basic living conditions were substantially better for prisoners than for Aboriginal people on reserves" (Casey 2004: 16), and where he was provided with the opportunity to improve his level of education and develop his artistic skills.

Gilbert was born on the 10th of July 1933 in a small town near Forbes in central NSW, the youngest of eight children of an English-Irish-Aboriginal family. Despite his father's Anglo-Australian background, the family of ten maintained a close connection to his mother's people, the Wiradhuri community of Condobolin where the child learnt about Wiradhuri culture (McMillan 1995: 1ff). Kevin Gilbert once described his heritage the following way:

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> I am a non-tribal Aboriginal, one of the Wiradhuri people. My blood links extend into the Kamilaroi people. My father was white, English-Irish; my mother Aboriginal-Irish. A mixture like that becomes an interesting family cocktail. (Gilbert 1977: 240)

Due to his background and upbringing, Gilbert experienced the feeling of living in between worlds. The relationship between black and white in settled Australia and the position of those 'in between' would become major themes in his writing.

In Condobolin, Gilbert's father had obtained "four acres of land on Goobang Creek and did a bit of market gardening, droving, butchering, you name it" (Gilbert 1977: 240) to sustain his family, and every year the family would go to Leeton for the fruit-picking season. Gilbert was orphaned at the age of 7 – in his later poem *Think* (Gilbert 1971: 36), the author relates that his father killed his mother – and he and one of his sisters spent the next years in the care of relatives and in different welfare institutions. As a teenager, Gilbert returned to Condobolin to live with his extended family. In the next years, he earnt his living working as itinerant labourer and fruit-picker, an experience that greatly influenced the plot of his first and most successful play, *The Cherry Pickers*. At the age of twenty-three, Gilbert married the Euro-Australian mother of his two oldest children. In 1957, one year after his marriage, he was sentenced to life imprisonment for the murder of his wife who was shot in a domestic fight. The next fourteen and a half years, Gilbert served time in a number of Australian prisons, including Grafton Gaol which was renowned for its harsh conditions. During his prison term, Gilbert, who had received very little formal education during his childhood, began to educate himself and engaged in the study of Aboriginal history and culture, theology, anthropology, and literature (McMillan 1995: 2ff, 5ff).

In gaol, he also discovered his artistic skills and developed a talent for lino-printmaking, his designs showing the influence of Aboriginal symbolism. While Gilbert had access to the prison libraries, inmates were not allowed to write. Consequently, Gilberts' prison writing was done in secret and he destroyed most of his early poems in order to avoid discovery. Later, visiting artists would help to smuggle his works out of prison, and his first volume of poetry, *End of Dreamtime* was published in 1971. Three years earlier, in 1968, Gilbert had written *The Cherry Pickers*, a text based on his and his family's life and work experience as seasonal workers. A first open air reading of the play was held shortly after its completion, and in 1970, *The Cherry Pickers* was nominated for the Captain Cook Memorial award. One year later, in 1971, Gilbert's play was staged for the first time at the Mews Playhouse (Casey 2004: 16ff).

After having completed his prison sentence, Gilbert became involved in community work and established the *Kalari Aboriginal Art Gallery* where young Aboriginal artists received training. He also took up the post of the

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editor of the periodicals *Alchuringa*, *Identity*, and *Black Australian News* and worked for the Centre for Continuing Research into Aboriginal Affairs at Monash University (Wilde *et al.* 1994: 312). Gilbert became a devoted fighter for Aboriginal rights and was one of the driving forces behind the establishment of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy in Canberra (Jose *et al.* 2008: 67). In 1988, the year of the Bicentennial, he acted as spokesman for Aboriginal people in Canberra and became the chairman of the Aboriginal Sovereign Treaty '88 Campaign (McMillan 1995: 10).

Gilbert also authored a handful of other plays, none of which would achieve the same degree of recognition as *The Cherry Pickers*. He further published several volumes of poetry, including the aforementioned *End of Dreamtime* (1971) which he later refused to acknowledge as his editor had heavily changed the original manuscript (Jose *et al.* 2008: 67). Most of his other works underline his involvement in political activism, e.g. *Because A White Man'll Never Do It* (1973), a collection of poetry, prose texts, reports, and speeches dealing with issues such as land rights and Aboriginal people's struggle for justice. The volume *Living Black* (1977) is a collection of interviews portraying the situation of Aboriginal Australians in modern Australian society. In 1978, Gilbert won a National Book Council Award for *Living Black*, and in 1988 he was awarded the Human Rights Award for literature for his anthology *Inside Black Australia* (1988). He refused the award, arguing that he could not accept it as long as Aboriginal people were still refused human rights (Wilde *et al*. 1994: 312).

The text of *The Cherry Pickers* remained unpublished until 1988 when a revised edition went into print; its distribution coincided with the Aboriginal protests against the 1988 bicentennial celebrations. Gilbert had always refused to have his work produced by a non-Aboriginal theatre company so that the first professional production of the play was not until 1994, one year after his death in 1993 (Casey 2004: 19f; Enoch 2000: 350).

8.4.1 **The Play: *The Cherry Pickers* (1971/1988)**

Gilbert's text *The Cherry Pickers*, written in 1968, is commonly credited as 'the first Aboriginal play', a characterisation that even appears as the subtitle of the published text. According to Casey (2004: 5), this appraisal is justified insofar as "Gilbert's plays certainly appear to be the first drama texts by an Aboriginal Australian to be performed within the Euro-Australian context"[33]. The first performance of the play in 1971 took place at the Mews Playhouse, a convert-

[33] Oodgeroo Noonuccal had also engaged in writing plays in the 1960s. Whereas her poetry was a success at the time, her plays remained unpublished und unheard of until the 1970s when they appeared in print in Aboriginal newspapers and journals rather than being staged (Casey 2004: 7ff).

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ed coach house in the rear of a private property. It was followed by a production by the Nindethana Theatre Company in Melbourne in the early 1970s (Casey 2004: 16ff).

Influenced by Gilbert's own childhood and youth experiences as an itinerant worker and fruit picker, the text offers an insight into the domestic life of a group of Aboriginal workers, who, as every year, have set up their camp near a Euro-Australian employer's cherry orchard. For them, the cherry-picking season not only means "money – and food" (Gilbert 1988: 60); it also provides them with the opportunity to get together once a year. In their camp, the Cherry Pickers await the beginning of the season and the arrival of their co-worker Johnollo, a notorious philanderer, but also a hero for the camp dwellers and a symbol of hope: "the only blackfella left […] that can sort of carry us on" (Gilbert 1988: 35). In the meantime, readers and audiences are confronted with an unadorned view of the harsh realities of camp life, characterised by alcoholism, poverty, and the general feeling of deprivation and hopelessness which the characters try to overcome by joking and teasing each other. Despite the humour that prevails throughout much of the text and the joyful atmosphere created by the characters' banter, the text addresses a number of serious issues that have influenced the political debate of the late 1960s, including Aboriginal poverty, infant mortality, exploitation, discrimination, and lack of self-determination. Another subject matter that is addressed on different occasions is the loss of culture.

It bodes ill when old Subina sees the *walwee buggeene*, the "messenger of the dead" (Gilbert 1988: 29) and a bad omen. A little later, the group discovers that 'King Eagle', the biggest and oldest of the cherry trees, is dying. The play ends on a pessimistic note when 'King Eagle' is burnt in a funeral pyre and the workers learn that Johnollo died in a car accident while on his way to the cherry orchard. Before his death, however, Johnollo had sent off a package containing an Aboriginal flag, a symbol of pride and an appeal to his friends to continue the fight for a better future.

8.4.2 **Analysis of *The Cherry Pickers***

The Cherry Pickers is one of the first drama texts that represents AborE without presenting the dialect in a ridiculed or stereotyped fashion common to many other (earlier) works of drama and fiction written by Anglo-Australian authors (Casey 2013a: 157). As in most of his works, Gilbert apparently made an effort to capture the speech of the Aboriginal people of NSW in a realistic manner, and Shoemaker (1989: 238) contends that the author's awareness of "the poetical potential of the patois in his local region is obvious" and that in many passages he "demonstrates an acute ear for colloquial dialogue".

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All the Cherry Pickers speak a variety of AborE that exhibits a range of characteristic grammatical and phonological features, many of which are shared with other non-standard forms of English. Once more, verb forms are among the most salient grammatical features in the text. Subject-verb concord may be lacking and contractions such as *ain't* are frequently employed, e.g. "Little gerls is to be seen an' ain't to be haired" (Gilbert 1988: 21). Regular past tense forms occur where irregular forms would be expected, as in "Fifteen mook-pook calls it give'd." (Gilbert 1988: 30) or past tense may not be marked at all, e.g. "Johnollo save his money up for a rainy day" (Gilbert 1988: 36). The verb may not be inflected to express 3. person singular, as in "Certainly he make it all sort o' swing together when he comes." (Gilbert 1988: 35) while elsewhere, the form *was* is used also for 2. person singular and plural forms, as in "the very room we was in" (Gilbert 1988: 30). Occasionally, the copula is omitted, e.g. "You no good – geenjee gerl." (Gilbert 1988: 28), so are auxiliary verbs, both in statements and in questions, as in "Hey boss, you comin' to the corroborree tonight" (Gilbert 1988: 8). Sometimes, *be* as copula or auxiliary is replaced by *get*, as in "a pill that stops babies from gittin' borned" (Gilbert 1988: 32, italics removed), and the element *go* again functions as multi-purpose verb: "Don't you dare go sayin' them sort o' things" (Gilbert 1988: 36).

Other grammar features include double negation, as in "They don't need no pill, luv." (Gilbert 1988: 32, italics removed) or the use of *never* to negate the verb. In a few cases, regular plural forms are used where irregular forms would be expected, e.g. "all we peoples have got left goin' for us" (Gilbert 1988: 35). Adjectives may be suffixed by the element *-one*, as in "Oh, only the young 'uns geenjing about in the tent." (Gilbert 1988: 29). Again, *us* designates the 1st pers. singular: "Git us a cup of jiree, moodgeee, me poor old jinungs are killin' me!" (Gilbert 1988: 31).

Gilbert's text further imitates a number of phonological peculiarities, such as the reduction of consonant clusters and the elision of initial consonants, unstressed vowels, or even entire unstressed syllables, as in *'member* 'remember'. In some cases, the past suffix *–ed* is realised as unvoiced/t/, as in "I wish't I was a young 'un again" (Gilbert 1988: 29). There is not always an insertion of/n/when the article *a* is followed by a vowel, as in "a operation" (Gilbert 1988: 32). Features such as *h*-insertion mark the dialogue as distinctly Aboriginal: "Fa-at. Fhat, woman. Some fhat to put on me bread" (Gilbert 1988: 32). Throughout the entire text, the phonological differences to the standard variety are highlighted by Gilbert's use of non-standard spellings that mimic the characters' pronunciation and bring out the AborE accent and speech patterns. Often, distinct realisations of vowels are indicated:

> EMMA: Hey, talkin' about gettin' burnt, you h'aired about the guv'mint forcin' our black wimmin to take a *pill* that stops babies from gittin' borned?
>
> (Gilbert 1988: 32, italics in original.)

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Unlike *The Dreamers*, Gilbert's play does not include a glossary so that additional research was needed to determine the exact meaning and origin of the Aboriginal language elements in the text. Since the author had family ties to the NSW Wiradhuri community, it was assumed that a considerable proportion of the Aboriginal language elements in the text are borrowings from the Wiradhuri language formerly spoken in a large area in the south of NSW, stretching "from Dubbo and Mudgee in the north almost to Albury in the south, from Bathurst in the east to almost Hay in the West" (Wafer *et al*. 2008: 221). The language is no longer in everyday use, but attempts have been made to revive it and two comprehensive Wiradhuri dictionaries have been compiled in the last years (Grant & Rudder 2005, 2010). Gilbert is also affiliated with the Kamilaroi people of north-east NSW and at least one of the characters in the play shares this background: "my Kamilaroi – gorn – gooorrnn" (Gilbert 1988: 34). Hence it is possible that some of the terms are from Gamilaraay[34] which is closely related to Wiradhuri (Wafer *et al*. 2008: 216). Gamilaraay (from *gamil* 'no' and *araay* 'having', i.e. the language that has *gamil* for 'no'), was spoken in great parts of north-central New South Wales but is no longer in daily use (Austin & Nathan 1998: n.p.).

Therefore, all non-English elements which are not listed in Arthur (1996) and Dixon *et al.* (2006) were looked up in Grant & Rudder's *A first Wiradhuri Dictionary* (2005). In addition, Austin & Nathan's *Kamilaroi/Gamilaraay Web Dictionary* (1998), Ash *et al.'s Gamilaraay, Yuwaalaraay & Yuwaalayaay dictionary* (2003), the Wiradhuri dictionary compiled by Diane Hosking & Sally McNicol (1993), and McNicol & Hosking's Wiradhuri wordlist in *Macquarie Aboriginal Words* (Thieberger & McGregor 1994) were consulted for further information. In a small number of cases, it was not possible to determine with certainty the meaning and origin of a lexeme on the basis of the above sources but it is likely that these terms, too, are from Wiradhuri or a related south-eastern Australian Aboriginal language.

The play's linguistic analysis is analogous to that laid out in the previous chapter: again, the different instances of linguistic appropriations have been classified as

1) single-word insertions from the local language(s)
2) single-word insertions from languages (formerly) spoken in other parts of the country
3) multi-word insertions from the local language(s)
4) hybrid compounds,
5) English lexemes

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34 The name has various spellings. While Gilbert employs *Kamilaroi* in his text to refer to Aboriginal people of north-eastern NSW and south-eastern Queensland, Austin & Nathan (1998) as well as Ash *et al.* (2003) use the spelling *Gamilaraay* for the language.

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- that show semantic modification
- that have undergone phonological modification
- that exhibit a specific AborE usage

As in our analysis of *The Dreamers*, the lexical appropriations found in *The Cherry Pickers* were cross-checked with Troy (1990, 1993, 1994), Malcolm & Koscielecki (1997), Foster *et al.* (2003), and Harris (esp. 1986, also 1988), as well as with the remaining relevant texts on Australian pidgins and creoles cited in the bibliography for their occurrence in early contact varieties. Arthur (1996), Dixon *et al.* (2006), and the online editions of the *AND* and the *OED* were consulted to collect information on their use in varieties of English inside and outside Australia. Lastly, the various lexical appropriations have been assigned to the conceptual categories (a)-(k) discussed above.

Before we begin our discussion of the text analysis' results, it is necessary to comment on several outstanding lexical features of the play. Gilbert's text contains a considerable number of words and expressions which clearly constitute non-standard usages, including a variety of colloquialisms and slang words as well as terms from different regional dialects of English. The elements under discussion could not be established as features of the AborE lexicon, rather, they appear to be characteristic of informal and colloquial language use associated with low diastratic and diaphasic varieties of (Aus)E, and while their use in Gilbert's text suggests that they are shared with (regional) varieties of AborE, they seem to have wider currency also in non-Aboriginal speech forms. For this reason, they have not been included in our analysis of AborE lexical elements, but it nevertheless seems wise to address their occurrence in the text. The terms can be differentiated into four broad categories, viz. words from regional dialects of British English, Australianisms, colloquialisms, and slang words. The following is intended as a sample; it is not a complete list of all non-standard terms found in the text. All definitions provided are from the online edition of the *OED*, some are rendered in an abbreviated form. We find

a) dialect terms, e.g. *boyo*, chiefly used as a form of address: 'a boy, a lad', 'a man, a fellow' (colloq., esp. Welsh English and Irish English),

b) Australianims, e.g. *pannikin*, a small pan or drinking vessel of earthenware or (now usually) metal, *billycan*, a cylindrical container, usu. of tin or enamel ware, with a close-fitting lid and a wire handle, used for making tea and for cooking over fires in the open, and for carrying food or liquid,

c) colloquialisms, e.g. the *old Nick* 'the devil', *monies* 'money', *poochie*, a pet name for a dog, a dog (orig. *U.S.*), *to pong* '(to) stink', *sheila*, a girl or young woman, a girl-friend (Austral. and N.Z.), *to feel one's oats* '(to) feel lively', '(to) feel self-important' (orig. and chiefly U.S.), *plonk*,

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cheap wine of inferior quality, wine or alcohol of any kind (orig. Austral.), *fluff*, a young woman,

d) slang terms, e.g. *pooftah*, a homosexual man, an effeminate or affected man (orig. Austral.), a person who talks incessantly, a blowhard, an intellectually pretentious person (N.Z.), *chow*, a Chinese person (chiefly Austral.), *titter girl*, a young woman or girl, *knackers* 'testicles', *crackers* 'crazy, mad', 'infatuated', *get stuffed*, a coarse imprecation, *bludger*, a parasite or hanger-on, a loafer (Austral. and N.Z).

As the definitions show, several of the terms may be assumed to be in current AusE usage. Other lexemes have developed in North American usage, underlining the American influence on AusE (see for example Leitner 2004a) while again others are unmarked for regional usage and may be assumed to have wider currency. None of them could be proven to constitute specifically Aboriginal usages.

Further, the text includes a small number of lexemes, most probably slang or dialect terms, which could not be traced in any of the sources consulted. The irregular spelling that is characteristic of the language in *The Cherry Pickers* further complicates a straightforward identification. Native speakers of different varieties of English were therefore consulted, including a small number of speakers of AusE, in the hope of collecting further information on these terms. However, most of these informants denied having ever heard (or read) any of the forms being used and could only make very tentative comments. In most cases, the meaning of the terms in bold can be easily inferred from the context; yet, any comments on their origin remain speculative:

BET-BET: I didn't eat your damper. I didn't you big Granny – big fanny – I didn't – I didn't eat it!

BUBBA: Ya did. Ya ***skoljeed*** the lot – you guts!!

(Gilbert 1988: 21; my emphasis.)

The *AND* provides *to skol* with the meaning '(to) drink (a glass, etc. of alcoholic liquor) in a single draught'. The above term may be used in a related meaning, considering that little Bet-Bet is accused of having eaten all of the old woman's food. As with all unknown vocabulary items that occur in Gilbert's text, we cannot exclude the possibility that the term is a rendition of a Wiradhuri or Gamilaraay word. Yet, as in most Australian languages, the Wiradhuri and Gamilaraay consonant inventory does not include fricatives and it appears rather unlikely that a term with initial/s/is derived from these sources.

SUBINA: Fifteen mook-pook calls it give'd. Ten calls for a man, five more to mean a big man.

EMMA: Three hands full! Fifteen fingers for a great warrior like the old days. Two hands count for the swingers. One handful for what the man swings.

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BUBBA: You mean it describes a man's ***pehson***. His yarung (meaning unclear, K.L.), his booble ('anus', K.L.), his moom ('anus', K.L.).

SUBINA: The white boss maybe. Maybe the messenger point for him to die – but it's a blackfellah's messenger when it call out to count the size of a blackfellah's ***doongles*** like that!

(Gilbert 1988: 30; my emphasis)

Several informants have suggested that the form *pehson* might be a rendition of *person*, a proposal that is conceivable if we consider that a number of terms in the text exhibit *h*-insertion typical of many AborE varieties. This sense, however, does not readily fit with the assumption that the term somehow relates to male body parts. What seems more plausible is that the term is derived from the English verb form '(to) pee'[35]. Also, the origin of the *doongles* could not be determined but the context suggests that constitutes yet another allusion to male genitalia. It is unclear if the form is derived from the English term *dangle* 'something that dangles', which seems to be a likely origin, or from a local language term.

BUBBA: Johnollo is late comin' this season.

ETTIE: Johnollo will be ready when the king is ready – an' not one ***skeenjee*** minute beforehand! They know when the season is to start.

(Gilbert 1988: 48; my emphasis)

One informant put forward *skungy* 'dirty' which would here function as an intensifier, comparable to the use of the term *bloody* in other non-standard varieties of English. The online edition of the *OED* provides the entry *scungy* 'mean, dirty, disreputable' and suggests that the term is chiefly Australian; the *AND* lists the term as noun, 'a sly or vicious person, a sponger, a vague term of abuse', as verb '(to) sponge', and as adjective, 'disagreeable', 'sordid' and suggests it is derived from the Irish and Scottish dialectal form *scunge*.

The fact that only little information could be obtained by interviewing native speakers of (Australian) English implies that the use of the above terms is very restricted and that they are highly non-standard, although we cannot exclude that the spelling employed in the text hindered recognition. It is not possible to state whether any of the expressions constitutes a specifically Aboriginal usage.

Another aspect worth mentioning is that the text contains a number of words for features of Aboriginal religious and cultural practices and lifestyle that are also well established in AusE and other varieties of English. Above, we have seen that Jack Davis, too, made use of established borrowings, yet, their number is much higher in Gilbert's text where they make up the major part of references to cultural and religious concepts in the play:

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35 The author would like to thank Prof. Dr. Erich Poppe for pointing out this possibility.

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- *bora ground* (Gamilaraay and English), the site where the boorah ceremony is held (Dixon *et al.* 2006: 150),
- *churinga* (Aranda), a sacred object of Aboriginal ceremonial (Dixon *et al.* 2006: 150),
- *kylie* (Nyoongah and other WA languages), a boomerang (OED Online),
- *nulla* (Wiradhuri), from *nulla-nulla*, a hardwood club, used for fighting and hunting, '(to) strike with that club' (Dixon *et al.* 2006: 180).

The text also includes several terms for huts and shelters, such as

- *gunyah* (Sydney language), a temporary shelter (Dixon *et al.* 2006: 198),
- *whurly* (Gaurna and other South Australian languages), a 'gunyah', a hut (Dixon *et al.* 2006: 199),
- *wiltja* (Western Desert language), a shelter (Dixon *et al.* 2006: 199).

Other borrowings describe Australian flora, e.g.

- *nardoo* (the AND suggests Diyari or Gamilaraay but the term seems to be more widely used), any of several semiaquatic Australian ferns of the genus Marsilea (family Marsileaceae), which have creeping rhizomes and clover-like fronds and grow typically in water in areas of intermittent flooding (OED Online).
- The term *bindy* is most probably a rendition of *bindi-eye* (Gamilaraay and Yuwalaraay), a plant bearing barbed fruits, esp. herbs of the genus Calotis, the fruit of the plant (Dixon *et al.* 2006: 127).

Again, most Aboriginal language words have been included in the count even though many are not exclusive to AborE. Some of the terms have acquired additional meanings in AusE or have undergone semantic change, such as *bunyip*, the name of a large, black amphibious monster that inhabits waterways, which in AusE has developed the additional meanings 'impostor' and 'humbug' (as in *bunyip aristocracy*), and is further used in transferred sense. Other lexemes may be assumed to be only rarely used in varieties of English other than AborE, for example, the English term *skin*, a division of society into which one is born by a law of inheritance (Arthur 1996:86), seems to occur with this meaning most commonly in technical parlance outside AborE. In addition, it describes an important aspect of Aboriginal social structure. The term *kangaroo* and the combinations *red kangaroo* and *kangaroo dance* have been included in the analysis whenever the usage of the two terms in the text refers to the macropod as a totemic animal and its impersonation in dance, another interpretation that is not commonly found in StE. As in *The Dreamers*, the term *kangaroo* is also used to refer to the animal's meat.

Five borrowings which denote Australian flora and fauna have not been included in the count even though they are Aboriginal language words. Their

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omission seems justified, as none of them describes concepts particular to Aboriginal culture and they all have become standard reference terms for particular types of plants or animals and occur in any variety of English with exactly the same meaning:

- *kookaburra* (Wiradhuri and nearby languages), either of two Australian kingfishers, the laughing kookaburra (Dacelo novaeguinae, also laughing jackass) or the blue-winged kookaburra (Dacelo leachii)(Dixon *et al.* 2006: 68),
- *nardoo* (several Aboriginal languages in south-west Queensland, western NSW and South Australia), a perennial fern, Marsilea drummondi, the spores of which can be ground to flour; the flour of this fern (Dixon *et al.* 2006: 116)
- *numbat* (Nyoongah), a small, termite-eating marsupial, Myrmecobius fasciatus (Dixon *et al.* 2006: 69),
- *wallaby* (Sydney language), any of the many smaller marsupials of the family Macropodidae (Dixon *et al.* 2006: 73), and
- *wombat* (Sydney language), any of the several thickset, burrowing, herbivorous marsupials of the family Vombatidae (Dixon *et al.* 2006: 78).

8.4.3 **The Results**

The Cherry Pickers contains a total of 125 different examples of lexical appropriation, a result which, despite being substantial, is nevertheless noticeably lower than that established for *The Dreamers*. Only a comparatively small number of the appropriations, viz. 33 items, are documented in earlier Australian pidgins; of these, no less than 22 items are confirmed for NSW Pidgin. This is not surprising as we are dealing with a NSW variety of AborE that is likely to have retained a high number of elements from the pidgin that originated in the south-east of the country. Most of the AborE lexical elements in the text are single-word elements from south-east Australian languages, hybrid elements, and English lexemes. The text includes only two passages of traditional language that exceed the length of two elements.

Not unlike Davis in *The Dreamers*, Gilbert frequently employs Aboriginal language words from his ancestral language, in this case Wiradhuri, which are not listed in the *AND*, Dixon *et al.* (2006), or Arthur (1996) and thus appear to have only limited currency. Still, several elements are used repeatedly and by different speakers, and many verbal and nominal forms show signs of morphological integration and adaption to the sound system and spelling conventions of English, e.g. *geenjing* 'fooling around', *gootharlings* 'children', from *gudha* 'child', 'baby', or *jinungs* 'feet', from *dyinang* 'foot'. Others, such as *wahwee bugeene* and *mabung* 'messenger' express specific culturally-bound concepts. The lexeme *moom* 'bottom', 'anus' is likely to be known also in south-

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eastern varieties of AusE, given the somewhat unfortunate name of the annual Melbourne carnival, 'Moomba'[36] and also features in different plays written by Victorian playwrights, e.g. in Tracy Rigney's *Belonging* (2002) and in Maryanne Sam's *Casting Doubts* (2002). In addition, in contrast to the large number of multi-word insertions found in Davis' text, most Aboriginal language material in *The Cherry Pickers* occurs in the form of single lexical items and hybrid elements. In addition, the play includes two songs in Wiradhuri.

a) The largest group of lexical appropriations in *The Cherry Pickers* is that of **English terms**. Their number amounts to 69 types and is thus only slightly lower than that stated for *The Dreamers*. Of these, 40 elements are semantically modified English terms, including the lexeme *black* 'Aboriginal', used 47 times throughout the play, and 28 elements that are examples of characteristically Aboriginal usages of English terms. One appropriation shows phonological modification.

Most of the English elements are nominal elements (43 types), including a number of noun phrases, viz. *Aboriginal way, big words, black whitefellas, little fella, old fella, the Old Ones, the Old People, poor little fellah, young fellah(s)*. The two elements *black* and *blackfella* occur as noun and adjective and the noun phrase *big mob* also occurs in adjectival application. In addition, we find one pronoun, viz. *you mob*. Eight English elements are adjectives, i.e. *all gone, big, flash, learned, no good, old, proper, silly*, and another five elements are adverbs, i.e. *all about, close up, never, true, what for*. The text further includes four appropriations that function as verbs (*doctor, reckon, sit down, take*) and two items, viz. *dance* and *finish*, which occur as verb and noun. *In the ashes* is a prepositional phrase. Finally, *eh* and *longa* occur as interjections and prepositions, respectively.

Twenty-four English lexemes are documented in earlier pidgin and creole forms; 14 are recorded in sources for NSW Pidgin: *all about, all gone/all gorn, big, big mob, black(s)* (NSW), *blackfellah(s)* (NSW), *camp, close up* (NSW), *country* (NSW), *darkie, eh* (NSW), *fellah(s)* (NSW), *finish, longa* (NSW), *never, no good* (NSW), *old fella, old man, poor little fellah* (NSW), *sit down* (NSW), *tucker* (NSW), *what for* (NSW), *whiteman* (NSW), *whitefella(s)* (NSW). No less than 32 items are listed in the *AND*, in Dixon *et al.*, or in the *OED*, even though these sources

[36] Barry Blake (1991: 84) commented on this naming choice: "Undoubtedly the most unfortunate choice of a proper name from Aboriginal sources was made in Melbourne when the city fathers chose to name the city's annual festival 'Moomba'. The name is supposed to mean 'Let's get together and have fun', though one wonders how anyone could be naive enough to believe that all this can be expressed in two syllables. In fact 'moom' (mum) means 'buttocks' or 'anus' in various Victorian languages and '-ba is a suffix that can mean 'at', 'in' or 'on'. Presumably someone has tried to render the phrase 'up your bum' in the vernacular."

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specify some of them as AborE or 'pidgin'; 53 English appropriations are established as AborE words by Arthur (1996).

The English-derived appropriation that shows phonological modification is *gunjis* 'policemen', 'the police', from the English *constable*. The text further contains a related form, viz. *gunjiwarngs*, which appears unusual. According to Butcher (2008: 636), *gunjie*, from *gunjabal* 'constable', is the commonly used term for 'policeman' in NSW. Still, the derivation of the ending *-warngs* is obscure; it might be an element from Wiradhuri or another NSW language which would mean that the term should be treated as a hybrid element. Since we do not have any confirmation for this assumption, we shall treat the noun as of unclear origin.

b) The second largest group of appropriations is that of **single-word insertions from Wiradhuri and related languages of the area**. Their number adds up to 29 items and is thus considerably smaller than the number of Nyoongah single-word insertions found in *The Dreamers*. In the case of *bugeene* 'devil', 'evil spirit', it is not entirely clear whether the element is from Wiradhuri or whether it ultimately goes back to the English word *bugan* 'evil spirit'. Still, the term is listed in Grant & Rudder's (2005) Wiradhuri dictionary so that it seems justified to treat the element as a Wiradhuri term. What is more, the texts contains the words *binjelli*, *doonjulla* and *yarung* for which neither a source language nor an exact meaning could be determined, but they, too, are very probably regional language words, which is why they have been included here. The contexts in which they occur suggest that they describe body parts.

Not surprisingly, most Wiradhuri insertions are nouns (24 items). Two elements, *gwarngee* 'stupid', 'soft in the head', and *ngarabarnng* 'silly' are adjectives, even though the latter may also be used as a noun. The item *geenj* 'pervert' from 'to stare' occurs as noun, verb, and adjective. *Yuckaiing* '(to) utter a call expressing emotion' and *nulla* '(to) strike with a club', are verbs.

Only two items, viz. *bingi* and *nulla*, are documented in NSW Pidgin, but *bindy* 'prickle', 'prickly plant', *bingi* 'belly', 'stomach', *boondi*, a heavy club with a knob on the end, *bugeene* 'devil', 'evil spirit', *Kamilaroi*, a language group, 'Aboriginal' in east-central NSW are attested in AusE. In addition, the terms *bugeene* 'devil', 'evil spirit', *goonung* 'excrement', 'shit', 'faeces', *gwarngee* 'stupid', 'soft in the head', *Kamilaroi*, a language group, 'Aboriginal' in east-central NSW, and *yarmb'ldyin* 'pretence', 'nonsense' are listed in Arthur (1996).

c) Another 12 **single-word insertions come from Aboriginal languages other than Wiradhuri and related languages**, including five terms from the (not so distant) Sydney language, viz *corroboree*, a dance ceremony, '(to) to perform a corroboree', *gin* 'woman', 'wife', *gunyah,* a shelter, *mook-pook*, an owl, Ninox novaseelandiae; here the messenger bird, *myall* 'ignorant, especial-

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ly of European concerns'. The remaining items come from different parts of Australia: *bunyip*, a large, black amphibious monster that inhabits waterways (Wathawurung or Wemba, Victoria), *Churinga*, a sacred object of Aboriginal ceremonial (Aranda, Alice Springs region), *kangaroo* (Guugu Yimidhirr, northern Queensland), *kylie*, a boomerang (Nyoongah), *moom* 'bottom', 'anus' (several south-east Australian languages), *whurly,* a shelter (Gaurna and other South Australian languages), *wiltja,* a shelter (Western Desert language). All terms are nouns, except for *corroboree* which is used as noun and verb and *myall* which is an adjective. Six elements are established for NSW Pidgin and a further item for South Australian Pidgin English: *corroboree* (NSW), *gin* (NSW), *gunyah* (NSW), *kangaroo* (NSW), *mook-pook* (NSW), *myall* (NSW), *whurly*. Eleven items are documented in AusE or other varieties of English but only *myall* is also listed as AborE word in Arthur (1996).

d) Eleven **hybrid compounds** could be found in the text, all of which are nouns: *boorah time*, from *bura*, 'liar' (Wiradhuri and English), *booreye time*, from *buraay*, 'child' (Wiradhuri and English), *Bora ground*, the site where the boorah cermony is held (Gamilaraay and English), *Corroboree Men*, men performing a corroboree (Sydney language and English), *dilly bag*, a bag made from woven grass, vine or fibre (Yagara and English), *geenjing time* (probably Wiradhuri and English), *jirri-jirri tea* 'wine' (Wiradhuri and English), *kangaroo dance*, a dance (Guugu Yimidhirr and English), *mook-pook owl*, an owl, Ninox novaseelandiae; here the messenger bird (imitative or Sydney language and English), *red kangaroo*, here, a totemic animal (Guugu Yimidhirr and English), *younghi time* (probably Wiradhuri and English). None of them is recorded in an earlier contact variety and only *Bora ground*, *dilly bag*, and *red kangaroo* are listed in the sources for AusE or other varieties of English, though, as expected, the entry for the latter only covers the zoological sense.

In addition, we find the term *baccaddal* 'tobacco', the origin of which is not entirely clear as its form clearly differs from *bacca* which appears to be more commonly used in AborE. According to Hosking & McNicol (1993: 59), Wiradhuri has the term *gadhal* 'tobacco'. This indicates that *baccaddal* may in fact be a blend of the English and Wiradhuri terms.

e) The least common appropriation strategy encountered in the text is that of **multi-word insertion from regional languages**. All in all, two instances could be counted. Both appear to be songs or parts of a song.

When adding up all examples of lexical appropriation found in the play and the conceptual categories into which they fall, the following picture emerges:

a. **Continuation of cultural and religious tradition (39 items)**

- 20 English items:

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Aboriginal way, the customs, beliefs, habits, practices and so forth that belong to Aboriginal society, esp. those that relate to traditional life, *business*, 1. Aboriginal ceremony and ritual, 2. the particular knowledge (including ritual) belonging to a group, concept or tradition, *culture*, Aboriginal beliefs, values, attitudes and rituals, *dance*, a traditional dance, '(to) perform such a dance', *doctor* '(to) exert spiritual powers over somebody, particularly to heal', *dream* (also *dreams*), a state of trance or sleep in which one comes to an awareness of some spiritual event or understanding, *Dreaming*, a collection of events beyond living memory which shaped the physical, spiritual and moral world and which is still manifested in and sustains the present, *emu clan*, a group of people whose totemic animal is the emu, *emu dance*, a dance, *in the ashes* 'in a traditional manner', referring to the ashes of the camp fire, *Law*, the body of religious and cultural knowledge that informs and directs Aboriginal society, *learned* (also *Learned*) 'possessing cultural and religious knowledge', *love song*, a traditional song thought to lure a male/female, *messenger* (also *messenger bat*), a bird that gives warning to a person or a group, *old* 'Aboriginal', but with an added sense that it is part of Aboriginal culture that belongs to the time before Europeans, *Old Ones, the*, see *Old People*, *Old People, the*, people of the older generations, those living and those passed on, holders of traditional ways of living and wisdom, and spiritual guides for those who come after, *skin*, a division of society into which one is born by a law of inheritance, *Songman* (also *Songmen*), a person who has a significant part in the singing at a ceremony, *way*$_1$, the manner in which one lives as an Aboriginal person, uses language, and performs social and personal activities, the beliefs and customs which provide meaning for this way of living; the term may also be applied to non-Aboriginal ways.

- 6 single-word insertions (regional languages):

boondi, a heavy club with a knob on the end, *bugeene* 'devil', 'evil spirit', *Kamilaroi*, 1. a language group name, 2. 'Aboriginal' in east-central NSW, *mabung* 'messenger', *nulla* '(to) strike with that club', *wahwee bugeene*, here used as the name for the messenger of death.

- 6 hybrid compounds:

bora ground, the site where the boorah ceremony is held, *Corroboree Men*, men performing a corroboree, *dilly bag*, a bag made from woven grass, vine or fibre, *kangaroo dance*, a dance, *mook pook owl*, an owl, Ninox novaseelandiae, here the messenger bird, *red kangaroo*, the largest kind of kangaroo, Macropus rufus, here a totem.

- 5 single-word insertions (other Aboriginal languages):

bunyip, a large, black amphibious monster that inhabits waterways, *churinga*, a sacred object of Aboriginal ceremonial, *corroboree*, 1. a dance ceremony, of which song and rhythmical musical accompaniment are an integral part, and which may be sacred and ritualised or non-sacred, occasional and

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informal, 2. '(to) perform a corroboree', *kylie*, a boomerang, *mook pook*[37], an owl, Ninox novaseelandiae, here the messenger bird.

- 2 multi-word insertions (regional languages):

haieee-hoo-minimillimara mara-hoom hhoom hoom in ee millimara-hoom-hhoom, a song; the meaning of the individual elements is unclear,
Yuck-aiee-Ba-ai-mee-Yulangarrah-God-Doungudieeee, a song or incantation that calls on the Creator God Baayami; the meaning of the remaining lexical elements is unclear.

b. **Kinship structures (6 items)**

- 6 English items:

auntie, an older woman, often wise in traditional language, having status within her community', also a term of address, *cousin*, a relative of either sex, not necessarily close, but of one's own generation; also a form of address, *fambly*, from *family*, all one's blood relatives; the term is a lot more inclusive than in most other varieties of English, *granny*, 1. a term of respect for an older woman who need not be a relative, also 2. a relative of either sex of one's grandchildren's generation or of one's grandparents' generation, *'lation*, a relation; the term is used much more inclusively than in StE, *sister*, a female of the same generation, a biological sister or a close cousin, or a person classified as such; also used to express solidarity.

c. **Human relationships and social interaction (13 items)**

- 5 English items:

little fella, a child, *old fella* 1. an older person, 2. a person of recognised authority within the community, normally an older person, here used to refer to 'King Eagle', the biggest of the cherry trees, *old man*, a figure of authority, *you mob* 'you (2. pers. pl.)', *young fellah(s)*, a young person, usually a young man.

- 4 single-word insertions (regional languages):

gootharlings 'children', *miggai* 'girl', *modgeee* 'friend', 'mate', 'companion', 'comrade', *moodjarn*g, probably from *mudyigang* 'an old man', 'elder', 'old gentleman'.

- 3 hybrid compounds:

boorah time 'time for tall stories', *booreye time* 'baby time', *geenjing time* 'time to have fun, time to fool around'[38].

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37 The term's etymology is not entirely clear, it may not be an Aboriginal language term at all. Grant & Rudder (2005) include the term in their Wiradhuri dictionary but Dixon *et al.* (2006) maintain that the term might be derived from *boobook*, an imitation of the bird's call from the Sydney language. The OED and AND entries also suggest that the bird's name is imitative but do not put forward a Sydney language origin.

38 The conceptual classification of the items *geenj(ee)* (n., v., and adj.), and *geenjing time* proves difficult: despite being derived from the same word form, the items show various contexts of use in the text which suggest different conceptual domains. Thus, while *geenj(ee)* (n. and adj.) describes a undesirable form of behaviour, *geenj(ing)* (v.) is an ob-

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- 1 single-word insertion (other Aboriginal languages):

gin 'woman', 'wife'.

d. **States of feeling and being and ways of conduct (10 items)**

- 6 single-word insertions (regional languages):

geenj(ee) (n., v. and adj.) 'pervert (n. and adj.)', from '(to) stare', here more likely used as 'naughty person' or in a related sense, as verb with a sexual connotation, *gwarngee* 'stupid', 'soft in the head', *myall*, 'ignorant, especially of European concerns, sometimes thereby implying a more traditional person, but with negative rather than positive connotations', 'stupid', *ngarabarnng* 'silly', 'poor, piteous fellow', *yarmb'ldyin* 'pretence', 'nonsense', *yuckaiing* '(to) utter a call to express emotion such as pain or surprise'.

- 4 English items:

flash 'ostentatious', 'attention seeking' (as in general English use), but with an added suggestion that this type of behaviour is seen as European rather than Aboriginal, *silly*, incompetent, childish, *(poor) white blackfella*, an Aboriginal person who lives in a manner seen by the community as rejecting Aboriginal identity, *poor little fellah*, cf. *poor fellow*, referring to the condition of oneself or others, implying recognition of the plight of the human condition.

e. **Body parts and body functions, intimate and personal aspects of live (14 items)**

- 11 single-word insertions (regional languages):

binji 'stomach', *binjelli*, probably also from Wiradhuri *binydyi* 'stomach', *booble* 'anus', 'backside', *doolah* 'anus', 'backside', *doonjulla*, unclear, possibly from Wiradhuri *dhundhung* 'vagina', *gullingah*, probably from *galinggaa* 'bladder', 'entrails', here 'offals' given to the station workers, *goonung* 'excrement, faeces', *jinungs* 'feet', *mouni* 'vagina', *mullingmah*, possibly from *mulunma* (adj.), 'inside', 'within', here again 'entrails', 'offals' given to the station workers, *yarung* 'beard'.

- 1 English item:

finish 1. '(to) end, to die', also 2. 'the end, an end', 'the end of life, death'.

- 1 single-word insertion (other Aboriginal languages):

moom (also *mooms*) 'bottom', 'anus'.

- 1 hybrid compound:

younghi time ?'baby time'[39].

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vious reference to sexual actions; meanwhile, *geenjing time* refers to a form of social interaction. Accordingly, the two appropriations have been allocated to different conceptual domains.

39 The origin of this term, too, remains unclear. The central NSW language Ngiyampaa has *yuungin* 'mate, companion' (Donaldson 1994: 27) and it is possible that a related term exists in other NSW languages, including Wiradhuri or Gamilaraay. It cannot be excluded that the term is a rendition of English *young* even though this seems unlikely when considering the context in which the word is used:

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f. **Relationship to the land (6 items)**

- 3 English items:

camp, a living place, temporary or permanent; the term can refer to the living place of either a single person or a small or large group, and can include in its reference a group of houses or a swag under a tree, but always in an Aboriginal-controlled environment, *country*, the tract of land where an Aboriginal person or community belongs, to which they have a responsibility, and from which they can draw spiritual strength, *riverbank*, an important camping site for Aboriginal people – along the riverbanks of southeastern Australia; these became especially important after the land was increasingly controlled by Europeans.

- 3 single-word insertions (other Aboriginal languages):

gunyah, a temporary shelter, *whurly*, a 'gunyah', a hut, *wiltja*, a shelter.

g. **Nature and environment (2 items)**

- 1 single-word insertion (regional languages):

bindy, a plant bearing barbed fruits, esp. herbs of the genus Calotis; the fruit of the plant.

- 1 single-word insertion (other Aboriginal languages):

kangaroo, any of the larger marsupials of the chiefly Australian family Macropodidae, here used with reference to the meat of the animal and to the animal as a totem.

h. **The contact experience (18 items)**

- 13 English items:

big words 'formal English', 'flash language', *black velvet* 1. an Aboriginal woman as the focus of a white man' s sexual interest 2. sexual intercourse with an Aboriginal woman, *black* (also *blacks*) 1. 'Aboriginal', 2. an Aboriginal person, *blackfellah* (also *blackfellahs*), 1. an Aboriginal person, 2. 'Aboriginal', *darkie* an Aboriginal person, a non-white, *feed* 'meal', *guv'mint*, all public authorities and their officials whether State or Federal, *Jacky*, a person subservient to whites, *take* '(to) remove a child from its family and community, to be raised outside its culture, either by the government, or by private concerns with the tacit consent of the government', *tucker* 'food, particularly European food', *whiteman*, a non-Aboriginal person, w*hitefella* (also *whitefellas*), a white person, a European Australian or other person with a similar appearance.

- 2 single-word insertions (regional languages):

Toodles: Boorah time?
Emma: Tall story time.
Toodles: Booreye time?
Emma: Baby time.
Toodles: Younghi time?
Emma: That's ya git babies ain't it? (Gilbert 1988: 72f)

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jiree 'tea', *widgellee* (also *weejellee* and *widgelli*) 'alcohol', 'wine'.

- 2 hybrid elements:

baccaddal 'tobacco', *jirri-jirri tea* 'wine'.

- 1 unclear element:

gunjiwarngs (also *gunjis*) 'policemen', 'the police'.

i. **Novel conceptualisations of Aboriginality and cultural survival (1 item)**

- 1 English item:

identity 'Aboriginal identity'.

j. **Aboriginal way (16 items)**

- 16 English items:

all about 'everywhere', *all gone* (also *all gorn*) 'not present', 'no more', *big* 'large', 'important', 'powerful, esp. spiritually powerful', *big mob* 'a large group (of people, animals, etc.)', 'a large amount of something', *close up* 'near', *eh*, an interjection, used as rhetorical comment, usually at the end of statements, *fellah(s)*, 1. a person, either male or female though usually male, 2. any animate or inanimate thing, *longa*, 1. 'next to', 'with', 2. 'in', 'at', '(to)', *never*, an emphatic negative, *no good* 'not any good', 'worthless', *proper* 'real', 'really', 'truly', also 'adequate', 'adequately', *reckon* '(to) say' as well as '(to) think', *sit down* '(to) stay or remain at a place, not necessarily permanently, but for a significant length of time', *true* (also *tru-oo*), an intensifier of a statement or response to a statement, meaning 'it's really so', 'is that really so', 'truly', *way*$_2$, a productive element in the formation of adverbials of manner and place, *what for* 'why'.

k. **Traditional language maintenance (-)**

As in the first play analysed, the major part of lexical appropriations encountered in *The Cherry Pickers* falls into the category *a) Continuation of cultural and religious tradition* which, with a total of 39 items, includes more than one quarter of the total number of types encountered and is almost twice as large as the second largest category. This time, English elements dominate in conceptual category (a). In addition to the 20 English words, we find six one-word insertions from regional languages, six hybrid compounds, five borrowings from Aboriginal languages spoken elsewhere, and two longer passages of Wiradhuri. Almost three quarters of the elements in this category appear to have wider currency in AborE, AusE, or even beyond. This fact, as well as the high number of English lexemes, hybrid compounds, and established borrowings from Aboriginal languages are probably the reasons why the appropriations in this conceptual category, though numerically exceeding those found in *The Dreamers*, are less outstanding than the references to Nyoongah lore and religion in Davis' text and do not achieve the same effect of accentuating the importance of Aboriginal culture and religious and cultural knowledge.

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The next major category is *h) The contact experience*, which includes 17 terms. Again, we find Aboriginal language words that relate to alcohol and tea, viz. *widgellee* 'alcohol, wine' and *jirri-jirri tea* 'wine', as well as *jiree* 'tea'. This notwithstanding, English words also dominate in this category, so that many references to institutionalisation (*guv'ment*, all public authorities and their officials whether State or Federal, *take* '(to) remove a child from its family and community, to be raised outside its culture'), or to introduced substances such as tobacco (*baccaddal*) are expressed in the coloniser's language. Once more, the term *Jacky*, a person subservient to whites, is used ironically, as is *darkie*, designating an Aboriginal person.

Again, category *j) Aboriginal way* is also prominently represented. In Gilberts' text, 16 English lexemes underline Aboriginal ways of categorising experience. These include *all about* 'everywhere', *big* 'large', 'important', 'powerful, esp. spiritually powerful', *longa* 1. 'next to', 'with', 2. 'in', 'at', 'to', *sit down* '(to) stay or remain at a place, not necessarily permanently, but for a significant length of time' as well as several items that have already featured in *The Dreamers*.

As in *The Dreamers*, most of the 14 items in category *e) Body parts and body functions* are Aboriginal language words from Wiradhuri or Gamilaraay. Even though it has not been possible to establish a source language for the terms *doonjulla* and *yarung*, they, too are very probably regional language words. *Moom* 'bottom', 'anus' is from a Victorian language but appears to be more widely used in south-east Australia. Again, *finish* is the only English term in this conceptual category. Taking a closer look at the elements in this category, one cannot fail but notice the high frequency of terms referring to genitalia and the derrière. Hence their use once more underlines the Aboriginal language elements' function as agents of social and emotional proximity and provides local language alternatives when English terms are found to be either too explicit or too easily accessible for cultural outsiders who are not part of the cherry pickers' world and lifestyle. Their high frequency is also closely connected to the general tenor of the play that sparkles with bonhomie, playfulness, and sexual innuendos, which is further strengthened by the 13 lexical appropriations that fall into category *c) Human relationships and social interaction*. The cheerful banter between the characters is stressed by the Wiradhuri-English hybrid compounds in this category, *boorah time* 'time for tall stories', *booreye time* 'baby time', *geenjing time* 'time to have fun, time to fool around', *younghi time* 'baby time'. Wiradhuri terms, such as *moodgee* 'mate' and *moodjarng*, 'old gentleman', and English terms, such as *old man* and *old fella*, underline the solidarity and friendship that pertains among the characters. Again, many of the English terms in this category relate to the age and status of those characterised.

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Conceptual category *d) States of feeling and being and ways of conduct* comprises ten elements. As in *The Dreamers*, we find Aboriginal language words which describe a person as *gwarngee* 'stupid' or *ngarabarnng* 'silly', as well as the English item *silly* which here describes childish or incompetent conduct. The English *black whitefellas* communicates a concept that criticises inadequate behaviour and lacking solidarity with the Aboriginal community.

The next two conceptual categories are *b) Kinship structures* and *f) Relationship to the land*, both of which comprise six items. Again, all terms that relate to kinship are English-derived words and most were also employed in Davis' text; *fambly* 'all one's blood relatives' is the only kin terms which is new. The six terms in category *f) Relationship to the land* are either English lexemes (*camp, country, riverbank*) or different loanwords which describe temporary shelters (*gunyah*, *wiltja*, *whurly*) and have wider currency in AusE.

Two terms, the established loanwords *bindy* and *kangaroo* belong into category *h) Nature and environment* and category *i) Novel conceptualisations of Aboriginality and cultural survival*, includes a single item, the English term *identity*. None of the appropriations found in the text has been assigned to category k) *Traditional language maintenance*.

8.4.4 On the Fringe of Society: *The Cherry Pickers'* World

The most salient aspects of Gilbert's language use are certainly the prevalence of characteristic English forms and widely established loanwords that describe specifically Aboriginal concepts. In addition, a comparatively high number of hybrid compounds combining elements from Aboriginal languages and English words can be observed. The overall number of lexical appropriations in *The Cherry Pickers* is noticeably lower than in Davis' text which boasts a wealth of Nyoongah elements. *The Dreamers* also showed a preference for terms from the local language Nyoongah in a number of contexts, such as when dealing with features of religious and cultural knowledge and practice. In *The Cherry Pickers*, English elements dominate even in this context. As has been stated above, the large number of lexical appropriations established for *The Dreamers* is further due to the many Nyoongah insertions in Davis' text which have been assigned to category *(k) traditional language maintenance* and which underline the high degree of identification with the Nyoongah linguistic and cultural heritage. Even though also *The Cherry Pickers* includes a substantial amount of lexical material from Wiradhuri and Gamilaraay, the conveyance of a regional identity is less pronounced than in Davis' text. Rather, Gilbert's text promotes the creation of an identity that is influenced by a more comprehensive conception of Aboriginality. Linguistically, this is reflected in his use of Aboriginal language words which are established borrowings in AusE or have a wider currency in AborE varieties and English-derived appropriations. This

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broader identity is also emphasised by the frequent application of the term *black* in the sense of 'Aboriginal'. In terms of usage and frequency, it is comparable to the use of the term *Nyoongah* in *The Dreamers* but has a much wider group of referents than the regionally restricted south-west Western Australian term. At the same time, the term *black* aids the creation of an exclusionary identity adopted by the Aboriginal characters who are constantly aware of their not belonging to the wider (white) Australian public. In several scenes, reference is made to the different sets of understanding and culturally-bound worldviews that set the world of the *Cherry Pickers* apart from the mainstream society:

BUBBA: Hey Chucksa, how's old King Eagle? He doin' O.K., ain't he?

CHUCKSA: I don't know, Bubba. He's a little slower and dying a little I think. I don't know. Maybe he's just gittin' old and a bit tired out. I hear there's a bloke called 'green fingers' over at Oliver's place who can almost make the threes talk back to him. He's **black** and King Eagle won't let a **whitefellah** look at him because the King only understands **blackfellahs' ways**. Right?

(Gilbert 1988: 43, my emphasis)

These worldviews are also manifested in the plentiful references to the characters' cultural heritage and practices. As in *The Dreamers*, they are no longer part of the workers' daily lives but mostly surface in recollections of former times. While the older women lament the loss of their people, culture, and language and wonder what will happen after the *old 'uns* are gone, other characters are determined to fight against the loss of their culture. The cultural practices have nonetheless developed into anachronisms in a constant struggle for economic survival:

TOMMLO: Enough!! This *has* to be done!

ZEENA: (*defiantly*) If it *has* to be done, then why ain't you and I, two Australian Aborigines, dancing this Sacred Dance under an Australian gum-tree? A gum-tree with the Sacret Bora Ground symbols carved deep into its guts? *We* two are corroboreeing beneath a cherry-tree. Doesn't this prove that *some* advance has been made because 'cherry tree' means money – *and* food?

(Gilbert 1988: 60, emphasis in original)

Apart from these remainders of the characters' heritage and culture, the camp dwellers' being different from the white society is most effectively communicated by the portrayal of Aboriginal itinerant workers' living conditions. Suffering from extreme poverty, denied equal rights and wages, and unable to feed their children properly, the *Cherry Pickers* are 'second class' human beings who seek consolation in bottles of 'plonk', significantly referred to by Subina as her "'mergency treatment" (Gilbert 1988: 34). Openly addressing these issues and bringing them to the attention of white audiences, *The Cherry Pickers* reflects Gilbert's involvement in the political struggle for Aboriginal rights and equal treatment that is also echoed in much of his poetry.

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Despite the omnipresence of poverty and misery, the play still celebrates Aboriginality and the solidarity that prevails in the camp. Many scenes depict a cheerful atmosphere of camaraderie and friendship among the characters who defy the odds as well as the Australian mainstream society that looks down on them. As Shoemaker (1988: 237ff) suggests, Gilbert's language choices largely contribute to the creation the text's genial feeling, and the playfulness of the dialogue contrasts with the hardship of the itinerant workers' lives:

SUBINA: Yeah. It's so bad and I am so broke that I'm thinking o' going out an' sellin' my ***mouni*** for a couple of notes!

BUBBA: *(uproariously)* Sell our old *thing*? Ha, you wouldn't even git a *loan* or deposit on it! Your old **mouni** ain't '**blackvelvet**' any more, luv. It's useless wrinkled old boot leather.

(The three old women scream with laughter.)

SUBINA: (yelling) Yeah luv, well there's still many a blackman – and white ones tries to git into *my* old boot [...].

(Gilbert 1988: 31, italics in original, my emphasis in bold print)

It is not surprising to see that also Wiradhuri terms are frequently employed in such contexts. Like the repeatedly occurring colloquialisms and slang terms, they enable the speakers to express intimate or delicate concepts in a jocular and frivolous fashion. Further, the Aboriginal language terms obscure the conversation for outsiders who neither share the *Cherry Pickers*' world-view nor their living conditions and create an in-group code that emphasises the bond between those participating in the exchange. In a scene towards the end of the play, the cheerful atmosphere culminates in a nonsense exchange dominated by banter and joking which creates an antithesis to the sad news that will follow. This scene involves wordplay and even rhyme:

EMMA: (*shouting*) Sing no sad songs now, it's **geenjing time**.

TOODLES: It's **geenjing time**?

EMMA: It's fun-play time.

TOODLES: ***Boorah* time**?

EMMA: Tall story time.

[...]

EMMA: How's yer ditty?

TOODLES: It ain't pretty – but it's like hot velvet in the nitty-gritty!

EMMA: How's ya knackers?

TOODLES: They drive me crackers – you got a solution?

(Gilbert 1988: 72f, italics in original, my emphasis in bold print)

Elsewhere, the characters set themselves consciously apart from the mainstream community by parodying it and ridiculing white modes of speaking. They mock the *big words* used in educated StAusE, which are often de-

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scribed as hard to grasp by Aboriginal speakers and, moreover, seen as unfit for in-group communication:

TOODLES: (*indignant*) None of *your* amphiskkulus cheek – you infairnal ole trogolocity!

EMMA: Don't you go swallowin' you 'cyclopediums an' spittin' 'em out at *me* ole boy 'cause I'll spit your prudential providorials an' spit 'em straight back inter yer wax-filled quamsy-philliams!

TOODLES: Gwarn! You're just a philophial old piss-pot an' no matter what you *ever* do, you ain't gonna be *my* equal 'cause I got a University Dipsoma so stuff *that* up yer skraftomanian an' smoke it!

EMMA: Gee, I can't help bein' iggerant! I wanna learn to spout all them **big words** you use – but I can't ever 'member them!

TOODLES: I can't 'member them neither – but they sure sound **flash**!

(Gilbert 1988: 74f, italics in original, my emphasis in bold print)

This is another example of how a text can subvert the linguistic power relations dominating in the Australian context. Again, we find that the standard language is abrogated, that is, it is denied its status as the only correct and legitimate form of communication: Gilbert's characters do not claim authority over the language by establishing the Indigenous code as the norm, as Worru does by his massive use of borrowings and code-switches and his attempt to pass on knowledge of the Nyoongah language to the white boy Darren. Instead, they mock the dominating code, the language of power in Australia. The colonisers' language, which has become a symbol for and a tool of linguistic imperialism and the destruction of the traditional language ecology, is redefined as a code that can and should be ridiculed. This humorous outburst of mimicry celebrates the pickers' resilience to suppression by asserting a distinct linguistic identity, establishing their dialect as the only suitable code for expressing their realities.

The workers also chide pretentious behaviour, associated with those who attempt to mimic *whitefellah ways*. In one scene, the cherry orchard owner is described as a "white blackfella" (Gilbert 1988: 40), indicating the high regard in which he is held by his workers. The opposite construct evokes a much stronger feeling, grounded in what is perceived as a betrayal of one's heritage and the solidarity among the Aboriginal workers. Despite their deprivation, the old women show pride in their Aboriginality and disregard those who deny this identity:

PRIVATE: My name is Jeremiah Goolagong, dear lady.

BUBBA: Yer name is Jerry Chickenmar Gooly to us blackfellas an' if we ain't s'phisticated enough for yer then git yerself over to *town* an' live with them **poor black whitefellas** who think they's too ***flash*** to mix with the rest of us blackfellas who live out here.

(Gilbert 1988: 44, italics in original, my emphasis in bold print)

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Throughout the text, we can observe that individual scenes differ noticeably in the amount of Aboriginal language words and the degree of non-standard language used. As such, we find that some scenes pose a challenge to the reader and the audience as they boast slang and dialectal expressions or nonce formations. Others show frequent use of one-word insertions or lexemes which are represented in non-standard spelling:

EMMA: I feel all dried out meself, like, this year. Us old'uns jest about all gone now I think. [...] Say – you got any **jiree** in the billycan, Bubba luv? – or any **widgellee** in the bottle?

BUBBA: Nothin' in the bottle but plenty of **jiree** in the billycan, luv.

EMMA: Git us a cup of **jiree**, **moodgeee**, me poor old **jinungs** are killin' me!

(Gilbert 1988: 31, my emphasis)

Elsewhere, the language used includes fewer elements that hinder the understanding of the text, and in some scenes, the variety portrayed is StAusE. This leads to noteworthy discrepancies: whereas the old women mock the standard language and abuse 'black whitefellahs' who 'talk flash', Zeena uses formal English in the corroboree scene to debate the usefulness of cultural practice and discuss how Aboriginal culture presents itself in the second half of the 20th century:

ZEENA: Oh, I'm not complaining. I am merely trying to tell you that we can't live, nor find a new life, by embracing a stone-age identity in the nuclear age. We should be rightfully proud of our old culture for it was the expression, the cry, the search for beauty by man. *This truth* we should hold and advance by, not revert to that cultural age. Man must advance, must mature, and must never, never revert back for life is a constant process of growth.

(Gilbert 1988: 61, emphasis in original)

It is not entirely clear why the author chose to have his character express herself in such an elaborate fashion but we may assume that Gilbert here resorted to formal English to better convey his message to the white reader and audience. The intellectual wording is probably supposed to give weight to what is being said and underline the importance of the discourse. The result, however, is a feeling of artificiality and stiltedness. As Shoemaker (1989: 238) points out, Gilbert here "sacrifices naturalism and plausibility to make a socio-political point about Aboriginality. The language of Zeena […] is so elevated as to strain credibility, in a play which seems to be striving for linguistic credibility". The formality and stiffness of the above quotation makes it stand in complete opposition to those that depict Emma, Bubba, and Subina yarning around the campfire. The old women are the 'heart and soul' of the camp and exemplify the strength and perseverance of the Aboriginal community. While their language reflects the roughness of the *Cherry Pickers*' lives, many of the non-standard features can be understood as markers of immediacy according to the Koch/Oesterreicher model: we find a strong *diatopic* markedness that is

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expressed through the incorporation of Aboriginal language words. In addition, their language constitutes a clearly identifiable lect, one which is marked by a colloquial and sometimes vulgar style, aspects that are indicative of a low diaphasic and diastratic level. This is supported by contextual evidence: whenever the three women are present, the dialogue either revolves around aspects of colonisation, such as the exploitation of Aboriginal workers, poverty, inequality, and the loss of the pre-colonial social and cultural structures, or focuses on intimate matters and involves a high amount of sexual innuendos.

Above we have stated that *The Dreamers* embraces an amount of Nyoongah phrases and longer stretches of traditional language, which demands an extra effort on the part of the reader/audience to understand the meaning of the text. Many lexical appropriations hence serve to create an exclusionary identity that leaves the mainstream readership/audience in the unfamiliar position of being the outsider. Gilbert's text, on the other hand, favours the use of English elements and single-word elements from Aboriginal languages, many of which are more widely used. While no glossary is available to the reader, the meaning of many of the Wiradhuri and Gamilaraay terms can often be inferred from the context of the conversation. Even though on a few occasions the terms' exact meaning may remain unclear, readers and audiences are provided with sufficient contextual information to make sense of the longer stretch of conversation. Elsewhere, cushioning provides an immediate aid for understanding the foreign terms:

TOODLES: *Boorah* time?
EMMA: Tall story time.
TOODLES: *Booreye* time?
EMMA: Baby time.
TOODLES: *Younghi* time?
EMMA: That's ya git babies ain't it?
(Gilbert 1988: 72f, emphasis in original)

Hence, the text does not evoke the same feelings of exclusion triggered by the massive use of Nyoongah language employed in Davis' plays. There remain, however, some features which have the power to alienate speakers of AusE, viz. the heavy reliance on colloquial and slang terms, the use of nonsense words, and the corruption of existing lexemes. These underline the nonstandard quality of the language portrayed. The spelling that reflects the characters' pronunciation and mirrors AborE phonological features further challenges readers and may occasionally hinder the recognition of particular terms. Both authors challenge their readers and audiences as they deviate from StE; their means, however, differ. Worru's idiolect introduces a strange new world that is exotic and unfamiliar due to the sheer force of the tradition-

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al language and cultural concepts the reader and the audiences are suddenly immersed in. The candid and frequently coarse, "nitty-gritty" talk depicted in *The Cherry Pickers*, on the other hand, confronts them with a variety of English that exhibits a strong non-standard influence, is peppered with sexual overtones, and introduces uniquely Aboriginal ways of expression. The language's abrasiveness and frankness reflects the unadorned realities of an itinerant workers' camp. As such, in the case of *The Cherry Pickers*, the feeling of being an outsider is not so much based on the cultural and linguistic gap that presents itself. Rather, it is grounded in the unfamiliar role as an onlooker observing the workers' lives outside the mainstream society and their almost defiant fight for survival, reflected in a linguistic code which appropriates English to fit their communicative needs and express their realities.

8.5 Eva Johnson

Born in 1946, Eva Johnson is from the Mulak Mulak people of the Daly River region in the Northern Territory (Currency Press. 2007-2015a). At the age of two, Johnson was taken from her family and placed in the Methodist Mission on Croker Island. A few years later, at the age of ten, the young girl was transferred to an Adelaide orphanage where she would stay until starting her professional life. This is probably why Casey (2007: 224, 2009: 196) suggests that Eva Johnson belongs to the Nunga[40] people of South Australia.

Johnson, who is credited with being the first female Aboriginal playwright by McCallum (2009: 313), is variously described as "a playwright, a poet, a director, an actor and a teacher" (Casey 2004: 283f), as well as a "[…] feminist, political activist, travelling performer and public speaker" (Australian Plays n.d.). She has further worked as a drama teacher and nurse. Johnson also holds an Associate Diploma in Community Development from the South Australian Institute of Technology and a degree in Aboriginal studies from the University of Adelaide. As an activist, Johnson has been involved in land rights and women's issues, as well as in the continuous fight against racism. Apart from her writing, she is probably most well known for her role in one episode of the much celebrated 1980s TV mini-series *Women of the Sun* (AustLit 2002-2015a).

[40] Note that many Aboriginal people of South Australia object to non-Aboriginal people using the term *Nunga* (Flinders University. n.d. General Information Folio 5: Appropriate Terminology, Indigenous Australian Peoples).

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Johnson says that she "began writing in the late 1970's when Aboriginal people were no longer content to remain invisible" (Johnson 1994: 10). The first of her plays to be produced was *Tjindarella*, written for and presented at the 1984 First National Aboriginal Women's Art Festival and the Adelaide Fringe Festival where also her drama text *Onwards to Glory* was produced. Four years later, in 1988, the play *Murras* was first staged at the Fringe Festival Center as part of the Adelaide Festival; it later featured in the Black Theatre Season at Sydney's Belvoir Street Theatre. In the following years, Eva Johnson authored a number of other plays, including *Mimini's Voices* (produced in 1989), *What Do They Call Me?* (produced in 1990/published in 1996), and *Heart Beat of the Earth* (produced in 1993). Her poetry is published in collections such as *Inside Black Australia* and *Spirit Songs* (Casey 2004: 253f, 284; 2009: 196). Already in 1985, Johnson received the Aboriginal Artist of the Year Award (AustLit 2002-2015b), and in 1993, she was awarded the Australia Council Inaugural Red Ochre Award (Casey 2004: 28f).

Being part of the Stolen Generations, Johnson's work frequently addresses government policies of assimilation, such as the removal of children and the forced relocation of Aboriginal people. While much of her writing is autobiographical, Johnson perceives her role as that of a mouthpiece for the Aboriginal community, raising awareness for individual and shared histories:

> My writing allows me to speak. The characters in my plays are real; they are living a life on stage, perhaps their lives, perhaps that of another Aborigine and their experiences. I write about people who have been under prescribed treatment for over two hundred years, who have endured the harshness, the traumas, of a hostile racial history in their own country. These historical events are different configurations of racism but these are lived experiences. My writing exemplifies these experiences. (Johnson 1994: 9)

At the same time, she is well aware of the power of the written word as a form of protest, one that began with poets and playwrights such as Kevin Gilbert and Ooodgeroo Noonuccal. Johnson's desire to engage in this protest is grounded in the fury she feels when reflecting upon the treatment of Aboriginal people in Australia, realising the struggles they will continue to face in the future:

> So, initially, anger became a catalyst for my writing. Anger became a valuable political tool for analysis, confrontation, redress, and in fact acted as a neon repellent against any notion of serving the government in the very institutions that mould Aboriginality into useless captive tokens.
>
> Writing became my partner in the war against injustice. Writing became a therapeutic balm, using works of creative expression to expel negative thought, writing words of self-affirmation, love and wisdom. (Johnson 1994: 10)

It is hence not surprising that her drama *Murras* prompted theatre critic and lecturer John McCallum to observe that "[n]othing Jack Davis ever wrote

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approaches the naked anger of this play" (2009: 313). In addition to her continuous fight against racism and injustice, Johnson's work is renowned for "[breaking] new ground by establishing space for the Aboriginal woman's voice within Australian theatre" (Casey 2007: 224).

8.5.1 **The Play: *Murras* (1988/1989)**

Johnson's text *Murras*, described by McCallum as "a non-realistically condensed drama tracing an Aboriginal family moving from the fringe of a small town to the city", is set in the late 1960s and early 1970s, shortly after the 1967 referendum that led to an amendment in the Australian Constitution, and during a time which saw the emergence of Aboriginal activism in response to ongoing practices of assimilation and the taking of Aboriginal land. The first scenes, set in 1967, introduce the members of the family, mother Ruby, grandmother Elsie (Granny), and Ruby's children Jayda and Wilba who live as fringe dwellers in a rural South Australian location, no longer on their 'country' but in proximity to it. In this environment, the children are encouraged by their mother and grandmother to keep up cultural practices of dancing, weaving bags, carving, and hunting. At the very beginning of the play, Ruby listens to the radio news announcing the planned relocation of Aboriginal people to the city as part of the assimilation policies at the time. Despite the family's averseness to leaving their home and moving to an urban environment, they have no choice but to prepare for their relocation. Shortly before their move, Granny, determined not to leave her country and the burying place of her son Charlie, dies and is taken back to her Dreaming by the Mimi Spirit. In the original production, the Mimi was performed by the now distinguished Aboriginal dancer and choreographer Stephen Page (Johnson 1989: n.p.).

After a time gap of a few years, the family is portrayed living in their new city home. Here, Wilba struggles to cope with the racism he encounters at school. His sister is now a domestic worker in a hospital kitchen where she, too, is subject to discrimination by her superiors and co-workers. Unlike her brother who rebels against the unfair treatment he is subjected to, Jayda tries to blend in with the mainstream community. Much to her mother's distress, Jayda no longer shows any interest in occupations such as weaving of dilly bags and practising the dances her grandmother had once taught her. When confronted by Ruby about her change of behaviour, Jayda suddenly reveals having found out that she has been sterilised without her knowledge or consent. She will never have children to whom she can pass on this knowledge. After another leap in time, the final scene depicts Wilba who has become an angry young man and activist involved in the land rights movement. At the same time, his mother deplores the family's cultural alienation and her children's fate.

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Murras portrays protection and assimilation policies, such as the secret sterilisation of Aboriginal women and the relocation of Aboriginal people which effectively destroyed the people's connection to the land and promoted assimilation into the mainstream society. Johnson's text further addresses the traumas of child removal, exemplified by the young Department of Aboriginal Affairs worker who visits the family to inform them about their relocation to the city. Having grown up in a white environment, the young man fails to understand the family's bond with their living place and only notices the material deprivation that prevails in their home.

8.5.2 **Analysis of *Murras***

Except for Mr Russell, the Department of Aboriginal Affairs worker who is a speaker of AusE, all characters use an acrolectal form of AborE which nevertheless shows a range of now familiar salient grammatical structures, as well as features hitherto not observed. As in the texts previously discussed, articles may be omitted or substituted by *this* or *that*, as in "Mum, I thought I saw Wilba with bad tub. Don't tell me he's gonna clean up. Probably tip that water out [...]." (Johnson 1989: 87), and we can observe the use of demonstrative *them*, e.g. "get them yabbies out" (Johnson 1989: 86). Further, we find regularly occurring zero-copula constructions, as in "this bucket real heavy" (Johnson 1989: 86). Auxiliaries are also frequently omitted, in declarative sentences as well as in questions, e.g. "What you saying?" (Johnson 1989: 86). Prepositions may be omitted, sometimes alongside the article, as in "he not goin' city, me neither." (Johnson 1989: 87). Verbs are usually not inflected to express third person singular, past tense, or past tense forms that express a condition, e.g. "He always say you be like him." (Johnson 1989: 87). They may further exhibit double negation, as in the example "I'm not going nowhere, I ain't" (Johnson 1989: 86), which also shows the contraction *ain't*. Subject-verb concord may not be observed, as in "Well, it probably don't matter now [...]." (Johnson 1989: 86), and *was* is used also for plural and 2. person singular subjects, e.g "you was the best" (Johnson 1986: 86). Elsewhere, we find prepositional verbs not found in StE, e.g. *listen for* 'listen to'. The form *gotta* usually replaces *have to* while *gonna* expresses future. Occasionally, future is not marked at all, as in "He find his mother, one day, he know he gotta." (Johnson 1989: 94). In a few instances, the characters' speech leans more strongly towards the contact varieties, reflected in the verbal transitivity marker *-em* which is usually an indicator of creole influence: "Then cattle come, big dam come, dry 'em up all creek [...]" (Johnson 1989: 93). In some sentences, there is no overt subject, as in "All time work hard, dig for jams, make fire, make basket, dilly bag, pandana mat...and carving" (Johnson 1989: 85) whereas elsewhere, the subject is followed by a resumptive pronoun, as in "Charlie, he moon, Wilba, he parrotfish, Jayda, she seagrass" (Johnson 1989: 89). Structuring elements, such as conjunc-

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tions or relative pronouns, may not be present, as in "what he drink that *wudjellas* drink for, make him sick, make him die?" (Johnson 1989: 86, emphasis in original) and declarative sentence structure may be retained also for questions, as in "What I'm gonna do, Charlie?" (Johnson 1989: 86). In a few instances, the superlative suffix *-est* may be attached to an adjective for emphasis. Many of the features described are less frequently observed after the family's move to the city, especially in the children's speech. Another salient feature that can be observed is the formation of adverbials by attaching the suffixes *-time* and *-way*, as in "Long time, before pipeline, river all time had water." (Johnson 1989: 93). Apart from that, the spelling suggests only a handful of non-standard phonological features, such as the occasional reduction of progressive and gerund forms, e.g. *goin'*, *leavin'*, and the elision of word initial unstressed vowels, resulting in forms such as *'nother* (Johnson 1989: 93).

As in *The Cherry Pickers*, there is frequent reference to totems, e.g. *dugong*, *parrotfish,* and other aspects of the characters' religion and culture, such as the *moon dance* and other dances, the carving of emu eggs, and the weaving of bags. Still, the use of Aboriginal language terms is considerably less pronounced than in the two plays previously analysed. The text is followed by a short glossary which lists the Aboriginal language words occurring in the play. This glossary further includes the English-derived term *wudjella* and the term *didgeridoo* which, in fact, is not an Aboriginal language word although it is often assumed to be one. As in Davis' *The Dreamers*, Aboriginal language terms and the term *wudjella* 'whitefellow' are printed in italics in the text. An introductory note explains that the Aboriginal language words used in the text are from the Ngarrenjeri (or Ngarrindjeri) and Pitjantjatjara languages; yet, the source language is not specified for the individual words.

Ngarrindjeri is a South Australian language formerly spoken in the lower Murray River, Lakes, and Coorong region of south-eastern South Australia, an area stretching west as far as Encounter Bay on the Fleurieu Peninsula (Education Department of South Australia 1990: 68; Gale & French 2007: xv). The last fluent speakers of Ngarrindjeri were reported in the 1960s, and by the end of the 20th century, the language was no longer fully spoken even though Aboriginal people in the area continue to use individual words and a few short phrases in their variety of English. Those Nagrrindjeri terms that have been retained are usually embedded in an English matrix, resulting in what is frequently referred to as 'Nunga English' (Gale & French 2007: xiii). Nunga English, which is comparable to other varieties of AborE to the extent that it represents a wider regional linguistic and cultural identity in South Australia, developed in a time during which Aboriginal people from different language groups came into contact on missions. Thus, today, Nunga language and culture is a blend of elements from "Ngarrindjeri, Narungga, Kaurna, Kukatha, Wirangu and others, with a heavy overlay of European culture, especially

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that rooted in the mission experience"(Amery 2000: 13). Like other regional varieties of AborE, Nunga English is not a homogenous variety so that speakers' individual codes depend on factors such as location and affiliation with a particular language group. None of the major 'Nunga languages' of the wider Adelaide area, viz. Ngarrindjeri, Narungga, and Kaurna, is still spoken fluently today (Amery 1995: 72f), and Amery (2000: 12) suggests that most of the Indigenous language words used in Nunga English "come from Ngarrindjeri, though there are many from languages on the west coast and some from Narrunga. Comparatively few terms originate from Kaurna". Further substrate influences are provided by languages such as Pitjantjatjara, a dialect of the Western Desert language which is spoken in the north-west of South Australia and south-west of the Northern Territory, extending a short way into Western Australia. The language that has (*-tjara*, 'having') the term *pitjantja/pitjany* for 'coming/going' has been written down for several decades and is used in a number of religious, educational and other contexts. Thus, a lot of language knowledge has been retained (Goddard 1993: 1f). In the 2006 Census, Pitjantjatjara was established as one of the most widely spoken Aboriginal Australian languages, with more than two thousand speakers.

In order to determine the origin of the Aboriginal language terms used in the text, Goddard's (1992) *Pitjantjatjara/Yakuntjatjara to English dictionary* was consulted. There exist only few sources which document the lexicon of Ngarrindjerri; some information is contained in Gale & French's (2007) *Ngarrindjeri Learners' Guide*. Yallop & Grimwade's work (1975) is a discussion of George Taplin's Ngarrindjeri material collected in the second half of the 19th century but also contains additional information. Teichelmann & Schürmann's publication (1840) is another early source on Ngarrindjerri, so is Meyer's (1843). Further information on languages of the area was provided by the *Nharangga warra: Narungga dictionary* (2006) and Thieberger & McGregor's (1994) *Macquarie Aboriginal Words*, especially the Kaurna wordlist by Amery & Simpson and the Bundjalung wordlist by Margaret Sharpe. As will become evident in the following, several of the Aboriginal language words used in Johnson's text could not be traced back to Ngarrindjeri or Pitjantjatjara but are documented in sources for other languages of the area. This may be due to the little information that could be obtained on the Ngarrinjeri lexicon, and it is possible that the terms in question belonged to several languages of Southern Australia. In any event, we can assume that they are part of the lexicon of the regional Nunga English variety. The remainder of the procedure followed in the analysis of Johnson's text corresponds to that of the previous analyses and will thus not be detailed again. The only novelty here is that in addition to cross-checking the lexical items with the *OED*, the *AND*, and Dixon *et al.'s* (2006) *Australian Aboriginal Words in English*, Jauncey's (2004) *Bardi grubs and frog*

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cakes: South Australian words has been consulted for information on the terms' currency in South Australian AusE.

As in the two previous analyses, a handful of words have not been counted as lexical appropriations even though they describe aspects of Aboriginal culture. As indicated above, the term *didgeridoo* is not an Aboriginal language word: the *AND* suggests that it is imitative. Like *boomerang*, which has also not been included in the count, the word has become a standard reference term for the object designated, in the English language and beyond. The term *kangaroo* has not been counted as instance of appropriation as it is used in its StE sense in the text.

8.5.3 **The Results**

Johnson's text *Murras* exhibits a much lesser degree of lexical appropriation than Davis' and Gilbert's plays; only 60 items were counted that could undoubtedly be attributed to the lexicon of AborE. Yet, it needs to be mentioned that Johnson's text is also much shorter than the other two – with a mere twenty-two pages, its length is only about one third of that of Davis' *The Dreamers*[41]. Almost half of all the appropriations found in the text (25 items) are documented in earlier Australian contact varieties and thus appear to be long established in AborE; 13 items have been recorded in sources for NSW Pidgin. The number of Aboriginal language words is relatively small and only single-word insertions are used in the text. Although only *nunga* is listed in Arthur (1996), several terms seem to have at least regional currency in the Nunga English varieties spoken in Southern Australia. In addition, the text includes two hybrid compounds. The remainder of the lexical appropriations found in the text are English lexemes.

a) The majority of the 51 **English lexical elements**, viz. 30 items, are semantically modified English terms; another 20 items are best defined as Aboriginal usages of established English words, and one element, viz. *'nother*, is a phonologically modified English term. Twenty-four English lexemes are nominal elements, including the noun phrase *poor fella*. As before, the three elements *black*, *blackfella*, and *wudjella* occur as noun and adjective; the noun phrase *big mob*, too, is used adjectivally. The item *dance* occurs as noun and verb. Eight of the English elements are verbs (*belong, drop, finish, flog, gammon, kill, make out, reckon*) and another eight are adjectives (*all gone, cheeky, flash, no good, nother, plenty, proper, same*). Five lexemes are adverbs (*all time, long time, too, too much, what for*) and the element *aye* is an interjection.

41 The number of pages refers to the texts published in the anthology *Plays from Black Australia (1989).*

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Almost half of the English lexemes, viz. 24 items, are documented in earlier contact varieties, including 13 elements recorded in NSW Pidgin: *all gone, all time, big mob, black(s) (NSW), blackfella(s)/blackfulla(s) (NSW), cheeky, country (NSW), finish, fulla(s)/fella (NSW), gammon (NSW), kill, long time (NSW), mob, no good (NSW), nother, ones, plenty/plendy (NSW), poor fulla (NSW), ration, same (NSW), too, too much (NSW), what for (NSW), wudjella(s)/white fullas (NSW)*. No less than 40 English items are documented in sources for AusE and other varieties of English; 39 of these are also listed in Arthur (1996).

b) The next largest group of appropriations, comprising a mere five elements, is that of **single-word insertions from regional languages** which here means languages (formerly) spoken in South Australia that have contributed to the lexicon of South Australian Nunga English. All of the lexical elements from South Australian languages are nouns, except for *nunga*, 1. Aboriginal people of South Australia, 2. of or relating to Nungas, 'Aboriginal', which can also function as an adjective. Even though the small variation in terms of the items' word classes suggests a high degree of inclusion in the Nunga English lexicon, *Nunga* is also the only item that is documented in an Australian contact variety (SAPE) and established as part of the wider AborE and AusE lexicon.

c) Both single-word insertions from Aboriginal languages spoken elsewhere are nouns: *doolum* 'head lice' is from a NSW language; it is attested in Bundjalung. The item *gadjeri* is most probably from a Northern Territory language:

> The name Gadjeri (Gadjari, Kadjeri) is known over a wide area of northern Australia. It means "old woman," implying status and not necessarily age. Gadjeri is also the "sacred mother", or "mother of us all", and the theme of birth, death, and rebirth is pervasive throughout all of the myths concerning her. She symbolises the productive qualities of the earth—of all natural resources, including human beings (Berndt 2005: 3249).

None of the two lexemes is documented in early contact varieties, AborE, or any other variety of English, even though *gadjeri* has an entry in the *Encyclopedia of Religion* (Jones *et al*. 2005).

d) Finally, two **hybrid compounds** could be found in the text, both of which are nouns. Neither *dillybag* (Yagara, Brisbane area, and English) nor *mimi spirit* (Gunwinygu, central Arnhem Land, and English) are confirmed for any early contact variety but both are documented in sources forAusE and in the *OED*.

In total, the lexical appropriations in *Murras* are distributed across the conceptual categories as follows:

a. **Continuation of cultural and religious tradition (12 items)**

- 8 English items:

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dance, 1. an Aboriginal ceremonial dance, also 2. '(to) perform such a dance', *dreaming places*, sites of dreaming significance, *Dreaming* (also *dreaming*), a collection of events beyond living memory which shaped the physical, spiritual and moral world and which is still manifested in and sustains the present, *law*, the body of religious and cultural knowledge that informs and directs Aboriginal society, *(one) time*, the Dreaming, which encompasses past, present, and future that exist simultaneously and as one, *stories*, the belief system of a person and the society, especially as manifested in accounts of the dreaming, *way*$_1$, the manner in which one lives as an Aboriginal person, uses language, and performs social and personal activities, the beliefs and customs which provide meaning for this way of living, *women's business*, from *business*, the particular knowledge (including ritual) belonging to a group, concept or tradition.

- 2 hybrid compounds:

dilly bag, also *dillybag* 'a bag made from woven grass, vine or fibre', *mimi spirit*, a mythical being.

- 1 single-word insertion (regional languages):

Inma 'special ceremony', 'dance'.

- 1 single-word insertion (other Aboriginal languages):

gadjeri, in the text glossed as 'Aboriginal woman', 'friend' but also the name of the 'fertility mother'.

b. **Kinship structures (2 items)**

- 2 English items:

family, all one's blood relatives, *relation*, a relation; the term is used much more inclusively than in StE.

c. **Human relationships and social interaction (4 items)**

- 4 English items:

drop '(to) hit', *flog* '(to) belt', *floggin'*, a 'belting', *kill* '(to) affect someone, generally by hitting', '(to) injure', may also be used metaphorical and with non-human agents.

d. **States of feeling and being and ways of conduct (7 items)**

- 7 English items:

cheeky 'causing pain', 'dangerous, violent', 'poisonous', 'mischievous, but possibly also dangerous', *flash* 'ostentatious', 'attention seeking', used with the implication that this type of behaviour is more typical for Europeans and not in line with Aboriginal norms of group-oriented and cooperative behaviour, *gammon* '(to) pretend or lie', *make out* '(to) give the impression', '(to) pretend', *poor fulla*, cf. *poor fellow*, referring to the condition of oneself or others, implying recognition of the plight of the human condition, *shame* 'embarrassment', 'fear', a sense for having transgressed the social and moral code of society, intentionally or unintentionally, *shame job*, an event or situation which can cause a person to feel shame.

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e. **Body parts and body functions, intimate and personal aspects of live (3 items)**

- 1 English item:

finish '(to) end, to die',

- 1 single-word insertion (regional languages):

murras 'hands'.

- 1 single-word insertion (other Aboriginal languages):

doolum 'head lice'.

f. **Relationship to the land (3 items)**

- 3 English items:

belong '(to) relate to one's country, especially with a sense of spiritual affinity', *born place*, a person's place of birth, *country*, the tract of land where an Aboriginal person or community belongs, to which they have a responsibility, and from which they can draw spiritual strength.

g. **Nature and environment (-)**

h. **The contact experience (9 items)**

- 7 English items:

blackfella(s) (also *blackfulla(s)*) 1. an Aboriginal person, 2. 'Aboriginal', *blacks*, Aboriginal persons, *feed* 'meal', *government*, all public authorities and their officials whether State or Federal, *government fellas* (also *government fullas*), cf. *government man*, person(s) employed by government bureaucracies, *ration*, a supply of food and sometimes clothing and tobacco given to groups or communities by governments, religious bodies or private agencies such as cattle stations, *wudjella* (also *wudjellas* and *white fullas*, from Engl. *whitefellow*), 1. a white person, a European Australian or other person with a similar appearance, 2. 'white', 'European'.

- 2 single-word insertions (regional languages):

boogadies 'shoes', *gundies* 'underwear'.

i. **Novel conceptualisations of Aboriginality and cultural survival (1 item)**

- 1 single-word insertion (regional languages):

nunga(s), 1. Aboriginal people of South Australia, 2. of or relating to Nungas, 'Aboriginal'.

j. **Aboriginal way (19 items)**

- 19 English items:

all gone 'not present', 'no more', *all time* 'always', *aye*, an interjection, used as rhetorical comment, *big mob*, a large group (of people, animals, etc.), a large amount of something, *fulla(s)* (also *fella*) 1. a person, usually male, 2. any animate or inanimate thing, *long time*, here in the sense of 'a long time ago', 'back then', *mob*, a group of Aboriginal people, linked by relationship and culture, a group of people or animals, also an expression of number, *no good* 'not any good', 'worthless', *nother* 'another', *ones*, (as a noun) used with adjectives, with the resulting combination still functioning as an adjective, *plenty* (also *plendy*) 'much (of)', 'many', *proper* 'real', 'really', 'truly', also

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'adequate', 'adequately', *reckon* '(to) say' as well as '(to) think', *same* 'like', 'similar to', *time*, a specific period, *too* 'very', 'very much', *too much* 'very', 'very much', 'a great deal', 'a lot of', *way*$_2$, a productive element in the formation of adverbials of manner and place, *what for* 'why'.

k. **Traditional language maintenance (-)**

For the first time, category *j) Aboriginal way*, which includes 19 English elements that are used in a specific non-standard way, is the largest of the conceptual categories, comprising almost one third of all the English-derived appropriations found in the text. While many of the items in this category were also recorded in *The Dreamers* and *The Cherry Pickers*, Johnson's play also includes items hitherto not encountered, such as the widely used English words *same* 'like', 'similar to', or *too much* 'very', 'very much', 'a great deal', 'a lot of'. The large number of items in this category evidences that the language of *Murras* is influenced by pidgin and contact language features, which already transpired when we examined the text's grammatical structures.

Despite the thematic focus of the play which contrasts life in a rural location with the cultural alienation brought about by assimilation strategies and relocation to the city, category *a) Continuation of cultural and religious tradition* is only the second largest conceptual category, including a modest 12 items. Aside from eight English items and two hybrid compounds, only two Aboriginal language words are featured in this category, viz. *gadjeri* and *Inma*, both of which are from languages spoken outside South Australia. This number is significantly smaller than the numbers established in the two previous analyses where we found that eleven Aboriginal language words relate to cultural tradition in *The Cherry Pickers* and no less than 17 in *The Dreamers*. In addition to widely known English lexemes such as *dance*, *Dreaming*, and *law*, we find the element *one time* which is not confirmed as an AborE lexical element in any of the sources consulted, but relates to a crucial idea within the realm of Aboriginal religion as it underlines the continuing nature of the Dreaming which encompasses past, present, and future that exist simultaneously and as one.

The next major conceptual category, comprising nine elements is *h) The contact experience*. This time, we do not find any Aboriginal language terms that refer to introduced substances such as alcohol, tobacco, or tea or to experiences of institutionalisation. The only non-English items in this category are *boogardies* 'shoes' and *gundies* 'underwear'. Still, the impact of official control on the lives of Aboriginal people in the era of assimilation is documented by English lexemes such as *government*, *government fellas*, and *ration*.

The conceptual field of *d) States of feeling and being and ways of conduct* includes seven items. While regional language words dominate in this category in *The Dreamers* and *The Cherry Pickers*, Johnson's text exclusively displays English terms relating to this domain. The elements *cheeky*, *poor fulla*, and

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shame were also encountered in the analysis of *The Dreamers* and are established in the lexicon of AborE. Only *shame job* 'an event or situation which can cause a person to feel shame' is new but closely related in its meaning to *shame*. All of the four items in *c) Human relationships and social interaction*, on the other hand, are new. All of them describe some type of physical or emotional violence: *drop* '(to) hit', *flog* '(to) belt', *floggin'*, a 'belting', *kill* '(to) affect someone, generally by hitting', '(to) injure'.

Three items are found in category *f) Relationship to the land*. In addition to the now familiar element *country*, the items *belong* and *born place* manifest the importance of a person's affiliation with a tract of land and the feeling of uprootedness that accompanies the policies of removal which the playwright criticises in her play.

With a mere three elements out of a total of 60 items, category *e) Body parts and body functions, intimate and personal aspects of live* is much less prominent than could be expected. The text features two Aboriginal language words, viz. *murras* 'hands', from which the play received its name, and *doolum* 'head lice' but lacks any references to concepts of a more provocative nature. The small number of items relating to the body or intimate concepts is as astonishing as the fact that only two items fall into category *b) Kinship structures*, viz. *family* and *relation*. Recall that all characters in the play belong to the same nuclear family and several scenes stress the importance of family bonds.

Category *i) Novel conceptualisations of Aboriginality and cultural survival* comprises the element *nunga*, another Aboriginal language word that describes a wider regional identity. Unlike current convention, *nunga* is not capitalised in Johnson's text.

Categories *g) Nature and environment*, and *k) Traditional language maintenance* are not represented at all in the text. The complete absence of elements in *g) Nature and environment* is another notable point. Like *The Dreamers*, Johnson's play contrasts the family's life in a rural environment with that in the city. Whereas this theme provides Worru with the opportunity to use a variety of Nyoongah vocabulary items, only St(Aus)E lexemes are used to describe the natural environment in *Murras*.

Summing up, we can state that English lexical elements dominate in Johnson's play, a fact that is highlighted by the preference for English also in the description of cultural aspects. The number of Aboriginal language words in the text is strikingly small; in addition, not all of them come from South Australian languages. Still, this does not mean that Johnson only relies on established borrowings. In fact, only the word *nunga* is documented in AborE and AusE. Generally speaking, it appears that in *Murras*, lexical appropriations are not equally important for stressing the themes and topics addressed.

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This is consistent with the finding that many of them fall into category *j) Aboriginal way*.

8.5.4 *Murras* – These Hands Were Made for Carving

Murras portrays the effects of 20th century protection and assimilation policies, using the example of a rural family and their being forced into an urban environment. As such, several of the themes addressed in Johnson's play reflect the contents characteristic of much of the earlier (play-)writing: Johnson describes the impact of governmental control on Aboriginal people's lives and the arbitrariness with which authorities have enforced various rules and regulations, factors that have greatly contributed to the loss of cultural knowledge and practice. The falling apart of the family and their cultural alienation are anticipated when Ruby and Wilba discuss past events which led to the father's death. Charlie, the family patriarch and a custodian of Nunga lore, has fallen victim to alcoholism, a reaction to the loss of his land and to the influence white oppressors had on his lifestyle. Before his death, Charlie passed on some of his knowledge to the younger men, including his son Wilba:

> WILBA: [...] he showed Jumbo how to ride, track, hunt and dance. What he have to die for, mum? What did my father have to die, what he have to drink that *wudjella* drink for, make him sick, make him die?
>
> RUBY: Your father died because he lost his land, everything. But he never forgot how to carve, hunt and dance. But plenty more dyin', Wilba, plenty more. Dying here inside, for their land. When you got nothing, all you want to do is die.
>
> WILBA: [...] He taught me how to dance the moon dance. Taught me how to carve emu eggs. Mum, he was too good to die, he didn't hurt no one.
>
> (Johnson 1989: 86f)

The above exchange is characteristic for large parts of Johnson's text. The play strives to underline the significance of cultural practices and the life in proximity to one's country in order to maintain an Aboriginal cultural identity. Still, many passages largely rely on StE vocabulary and there is very little use of Indigenous language terms, much less than we would expect to occur in these contexts. If we find lexical appropriations that describe cultural or religious concepts, most of them are English-derived. This sets the language of *Murras* clearly apart from a text such as *The Dreamers* in which the contrast between the Nyoongah lifestyle remembered by Worru and the Wallitches' existence as city dwellers is also strongly manifested on the lexical level. The near-absence of Aboriginal language words in *Murras* is especially conspicuous in scenes such as the above in which the family members exploit the StE lexicon to discuss issues such as the significance of the bond between a person and the land, but also when describing materials traditionally used for making artefacts or when referring to cultural practices:

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RUBY: [...] You'll be allright, Granny, as long as we take plendy pandana, talc stone and emu eggs. And you can still teach Jayda to dance.

(Johnson 1989: 88)

WILBA: As long as I can still go hunting, paint and make spears.

JAYDA: And weave baskets and mats and –

(Johnson 1989: 91)

This suggests that the degree of lexical appropriation found in *Murras* is far less pronounced than in the previously analysed plays. This would nevertheless be a hasty conclusion. In Davis' text, the high frequency of Aboriginal language terms and the occasional code-switches to Nyoongah function as the most obvious and distinct markers of the characters' Aboriginality. In Johnson's play, the marking of Aboriginality takes on less evident forms. Examples of such a more subtle indexation of 'otherness' are English terms that have been assigned to the conceptual category *Aboriginal way*. These show how the characters resort to lexical forms that are not shared with the AusE of the mainstream society and demonstrate salient modes of expressing realities, e.g. "We don't wanna go, **what for**? **No good**, I tell you."(Johnson 1989: 85) or "Mum, I'll be okay, there's **big mob** of us."(Johnson 1989: 105, my emphasis).

The characters also resort to English-derived AborE vocabulary in a number of other contexts. English terms are employed to describe people, as in *blackfulla*, *wudjella* or to comment on their status as a colonised people, e.g. *government fellas*, *ration*. Apart from that, English terms are also used to speak about Aboriginal culture and religion. The following short passage contains no fewer than six different types of lexical appropriation, four of which express concepts relating to religious ideas or concepts which ultimately derive from cultural and religious understandings, such as the connection between people and places and moral codes. Since all of them are English words, they are less obvious as examples of appropriation for the reader who does not 'stumble over' foreign words that have unfamiliar forms and opaque meanings:

RUBY: Charlie, they mess'n up our **country**, puttin' **shame** on our children. They got no **law**, no **shame**. They **no good**. I'm goin', I'm goin', take Jayda away from here. They **killin'** our **dreaming places**, **no good**...

(Johnson 1989: 96, my emphasis)

Many of the English terms are documented in earlier pidgins and are also listed in Arthur (1996). This indicates that they are long established and widely known and used AborE vocabulary items.

In a few instances, the English elements are complemented by or contrasted with Aboriginal language words. An example is the term *nunga*, which is used alongside *blackfulla* to denote an Aboriginal person. Elsewhere, we encounter the terms *gadjeri* 'Aboriginal woman' and *Inma*, a dance ceremony, the only Aboriginal language words in the text that are used to describe con-

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cepts which have cultural and religious significance. Twice, *wudjella* women are contrasted with *gadjeri* women. Using a traditional language word for the latter, Johnson, too, enforces the 'us-them' contrast that is also expressed in the statement:

> GRANNY: ***Wudjella*** woman got diffrent way to ***gadjeri*** woman. They don't have woman's **dreaming**, special **dance**, ***Inma***.
>
> (Johnson 1989: 88, italics in original, my emphasis in bold print)

Note that, while *gadjeri* co-occurs with its English counterpart *wudjella*, the single-word insertion *Inma* is preceded by an English explanation of its meaning.

Other Aboriginal language words describe comparatively 'mundane' every-day concepts such as items of clothing, e.g. *boogardies* 'shoes' and *gundies* 'underpants'; *doolum* 'head lice', identifies an unpleasant physical condition. Due to the small overall number of Aboriginal language words, we also encounter very few terms which evoke shared experiences and understandings or concern delicate or painful issues, that is, we find only few lexical appropriations that act as agents of proximity. The text further includes only two kin terms, viz. *family* and *relation*. This, too, seems unusual, given that all characters are members of the same (core) family and the need for family unity is stressed throughout the play. What is more, *Murras* addresses the effects of government policies on families. Since *Murras* also entirely lacks lexical appropriations which describe other forms of human relationships and social interaction, the text does not evoke the same feelings of emotional closeness, solidarity, and warmth that are transported in Davis' and Gilbert's plays.

The most important lexical appropriation in the text, and the last single-word insertion that remains to be discussed, is *murras* 'hands', which is also the name of the play and its leitmotif. The significance of the word is grounded in its direct relationship with the play's thematic focus on cultural maintenance and change. In the rural environment, the characters' *murras* carry out activities such as carving and weaving; they are thus essential for keeping alive these practices and passing them on to the younger generation. Using their hands to collect food and make fire is furthermore crucial for the family's every-day survival:

> RUBY: […] Better live here outside. We got no doors to lock out family. Look, look my ***murras***.
>
> *[She raises her hands out of the water]*
>
> All time work hard, dig for yams, make fire, make basket, dilly bag, pandana mat…and carving.
>
> *[She looks at Charlie's totem, centrestage]*
>
> Charlie, you were the best carver, your ***murras*** were strong, you was the best.
>
> (Johnson 1989: 85f, italics in original, my emphasis in bold print)

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At that point in time, Charlie's strong hands have long since stopped carving the totem poles for which he was renowned and his wife and children have adopted the role as carriers of cultural tradition. Meanwhile, the term *murras* also underlines the women's role as nurturers and caretakers.

In a passage centred on the supposed amenities of the family's new home, we find what at first view appears to be an example of cushioning. Taking a closer look, it becomes evident that the glossing of the Aboriginal language word actually carries out a different function: it serves to underscore the significance of the actions discussed and the role of *murras* as the agents performing them.

RUSSEL: *[interrupting]* What I'd like to talk to you about is your new home. It's very modern, you'll notice the difference. It has electricity. Yes, you can't see it but it's there. It's like magic; it provides power for lights, heaters, washing machines, refrigerators, almost anything. You won't hardly have to use your hands.

WILBA: '***Murras***'.

RUBY: We call them '***murras***'.

RUSSEL: What? Electricity?

JAYDA: No, these hands, our '***murras***'.

RUSSEL: '***Murras***'. Yes, well, as I was saying, everything will be at your fingertips.

WILBA: As long as I can still go hunting, paint and make spears.

JAYDA: And weave baskets and mats and –

RUSSEL: *[interrupting]* You can join classes, yes, there are classes for everything these days. Look, I did: now I do my own banking, book-keeping and I can chair meetings and run seminars.

(Johnson 1989: 91, italics in original, my emphasis in bold print)

Thus, rather than providing an explanation of the word's meaning for the reader's or the audience's sake, the supposed cushioning underscores the different world views of those taking part in the conversation. The short exchange contrasts the family members with Russel who, having been taken away from his family and raised in a European environment, needs an explanation to understand the term. Still, it is not only the semantic meaning of the word *murras* that is beyond his understanding. He is as ignorant of the importance of the cultural practices as he is of the family's reasons for wanting to remain in the rural environment.

After the family's move to the city, activities such as carving and weaving bags fall into oblivion. Ruby's hands are too weak to continue, and her children no longer see any meaning in these things in their new environment:

RUBY: […] Wilba's ***murras*** are scarred by the ***wudjella's*** chains. His ***murras*** are clenched fists now. Jayda don't make baskets no more. She bleeds from her womb the seeds of death. She carries the scars from the ***wudjella's*** medicine. There's no place for baskets here, she says. And my ***murras*** are

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too weak. They no longer carve. They are empty now. Moon, water, sea grass, dugong, parrotfish … gone. **All gone**.

(Johnson 1989: 106, italics in original, my emphasis in bold print)

In Ruby's final lament, the image of the powerful *murras* becomes twisted: the children's hands are now tied by the white man's actions and Ruby has become too weak to continue the fight for her culture.

Due to the small number of Aboriginal language words in the play, readers and audiences should have comparatively little difficulty in understanding the text, especially since the dialogue provides sufficient context to interpret the meaning of the single-word insertions. This has been shown for the terms *gadjeri* and *Inma* and can also be observed elsewhere, as in "These boogardies hurt my feet." (Johnson 1989: 100). The English-derived appropriations, though differing in their meaning or usage from the StE practice, are less likely to cause severe comprehension problems. Still, despite the high degree of intelligibility on the lexical level, the language of the text is clearly different from AusE and many passages make the reader experience a feeling of linguistic alienation nonetheless. In the following scene, Granny uses exclusively Standard English vocabulary to narrate a Dreaming story, but her account appears almost as exotic as Worru's yarns in *The Dreamers*:

GRANNY: You know who we are;
Yeah, you, Ruby, you are dugong[42],
Charlie, he moon,
Wilba, he parrotfish,
Jayda, she seagrass.
Me, I'm from water.
Dreaming say, dugong was bitten by leech.
Moon watch her.
Dugong leave her land and go into sea.
Moon follow, but he can't get wet,
So he call parrotfish, make him son.
Parrotfish look after dugong.
Both live from seagrass from bottom of the sea.
Moon always there, watch all time.
And he here, still he look for you, dugong.
Water, dugong, parrotfish, seagrass,
All same spirit, so we gotta stay together, right here.
(Johnson 1989: 89)

We can observe a variety of terms that refer to environmental features or animals that represent totems and are associated with the Dreaming, thus establishing a link between humans and the mythological ancestors and connecting the present to the time the world was created. Still, the particularly Aboriginal 'flavour' of this paragraph cannot be attributed to the 'foreignness'

42 According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the term *dugong* is originally from Malay and has been borrowed into English where it is now the standard reference term for a species of sirenias.

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of the lexicon. Rather, it mainly results from the way Granny appropriates the colonisers' language on the structural level. In the short passage, we can observe salient AborE grammatical features, such as zero-copula constructions, the use of resumptive pronouns, the omission of determiners, as well as the absence of past and third person singular inflection. In addition, the syntactic structure relies heavily on the 'chaining' of individual elements, phrases, and short sentences. This is in many ways representative for the entire text, which is most strongly marked by non-standard verb forms that result from the omission of copula and auxiliary verbs and the lack of past tense and 3rd person singular inflection, as well as by the omission of determiners and prepositions. This structural adaptation also increases the 'exotic' quality of passages which exhibit additional lexical appropriation, as in "**What** Sister want to check me **for**? She think I got germs, **all time** put that purple paint on me." (Johnson 1989: 87, my emphasis). In passages where these grammatical features do not persistently occur, the dialogue receives an entirely different character. Despite occasional instances of lexical appropriation, these passages approach colloquial AusE:

> GRANNY: […] You know they tried to take Charlie away from me. One *wudjella* man wanted me, for himself. I told him I gave him away to 'nother woman. But I hid him, hid him in my sugar bag. I was nearly sittin' on top of him while I was lyin' to that *wudjella*. He was a good boy, kept real quiet. I kept hidin' him until he met your mother. Hm, well, soon I'll find his spirit again.
>
> (Johnson 1989: 97, italics in original)

Thus, the text takes control over the English language not so much by introducing Indigenous lexical material, but by adapting the dominant code to the structure and rhythmic patterns of the traditional languages and contact varieties.

8.6 Jimmy Chi

Born in 1948 as the son of a Japanese-Chinese father and a Scottish-Bardi mother (Thompson & Chi 1991: 24; Jose *et al.* 2008: 136), Jimmy Chi's heritage reflects the ethnic diversity of his hometown Broome. Located in the far north of Western Australia, the relatively isolated coastal town of Broome developed as a major pearling port in the second half of the 19th century, after the discovery of the *Pinctada Maxima*, one of the world's largest pearl oysters. The developing pearling industry attracted Europeans, Japanese, Chinese, Malays, Filipinos, and Indonesians (Shire of Broome 2012: 5ff). Together with the local Aboriginal population, the pearlers laid the foundation for the town's multicultural mix. In the 2011 Census, 29.1% of the population of the Broome area

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claimed Aboriginal heritage (ABS. 2012e. Cat.No.2075.0 Census of Population and Housing).

Much of Chi's life and his family's history were marked by institutionalisation. During World War II, his father was interned. His mother, the daughter of a white cattle station owner, was taken from her family as a child and sent to Beagle Bay mission where she underwent training as a domestic (Stephenson 2007: 170). Chi himself attended St. Mary's in Broome, a Catholic school run by Irish nuns and German priests (Gilbert 2001: 326). Here, he experienced racism not only from his Euro-Australian classmates but also from other Aboriginal students for whom he was 'not Aboriginal enough':

> School was wonderful but I was subjected to racism – often from black, predominately tribal, schoolmates. Even though I was related to them they never realised it: they used to call me *munyi munyi* – meaning eye, slanty-eyed if you want. I've had racism from whites, from blacks, from everybody just about (Chi in Thompson & Chi 1991: 24).

For Chi, it is not only the white Australian society that is to blame for discrimination and the promotion of prejudice. He describes that even in his multicultural hometown of Broome, there is a system of "social classes which go first white, then coloured, then blackfella and bush blackfella, then the absolute nigger, and last the ignorant stonejack." He feels that such attitudes are not restricted to a part of the society, rather, he suggests that "prejudice like that [...] runs through all levels of society and [...] Aboriginal people are as guilty of it as anybody else" (Tompson and Chi 1991: 24).

After leaving school, Chi went to the University of Western Australia in Perth where he began to study for an engineering degree. In the urban environment, far away from his home in Broome, he developed schizophrenia. Gilbert (2001: 320) ascribes his illness to the experience of cultural displacement and racism, other sources suggest it was the result of a serious car accident (Tompson and Chi 1991: 25; Jose *et al.* 2008: 136). Chi finally had to give up his university studies and returned to Broome where he engaged in writing music, an occupation which he describes as a way of therapy, "a comfort, a spiritual source I found that made me write about all the pain that was in me about a lot of issues, and helped me relate to the world again" (Thompson & Chi 1991: 25). Many of the songs that feature in *Bran Nue Dae* were originally written and produced by his band *Kuckles* (Gilbert 2001: 320). Chi also collaborated with band colleague Mick Manolis in the production of a book on Aboriginal music which was published in 1983 and was among the founders of *Broome Musicians Aboriginal Corporation* which endeavours to support young musicians (Thompson & Chi 1991: 24).

In the second half of the 1980s, Chi's idea of writing a musical gradually became reality. *Bran Nue Dae*, which Chi had scripted together with Mick Manolis (Tompson and Chi 1991: 28), was elaborated during several workshop

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sessions with the assistance of people such as playwright Jack Davis and the Aboriginal stage director Brian Syron. Andrew Ross, who had successfully worked with Jack Davis and established his reputation as sensitive director of Aboriginal works, was approached to direct the play (Gilbert 2001: 320). In February 1990, only six weeks after Ross had obtained the re-drafted script, *Bran Nue Dae* premiered at the Festival of Perth, performed by a largely Broome cast (Bibby 1991: vii-viii). Two national tours followed and the play, winner of the Sidney Meyer Award, was staged in major venues. A third, local tour brought it to Aboriginal communities in a number of rural and remote locations (Gilbert 2001: 320; Bibby 1991: vii-viii). In 1991, while still touring, Jimmy Chi received the Human Rights Award for Literature and Other Writing (Jose *et al.* 2008: 136)

Chi's second musical, *Corrugation Road*, premiered in 1996. The play which Gilbert (2001: 322) describes as a "surreal romp loosely based on his own experiences in psychiatric hospitals" deals with issues such as mental illness and abuse. Both *Bran Nue Dae* and *Corrugation Road* have been influential in the development of the Black Swan Theatre Company, and *Bran Nue Dae* helped to get underway the careers of the well-known Aboriginal actor-playwrights Ningali Lawford and Leah Purcell (Gilbert 2001: 322; Jose *et al.* 2008: 136). In January 2010, the feature film *Bran Nue Dae* was released, directed by Rachel Perkins and starring, among others, Ernie Dingo and Ningali Lawford, two of the original stage production's cast members, as well as Deborah Mailman (Kershaw *et al.* 2009).

8.6.1 **The Play: *Bran Nue Dae* (1990/1991)**

"The greatest success, after Davis and partly with his encouragement, was Jimmy Chi's musical *Bran Nue Dae*" (McCallum 2009: 313). Chi's work, which is often described as the first Aboriginal musical (e.g. Gilbert 1992: 134, 2001: 320; Thompson & Chi 1991: 24), makes use of what Gilbert (2001: 320) defines as the "most Westernized and commercialized of theatre forms", the Broadway musical, and appropriates it "to make a political protest while broadly appealing to the popular imagination". The play's subtitle 'a musical journey' anticipates the plot which portrays the two Aboriginal main characters, the teenager Willie and 'Uncle' Tadpole, on their quest for a place of belonging which takes them from Perth to Broome. The structure of *Bran Nue Dae* reminds of a song-cycle that describes the course of a journey in a succession of songs.

According to Brisbane (1995: 14), the play's story "is as silly as that of any grant opera": expelled from the mission school run by the German priest Father Benedictus for stealing 'Cherry Ripe' bars, and longing for his home and his girlfriend Rosie, Willie finds himself among the homeless in a park in

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Perth. Here, he meets Tadpole, whose explanation of their family ties leaves both Willie and the reader/audience wondering who is who in the Johnson family:

> TADPOLE: You know what! Your mother is my uncle brother and that's my brother but this is my sister so he call you uncle. That's how come I'm your sister brother and I'm your uncle and so I'm your uncle, OKAY?
>
> WILLIE: Yeah Uncle, but who is my daddy?
>
> (Chi 1991: 19, emphasis in original)

The two decide to set off for their home north of Broome. Their journey will become an initiation rite for Willie's who "learns about survival, sex, and society in general as he undergoes his transition towards adulthood" (Gilbert 1992: 135). After faking a car accident, they convince 'Marijuana Annie' and her German hippie boyfriend 'Slippery' to take them to Broome. On their way, the group is arrested for the possession of (Annie's) marijuana and put into Roebourne Lockup. Here, Chi reveals that his light-hearted musical, too, involves a political message: Roebourne Lockup is the very place in which some years previous to the premiere of the musical, John Pat, a young Aboriginal man, was killed while being held in custody, an incident that received nationwide attention (Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody 1991). They meet Tadpole's *cousin brother*, a legal aid officer who is under arrest himself. Out of jail and back in Broome, Willie is reunited with his love Rosie whom he was forced to abandon in the first scenes of the play. Rosie joins the travellers, so does Willie's mother Theresa and the group continue their journey northwards. Towards the end of the play, in a soap opera-like sequence of revelations and confessions, it is unveiled that Tadpole is Theresa's former husband and Willie's father, and Slippery is Willie's half-brother, the son of Theresa and Father Benedictus. Marijuana Annie reveals that she, too, is of Aboriginal heritage and one of the many children of the Stolen Generations. In the last scenes, at Lombadina Mission, the entire family is reunited when Slippery meets his father who preaches forgiveness of sins under a crucifix of 'Cherry Ripe' bars.

8.6.2 **Analysis of *Bran Nue Dae***

Since Chi's text work is written as a musical, dialogue alternates with song lyrics. While some of the songs embrace Aboriginal language words and also include other grammatical and lexical features of AborE, most lyrics are written in or approach AusE. The language employed in the dialogue, on the other hand, portrays first and second language varieties of (Aus)English as well as different forms of AborE. The second language varieties spoken by the two characters Father Benedictus and Slippery are characterised by occasional code-switching to German. The transcription further suggests that both have a marked German accent:

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BENEDICTUS: Ah Villie. Und Slippery und Annie. Ve are all fallen angels and ve all haff a multitude of crosses to bear. You haff kom back, and I haff kom back! Der mission is finished.

(Chi 1991: 83)

Many grammatical features that can be observed in the varieties spoken by the Aboriginal characters, most notably Willie, Rosie, Tadpole, and Theresa, clearly show the influence of pidgins on AborE varieties spoken in northern Australian locations. In the text, this influence manifests itself, for example, in the use of prepositions such as *longa*, as in "this fella longa Canberra" (Chi 1991: 84), or the application of the past tense marker *bin*, which may replace *been*, as in "What you bin doing?" (Chi 1991:19) or act as copula, as in "He bin Perth for schooling." (Chi 1991: 2). *Bin* also occurs in combination with a present verb stem, as in "They bin chuck me out from mission." (Chi 1991: 18), but also with past participle forms, as in "That's the place where I bin used to live before." (Chi 1991: 50).

Other regularly occurring AborE grammar features modify the verb phrase. Again, we frequently find zero copula constructions, as in "He deadly boy." (Chi 1991: 2). Apart from that, neither third person singular nor past tense forms are necessarily marked by inflection, as in "He come from Lombadina." (Chi 1991: 2) and "you still never tell me your name yet" (Chi 1991: 18); the second example also shows how *never* may negate the verb. Elsewhere, double negation may occur, as in "I don't go to no fuckin' hospital." (Chi 1991: 24). In addition, auxiliaries tend to be omitted in statements, e.g. "Bro, no one coming." (Chi 1991: 5), and in questions, e.g. "What you doing bro?" (Chi 1991: 6). Again, the form *gotta* may replace *have to* while future is expressed through *will* but also through *gonna*, e.g. "You bastards gonna take us there or what?" (Chi 1991: 24).

Further grammatical characteristics that indicate a geographically remote northern location include the use of the third person pronouns *he/him* for both male and female referents, as in "Uh – Uncle, I got this girl Rosie [...] I like 'im but I don't know if he like me." (Chi 1991: 47) but also for impersonal objects, e.g. "There him [...]. There Djarindjin hills." (Chi 1991: 81). Elsewhere, pronoun forms such as *you mob* and *us mob* occur. Possession need not be expressed by possessive pronouns, as in "Where's you school uniform I scraped and saved for?" (Chi 1991: 76), and occasionally, the omission of prepositions can be observed, as in "He bin Perth for schooling." (Chi 1991: 2). We can further note the omission of the definite and indefinite articles *the* and *a*, as in "Ah no Uncle I'm good man" (Chi 1991: 21) or the replacement of *the* by *that*, e.g. "That policeman don't like that green stuff in the back of your car, I?" (Chi 1991: 31). Rarely, plural markers such as *(big) mob* may occur, e.g. "big mob motocar" (Chi 1991: 22) and adjectives may have suffixes such as *one* or *fella* attached

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that suggest nominalisation, e.g. "He different one from me" Chi 1991: 47). On a few instances, adverbs may be formed using the suffix *-way*, e.g. *longway*.

In addition, the spelling suggests distinctive phonological features, such as the substitution of fricatives, e.g. *dijwun* 'this one', *Steben* 'Steven', *bella* 'fellow'. The question tag 'ay' is realised in the form of the first singular pronoun *I*, as in "Like us I bro, us blackies starving." (Chi 1991:7). Consonant clusters may be reduced, especially in word final position, as in "Never min' my boy... legal aid get you out of here." (Chi 1991: 34). In some instances, elision may result in forms such as *wanta* 'want to', e.g. "I wanta sing a country song." (Chi 1991: 54). The lengthening of the initial consonant in the pronunciation of *home* is employed to convey the intensity of feeling connected to the concept: "Porbella porbella. We hhhhome now. "(Chi 1991: 81). The short glossary that precedes the written text suggests that *kuckles* is Broome AborE rendition of 'cockles'.

On the lexical level, the use of Aboriginal language terms is again considerably less pronounced than in Davis' and Gilbert's plays. At the same time, English derived AborE lexicon and pidgin terms are frequently used. None of the terms are rendered in italics so that they do not visibly stand out from the remainder of the text.

The glossary lists terms from Aboriginal languages as well as terms from a variety labelled 'Broome Kriol'. Unfortunately, no individual source languages are specified, except for in one case where an element is marked as a Malay term (*mukan*, 'food', but see also the wordbook entry and below). None of the Aboriginal language words are listed in Arthur (1996) or Dixon *et al*. (2006). Due to the great linguistic diversity characteristic of the Australian north, several Aboriginal languages are in use today in the Broome area, and each of them is a potential source for the single-word insertions in the text. According to Hosokawa (2011: 11), the Aboriginal languages spoken

> […] around Brome today include Bardi, Nyulnyul, Jabirrjabirr, Yawuru, Nyikina, Mangala, Walmajarri, […], Karajarri […] Nyangumarta and Yulparija (a Western Desert Dialect). Of these, only Bardi, Walmajarri and Nyangumarta are relatively strong in terms of number of speakers [...]. None of the three groups, however, originally belonged to the Broome area, although they have become the major Aboriginal groups of Broome today both in number and in political influence.

Hosokawa further explains that the first five are Nyulnyulan languages, i.e. they belong to a non-Pama Nyungan family, while Mangala, Walmajarri, Karajarri, Nyangumarta and Yulparija are Pama Nyungan languages. Bardi, which was traditionally used in the northern parts of the Dampier Peninsula, is also spoken in the Aboriginal communities Long Arm Point and Lomdadina/Djarindjin (Aklif 1999: 1). Broome is also home to a unique contact variety, the Broome Pearling Lugger Pidgin, a Malay-based contact language which

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developed in the context of the pearling industry (McGregor 2004: 30, 70). The pidgin is no longer actively used, but according to Hosokawa (1987: 294), an amount of fossilised words and phrases has been retained by the Asian and Aboriginal population and these are regular features in the speech of Asian-Aboriginal speakers of the younger generations, employed as markers of ethnic identity. Other varieties spoken by Aboriginal people in the region are Pidgin English and its descendant Kriol, as well as different forms of AborE. As McGregor (2004: 61) points out, it is not always possible to draw clear boundaries between the three varieties, as they tend to overlap.

The *Ardiyooloon Bardi Ngaanka: One Arm Point Bardi Dictionary* (1999) compiled by Gedda Aklif has served as the major source in determining the Aboriginal language terms' source languages. Unfortunately, two further sources for the Bardi lexicon, viz. Claire Bowern's (2003) *Supplement to Ardiyooloon Bardi Ngaanka: One Arm Point Bardi Dictionary* and Toby Metcalfe's (1975) *Bardi Dictionary* are unpublished manuscripts. So is Hosokawa's (1988) *Classified Yawuru dictionary*, excerpts of which are nevertheless available online as part of the *Rarrdjali Yawuru: Language Pages*. Other sources that have been consulted in the course of this analysis include the *Nyikina draft dictionary* available via the website of the Nyikina organisation Madjulla Inc., McKelson's (1989) *Topical Vocabulary in Northern Nyangumarta*, the Nyangumarta-English, Mangala-English, and Yulparitja-English online dictionaries available via the homepage of the *Wangka Maya Pilbara Aboriginal Language Center*, Richards & Hudson's (1990) *Walmajarri-English Dictionary*, and parts II and III of Nekes & Worm's *Australian languages* which are available on the CD-ROM accompanying McGregor's 2006 edition of the work which was originally compiled in the first half of the 20th century.

Several of the Aboriginal language terms used in the text occur in more than one language, and this diffusion is not restricted to closely related languages such as Nyikina, Nyulnyul, and Yawuru. The term *magabala* 'bush banana', for example, is listed in sources for Nyul Nyul, Nyangumarta, Karrajari, Yawuru, Mangala, and Nyinkina. Also, *baarni* 'large goanna' is listed in Aklif's Bardi dictionary despite her contention that it is not a Bardi word. This indicates that a number of words have spread beyond their source language and have entered neighbouring varieties. It is thus very likely that several of the terms for which only one or two source languages are provided in fact occur more widely. In some cases, it has not been possible to determine the original source language. The term *mayi* 'food', 'vegetable food', for example, is found in the non-Pama-Nyungan languages Bardi and Yawuru, but also in Karajarri and Nyangamarta which belong to a Pama-Nyungan language family. In this case, it is not clear if the term has originated in one language (or several closely related languages of the same family) and has later been borrowed by the languages of the other family or if it has always been part of the

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lexical inventory of all languages in the area, i.e. occurring across language family boundaries.

As before, the lexical appropriations found in *Bran Nue Dae* have been classified as

1) single-word insertions from the local language(s)
2) single-word insertions from languages (formerly) spoken in other parts of the country
3) multi-word insertions from the local language(s)
4) hybrid compounds,
5) English lexemes
   - that show semantic modification
   - that have undergone phonological modification
   - that exhibit a specific AborE usage

For the first time, however, these eight categories have proven insufficient to capture the range of appropriation types. In addition to lexical elements from Aboriginal languages and from English, *Bran Nue Dae* makes use of a small number of pidgin terms which are not derived from English, including the previously mentioned Broome Pearling Lugger Pidgin term *mukan* from Malay. These terms, which underline the diverse cultural and linguistic mix of the Broome area, will be discussed separately.

Again, Troy (1990, 1993, 1994), Malcolm & Koscielecki (1997), Foster *et al.* (2003), and Harris (1986 and 1988) were consulted for information on the terms' occurrence in early contact varieties, and so were Arthur (1996), Brooks & Ritchie's (1994) *Words from the West,* and Dixon *et al.* (2006), for their diffusion in AborE and AusE. The online editions of the *AND* and the *OED* have provided additional information on the lexemes' use in varieties of English both inside and outside Australia.

As in the analysis of Johnson's text *Murras*, the terms *didgeridoo* and *boomerang* were not included in the count.

8.6.3 **The Results**

In total, 82 different examples of lexical appropriation were established for *Bran Nue Dae*. These include 23 items that are documented in earlier Australian pidgins, 13 of which are listed in sources for NSW Pidgin. The majority of lexical appropriations in *Bran Nue Dae* are English lexemes. Apart from that, we find single-word insertions from the local languages, pidgin terms, one instance of multi-word insertion, one hybrid element, and one traditional language word from an Aboriginal language spoken elsewhere. The text further features a handful of items for which no etymology could be established.

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In two cases, this meant that it was also impossible to assign them to a conceptual category. They will be discussed in more detail below.

Only few of the words that are not English-derived are also listed in the *AND*, Dixon *et al.* (2006), or Arthur (1996), even though Arthur provides quotations from *Bran Nue Dae* for several of her dictionary entries. Therefore, we may assume that many of the items are restricted to a local or regional variety of AborE spoken in the Broome area.

a) Not surprisingly, **English lexemes** once again form the largest group of lexical appropriations. All in all, 50 English lexical elements were counted, almost two thirds of all the appropriations identified in the text. Note however, that these include the element *sit on*, which in the glossary is explained to be a gambling term. Since two other items that are also described as gambling terms can be attributed to Broome Pearling Lugger Pidgin, it may be possible that *sit on*, too, is actually a rendition of a pidgin term: "Baker he **mukan** with **sit on**/But Larry we got **butta** in front." (Chi 1991: 29; my emphasis). With 25 items, the number of English terms that have undergone semantic modification is only slightly higher than those exhibiting characteristically Aboriginal usages of English terms (21 items). Four lexemes show phonological modification.

Twenty-five of the English appropriations are nominal elements, including the noun phrases *big shame*, *old man*, *porbella* (from *poor fella*), and *white man*, and another four elements, viz. *us mob, us people*, *you mob* and *dijwun* 'this one', are used as pronouns in the text. Seven elements are adjectives (*all same, black, cheeky, deadly, nother, old, sorry, stalebait*). In addition, the noun phrase *big mob* also occurs adjectivally. Another three elements are adverbs, viz. *all day*, *never*, *proper*. Six English verb forms were found in the text (*friend up, mix up, pook, reckon, sing out, tongue for*), four of which are phrasal verbs. Two elements function as interjections, viz. *ay(e)*, also *I*, and *eh*, and *longa* is a preposition.

Almost half of the English lexemes, i.e. 21 elements, were recorded in earlier pidgin and creole forms, including 13 items documented in NSW Pidgin:

all day, all same (NSW), big mob, black (NSW), blackies (NSW), brother (NSW), cheeky, country (NSW), dijwun (NSW), eh (NSW), fella/bella (NSW), longa (NSW), longway (NSW), neber/never, nother, old man, one, porbella (NSW), sing out, tucker (NSW), whiteman (NSW).

No less than 39 items are recorded in sources for AborE, AusE and other varieties of English. Of these, 20 are only listed in Arthur (1996) as AborE lexical features, another 15 have an entry in Arthur (1996) as well as in sources for AusE or in the *OED*.

b) The next major class of appropriations in *Bran Nue Dae* is that of **single-word insertions from local and regional Aboriginal languages** (24 items).

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Again, the largest group among the single-word insertions is that of nominal elements which comprises 20 items, including the language group names *Bardi, Karrajarri, Nyikina,* and *Yawuru*. The item *lulb'd* 'roasted in the earth' is an adjective and also the language group name *Nyul Nyul* is used adjectivally. The only verb form found among the Aboriginal language words is *jirij* 'ejaculate'. The element *arrajina* is glossed as 'nothing' in Chi (1991: 16) but Aklif's (1999: 21) Bardi dictionary suggests 'no', 'none' for *arrajina/arrijina*. The context in which the term is used supports its function as a determiner rather than as a pronoun: "I'll love you until there's arrrajina Djarindjin hills/arrajina ungarrabin ['little green turtle', K.L.] goolil ['turtle', K.L.]." (Chi 1991: 58).

None of the 24 terms is documented in an early Australian pidgin variety and only the language group name *Bardi* and *magabala*, a type of bush fruit, are listed in Brooks & Ritchie (1994) as Western Australian words.

c) Only one lexeme comes from an **Aboriginal language spoken outside the wider Broome area**: the noun *bungarra* which describes a type of sand monitor is from Nhanta (Geraldton region, south-west WA). Like its counterparts from northern WA languages, the word is not documented in an early contact variety and does not appear to have wider currency in AborE or AusE.

d) One **hybrid compound** features in the text. The lexeme *jigal tree* 'bauhinia tree' (several northern WA languages and English) is a noun. The term does not appear in any of the sources for the lexicon of AborE or AusE and is not accounted in an early contact variety.

e) Finally, *narba yunyarri* 'water is coming' is a **multi-word insertion from a regional language**.

As indicated above, Chi's text also includes a small number of items that do not fit into the categories of lexical appropriation strategies established for the previous analyses. These are **pidgin terms** which could not be classified as single-word insertions or English-derived terms:

1) *savvy* '(to) understand', described by Harris as a 'World Pidgin' feature shared with Pacific pidgins and other English-based pidgins and creoles. According to the online edition of the *OED*, the term comes from Portuguese or Spanish *saber* '(to) know' and spread via early West African pidgin. *Savvy* is documented in NTPE and is also listed in Arthur (1996) and in the *OED*.

2) *mukan*, most probably a Broome Pearling Lugger Pidgin term, derived from the Malay *makanan*, which may be used as noun and verb (Hosokawa 1987: 290). Although the term is glossed as 'food' in Chi's text, the context of the utterance suggests that it is a shortened form of the Broome Pearling Lugger Pidgin term *makan kaikai*, signifying a major victory in gambling (Hosokawa 1987: 292). The term testifies to the contact between Aboriginal people and

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the Asian workers on board the pearling luggers. It is listed in the *OED* with the meaning 'food', 'eating' as chiefly Singapore, Malaysia, and Brunei usage.

3) *butta*, glossed as 'second best hand in kudja kudja, a gambling game', very likely also a Broome Pearling Lugger Pidgin term. The origin of the word remains unclear; it might be derived from Malay or another Asian language spoken by the pearlers or it could be a rendition of a local Aboriginal language word[43].

In addition, Chi (1991) uses the noun *mungari* 'food' and the preposition *munga* 'just like', two terms for which no plausible etymology could be established, but which might be instances of single-word insertion. According to the *OED*, *mungaree* and variants thereof are derived from Italian *mangiare* and are used as slang terms, especially in AusE and New Zealand English. The *AND* further lists *munga, mungar, munger,* and *mungey* as abbreviations of Brit. *mangaree*. *Munga*, too, is listed by the *OED* as 'food', 'a meal'. Yet, the term also seems to be used in different WA languages, McGregor (1994a: 58), for example, provides *manyarriy* as a Warrwa term with the meaning 'food' and Nekes & Worms (2006, part III: n.p.) list *maɲari* 'food' as a Jaru word. It is unclear if we are dealing with unrelated lexemes or if the term was borrowed into the WA languages from English. Malcolm (1980-1982: 60) recorded the term *munga* in the sense '(just) like' in Derby, WA, but he does not provide any information concerning the item's origin. None of the dictionaries consulted list a similar form, so that again, we cannot say with certainty whether *munga* is an Aboriginal language word or not. Since the terms' source languages remain unclear, it is also not possible to determine their semantic category. As single-word insertions from WA languages they would best be categorised as traditional language maintenance, otherwise, they should be assigned to category 'Aboriginal way'.

Summing up the results of the conceptual analysis, we get the following picture (excluding the two items *munga* and *mungari*):

a. **Continuation of cultural and religious tradition (12 items)**

- 7 single-word insertions (regional languages):

Bardi, a language group, *bindjin* (also *bindjins*) 'coolamon', a wooden carrying dish, *Karrajarri*, a language group, *lulb'd* 'roasted in the earth', *Nyikina*, a language group, *Nyul Nyul*, a language group, *Yawuru*, a language group.

- 5 English items:

bush tucker 'traditional food', *dreaming*, a collection of events beyond living memory which shaped the physical, spiritual and moral world and which

[43] In the written text, Tadpole tells Annie and Slippery that the word *Buddhist* is "proper rude thing to say in our language" (Chi 1991: 27). In the movie, the word *Buddhist* is replaced by *Buddha.*

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is still manifested in and sustains the present, *language*, an Aboriginal language, 'Aboriginal language', *law*, the body of religious and cultural knowledge that informs and directs Aboriginal society, *old*, 'Aboriginal', but with an added sense that it is part of Aboriginal culture that belongs to the time before Europeans.

b. **Kinship structures (5)**

- 5 English items:

auntie, an older woman, often wise in traditional language, having status within her community; also a term of address, *bro*, short for *brother*, *brother*, a close relative of the same generation, often a parallel cousin, a form of address for a sibling, or a gesture of solidarity with another Aboriginal person of the same generation, *cousin brother*, a close relative of the same generation, usually a mother's sister's or father's brother's child, used for a person who is biologically a cousin but has the same status as a brother, *uncle*, a respectful term of address for an older man.

c. **Human relationships and social interaction (8 items)**

- 7 English items:

friend up '(to) become friends', '(to) become a girlfriend or boyfriend', *old man*, a figure of authority, here used as an address term conveying respect and expressing solidarity, *sing out* 'call out', 'cry out', *tongue for* '(to) long for', *us mob*, see *us people*, *us people*, a connected group; the term can apply to a whole 'family' or a part of it, a group connected in some other way, *you mob* 'you (plural)'.

- 1 pidgin term:

savvy, '(to) understand', here used with the meaning '(to) know'.

d. **States of feeling and being and ways of conduct (5 items)**

- 5 English items:

big shame, from *shame* 'embarrassment', 'fear', a sense for having transgressed the social and moral code of society, intentionally or unintentionally, *cheeky* 'causing pain', 'dangerous, violent', 'poisonous', 'mischievous, but possibly also dangerous', *porbella*, from *poor fellow*, referring to the condition of oneself or others, implying recognition of the plight of the human condition, *sorry* 'sorrowful', 'full of grief, grieving', *stalebait*, a fishing term, used for people.

e. **Body parts and body functions, intimate and personal aspects of live (4 items)**

- 3 single-word insertions (regional languages):

jirij 'ejaculate', 'move suddenly', *lagurr* 'eggs', 'testicles', *noora* 'posterior'.

- 1 English item:

kuckle 'cockle', here refers to female genitalia.

f. **Relationship to the land (2 items)**

- 2 English items:

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country, the tract of land where an Aboriginal person or community belongs, to which they have a responsibility, and from which they can draw spiritual strength, *land rights*, the entitlement of [Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples] to possess their traditionally occupied territory.

g. **Nature and environment (13 items)**

- 11 single-word insertions (regional languages):

arli 'fish', *barni* 'large goanna', *gided*, a food fish, the 'snapper', *goolil* 'turtle', *gubiny*, a fruit, a type of bush food, *gunkura*, a fruit, a type of bush food, *jalungardi* (also *jalangardi*) 'goanna', *magabala*, a fruit, a type of bush food, *mayi*, bush food from plants, *ungarrabin* 'little green turtle', *wali* 'meat'.

- 1 single-word insertion (other Aboriginal languages):

bungarra, the widespread sand monitor, Varanus gouldii.

- 1 hybrid compound:

jigal tree 'bauhinia tree'.

h. **The contact experience (12 items)**

- 7 English items:

black 'Aboriginal', *blackies*, Aboriginal persons, *feed* 'meal', *mix up* '(to) mix with another group', *motocar* 'motorcar', *sit on*, best hand in kudja kudja, a gambling game, *tucker*, 'food', *whiteman,* a non-Aboriginal person.

- 2 single-word insertions (regional languages):

jowijj 'pants', *linjoo* 'police'.

- 2 pidgin terms:

Butta, a gambling term, *mukan*, a gambling term.

i. **Novel conceptualisations of Aboriginality and cultural survival (-)**

j. **Aboriginal way (17 items)**

- 17 English items:

all day 'always', *all same* 'like', 'similar to', *ay(e),* also *I*, an interjection, used as rhetorical comment, usually at the end of statements, *big mob*, a large group (of people, animals, etc.), a large amount of something, *deadly* 'great', 'fantastic', 'terrific', *dijwun*, from *this one*, used to indicate sth. with particularity, often used alongside the thing indicated, to distinguish it from another in the same category, *eh*, an interjection, used as rhetorical comment, usually at the end of statements, *fella*, also *bella*, 1. a person, either male or female though usually male, 2. any animate or inanimate thing, *longa*, 1. 'next to', 'with', 2. 'in', 'at', 'to', *longway* 'far (from)', *neber*, from *never*, an emphatic negative, *nother* 'another', *one*, (as a noun) used with adjectives, with the resulting combination, while appearing noun-like, still functioning as an adjective, *pook* 'poke', *proper* 'real', 'really', 'truly', also 'adequate', 'adequately', *reckon* '(to) say' as well as '(to) think', *side*, an area of allegiance; a way of doing things or a sphere of knowledge; the term includes both a geographical and conceptual element.

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k. **Traditional language maintenance (2 items)**

- 1 single-word insertion (regional languages):

arrajina 'nothing', 'no'.

- 1 multi-word insertion (regional languages):

narba yunyarri 'water is coming', here rain.

For the second time, *(j) Aboriginal way* is the conceptual category that contributes the largest number of appropriations. In *Bran Nue Dae*, it comprises 17 items. All of the lexical elements found in this category are English lexemes, including the hitherto not recorded *all day* 'always', *all same* 'like', 'similar to', *deadly* 'great, fantastic, terrific', *side*, an area of allegiance; a way of doing things or a sphere of knowledge; including both a geographical and conceptual element, all of which appear to have wider currency in AborE. In addition, several of the items in this category are rendered in such a way as to reflect AborE pronunciation patterns, e.g. *ay(e)* is also represented as *I*, *dijwun* is a rendition of *this one*, and *pook* of '(to) poke'.

The second largest conceptual category is *(g) Nature and environment* which comprises 14 items. Most elements in this category are single-word insertions from regional languages, but we also find one lexeme from a language spoken elsewhere, one multi-word insertion, and the hybrid compound *jigal tree*. Hence, Chi's text not only features an exceptionally large portion of appropriations which belong to this conceptual domain, it is also the first text which shows some variation in terms of the different appropriation types in this category.

Category *(h) The contact experience* features 12 examples of lexical appropriation. Common factors in all of the plays analysed so far are the references to the authorities in this category. As in the analyses of *The Dreamers* and *The Cherry Pickers*, we find an Aboriginal language word for 'police', viz. *linjoo*, and as in *Murras*, we also find a term for an item of clothing, viz. *jowijj* 'pants'. However, the text does not provide any appropriations describing substances such as alcohol or tobacco. Instead, three items refer to gambling: the two lexemes *butta* 'second best hand in kudja kudja, a gambling game' and *mukan* lit. 'food', here presumably in the sense 'a major victory' are very probably borrowings from Broome Pearling Lugger Pidgin. The original of the – apparently English – element *sit on* 'best hand in kudja kudja, a gambling game' is unclear. According to Arthur (1996: 186), *mix up* '(to) mix with another group' is a northern Australian word. It calls to mind multi-tribal environments such as missions, reserves, or stations that served as refugees for the Aboriginal people of northern Australia who fled the violence that accompanied pastoral expansion.

Including no more than 12 items, category *(a) Continuation of cultural and religious tradition*, which constituted the largest conceptual category in *The*

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Dreamers and *The Cherry Pickers* and the second largest in *Murras*, is now only in fourth position. What is more, five of the seven single-word insertions found in this category are names of Aboriginal language groups, expressing regional and local identities. An interesting aspect of Chi's play is that it also includes references to traditional modes of food preparation, viz. *lulb'd* 'roasted in the earth' and traditional foods, viz. *bush tucker*, that occur alongside now familiar and widespread items such as *dreaming*, *law*, and *language*.

Eight items are found in category *(c) Human relationships and social interaction* which reveals the new items *friend up* '(to) become friends', '(to) become a girlfriend or boyfriend', *savvy*, a pidgin term originally derived from a Romance language and now used widely in pidgins spoken throughout the world, and *tongue for* '(to) long for'. We further encounter *us mob* and *us people* that specify a connected group such as a family or a group connected in some other way.

Again, all of the five lexemes found in category *(b) Kinship structures* are English words. As in the previous analyses, they include the terms *auntie*, *brother* (as well as the form *bro*), and *uncle*, but also the new lexical element *cousin brother* which expresses a salient kinship concept, describing a person who is biologically a cousin but has the same status as a brother.

Out of the five items recorded for category *(d) States of feeling and being and ways of conduct*, the terms *big shame*, *cheeky*, *poorbella*, and *sorry*, too, express concepts widely used in Aboriginal forms of English, and the first three of these items have also featured in the previous three texts. A new item in this category is *stalebait*, a fishing term, used for people.

For the first time, *finish* '(to) end', '(to) die' is not among the items in category *(e) Body parts and body functions, intimate and personal aspects of live* which comprises four items. Instead, all of the elements in this category, viz. the three regional Aboriginal language words *jirij* '(to) ejaculate', *lagurr* 'testicles', *noora* 'posterior', as well as the phonologically modified English lexeme *kuckle*, which here refers to female genitalia, all have an obvious sexual connotation and provide an unmistakably saucy flavour to the text which is the first play that does not in some way contemplate the demise of Australia's Aboriginal people.

Once more, the English lexeme *country* falls into category *(f) Relationship to the land* which also includes the item *land rights*, a lexeme that is not exclusive to AborE but is of particular significance for the Aboriginal community. While *country* expresses an ancient, pre-colonial concept, viz. the idea that each person has an inseparable connection to a particular tract of land, *land rights* relates to more recent political attempts of regaining traditionally owned territory.

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The Bardi word *arrajina* 'nothing', 'no' has been assigned to category *(k) traditional language maintenance*. Chi's *Bran Nue Dae* is thus the second text after *The Dreamers* that contains an appropriation which does not pertain to any of the other ten conceptual domains. No items fall into category *(i) Novel conceptualisations of Aboriginality and cultural survival*.

8.6.4 On Our Way to a *Bran Nue Dae* – The Celebration of Diversity on a Journey 'Back to the Roots'

Even though Chi's text includes several elements from the languages traditionally spoken in the Broome area, English lexemes that exhibit meanings or usages which deviate from StE also dominate among the lexical appropriations found in *Bran Nue Dae*. The greater part of the English lexemes falls into the conceptual category *Aboriginal way* which includes lexical features that differ in their usage from StE practice, e.g. distinctive lexical combinations and verb phrases, as well as function words, adverbs and adjectives that show differences in form and/or meaning and mark the speech as distinctly Aboriginal.

Most of the Aboriginal language words in the text describe aspects of the Western Australian environment, especially the local fauna and thus underline the Aboriginal characters' connection to the environment and the land. Many of the terms are not restricted to a single variety but occur in several languages of the wider Broome area, so that we cannot identify one particular major donor language. They therefore support the creation of a broader regional identity that centres around the town of Broome. The references to the different language groups of the area, i.e. *Bardi, Karrajarri, Nyikina, Nyul Nyul*, and *Yawuru* demonstrate the cultural and linguistic diversity found in the Broome region and emphasise this identification which is based on an area of belonging rather than affiliation to one particular group. The characters' use of distinctive lexical and grammatical features clearly indicates their Aboriginal heritage, and the Aboriginal language words scattered in the text signpost the north-western location. The use of pidgin forms and the comparatively high number of lexemes that exhibit phonological modification – reflecting the influence of contact varieties and Kriol on the sound system of AborE in northern localities – further highlight this regional identification. Still, the language in Chi's text does not evoke the same sentiment of a distinct cultural and linguistic identity that is triggered by the abundance of Nyoongah terms in Davis' text, notwithstanding the fact that *Nyoongah*, too, describes a wider, regional identity.

The majority of the already small number of Aboriginal language words which are used to express cultural concepts are names of local and regional language groups. Like the bulk of the single-word insertions from Aboriginal

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languages found in the text, their use is concentrated in one scene that shows the travellers at Roebuck Plains where Willie engages and thrives in hunting and collecting 'bush tucker'. Hence, the greater part of the Aboriginal language words employed in the play denote aspects of nature experience and describe elements of the local flora and fauna. Their use in *Bran Nue Dae* is therefore very similar to the contexts in which Aboriginal language words are frequently used in AusE, i.e. they are employed to describe environmental features specific to the Australian ecology. Yet, in Chi's text, the inclusion of words from the local languages in this scene serves an additional purpose, as they depict fruits and animals which formed part of the people's diet in pre-colonial times. At Roebuck Plains, the young man Willie is taken 'back to the roots' and his heritage resurges in his actions, viz. in his attempts at gathering food, as well as in his and other Aboriginal characters' language use:

[Song: 'Jalangardi']

TADPOLE: Monsoon clouds are coming.

FEMALES: **Ngarba yunyarri Ngarba yunyarri** [water is coming].

TADPOLE: Gonna bring the **Barni** [large goanna] too.

FEMALES: **Ngarba yunyarri Ngarba yunyarri** [water is coming].

WILLIE: **Magabala** [a vine fruit, bush food] **Gunkura** [a fruit, bush food] **Gubiny** [a fruit, bush food] for you.

Going down to Roebuck Plains. [...]

FEMALES, TADPOLE: **Jalangardi, jalangardi** [goanna]
The chase is on
Gotta run, pass 'em gun
The chase is on.
Karrajarri, Yawuru, Nyikina, Bardi
All running, all running
Must have that **mungari** [food], **mayi** [bush food from plants],
And **wali** [meat] and **arli** [fish], and **arli**, and **arli**.

(Chi 1991: 42f, my emphasis and glossing)

While the authors of the previously analysed plays relied on references to religious and linguistic knowledge and practices such as dancing, storytelling, and the making of artefacts to stress their characters' Aboriginality, Chi makes his young character get back in touch with his heritage by hunting and gathering bush food. He thus underlines the value of environmental knowledge and familiarity with practices of collecting food, which, too, constitute forms of cultural wisdom.

Due to the comparatively small amount of Aboriginal language words which do not describe aspects of flora and fauna or are the names of language groups, the language used in *Bran Nue Dae* apparently demands for less effort in the way of cushioning or contextualisation. With the exception of the phrase *ngarba yunyarri* ['water is coming', K.L.], which is not readily understood by

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the audience/readership without referring to the glossary, all Aboriginal language elements are single lexical items embedded in an English context. Most traditional language words are restricted to the scene at Roebuck Plains where the setting and the characters' actions make it evident that the elements talked about are environmental features and 'bush tucker', even though the actual terms may remain opaque. Still, the exploitation of the local traditional languages' lexicon in the hunting scene serves to introduce the audience to an unfamiliar and exotic scenario. They are likely to share Slippery's amazement when the young German observes his travelling companions' methods of hunting and food gathering. Willie's and Tadpole's actions and the fruits and other bush tucker items they collect are as alien to him – and probably also to the major part of the audience – as the Aboriginal language words which are used to describe them. Characteristically for Chi's text, cultural and linguistic misunderstandings are portrayed in a humorous fashion:

SLIPPERY: Vat iss he doing?

WILLIE: [Dully.] Chasing **barni** [large goanna]

SLIPPERY: Who iss Barney?

WILLIE: **Bungarra** [sand monitor].

SLIPPERY: Boong arrow? [Making motion of drawing bow.]

WILLIE: **Jalungardi** [goanna].

[SLIPPERY still perplexed.]

WILLIE: **Goanna**.

SLIPPERY: Why Anna go?

WILLIE: BEEEEG LIZARD.

(Chi 1991: 41, my emphasis and glossing)

Elsewhere in the text, Aboriginal language words are used to describe body parts or to convey sexual innuendos: "You get under mah skin. Take off your jowijj ['pants', KL] and let me in." (Chi 1991: 55). This application of unglossed Aboriginal terms once more follows the pattern indicated in the previous analyses, as it emphasises their role as agents of immediacy and in-group communication. Still, rather than calling to mind hurtful experiences or memories of colonial oppression, all the single-word insertions that most readily create an insider code celebrate life and sexuality, manifested in Willie's initiation into manhood:

[Song 'Everybody Looking for Kuckle']

Everybody lookin' for **kuckle** ['cockle', here an allusion to female genitalia] - OOH
everybody startin' to itch - OOH
everybody lookin' for **kuckle** - OOH
everybody mussee **jirij** [here 'ejaculate'] - OOH

(Chi 1991: 58, my emphasis and glossing)

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Apart from the use of regional language words, the characters' belonging to the wider Broome area is stressed by the use of terms from Broome Pearling Lugger Pidgin. Besides adding a local flavour to the text, the Malay-derived terms testify to the town's multicultural population mix and Broome's role as a major pearling port in the second half of the 19th and first half of the 20th century. The pidgin words illustrate the ethnic diversity of Broome where, through contact and – as a result of contact – through heritage, Aboriginal identity often also involves an Asian element:

[SONG 'Feel Like Going Back Home']

TADPOLE: The luggers are in on the spring tide
And the gambling houses are packed
Baker he **mukan** [here 'a major victory'] with **sit on** [best hand in kudja kudja, a gambling game]
But Larry we got **butta** [second best hand in kudja kudja, a gambling game] in front.

(Chi 1991: 29, my emphasis and glossing)

While the play is not as overtly political as many earlier works by Aboriginal playwrights, the plot draws attention to different issues of black and white coexistence in colonised Australia, such as the treatment of Aboriginal people in the justice system. Chi further caricatures the attitude and behaviour of ostensibly well-meaning Christian missionaries whose actions have contributed to the destruction of Aboriginal society. Also, some of the songs protest against the colonisers' taking Aboriginal land and imposing their culture on the Aboriginal population:

[Song: 'Nothing I Would Rather Be']

WILLIE: There's nothing I would rather be
than to be an Aborigine
and watch you take my precious land away.
For nothing gives me greater joy than to
Watch you fill each girl and boy
With superficial existential shit.
[...]
I love the way you give me God
And of course the mining board
For this of course I thank the lord each day.
I'm glad you say that land rights wrong
Then you should go where you belong
and leave me to just keep on keeping on.

(Chi 1991: 15)

Land rights are also addressed in the theme song *Bran Nue Dae*, in which the character Uncle Tadpole puts in a nutshell the situation of the Australian Aboriginal people at the end of the 20th century and voices his frustration in view of the continuing unequal treatment of Indigenous Australians. Fittingly, this passage relies heavily on the use of characteristic AborE lexical and grammatical features:

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TADPOLE: [reciting] **Us people** want our land back, we want 'em rights, we want 'em fair deal, **all same longa white man**. Now this **fella longa** Canberra, he bin talkin' about a Bran Nue Dae – **us people** bin waiting for **dijwun** for 200 years now.

(Chi 1991: 84, my emphasis)

Tadpole's monologue also provides us with an example of how Chi uses parody and irony in *Bran Nue Dae* to caricaturise the colonisers' society and its institutions, which have taken control over the lives of Aboriginal people for the last two centuries. The Broome Kriol spoken by his Aboriginal characters appropriates the colonisers' use of the English language and subverts existing power hierarchies ("this fella longa Canberra"). Elsewhere, mimicry serves a similar purpose. The schoolboys undermine Father Benedictus' authority by mocking his accent. At the same time, lexical appropriation establishes the group unity of those who suffer from his reign:

PETER: Und dis is for all der starving kids in der vorld – [*He bites into a Cherry Ripe bar.*]

DARRYL: Like us **bro**, us **blackies** starving.

(Chi 1991: 7)

Despite these allusions to persisting discrimination and inequality, there is a notable absence of terms that contrast Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people (such as *blackfella/whitefella* or *Aboriginal way/whitefella way*) which were extremely prominent in the plays by Davis, Gilbert, and Johnson. This underlines that Chi's text is much less influenced by the notion of two distinct cultural groups, viz. the distinction between 'us' and 'them' that is inherent in the other texts. Thus, instead of constructing the 'other', the play stresses the need to understand the commonalities that exist between the different cultures. Remember that all characters except for Benedictus turn out to have an Aboriginal background! Meanwhile, *Bran Nue Dae* also appropriates stereotypical perceptions of Indigenousness: rather than making reference to the traditional aspects of Aboriginal culture which are often considered the only 'authentic' representations of Aboriginality, the text enforces the hybrid element inherent in Australian Aboriginal identity. As Gilbert (2001: 320f) points out, the play celebrates Australia's ethnic diversity, presenting the fusion of different cultural and biological backgrounds as a chance rather than a cause for shame.

8.7 John Harding

John Harding was born as one of seven children in 1961 in an inner-city suburb of Melbourne. His maternal grandmother was from the island Erub in the Torres Strait and his maternal grandfather belonged to the Ku-Ku of north-

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eastern Cape York. (Harding and Ward 2010: 71; AustLit 2002-2015c). When Harding was a teenager, the family moved to an outer Melbourne suburb where they were the only Aboriginal people "in about twenty kilometres" (Harding quoted in Casey 2004: 215).

An artistic streak runs in the family: John Harding is the brother of the visual artists and performers Destiny Deacon and Clinton Nain; his mother, Eleanor Harding, was not only a community leader and an activist, but also a member of Nindethana Theatre, one of the first Australian Aboriginal Theatre companies (Casey & Harding 2001: 363). Today, John Harding is known as a performance poet, playwright, screenwriter, actor, comedian, and filmmaker (Casey & Harding 2001: 363). Apart from writing for the stage, Harding created the radio drama *Land Rights Rally*, developed and produced the Aboriginal sitcom *The Masters*, and worked for *ICAM*, an Aboriginal current affairs program, as well as for the ABC TV show *Blackout* (Harding 1997a: iii; Ward and Harding 2010: 71). In 1989, he was Assistant Director of the National Black Playwrights Conference, and in 1996, the Artistic Director of the Nambundah Festival. In addition to his involvement in the arts, Harding has worked as a public servant: he was ministerial adviser for the Victorian Department of Aboriginal Affairs, Senior Project Officer for the Aboriginal Education Department, and National Aboriginal Employment Coordinator for the Australian Film Commission (Harding 1997a: iii).

In 1990, Harding helped to found Ilbijerri Aboriginal Theatre co-op, for which he originally devised his text *Up the Road*. With Ilbijerri, the play toured in and around Melbourne for a number of weeks in 1991. Originally a one-act piece running for forty minutes, *Up the Road* was developed into a two act-play when it was workshopped at the Australian National Playwrights conference and at Belvoir Street Theatre. In 1997, Ilbjerri, Playbox, and Company B Belvoir produced the play for a second time and took it on a national tour that also included the Festival of Perth (Casey 2004: 214ff). This second production by Belvoir earned the author an Australian Human Rights Award.

Harding's later plays include *No Parking* (produced in 2001), *Enuff* (2002), and *Second Helping* (produced in 2005). He further co-wrote and featured in *Blak and Tran II* (produced in 2004) and *Natives Striking Blak* (produced in 2007) (Ward and Harding 2010: 7), and co-wrote *The Dirty Mile: A History of Indigenous Fitzroy* (produced in 2006) (AustLit 2002-2015d). In the last years, Harding's interests have shifted away from the stage and towards documentary making. His 2007 documentary *Nganampa Mata* portrays the Pitjantjatjara Land Rights Act anniversary; his work *Fitzroy Stars: More Than a Game* aired in 2008 (Ward and Harding 2010: 71).

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Not unlike Jimmy Chi, Harding believes that humour and art provide the most effective way to communicate a message so that people will actually take it in:

> I'm a big sucker for comedy ... I think comedy is one of the best ways to educate people because ... how long would you stand in the Bourke Street Mall and listen while someone in a soapbox is screaming about what white people have done to black people? You'd stand there for only two or three minutes, then you'd go and buy something. [...]
>
> [If] that guy or that woman who was in the soap box turned what they were saying into a performance piece, I'd be fascinated and I wouldn't move, so long as it was a good performance, of course (Casey 2001: 368).

A former Aboriginal affairs worker himself, Harding acknowledges that he created the character Ian as his alter ego when he developed his play *Up the Road* out of the poem *Pinstripe Blues* (Casey 2004: 16). The text aims to stress that diverse viewpoints and convictions prevail in the wider Aboriginal community:

> The play's other origin was to challenge the view that we are an [sic] homogeneous group... When black communities have different opinions we are either: in-fighting or "blacks can't make their minds up" (Harding 1997b: iii).

8.7.1 **The Play: *Up the Road* (1997)**

Up the Road is a "family comedy-drama" (McCallum 2009: 319) which takes the reader and the audience to the Koori community of Flat Creek, located somewhere in a geographically remote part of Australia. Flat Creek was once the home of Ian, a young Aboriginal man who now returns from the city to attend the funeral of his uncle Kenny, a well-liked community leader. Nine years previously, Ian left the community to overcome his brother Sam's death in police custody, and in the meantime he has become a successful Senior Officer in Canberra. Back home, Ian has to face two women whom he left behind: his Aunt Sissy who raised him and his brother after their parents' fatal car accident, and Susan, his former girlfriend, who is now the single parent of a little girl. He is also reunited with Liddy, a lively and open-hearted young woman who dreams of becoming a professional netball player, and with Charlie, "the first Koori in the district to get their HSC [Higher School Certificate, K.L.]" (Harding 1997b: 24). Charlie is unsatisfied with both his life and the situation at Flat Creek and strongly disapproves of Greg, the white Community Advisor who is well-meaning and popular in the community but unconsciously adopts the superior air of the white person in authority. In his old environment, Ian struggles to come to terms with the emotional and attitudinal distance that his absence has created between him and his family and friends. While he has to deal with their mixed reactions to his return, he must also face his own feelings of guilt. Having left the mission in an attempt to run away from the pain

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of losing his brother Nat, he feels he has turned his back not only on the living but also on those who have passed away.

While the play's main theme is the protagonist's alienation from his home and his family, *Up the Road* is more than the story of a young Aboriginal man returning to his roots. By contrasting the different lifestyles and fates of the three young men Charlie, Ian, and Nat, the author "examines what at times appear to be the only three pathways or choices for young male Aboriginal Australians: 'one gone fishing, one gone to bureaucracy and one dead'" (Casey 2004: 217).

8.7.2 **Analysis of *Up the Road***

The language of Harding's play approaches AusE and includes very few features that could be ascribed to AborE. On the level of grammar, features that are shared with other non-standard varieties of English are most common, e.g. the use of demonstrative *them*, as in "I remember the day I had to tell them boys about their mum and dad, the car accident." (Harding 1997b:2) or double negations such as "you don't have to prove nothing to me" (Harding 1997b: 9). Occasionally, the definite article is substituted by *this/that*, as in "that big rock in the gully" (Harding 1997b: 2).

Characteristic verb forms are also much less frequent than in the other texts, but some verbs lack past tense inflection, as in "It'd bite the head of anything that come near it." (Harding 1997b: 4) or show irregular past tense forms, as in "you would have rode your horse into the fucken station" (Harding 1997b: 41). In a few instances, *was* is used for plural and 2. pers. singular subjects, e.g. "Since they was kids" (Harding 1997b: 15). Elsewhere, auxiliaries may be omitted, as in the sentence "When you been with a man as long as I was with Kenny, you never really lose 'em." (Harding 1997b: 1) which also shows an irregular pronoun form. *Gonna* is repeatedly used to express future, as in "He's not gonna come back now" (Harding 1997b: 2) and questions may be formed by attaching the question tag *eh*, as in "So this is heaven, eh?" (Harding 1997b: 6). As in *The Dreamers*, the form *yous* may be used as a plural pronoun. Once, we can observe a complex sentence which lacks a relative pronoun as structuring sentence element, viz. "He knows a fella runs a trawler off Ulladulla." (Harding 1997: 24).

The text's orthography does not suggest many phonological characteristics that differ from colloquial AusE. Although Sue makes direct reference to Aboriginal pronunciation modes when she accuses Ian to "come down here and drop your H's for a while" (Harding 1997b: 27), h-dropping is rarely orthographically represented in the text. Occasionally, we find that word-final consonant clusters are reduced, as in "Make it a Nescafe, darlin'" (Harding 1997b: 2), and sometimes a change in vowel quality is indicated, as in "You

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gunna have to forgive and forget girlie." (Harding 1997b: 2) or in "Couldn't ya." (Harding 1997b: 13).

Also on the lexical level, Harding's text noticeably differs from the other plays. Many of the grammatical features in the text are shared with informal and colloquial AusE. At the same time, there is much less use of distinctly AborE vocabulary, and the major part of the items identified as lexical appropriations are English-derived. An extraordinary aspect of the language of Harding's play is that AborE features not only show in the language of the Aboriginal characters, but also in that of Greg, the only non-Aboriginal character in the play. His speech does not stand out much from that of the other Flat Creek dwellers; he too uses vocabulary items such as *mob* and employs the question tag *eh* as a way to underline what has been said and to obtain agreement. On one occasion, he uses *eh* alongside a Standard English tag: "That was a long time ago, **eh**, I mean, if he really liked someone, he wouldn't just disappear on her **would he**?" (Harding 1997b: 15; my emphasis). He is further familiar with the role of the *mopoke* as the messenger of death:

SUE: [re Uncle Kenny's death, K.L.] I saw a mopoke this morning. It just sat on top of the back shed, watching the house, letting us know.

GREG: They always know, those mopokes.

(Harding 1997b: 4)

His having adopted characteristic AborE speech styles indicates the close connections he maintains with the people at Flat Creek, perhaps underlining his wish to be accepted as a community member.

The play does not include a glossary, which is not surprising, given that no more than three non-English terms occur in the text, viz. *gin, Koori* and *mopoke*. None of the terms is printed in italics. All three terms are current in AusE, and while *gin* and *Koori* have become established loanwords in the Australian lexicon, in the case of *mopoke* it is not even entirely clear if the term constitutes a loanword at all. This has consequences for the procedure of the lexical analysis: in the absence of regionally restricted traditional language words that do not form part of the wider AborE and AusE lexicon, no Aboriginal language dictionaries had to be consulted. As such, Arthur (1996), Dixon *et al.* (2006), the AND, and the OED Online were the sole sources providing information on the loanwords' meaning and currency in modern Australian varieties of English. The terms' use in early contact varieties was once more established on the basis of the sources identified above.

8.7.3 **The Results**

Up the Road so far constitutes the play which has the greatest proximity to non-Aboriginal modes of English in Australia. This is also reflected in the relatively low number of lexical appropriations counted, viz. 46 types, the small number

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of Aboriginal language words, all of which have entered the AusE lexicon, and the complete absence of words from regional languages. The great majority of these elements apparently have wider currency in AborE and many items were already found in the plays previously analysed. The play also features the words *Land Council* and *land rights*, which are likewise part of the lexicon of AusE. Both items have nevertheless been counted as instances of appropriation as they are of special relevance for Aboriginal people who in the last few decades have been fighting to have (part of) their traditionally owned land returned to them. Only fourteen items are documented in early contact varieties, including ten elements documented in the sources for NSW Pidgin. While the number of different types of appropriation is considerably low, some elements have an extraordinary high frequency within the text, the question tag *eh*, for example, occurring more than 40 times.

a) No less than 43 out of the total of 46 appropriation types are **English lexemes**, although it needs to be acknowledged that the origin of *gub* 'white person' which has been included here is not entirely clear: while Arthur (1996: 152) and Dixon *et al.* (2006: 168) suggest that *gub* is probably derived from the English *gubment*, 'government', Malcolm & Koscielecki (1997: appendix, p.11) assume that *gubba* originates from an Aboriginal language term for 'spirits of the dead' and the *AND* provides a quotation which supports this. Thirty-two items show semantic modification; the remaining eleven elements are examples of English lexemes that exhibit Aboriginal usage. Not a single item involves phonological modification. As could be expected, the majority of the English lexemes, i.e. 26 items, are nouns, including the element *shame* (noun and interjection) and the noun phrase *white man*. The form *our mob/us mob* is again used as a pronoun. Other recurring constants are *black* and *blackfella* which once again occur as noun and adjective, as does the element *blood*. Four terms are adjectives (*cheeky*, *deadly*, *flash*, *poor*) and *true* and *what for* are adverbs. The five elements *floggin'*, *gammin'*, *jar up*, *reckon*, and *rubbish* are verbs. The question tags *eh* and *unna* are interjections.

Twelve terms are documented in earlier pidgin forms, nine of which were already used in NSW Pidgin: *black(s)* (NSW), *blackfella(s)* (NSW), *brother* (NSW), *cheeky, eh* (NSW), *fella* (NSW), *gammin'* (NSW), *mob, one, what for* (NSW), *white man* (NSW), *whitefella* (NSW). The items' wide currency is attested by the fact that no less than 39 terms are listed in sources for AborE or AusE and the *OED*. Of these, 17 only have an entry in Arthur (1996) and are thus attested as AborE lexical items, the remaining 22 items are also listed in Dixon *et al.* (2006), the *AND* or the *OED*.

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b) Two out of the three **Aboriginal language words** found in *Up the Road* are nouns. The two Sydney language words[44] *gin* 'woman', 'wife', and *mopoke*, a bird, here the messenger of death, are both recorded in earlier Australian contact varieties. The third item in this category, *Koori(es)*, from the eastern NSW language Awakabal, may occur as noun and adjective. Although widely used in AborE and AusE, it is apparently a much more recent loanword and not documented in any contact variety. *Gin* and *mopoke* are listed in the *AND* and the *OED*. *Koorie* has an entry in Arthur (1996) and in the *AND*.

Let us now contemplate which items belong to what conceptual categories:

a. **Continuation of cultural and religious tradition (2 items)**

- 1 English item:

law, the body of religious and cultural knowledge that informs and directs Aboriginal society.

- 1 single-word insertion (other Aboriginal languages):

mopoke, an owl, Ninox novaseelandiae, here denotes the messenger bird.

b. **Kinship structures (10 items)**

- 10 English items:

Aunt (also *Auntie*), an older woman, often wise in traditional language, having status within her community, also a term of address, *blood*, of relatives 'close', *brother*, here a form of address for a sibling, or a gesture of solidarity with another Aboriginal person of the same generation, *bruz* from *brother* and *cuz*, a 'cousin-brother', also used as an address item signalling solidarity, *cousin*, a relative of either sex, not necessarily close, but of one's own generation; also a form of address, *cuz*, a familiar form of address for a cousin, also used as a term of solidarity, *family*, all one's blood relatives; the term is a lot more inclusive than in most other varieties of English, *relation* (also *relations*), a relation; the term is used much more inclusively than in StE, *sister girl* an affectionate variant on *sister*, *Uncle*, a respectful term of address for an older man.

c. **Human relationships and social interaction (3 items)**

- 1 single-word insertion (other Aboriginal languages):

gin 'woman', 'wife', here used ironically for an Aboriginal woman, alluding to the item's derogatory connotation in AusE.

- 2 English items:

floggin', a 'belting', *jar up* '(to) scold'.

d. **States of feeling and being and ways of conduct (8 items)**

- 8 English items:

cheeky 'mischievous, but possibly also dangerous', *coconut*, an Aboriginal person who lives in a manner seen by the community as rejecting Aborigi-

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44 Remember, however, that the origin of the term *mopoke* is not entirely clear, see also the wordbook entry.

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nal identity, *flash* 'ostentatious', 'attention seeking', *gammin'* '(to) pretend or lie', *poor*, of a person who has died; (a euphemism for) 'deceased', 'late', *rubbish* '(to) be made to feel of no value', '(to) reckon something or someone of no value', *shame* 'embarrassment', 'fear', a sense for having transgressed the social and moral code of society, intentionally or unintentionally, *shame job*, an event or situation which can cause a person to feel shame.

e. **Body parts and body functions, intimate and personal aspects of live (-)**

f. **Relationship to the land (2 items)**

- 2 English items:

Land Council, a body appointed to represent the interests of [Aboriginal people] in Aboriginal land, *land rights*, the entitlement of [Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples] to possess their traditionally occupied territory; the acknowledgement of this entitlement.

g. **Nature and environment (-)**

h. **The contact experience (9 items)**

- 9 English items:

black (also *blacks*) 1. 'Aboriginal', 2. an Aboriginal person, *blackfella* (also *blackfellas*) 1. an Aboriginal person, 2. 'Aboriginal', *feed* 'meal', *gub(s)*, from *gubba*, 1. a white person, 2. an archetypal white person – the representative of European Australian culture, *jacky*, a person subservient to whites, *mish*, abbreviation of *mission*, see below, *mission*, an Aboriginal settlement which may or may not once have been a religious institution, *white man*, a non-Aboriginal person, *whitefella*, from Engl. *whitefellow*, 1. a white person, a European Australian or other person with a similar appearance, 2. (as adj.) 'white, European'.

i. **Novel conceptualisations of Aboriginality and cultural survival (2 items)**

- 1 English item:

community, a settlement or place where the majority of the inhabitants are Aboriginal.

- 1 single-word insertion (other Aboriginal languages):

Koori (also *Koories*), an Aboriginal person, esp. one of NSW and Victoria, the Aboriginal people of NSW or Victoria; as an adjective: of or relating to the Koori people, 'Aboriginal'.

j. **Aboriginal way (10 items)**

- 10 English items:

deadly 'great', 'fantastic', 'terrific', *eh*, an interjection, used as rhetorical comment, usually at the end of statements, *fella*, 1. a person, usually male, 2. any animate or inanimate thing, *mob*, 1. a group of Aboriginal people, linked by relationship and culture, 2. a group of people or animals, 3. an expression of number, *one*, (as a noun) used with adjectives, with the resulting combination, while appearing noun-like, still functioning as an adjective, *our mob* (also *us mob*), a connected group; the term can apply to a

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whole 'family' or a part of it, a group connected in some other way, *reckon* '(to) say' as well as '(to) think', *true*, an intensifier of a statement or response to a statement, meaning 'it's really so', 'is that really so', 'truly', *unna*, an intensifier to a statement or response to a statement, meaning 'isn't it?', 'wouldn't you say', 'don't you think', *what for*, why.

k. **Traditional language maintenance (-)**

Considering how the individual lexical appropriations in *Up the Road* are distributed across the different conceptual categories, it once more becomes evident that Harding's language use differs from that of his colleagues: category *b) Kinship structures* is one of the largest conceptual categories, comprising ten lexical elements, that is, almost one quarter of all finds, which stress the family ties between the characters and the general objective of the play. Thus, kinship terms occupy a much more prominent position in Harding's text. *Up the Road* is the first text to employ a blend that also involves semantic conflation, viz. the item *bruz* that fuses both form and meaning of the lexemes *brother* and *cuz*. Other new kin terms pertaining to the domain of the family are the adjective *blood*, which designates close relatives and *sister girl*, a variant of *sister*.

Another category that likewise comprises ten terms is *j) Aboriginal way*. All of the elements in this category have considerable currency in AborE and have also featured in the other plays. Due to the general scarcity of Aboriginal language words in the text, all nine items in *h) The contact experience* are English terms and there are no single-word insertions which designate introduced items such as clothing, alcohol, or tobacco. The experience of institutionalisation is foregrounded by three items which relate to Flat Creek's past as a church-run settlement, viz. the variants *mish* and *mission*, as well as the element *gub(s)*, for which different etymologies are suggested in the literature but which is treated here as short form of the English-derived *gub(b)erment*.

The next category, *d) States of feeling and being and ways of conduct* includes eight terms, all of which are English lexemes. This category features two words hitherto not encountered. The verb *(to) rubbish* '(to) reckon something or someone of no value' is also found in AusE, and according to Arthur (1996: 106), it is possible that this form is derived from the AborE word which is commonly used as noun or adjective in AborE. Another new item found in this category provides an alternative expression for a now familiar concept: like *white blackfella* in *The Cherry Pickers*, the term *coconut* describes an Aboriginal person who lives in a manner regarded by the community as rejecting Aboriginal identity, alluding to the black-white contrast. The remaining *cheeky*, *poor*, *shame*, and its variant *shame job* have all featured in one or more of the texts discussed above and are established features in many varieties of AborE.

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After that, the numbers in the individual categories dwindle. The Sydney language word *gin* is the only single-word insertion in category *c) Human relationships and social interaction* which comprises four items. The term formerly had a wide currency in AusE but today is considered offensive when used by non-Aboriginal people. The remaining three English lexemes include as a novel element the verb *to jar up* '(to) scold' which occurs alongside *flogging* and *reckon*. Category *a) Continuation of cultural and religious tradition*, which turned out to be a major category in the previous analyses, comprises a mere two items, viz. the widely accepted English lexeme *law* and the element *mopoke*, which is also an established loanword in AusE. The two items *Land Council* and *land rights* that fall into category *f) Relationship to the land* are in fact shared with AusE but have been included due to their significance for Aboriginal people. Two items were also established for category *i) Novel conceptualisations of Aboriginality and cultural survival*. They are the Awakabal word *Koori*, another more widely used term describing regional Aboriginal identity, and the English term *community*. The latter is also found in non-Aboriginal varieties of English, but as Arthur (1996: 228) points out, is of special relevance for Aboriginal people as it indicates the role of the community in Aboriginal society which places more value on the group than on the individual and stresses the diverse nature of contemporary Aboriginal communities that results from colonisation processes. Categories *e) Body parts and body functions, intimate and personal aspects of live*, *g) Nature and environment*, and *k) Traditional language maintenance* are not represented in the text.

Like Johnson's text *Murras*, Harding's play uses mainly English lexemes to express crucial culturally-bound concepts, very few of which relate to aspects of cultural tradition or religion. The few Aboriginal language words found in the text are used across the entire country, so that they do not allow for the expression of a regional identification. In addition, while *Up the Road* includes a range of kinship terms, the play contains very little 'insider' code, generated by single-word insertions from regional languages which have been shown to add an aspect of intimacy to the dialogue and are opaque for outsiders.

8.7.4 *Up the Road* – Seeing the World "Through a Family"[45]

At this point, it seems fruitful to once again return to what could *not* be observed in the analysis of *Up the Road*, instead of exclusively discussing the lexical features that are present in the text, many of which do not deviate much from those detected in the other plays. Above, the setting of the action has vaguely been described as an Aboriginal community somewhere in a

[45] Casey and Harding (2001: 370)

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remote part of Australia. This imprecise characterisation of the locale is due to the fact that Harding's text does not provide any contextual clues which would allow for determining the exact location of Flat Creek. Once, the south-eastern NSW small town Ulladulla is mentioned when Charlie tells Sue that "He knows some fella runs a trawler off Ulladulla" (Harding 1997: 24) but this may be due to the town's relative proximity to Canberra where Ian lives or to the fact that it provides Sue with the opportunity to playfully call Charlie "Ulladulla fulla". Since the author himself is from the Melbourne area, it is likely that the action of Harding's play is situated in the south-east of Australia, perhaps somewhere in rural Victoria. The linguistic features found within the dialogue, too, only permit a very vague specification of where the action takes place: several of the characters use the term *Koori*, which is the most common term describing Aboriginality in the south-eastern parts of Australia, especially in NSW and Victoria. Another feature that supports a Victorian or NSW location is the use of the term *mission*, which denotes an Aboriginal settlement that is no longer (or may have never been) church-run. According to the information provided in Arthur (1996: 159), the term is more common in this sense in the south-east of Australia. The question tag *unna*, on the other hand, seems to be a lot more frequent in WA; Arthur (1996: 221) actually suggests that it is a south-west Western Australian term. Most of the remaining lexical appropriations seem to have wider currency in Aboriginal forms of English. This not only complicates the determination of the setting, but also prevents any expression of a geographic affiliation and thus an identifiable regional or local identity. As a consequence, the text is not only thematically, but also linguistically applicable to many Aboriginal communities in remote parts of the south-east of the country.

The near complete absence of traditional language material also has additional consequences. Above, we have observed how vocabulary items are used as means of group formation: in the four texts previously discussed, characters have, to varying degrees, made use of Aboriginal language elements to keep their meanings opaque for cultural outsiders and to strengthen the bond between themselves and the other members of their cultural group. The Aboriginal language terms which most commonly trigger such an effect are regional language words that describe intimate concepts, e.g. terms which relate to the body or to health conditions or have sexual connotations. Others denote aspects of everyday life, e.g. terms for alcohol or the police. In *Up the Road*, neither strategy applies. In fact, Harding's play is the first text in which the police, the most obvious representatives of government authority, are referred to by the StE term.

This is not to say that the text is entirely deficient in lexical markers of group solidarity. In *Up the Road*, the connection between the characters is most strongly reinforced by the frequent occurrence of kin terms. While some are

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exclusively used as markers of solidarity, others serve a double purpose: in some scenes, the terms *Auntie* or *Uncle* may be understood as respectful terms of address for influential senior community members, more frequently, however, they describe actual family relationships. Likewise, the term *brother*, commonly used to underline the comradeship between the male characters, receives an even more emotional connotation when it is used by Ian to address his brother Nat.

All of the kin terms that function as lexical in-group markers are easily understood by the audience and readership. Some terms are found in a similar sense in colloquial mainstream usage, as for example *brother* which is probably the most well-known lexical manifestation of male solidarity in the English-speaking world. Other elements such as *bruz* may not be as widely used but are nevertheless transparent also for non-Aboriginal people. The use of kin terms as solidarity markers is therefore yet another indication of the wider applicability of Harding's text. Many are also shared with other (ethnic) varieties of English where they serve a similar function: by evoking close connections resembling that of a family, speakers wish to emphasise the validity of their community as a distinct group. For them, solidarity terms provide a medium of resistance against those in power, which is of special importance in colonial contexts and in situations in which ethnic and other minorities feel the need to assert themselves against the mainstream society. What is interesting in this context is that in *Up the Road*, kin terms feature most notably in one scene which depicts Ian and Charlie drinking together in a bar. Here, the characters use *brother*, *bruz*, and *cuz* in a way which not only expresses in-group or community solidarity, but also underlines the solidarity between the male characters:

IAN: I got no problem **brother**. I get drunk, I fall down, go to sleep, wake up, go home! No problem!

CHARLIE: Yeah, well, that's not what they reckon up here. You know what the Koori grapevine's like, **cuz**.

(Harding 1997b: 18, my emphasis)

IAN: Thanks, **bruz**! Here, have another one, lighten the load, eh?

CHARLIE: Ta, **bruz**.

(Harding 1997b: 21, my emphasis)

Rather than creating a 'black insider-white outsider' scenario and focusing on aspects of culture clash or the relationship between Australians of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds, *Up the Road* portrays the in-group conflicts which arise when a community is faced with the challenges of political and social change and its members' personal, sometimes conflicting decisions. In this context, the lexical emphasis on group-unity makes it even more evident how much potential for friction lies in individual choices. In a few

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scenes, kin terms are actually employed to pursue ends that are quite the opposite of those described above: used ironically, the lexical solidarity markers deepen the emotional gap between the characters:

IAN: I meet ten Susan Lockerbees a month, so don't think I had to come all the way down here to get a lecture off **another one sister girl**.

(Harding 1997b: 28, my emphasis)

Despite having grown up on the settlement, Ian's nine-year absence has earned him the role of an outsider in Flat Creek. While building up a new life in Canberra, he has adopted a lifestyle and outlook on things that is informed by experiences unknown to those whom he left behind. Only Aunty Sissy readily acknowledges Ian's own pain and reminds the other characters that he, after all, is family:

SISSY: Poor Ian. He's lost them all now. He's the only **blood** left.

(Harding 1997b: 2, my emphasis)

Emphasising questions of solidarity and in-group tensions rather than evoking an identifiable cultural identity, the language employed in the play underlines Harding's idea that *Up the Road* is a family drama which has wider universality. The author even suggests that the play's general theme applies beyond ethnic boundaries:

> […] it's about any rural family … Just because [I'm] black, I made the family black. If I was a white country boy from Tocumwal, I would have written the same play, but it would have been a white farmer and his wife sending their son off to Melbourne Uni, and then he came back a doctor for a funeral and couldn't fit in (Casey & Harding 2001: 370).

And yet, it is the characters' Aboriginality which fuels the conflict created in the play. In the plays we discussed earlier, references to aspects of institutionalisation are generally employed as a reminder of shared experiences, setting the Aboriginal characters apart from the mainstream society. Here, they are another medium to contrast Ian's Flat Creek past with his present 'flash' lifestyle in the city. Sue underlines the feeling of estrangement she experiences when accusing her former lover of the same ignorance associated with white authorities:

SUSAN: [...] You stereotype as much as **gubs** do but you can't see past that fat ego of yours Mr Admin. Officer Level Three, can ya?

(Harding 1997b: 28, my emphasis)

Her use of a distinctly Aboriginal form emphasises the gulf between the Flat Creek reality and Ian's association with white bureaucracy. Underlining her own Aboriginality, Sue turns Ian into the 'other', a representative of officialdom.

Not unlike the kinship terms, words which relate to the experience of institutionalisation may fulfil an opposite function when used (self-)ironically.

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Rather than emphasising shared experience, they can be employed as tools to widen the distance between the characters. Again, it is the relationship between Sue and Ian which triggers this usage in Harding's text:

> SUE: He's done fine without me all these years. I don't think he needs some **mission gin** messing up his life.
>
> (Harding 1997b: 13)

Aunt Sissy, in contrast, takes Ian's side and shows pride in his career achievements. She turns mainstream racist rhetoric around by ironically contrasting her successful nephew with the caricature of the powerless and subservient Aboriginal:

> GREG: [...] I thought he was some token **jacky** sent down from Canberra for the funeral.
>
> SISSY: Hey, hey, this **jacky** can stop our funding tomorrow if he wanted to.
>
> (Harding 1997b: 8, my emphasis)

Given the high degree of semantic transparency of the lexical elements employed in the text, Harding's language does not relegate white audiences to the position of the outsider-onlooker, but allows them easy access to the world of Flat Creek and the emotional struggles of its inhabitants. Hence, both the play's theme as well as the medium in which it is presented permit the readers and members of the audience to identify more readily with the characters whose realities are less alien to them than those of the Wallitch family or Bubba and her fellow workers.

Despite the comparatively low number of different lexical appropriation types, the constant repetition of characteristic vocabulary elements such as *Auntie* or *eh* creates the effect that the text as a whole is perceived as markedly Aboriginal, even if the language at times appears somewhat artificial. It is unclear if the heavy reliance on widely used lexemes was a conscious decision on the author's part, who may have wanted his text to be as representative of the wider Australian Aboriginal community as possible, or if it reflects Harding's ideas about the lexicon of south-eastern varieties of Aboriginal English, or possibly even gives an account of his own speech style or of that of people he knows. So far, *The Cherry Pickers* remains the only text from outside Western Australia which uses a considerable portion of traditional language.

8.8 David Milroy

A highly successful writer, stage director, and musical director, David Milroy is currently one of the most prominent figures in the field of Aboriginal thea-

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tre. Born in Perth in 1957, Milroy, like Jack Davis and Jimmy Chi, is a native of Western Australia and has family links to the Palyku[46] people of the Pilbara in north-western Western Australia (Currency Press 2007-2015a). Milroy's engagement in the arts began long before his writing and directing career. Starting as a musician, Milroy was among the founding members of AbMusic, a corporation set up to assist and support Aboriginal Western Australian musicians. In the 1980s, he helped to set up Dumbartung Aboriginal Artist Advisory which had as its aim the promotion of Aboriginal arts rights; (Performing Lines 2012). David Milroy incidentally got the chance to perform in a play when he toured with a theatre group as a musician and one of the actors left at short notice. This turned out to be the next step on his way to becoming a writer and director (University of Minnesota 2008).

From 1995 to 2003, Milroy was the Artistic Director of Perth's Yirra Yaakin (AustLit 2002-2015e), but in the course of his career he has also worked extensively with several other theatre companies, including Black Swan, Barking Gecko, and Perth Theatre Company, for which he has written, co-written, and directed a range of pieces and provided musical direction. Already in 2002 he received a Sidney Myer Award for his contributions to Aboriginal theatre. His writing credits include *Runamuk* (performed in 1997) for which Milroy drew on his own experiences as a musician on the road, *King Hit* (1997/2007), the story of the former Aboriginal boxer Geoffrey Narkle, written in collaboration with Narkle himself, and *Cruel Wild Woman* (1999), written in collaboration with his sister Sally Morgan (Casey 2004: 227; Cleven *et al.* 2007: 87), author of the 1987 bestseller novel *My Place*. One of Milroy's most successful works so far is *Windmill Baby*, written in collaboration with Ningali Lawford[47], an actress, singer, and dancer from the Fitzroy Crossing area in the Western Australian Kimberleys (AustLit 2002-2015f). In 2003, their play was the first Aboriginal work to win the Patrick White Award. In the following years, *Windmill Baby* went on to receive the Western Australia Equity Award (2005), the Deadly Award for best sound score (2006), and the Kate Challis RAKA Award (2007). Premiering in 2005 in Perth, the play has extensively toured Australia and has been produced for various festivals abroad (AustLit 2002-2015g). In 2006, Milroy received an Australia Council Fellowship which provided him with the opportunity to continue his theatre work (Performing Lines 2012). His more recent plays include *Waltzing the Wilarra* (2011), and *Crowbones and Carnivores* (produced in 2012). He further works as a freelance

46 The spelling of the language names corresponds to that employed by the Wangka Mara Pilbara Aboriginal Language Center.

47 Ningali Lawford is not officially credited as co-writer in the 2007 publication of *Windmill Baby* but Milroy thanks her for her input in the author's note that accompanies the play.

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writer and has composed music for a number of theatre and film productions (Performing Lines 2012).

In an interview, Milroy, whose mother and grandmother were taken away from their family as children, explained that for him, one impetus to become involved in working in Aboriginal theatre was that theatre gave Aboriginal people the chance to tell their own stories in their own way. He argues that many are still unaware of the history of Aboriginal people and that an "out of sight, out of mind attitude" still prevails among Euro-Australians. Nevertheless, his work is not exclusively aimed at white audiences. In addition to creating main stage pieces, Milroy has been actively involved in work at the community level, supporting projects which promote cultural maintenance and pass on knowledge of Dreaming Stories and the local language to Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal youths. Other projects he has been supporting are concerned with health care issues in geographically remote communities. He is also actively involved in the Palyku people's Native Title Working Group (University of Minnesota 2008).

8.8.1 **The Play: *Windmill Baby* (2005/2007)**

Windmill Baby is the only monodrama which will be analysed in the course of this work. In the author's note, Milroy explains how the play's outline developed during a one week stay in the Fitzroy Crossing area where "snippets of Toyota conversation and homestead history" (Milroy 2007a: 203) that he picked up while visiting relatives started to combine with images of the red and dusty landscape. Like so many Australian Aboriginal drama texts, the play also involves biographic elements, as it constitutes "a blending of a number of yarns, legends and oral histories from the Pilbara and Kimberley that had swirled around in my head for many years", and the author acknowledges that "[m]any of the characters and stories in *Windmill Baby* including the dog are based on, in some part, real events, people, and animals" (Milroy quoted in Casey 2013a: 169).

The outcome of this mixture stars Maymay, an elderly Aboriginal woman, who returns one more time to the homestead of a deserted cattle station in the West Australian north where she was once employed as a domestic. Hanging out the washing which has been sitting in a rusty tub for decades, she begins to narrate stories from the time when she used to work for the white 'boss' and his 'missus', so tender and delicate that Maymay recalls "I used to think she was made out of wax. She had to keep out of the sun so she didn't melt" (Milroy 2007b: 208). In the course of her narrative, Maymay introduces the audience to her husband Malvern who was the station's head stockman, the crippled gardener Wunman, the envious servant girl Sally, the wise old elders Aunty Darballa and Billy Gogo, and Skitchim, the dog. Talking about –

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and occasionally also talking to – the ghosts of her past, the old woman's memories give the audience an idea of the harsh living and working conditions on northern Australian cattle stations in the middle of the last century. She recalls the cruelty with which the 'boss' treated his workers and his unhappy and out of place wife and painfully remembers losing her first baby daughter Ruby, who was buried in Wunman's garden, a "proper happy place" (Milroy 2007b: 216) in an otherwise bleak environment. As the play unfolds, the reader/audience also learns about the real nature of the unfinished business which brings her back to the station: Maymay tells the tale of the forbidden love between Wunman and the 'missus', and gradually reveals the fate of the 'Windmill Baby' which sprung from this unhappy liaison.

The setting and the circumstances described in Milroy's award-winning play once more reflect his desire to bring to mind those aspects of Australian history that are so easily glossed over by official historiography and to confront the mainstream community with an Aboriginal perspective of the not so distant past. Bereaved of their land and food sources, Aboriginal people only had a limited set of options that would ensure their survival. Working on pastoral stations provided an alternative to a life on missions or settlements and allowed Aboriginal people to remain close to their country; yet, it also meant existing in a state of dependence created by the hierarchies between the old and the new landowners. Maymay's account calls to mind a time when Aboriginal workers on cattle stations were working mostly for rations, receiving little or no money and were often subject to their employers' moods. Still, her reminiscences of the hard times and the sadness that resonates in her accounts of loss and pain are counterbalanced by the wit and wry humour of her narration, making the play "hard as quartz, sadly poignant and hilarious all on the one page", as the judges of the Patrick White Award have maintained (Behrendt 2007: x).

8.8.2 **Analysis of Windmill Baby**

Windmill Baby being a monodrama, the narration is dominated by the elderly woman's acrolectal AborE which at times approaches colloquial AusE while at others shows features shared with contact varieties. However, Maymay is not the only one who gets her say. Repeatedly, she slips into the role of one of the characters in her stories, including a younger version of herself. She thus makes the 'boss', the 'missus', Malvern, Wunman, and the other camp dwellers and station domestics come to life and allows them to speak through her, reviving past dialogues while at the same time commenting on the events from the present perspective:

> OLD MAY: I bin just fall in love with him then and there, because underneath that big hat was a ... bald head. And a bald head can do strange things to a woman. But he weren't interested in me.

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MALVERN: I'm a cleanskin. No woman gonna brand me.

OLD MAY: No matter, my branding iron was at Aunty Darballa's camp. She had all the love songs. But she didn't think too much of Malvern.

AUNTY DARBALLA: Aw, girl! You don't need a love song, you need something for your eyes, he proper ugly.

YOUNG MAY: But, Aunty, he's proper handsome from his eyebrows up.

(Milroy 2007b: 212.)

As in most of the other texts discussed so far, the characters' speech styles are best described as acrolectal forms of AborE which show some variation in their integration of AborE features. That is to say, while many features occur repeatedly, none of them is employed consistently throughout the text. The degree to which particular grammatical features are used not only varies across speakers, there is also a certain amount of variation within the idiolect of the individual characters.

Like *Bran Nue Dae*, Milroy's play includes a number of features that are shared with pidgins and creoles. Still, the characters' speech is far less marked than could be expected from a play set on a cattle station in the Australian Kimberley region, where the majority of the Aboriginal population spoke (and continue to speak) Kriol as a first or second language.

Again, the most regularly occurring AborE grammatical features manifest themselves in the verb phrase. They include the omission of the copula, as in "He proper cheeky too!" (Milroy 2007b: 222) and of auxiliary verbs, both in questions and declarative sentences, as in "You hear that...? Listen. Wind picking up." (Milroy 2007b: 208). In addition, third person singular may not be marked by inflection, as in "The missus like Wunman and Wunman like the missus." (Milroy 2007b: 218). Past tense may be expressed by uninflected forms, as in "You come out first so your name is Wunman and your brother come out last so his name is Twoman." (Milroy 2007b: 209), and *was* may be used also for plural subjects, as in "And you know, there was two fellas who loved each other" (Milroy 2007b: 224). Occasionally, past participle forms may express simple past tense, as in "The next day we seen the mail truck kicking up the dust." (Milroy 2007b: 208). Elsewhere, the past tense marker *bin* may be used in combination with an invariable verb stem to replace the simple past form: "I bin fall in love with him then and there [...]." (Milroy 2007b: 212). Future is sometimes expressed through *gotta/gonna*, as in "The missus said you gotta work in the veggie garden." (Milroy 2007b: 210). The form *gotta* may also replace 'have to'.

Other salient grammatical features concern the use of determiners: definite and indefinite articles may be entirely omitted, as in "Must think I got man out here." (Milroy 2007b: 207) or definite articles may be replaced by

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this, *that*, or demonstrative *them*: "And that windmill started turning and the water started pumping and all them kangaroos started wagging their tails because everything started coming up green." (Milroy 2007b: 211). Elsewhere, a definite article is inserted where none is required, as in the following passage in which Old Maymay talks about the cell phone her daughter gave her as a birthday present: "[...] but what I really wanted was the new 611 model that takes the photograph." (Milroy 2007b: 211). We can further observe a distinctive use of pronouns: the pronominal element *he*, which in *Bran Nue Dae* was used as a pronoun for both male and female referents is here applied also for inanimate referents: "Oh my, fifty years has knocked the stuffing out of this old station. He look like graveyard." (Milroy 2007b: 207). Once, we encounter a periphrastic possessive marker, viz. "I was supposed to be the boss for Wunman" (Milroy 2007b: 218). Further, plurals may not be marked by inflection, as in "After six weeks I was glad to get to Myall Bore about two mile from Derby." (Milroy 2007b: 214) or regular inflection may occur where irregular plural forms would be expected, as in "I didn't really care for mans" (Milroy 2007b: 212). As in all texts analysed so far, double negation may occur: "I'm not wearing no pretty jowitch" (Milroy 2007b: 215) and *never* may be used to negate the verb phrase, e.g. "Windmill Baby, we never got across that river but I did my best." (Milroy 2007b: 227). Rarely, superlative suffixes are used to intensify adjectives, as in "they had the biggest row" (Milroy 2007b: 223). The question tag *ay* may be attached to a declarative sentence to form questions, as in "You checking up on me too, ay? (Milroy 2007b: 209) and in a few cases, complex sentences are formed without structuring elements, as in "You don't come, you get a bullet like poor runaway fella gonna get." (Milroy 2007b: 224).

The spelling used suggests only minimal phonological deviation from St(Aus)E. Occasionally, we can observe a reduction of word-final consonant clusters while elsewhere, h-dropping can be inferred, e.g. "You tell Malvern I'm sorry for knockin' 'im out." (Milroy 2007: 214). In a few cases, elision of consonants leads to forms such as "I wanna call her Ruby" (Milroy 2007: 216).

Again, there is only a moderate use of Aboriginal language terms; those that occur are not set apart from the remainder of the text by italics. An interesting lexical phenomenon is that the text features several terms relating to pastoral context that are employed with reference to people. While some appear to be features of AborE, e.g. "I'm a cleanskin. No woman gonna brand me" (Milroy 2007b: 212), others are used more widely as English slang words, e.g. "when I was a young heifer" (Milroy 2007: 212). The former term, alluding to the 'clean' skin of an unbranded animal, is documented in AborE, albeit with the meaning 'an uninitiated, hence uncircumcised man' (Arthur 1996: 184). It appears that Milroy's metaphorical use of the word for an unbranded animal somehow combines the two meanings as it describes a bache-

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lor who, while being 'unmarked' as a woman's possession, has also not yet been initiated into the adulthood experience of marriage.

Once more, a short glossary follows the text, detailing the meaning of several of the AborE terms used in the play. In addition to the single-word insertions employed in the text, the glossary also includes definitions for compound words (*cow goona* 'cow poo') and unfamiliar English-derived terms and phrases (*gumbones* 'teeth', *love songs*, traditional songs thought to lure a male/female, *smelling like cake* 'drinking vanilla essence').

Again, there is no detailed specification of the Aboriginal language terms' individual source language(s), but given that the setting of Milroy's text is the (central) Kimberley region, an inland area east of Broome, it is likely that many of the terms used by Milroy are from one or more Kimberley languages. Hence, as in the analysis of *Bran Nue Dae*, we are dealing with a highly diverse linguistic landscape in which a number of varieties existed in close proximity to each other. These include the non-Pama-Nyungan languages Bunuba, Gooniyandi, Nyikina, Ungummi, and Kija, as well as the Pama-Nyungan languages Jaru, Walmatjarri, Mangala, and Juwalyni (McGregor 2004: xxvi). In the post-contact situation, socio-economic factors such the establishment of missions and reserves and the employment situation in the pastoral and coastal industries caused speakers from different language backgrounds to interact and mix as they – voluntarily or involuntarily – left their ancestral countries to settle elsewhere (Mühlhäusler & McGregor 1996: 116). Colonisation in both the Kimberley region as well as in the adjacent Pilbara did not begin until the second half of the 19th century (Mühlhäusler & McGregor 1996: 103), so that contact with the European colonisers was comparatively late. Today, the degree of vitality of the Kimberley languages varies: McGregor (2004: 37ff) suggests that while some of the Pama-Nyungan languages, such as Warlpiri and Walmatjarri, may be spoken by more than thousand people, speaker numbers for other (non-PN) languages are much smaller. For some of the languages of the Nyulnyul and Worroran group, only a handful of fluent speakers remain; other languages are no longer spoken at all but individual words may be remembered. McGregor (2004: 62) further maintains that most Aboriginal people in the Kimberley region now speak a post-contact variety as their first language, viz. a form of Pidgin English which arose in the 1870s and 1880s on the Kimberley cattle stations, Kriol, or Aboriginal English[48]. He explains: "These days children almost everywhere in the Kimberley learn Kriol as their first language" (2004: 66).

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48 McGregor's (2004) account of Kimberley contact varieties also includes Broome Pearling Lugger Pidgin which is not of interest for the present analysis as its use is restricted to the coastal areas.

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The traditional lands of the Palyku, to whom the author has family connections, are found in the Pilbara, an area south-west of the Kimberley region. Here, the arrival of the European colonists caused an upheaval of the traditional language territories, resulting in the movement of speakers:

> Since the arrival of whites, however, groups have been scattered and moved into new areas. In particular, many speakers of languages traditionally located in the desert region of the northern Pilbara have moved north into the Kimberley centres of Fitzroy Crossing, Halls Creek and Broome, where they sometimes outnumber speakers of the local traditional languages (McGregor 1988: 1).

Only a handful of the Pilbara languages are still spoken but Sharp & Thieberger (1992: 2) maintain that many individual words are still widely known and used in the area. One of the Pilbara languages which are still in active use is Martu Wangka, an Aboriginal creole which developed in the 1940s and combines elements from five different Pilbara languages (Wangka Maya Pilbara Aboriginal Language Centre 2014a). Many speakers have shifted to English, and, in addition to Standard English, a variety termed 'Pilbara Aboriginal English' by the Wangka Maya Pilbara Language Centre is spoken in the region (Wangka Maya Pilbara Aboriginal Language Centre 2014b).

Due to the great diversity of potential substrate influence on the AborEs spoken in the region, a whole range of dictionaries and wordlist had to be consulted to determine the origin of the Aboriginal language terms used in the text, viz. the *One Arm Point Bardi Dictionary* by Gedda Aklif (1999), the *Ngarla-English Dictionary* by Alexander Brown and Brian Geytenbeek (1991), Sally Dixon's *Juwaliny Dictionary* (2008) and *Yulparija Dictionary* (2009), the AuSIL *Interactive Walmajarri dictionary* (2012), the *Nyikina Draft Dictionary* (n.d.) provided by Madjulla Inc., and the Gooniyandi and Yindjibarndi wordlists in Thieberger & McGregor's (1994) *Macquarie Aboriginal Words*. Further sources included the Nyangumarta-English, Mangala-English, and Warnman-English online dictionaries which can be found on the homepage of the Wangka Maya Pilbara Aboriginal Language Center. No dictionary of Palyku was available, but information on neighbouring Pilbara languages could be obtained by consulting the Banjima, Karriyarra and Yindjibarndi wordlists published by the Wangka Maya Pilbara Aboriginal Language Centre, the dictionary included in Wordick's (1982) *The Yindjibarndi Language*, as well as the *Nyiyaparli Dictionary* (2012) by Philip Swan and Peter Hill, the Ngarluma dictionary available as e-book on the Wangka Maya website, as well as the Nyamal dictionary, also by Wangka Maya. Additional information was provided by the shorter wordlist from Banyjima, Manyjilyjarra, Martuthunira, Ngarla, Ngarluma, Nyangumarta, Warnman and Yindjibarndi which are included in Sharp and Thieberger's (1992) *Bilybara* and the wealth of lexical data in Nekes & Worm's *Australian languages* (McGregor 2006).

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As before, the AborE lexical items' occurrence in early contact varieties was investigated on the basis of Troy (1990, 1993, 1994), Malcolm & Koscielecki (1997), Foster *et al.* (2003), and Harris (1986 and 1988). Arthur (1996), Dixon *et al.* (2006), Brooks & Ritchie's (1994) *Words from the West*, and the *AND* have provided information on regional variation in Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal varieties of English in Australia. Apart from that, the online edition of the *OED* was consulted to determine the lexemes' use in other varieties of English. There is one novelty in the analysis of Milroy's text: since the play is set in an area in which Kriol is spoken as a first or second language by a large part of the Aboriginal population, it seemed to be worthwhile to find out which of the AborE vocabulary items used in *Windmill Baby* are shared with Kriol. To do so, Lee's (2004) *Kriol-Ingglish Diksheneri* was consulted.

Again, the text displays a handful of terms that have not been included in the list of lexical appropriations even though at first view, they appear to be features of the AborE lexicon. Once again, the term *kangaroo(s)* has not been included in the count as it refers to the animals itself and thus constitutes the term's most common usage that is found in all varieties of English. Other terms that have not been included are *business*, *country*, *law*, *story*, as these are used exclusively in their StE sense.

8.8.3 **The Results**

Milroy's play, too, exhibits a comparatively small number of lexical appropriations that can be ascribed to the influence of AborE. With a total of 51 lexical elements attested in sources for AborE, the degree of lexical appropriation is roughly comparable to that found in *Up the Road*, a text which is much closer to StAusE on the grammatical level and only includes three Aboriginal language words, all of which are established borrowings. Almost half of the lexical appropriations found in *Windmill Baby* are documented in earlier Australian contact varieties; for another two terms there are indicators that they may have been used in early pidgins but conclusive evidence is lacking. A total of 13 elements are attested in NSW Pidgin. Again, the major part of the lexical appropriations found in Milroy's text are English lexemes which are complemented by only two handfuls of single-word insertions from one or more languages spoken in the wider Kimberley region. In addition, there is one element for which it has not been possible to determine a source language.

a) A total of 41 **lexical appropriations derived from English** were established for *Windmill Baby*. Of these, 26 are semantically modified terms while another 15 items have been categorised as characteristically Aboriginal usages of English terms. There are no examples of words that show phonological modification. The 20 English nominal elements found in the text once again include the lexeme *shame* which is also used as an interjection, as well as the

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noun phrase *old man*. The adverb *too much* is also used as a nominal element. In addition, we find the pronoun *this one* and the terms *black* and *blackfella* which once more occur as noun and adjective. The noun phrase *big mob* is used adjectivally in Milroy's text. Another four elements are adjectives (*cheeky*, *deadly*, *no good*, *sorry*), and again, *proper* occurs as both adjective and adverb. The terms *cry*, *finish(ed)*, *go bush*, *humbugging* and *run away* are verbal elements. The forms *by and by*, *never*, *no more*, and *true* are adverbs. The elements *ay* and *eh* are once more used as interjections.

All of the 24 elements which are documented in earlier contact varieties are found in this group:

big mob, black(s) (NSW), *blackfella(s), boss, bush blackfella* (NSW), *by and by* (NSW), *camp, cheeky, cleanskin, cry* (?NSW), *eh* (NSW), *fella* (NSW), *finished, missus* (NSW), *mob, never, no good* (NSW), *no more* (NSW), *old man, poor fella* (NSW), *sorry, this/that one* (NSW), *too much* (NSW), *(this/that) way* (NSW). So are *go bush* and *humbugging* which are not listed in the sources for NSW Pidgin, SAPE, or NTPE but may have been used in early pidgins, too.

Thirty-four items appear to have wider currency in AborE and/or AusE; 33 of them are listed in Arthur (1996) and can thus be considered established AborE vocabulary items. Seventeen items are listed in Arthur (1996) as well as in sources for AusE or in the *OED*. The verb phrase *go bush* '(to) return to traditional life' only has an entry in the *AND*.

b) Milroy's text includes nine single-word insertions from **regional Western Australian Aboriginal languages**. Many of the terms occur in several languages of the Kimberley and Pilbara region, and some (*goona* 'excrement', 'shit', *maloo* 'big male kangaroo', *yui* 'yes') occur widely in numerous Australian languages. The origin of the term *gnangyas* 'breasts' is not entirely clear but it is likely that the element is derived from a word used in an Aboriginal language of the wider Kimberly region. Most of the languages in the area have a different term for 'breast': Juwalyni and Yulparija, for example, have *ngamarna* 'breast', 'milk' (Dixon 2008: 25; Dixon 2009: 27), the same form is also found in Bardi (Aklif 1999: 105). Martu Wangka and Nyangumarta have *ngama* 'breast' (Sharp & Thieberger 1992: 102, 116), and Nyul Nyul has *ngaman* (McGregor 2011: 827). Yet, it might be possible that the word is the result of a process of semantic extension or shift so that the term's original meaning has been altered or expanded: the Nyiyaparli dictionary (Swan & Hill 2012: 33) provides *nganyja* '(to) drink', '(to) bite' and Nekes & Worms (2006, part 3: n.p.) list *ŋanja* '(to) drink', '(to) eat' as a Karajarri word. Walmatjarri has *nganyja*$_1$ '(to) eat' and *nganyja*$_2$ 'held in the mouth, but not for swallowing' (AuSIL 2012). In the Juwalyni dictionary, the same form is listed as imperative 'eat!', but there is also a second entry for *nganyja* that provides the meaning 'carrying in the mouth' (Dixon 2008: 26).

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Eight of the traditional language elements used in *Windmill Baby* are nouns, viz. *binyardi* 'fight', *dhoomboo* 'bottom', *gnangyas* 'breasts', *goona* 'excrement', 'shit', *gudiya* 'white person', *jowitch* 'knickers', 'panties', *maloo* 'big male kangaroo', *mooloo* 'head lice'; the affirmative *yui* has not been assigned any part of speech. None of the Aboriginal language words is documented in an early Australian pidgin variety but the lexemes *maloo* and *yui* have an entry in the *AND* and Dixon *et al.* (2006) and seem to be more widely used. According to Arthur (1996: 97), the word *goona* 'faeces' is found in almost every Australian Aboriginal language and therefore also occurs in several varieties of AborE. The term *gudiya*, referring to a white person is also included in Arthur (1996: 156) where it is defined as a north-western term. The word *jowitch* 'knickers', 'panties', is not listed in any of those sources but also seems to have regional currency; like *gudiya*, it has been attested in other works of fiction and also features in Jimmy Chi's *Bran Nue Dae*. In addition, there are indicators that *binyardi* 'a fight' may have entered adolescent speech.

c) There is one further element, viz. the interjection *wurrah* 'shame', the origin of which could not be determined with certainty. The element might be from an Australian Aboriginal language and it is possible that it might actually be a rendition of Nyoongah *warrah* 'bad', but there is no conclusive proof for this assumption. McGregor's (1994: 208) Gooniyandi wordlist has *warriwarri*, 'sorry', 'shame' and Wordick (1982: 364) lists *wararr* 'teasing' for Yindjibarndi, while Smythe & Thieberger (1994: 228) provide *wirrard* 'feelings, emotions, spirit', also for Yindjibarndi. Still, neither of these terms really seems to provide a satisfactory explanation of the item's origin. The OED lists *wirra* (with the alternative forms *wurra* and *wurrah*) from Anglo-Irish with the meaning 'an exclamation of grief or despair', 'expressing sorrow, distress, or regret: 'alas!' 'woe!''. If this is really the original term, it very likely entered AborE or Kriol through an early contact variety.

Cross-checking the lexical appropriations found in *Windmill Baby* with Lee's (2004) *Kriol-Ingglish Diksheneri* has revealed that quite a high number of them are shared with the Kriol varieties spoken in the area. Of the 35 words that are also listed by Lee (2004), 31 are English-derived, including a few elements that have so far not been recorded in any of the other plays, e.g. *by and by* 'eventually', in Lee (2004) as *biyainwei* 'behind', 'later', 'after', 'at the back', *humbugging* '(to) annoy', '(to) fool around', '(to) cause trouble', in Lee (2004) as *hambagam* '(to) annoy', '(to) interrupt', or *cleanskin* 'an uninitiated, hence uncircumcised man'. Most of the lexemes shared with Kriol, however, also occur widely in AborE. Three Aboriginal language words have been attested in Kriol, viz. *gardiya*, a non-Aboriginal person of European descent, *guna* 'faeces', and *yowai* (*yui*) 'yes'. They, too, have been shown to have a wider currency in the Kimberley region. The Kriol dictionary also has an entry for the word *wara* which might correspond to Milroy's *wurrah* 'shame'. Lee (2004) suggests that

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the term is an exclamation from Walmatjarri but does not state the exact meaning. Yet, Richards & Hudson's (1990) *Walmajarri-English Dictionary* provides the meaning 'wait' for *warra*. If this is the original form of the Kriol word, Kriol *wara* is unrelated to the term used by Millroy.

Coming back to our conceptual categories, we find that the lexical appropriations in *Windmill Baby* are used to express concepts pertaining to the following fields:

a. **Continuation of cultural and religious tradition (4 items)**

- 4 English items:

bush blackfella, from *bush,* (of things, events, or places) 'Aboriginal as opposed to European', *go bush* '(to) return to traditional life', '(to) return to the country and engage in a traditional lifestyle, frequently for a limited stretch of time', *love song* (also *song*), a traditional song thought to lure a male/female, *the old people*, people of the older generations, those living and those passed on, holders of traditional ways of living and wisdom, and spiritual guides for those who come after.

b. **Kinship structures (2 items)**

- 2 English items:

Aunty (also *aunty*), an older woman, often wise in traditional language, having status within her community; also a term of address, *Cousin*, a relative of either sex, not necessarily close, but of one's own generation; also a form of address.

c. **Human relationships and social interaction (3 items)**

- 2 English items:

floggin', a 'belting', *old man*, a figure of authority, here used as an address term conveying respect.

- 1 single-word insertion (regional languages):

binyardi 'fight'.

d. **States of feeling and being and ways of conduct (7 items)**

- 6 English items:

cry '(to) lament', '(to) call out in need (for)', *cheeky* 'mischievous, but possibly also dangerous', *humbugging* '(to) annoy', '(to) fool around', '(to) cause trouble', *poor fella*, referring to the condition of oneself or others, implying recognition of the plight of the human condition, *shame* 'embarrassment', 'fear', a sense for having transgressed the social and moral code of society, intentionally or unintentionally, *sorry* 'sorrowful', 'full of grief, grieving'.

- 1 unclear element:

wurrah 'shame'.

e. **Body parts and body functions, intimate and personal aspects of live (6 items)**

- 4 single-word insertions (regional languages):

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dhoomboo 'bottom', *gnangyas* 'breasts', *goona*, 'excrement', 'shit', *mooloo* 'head lice'.

- 2 English items:

finished, from *finish*, v. '(to) end, to die', *gumbones* 'teeth'.

f. **Relationship to the land (1 item)**

- 1 English item:

camp, a living place, temporary or permanent; the term can refer to the living place of either a single person or a small or large group, and can include in its reference a group of houses or a swag under a tree, but always in an Aboriginal-controlled environment.

g. **Nature and environment (1 item)**

- 1 single-word insertion (regional languages):

maloo, 'big male kangaroo', Macropodus rufus.

h. **The contact experience (9 items)**

- 7 English items:

black(s) 1. 'Aboriginal', 2. an Aboriginal person, *blackfella(s)* 1. an Aboriginal person, 2. 'Aboriginal', *boss*, a form of address from an Aboriginal person to a European man, not necessarily an employer, *cleanskin*, from the term for an unbranded animal; here a bachelor, 'unbranded' by a woman, *missus*, a form of address to a white woman, not necessarily an employer, *run away* '(to) leave a European situation, particularly a cattle station', *Toyota*, a four wheel drive vehicle.

- 2 single-word insertions (regional languages):

gudiya, a white person, *jowitch* 'knickers', 'panties'.

i. **Novel conceptualisations of Aboriginality and cultural survival (-)**

j. **Aboriginal way (17 items)**

- 17 English items:

ay, an interjection, used as rhetorical comment, usually at the end of statements, *big mob*, from *mob*, 1. a group of Aboriginal people, linked by relationship and culture, 2. a group of people or animals, 3. an expression of number; a large group (of people, animals, etc.), a large amount of something, *by and by* 'eventually', *deadly* 'great', 'fantastic', 'terrific', *eh*, an interjection, used as rhetorical comment, usually at the end of statements, *fella*, 1. a person, either male or female though usually male, 2. any animate or inanimate thing, *half* 'less than the whole', 'part', *mob*, 1. a group of Aboriginal people, linked by relationship and culture, 2. a group of people or animals, 3. an expression of number, *never*, an emphatic negative, *no good* 'not any good', 'worthless', *no more* 'not', 'no', 'in no way', *proper* 'real', 'really', 'truly', also 'adequate', 'adequately', *this one*, indicating sth. with particularity, often used alongside the thing indicated, to distinguish it from another in the same category, *-time*, a specific period, *too much* 'very', 'very much';

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'a great deal', 'a lot of', *true*, an intensifier of a statement or response to a statement, meaning 'it's really so', 'is that really so', 'truly', *way*$_2$, a productive element in the formation of adverbials of manner and place, also as *this/that way*.

k. **Traditional language maintenance (1 item)**

- 1 single-word insertion (regional languages):

yui 'yes'.

As in *Murras* and *Bran Nue Dae*, *(j) Aboriginal way* has turned out to be the largest conceptual category, comprising 17 English items. Three of them have so far not been recorded, viz. *by and by* 'eventually', *half* 'a part', and *no more* 'not', 'no', 'in no way' even though, they, too, appear to have wider currency in AborE: *by and by* and *no more* are listed in Arthur (1996), *half* is reported as AborE lexical feature in Malcolm & Sharifian (2002: 172). Once again, (j) is also the only category that includes a substantial number of elements, here, about one third of all appropriations established for Milroy's text.

After that, there is a considerable gap: nine elements fall into the second largest conceptual category, *(h) The contact experience*. The elements remind readers and audiences that the play's setting is a cattle station, i.e. one of the places where the outcomes of colonisation and European rule over the country were most strongly felt by Aboriginal people thrust into a dependence relationship with those who had taken over their land. The station environment is particularly emphasised through the items *cleanskin* and *run away* which directly relate to life in a pastoral industry context. There are several new items in this category, too: *gardiya*, describing a white person, is a borrowing from a Kimberley language while *Toyota*, *cleanskin*, and *run away* are English terms. The element *jowitch* 'knickers' is an Aboriginal language word that is also used in Chi's text and thus appears to be a recurring lexical feature in north-western varieties of AborE. *Windmill Baby* is the first text which does not include one single reference to the police or to the government authorities. Instead, the 'authorities' are represented by the *boss* and the *missus* who run the station and control the Aboriginal workers' lives. There are further no items which relate to introduced substances; the phrase *smelling like cake*, explained in the glossary as "drinking vanilla essence, which was the liquor to have when you had no liquor" (Milroy 2007: 228) could not be confirmed as AborE usage and has therefore not been included in the analysis.

Seven elements pertain to category *(d) States of feeling and being and ways of conduct.* Four out of the six English lexemes that belong to this category have also featured in the previous texts: *cheeky*, *poor fella*, *shame*, and *sorry* are among the most widely used and widely known AborE vocabulary items. They are complemented by the words *cry* '(to) lament', '(to) call out in need (for)' and *humbugging* '(to) annoy', '(to) fool around', '(to) cause trouble' which have hitherto not been recorded but have an entry in Arthur (1996) and therefore

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seem to have some currency in AborE, too. In addition, category (d) includes the item *wurrah*, another apparently regionally restricted term to express the concept of 'shame'. Its origin, though, remains unclear.

Six elements are found in category *(e) Body parts and body functions, intimate and personal aspects of live*. As before, most of the items in this category are from local languages and have therefore not been recorded in any of the other plays: *dhoomboo* 'bottom', *gnangyas* 'breasts', *goona* 'excrement', 'shit', *mooloo* 'head lice'. For the first time, there is also an English lexeme which describes a body part, viz. *gumbones* 'teeth'. The last item in this category is the recurring English word *finish* '(to) end', '(to) die'.

English terms dominate category *(a) Continuation of cultural and religious tradition* which includes no more than four elements: *bush blackfella*, *go bush*, *love song*, *the old people.* The complete absence of terms from an Aboriginal language is unusual for this category and, as in *Up the Road*, negates the expression of a cultural identity that connects speakers to particular groups or locations. Something that also deserves attention is that the two new items found in this category, viz. *bush blackfella* and *go bush* both associate more traditional lifestyles with the wilderness that stands in opposition to 'civilised' Euro-Australian society.

Three items fall into category *(c) Human relationships and social interaction*, including the regional language word *binyardi* 'fight' which is found in several Pilbara languages. The remaining items are *flogging* and *old man*; the latter here used as a respectful address term, describes a figure of authority within an Aboriginal community.

Category *(b) Kinship structures* is represented in the text by a mere two items, the now familiar *aunty* and *cousin*. The former item, referring to a (usually older) woman who has status in the community and is respected for her knowledge, is used as the female counterpart to *old man*. While the only item found in *(f) Relationship to the land* is the English lexeme *camp*, category *(g) Nature and environment* provides a regional language word for a well-known emblem of Australian fauna, viz. *maloo* 'kangaroo'. *Yui* 'yes', is the only item found in category *(k) Traditional language maintenance*. As a function word, the term seems to be one that is prone to be retained by bilingual speakers. Not a single element could be determined that falls into category *(i) Novel conceptualisations of Aboriginality and cultural survival*. This is also due to the absence of Aboriginal language words that indicate a regional identity. In Milroy's play, Aboriginality is exclusively expressed by means of the items *black* and *blackfella*.

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8.8.4 *Windmill Baby* – A Tale of Life in the Kimberley

Milroy's play turns back the clock a few decades and takes the reader and the audience to a Kimberley cattle station in the middle of the 20th century. Since its beginnings, Aboriginal people have played a big part in the pastoral industry, providing a cheap and skilful workforce for station owners, and *Windmill Baby* introduces us to the daily routines of some of them. The play thus shows certain thematic parallels to Gilbert's *The Cherry Pickers*, a text which also draws attention to the poor living and working conditions of Aboriginal labourers and reflects on the contribution of Aboriginal people to the Australian rural economy. Still, written almost four decades after Gilbert's *Cherry Pickers*, Milroy's play exhibits a much less radical tone that has clearly moved away from the protest literature of the 1970s and 1980s. Despite the author's desire to portray the Aboriginal perspective of Australian history, Milroy's text has shed the fierce political criticism that is inherent in many earlier Aboriginal drama texts.

These differences are also manifested in the lexicon. *The Cherry Pickers* puts a considerable emphasis on the loss of cultural and religious heritage, and the readers and/or audiences observe the characters deplore the demise of their people and heritage. While following the Cherry Pickers' attempts to keep their cultural identity, they are confronted with a wealth of references to Aboriginal culture and an abundant use of Koori language words. *Windmill Baby*, on the other hand, unfolds tales of life in the Kimberley region. While Maymay's yarn, too, testifies to the imbalanced power hierarchies and the maltreatment of Aboriginal station workers, Milroy refrains from wagging the finger of political protest. Instead, he allows his protagonist to present herself as a true storyteller who paints a picture of the daily routine on a cattle station in the mid-20th century, describing the interaction between stockmen, domestics, camp dwellers, and the station owners, and illustrating how the characters deal with the harsh realities in the isolated, arid north of Western Australia. True to the form of storytelling, the members of the audience are to observe and draw their own conclusions from what they are told. Maymay's account is focused on how the station people master the small and not so small challenges in their daily lives, and although the pervasive effects of the contact experience are also manifested on the level of the lexicon, the characters do not explicitly ponder the social and cultural changes they have been subject to.

The two most direct references to cultural practices and understanding are made when young Maymay seeks advice from the older camp dwellers, e.g. in the scene quoted in 8.8.2 in which Young May asks Aunty Darballa for a *love song*, or when reference is made to the elders who have passed away but are still regarded as guardians of their people:

> WUNMAN: You know, Maymay, sometimes bad things happen like what happened to my brother Twoman and to your little baby. But I know **the old people**

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> are looking after them. This baby is special for you and Malvern so I came to ask if I could make a place for her in my garden. When Malvern gets back from the muster you can take him there and tell him that your baby is with **the old people** and she's resting in a happy place.
>
> (Milroy 2007b: 219, my emphasis)

The remaining two lexical items that have been included in category *(a) Continuation of cultural and religious tradition* involve the element *bush*, thus referring to life in an environment not controlled by the European colonisers. The 'wild' and 'uncontrolled' lifestyle associated with the term provides Maymay with the opportunity for a tongue-in-cheek comment which again subverts stereotypical images:

> OLD MAY: I'm a **proper bush blackfella**, I know where to find water, all I have to do is look in my bag.
>
> (Milroy 2007b: 207, my emphasis)

What is striking is that all four items are English words, that is, none of the references to traditional Aboriginal culture directly relates to the cultural background of Maymay and her fellow workers by means of a traditional language word which expresses a local affiliation or identification with a certain culture group.

In general, the play exhibits a rather low frequency of Aboriginal language words considering that the setting is a cattle station in the Kimberley region, an area in northern Australia that exhibits a relatively high degree of language maintenance and is the cradle of Kriol, Australia's most widely used contact variety. Several of the regional Aboriginal language words describe body parts, health conditions, items of clothing, or forms of behaviour, i.e. concepts which in many of the other plays are associated with sexual innuendos or a saucy tone (remember their usage in *The Cherry Pickers*!). The Kimberley language words and the way they are employed in Milroy's text seem almost tame by comparison: we find *binyardi* 'a fight', *dhoomboo* 'bottom', and *jowitch* 'knickers'; the term *goona*, while meaning 'excrement' relates to cow dung. Another Aboriginal language term indicates the poor hygienic conditions in the camp while simultaneously describing an almost meditative act:

> OLD MAY: Well, I was sitting there cracking my **mooloo** [head lice] thinking about what to do with him [...].
>
> (Milroy 2007b: 210, my emphasis, my glossing)

The term *mooloo* 'head lice' is the only single-word insertion found in the text which might provide difficulties for the reader or the audience. Its interpretation is not as straightforward as that of the remaining traditional language words, the meaning of which can usually quite readily be assumed from the context in which they are used:

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OLD MAY: The boss had given Malvern three pounds for the run. He didn't really know what money was and I had to stop him from wiping his his **dhoomboo** with it.

(Milroy 2007b: 215, my emphasis)

Another Kimberley language word, *gardiya*, is used to denote European people. *Windmill Baby* is the first text dealt with so far which uses an Aboriginal language word rather than a form of *whitefella* or *white man* to describe non-Aboriginal people. Aboriginality, on the other hand, is exclusively expressed through the English terms *black* and *blackfella*, so that, again, we find no direct reference to a distinct, more limited, cultural identity:

OLD MAY: Or if a **gudiya** had been sleeping with a **black** woman, **gudiya** and **blackfella** might say, 'Get rid of that baby!'.

(Milroy 2007b: 209, my emphasis)

The use of more general terms of reference for Aboriginal people is nevertheless in line with the thematic focus of the play: whereas *Bran Nue Dae* emphasises and celebrates the cultural and linguistic diversity of the Broome area and *The Dreamers* is intent on calling to mind the Nyoongah cultural heritage, *Windmill Baby*, the third Western Australian text, is concerned with describing the social and emotional facets of contact in the context of the northern Australian pastoral industries which disregarded linguistic and cultural boundaries. Many of the lexical appropriations found in the text underline this emphasis on the contact experience on the lexical level, and some of the terms indicate the northern location more strongly than others, e.g. *Toyota* 'a four wheel drive vehicle' is most commonly used in the northern parts of Australia. The English *cleanskin* which here describes a bachelor, 'unbranded' by a woman, is derived from the word for the unbranded animal and makes direct reference to the cattle station environment, so does *run away* '(to) leave a European situation, particularly a cattle station'. The lexical items which most emphatically underline the contact experience, however, are the terms *boss* and *missus*, both of which feature prominently in the text. Used persistently and with a high frequency, they serve as a constant reminder of the uneven economical and social hierarchies on the station, the suppression of Aboriginal workers in the pastoral industry, and the authority and almost unlimited dominance of the European land owners:

OLD MAY: The old **gudiya boss** treated us good. He wasn't worried about Wunman being a cripple, but the new **boss** had a cruel heart.

BOSS: I've got a station to run and I can't afford to feed blacks who can't earn their keep. Ship him out to the mission.

OLD MAY: Well, the new **missus** only ever talked in whispers but when she heard the **boss** talking bad way, that night she whispered at him awfully loud. The next morning he came shouting down the camp.

[...]

BOSS: Maymay! Where's Malvern? If that lazy black bastard is still in bed–

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YOUNG MAY: No, **boss**, he's not in bed. I saw him taking off with his whip and lasso.

BOSS: Hmmpf! Then you'll do it. I want you to find Wunman a job around the homestead and if he mucks up, the bloody Catholics can have him.

OLD MAY: Well, that scared the hell out of Wunman because he didn't know what a Catho-lick [sic] was.

(Milroy 2007b: 209f, my emphasis)

However, the text also provides two lexical counterparts to *boss* and *missus*. While these represent the new power hierarchies established under colonial rule and based on possession and economical force, the two elders *Aunty* Darballa and *old man* Billy Gogo, who are respected for their wisdom and knowledge, illustrate Aboriginal understandings of authority. They are also the ones Maymay turns to when she needs advice on how to handle interpersonal relationships and avoid a potential conflict with the *boss*:

OLD MAY: Now, **old man**, Wunman don't like Sally, but Sally like Wunman. The missus like Wunman and Wunman like the missus, but the boss don't like Wunman. So what I gotta do?

(Milroy 2007b: 218, my emphasis)

Another aspect in which the text differs from many of those previously discussed is its focus on the fate of the individual characters. Even though Milroy's text, too, can be understood as narrating collective history, *Windmill Baby* is more than a representation of the lives of Aboriginal workers in the pastoral industry. It combines a lesson in Australian history with an unexpected love story that overcomes issues of skin colour and social status – and is therefore doomed to failure and disaster. Moreover, the play thrives on the portrayal of how the Aboriginal characters, especially Wunman and Maymay, take on their fate. As the characters themselves tell us their story, the events are narrated from their own, individual perspectives, against the background of their understanding of the world. They also show us how language is employed to make sense of what is happening around them:

OLD MAY: That night, I sat with Wunman in his garden for one last time.

WUNMAN: You know, Maymay, the **missus** read to me about Eden. She tell me my garden is just like **that one.** Everything comes up green and it's a **proper** happy place. [*Pause.*] And you know, there was two **fellas** who loved each other but things went wrong for them because they broke the law. Maybe one was **black** and maybe one was white. What colour love, Maymay?

(Milroy 2007b: 224, my emphasis)

The characters' strength and will to cope with reality are best exemplified by the Aboriginal gardener Wunman, who on various occasions defies his role as a powerless 'cripple' by taking advantage of his handicap and his assumed inferiority:

MALVERN: You gone bloody crazy, boss. You let Sally go and give me the rifle.

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BOSS: Ah, Mr Starr, the head stockman. You want the rifle, come and take it. Come on, Malvern, let's see how tough you are.

MALVERN: You put the rifle down and we'll sort this out. Man to man.

BOSS: I think I'll sort this out right now.

Boss aims his rifle but is distracted by something. Skitchim appears.

Skitchim... you mongrel bastard, you were supposed to be dead!

OLD MAY: The boss found a new target. Skitchim. He steadied himself... raised his rifle... took aim... and then... whack!

The lights come up.

WUNMAN: If the boss wake up, you tell'im I chuck the wood one way but he go the other way and hit 'im in the head. And don't worry about the missus... she all right.

(Milroy 2007b: 221)

In the above scene, Wunman resists the station's existing order and subverts the boss's authority on two levels, viz. through his actions but also through his use of the English language to explain the situation. His habit of throwing things – an action which frequently results in his knocking unconscious a potential aggressor – once more prevents a disaster. His 'cheeky' and formulaic excuse "I chuck the wood one way but he go the other way [...]" dissolves the mounting tension and ends the scene on a cheerful note.

Milroy's description of how the characters deal with the minor and not so minor problems in life is done in a warm-hearted manner, and on various occasions, the author employs lexical and grammatical features of AborE to achieve a comic effect, here, the transitive marker and the lexical item *(this/that) way* which is a productive element in the formation of adverbials of manner and place:

OLD MAY: First up I tried to teach him raking.

YOUNG MAY: Now, Wunman, you rake 'im **this way** and you rake 'im **that way** and then you pick 'im up.

OLD MAY: Well, Wunman rake 'im **this way** and all the rubbish went **that way**, then his no good leg give way and he fell over **that way** and I had to pick 'im up **good way**.

(Milroy 2007b: 210, my emphasis)

Milroy manages to enrich his text with humour without making fun of his characters and their language. On the contrary, their speech styles and pragmatism fill the play with life and provide yet another example for how Aboriginal people have resisted colonial oppression and suffering.

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8.9 Wesley Enoch

Wesley Enoch was born on Stradbroke Island, off the eastern Queensland coast, as the eldest son of Doug and Lyn Enoch (Enoch 2007a: n.p.). His father's family is from the island and from mainland northern Queensland, and it is through his father's side that Enoch is linked to the Noonuccal and Ngugi people of Queensland. Like John Harding and David Milroy, Wesley Enoch comes from a family which has bred a number of artists: one of his great-aunts was Aboriginal poet and activist Oodgeroo Noonuccal, and he has family ties to dancer and choreographer Stephen Paige (Song Summit's channel 2012). In addition to his links to the Noonuccal and Ngugi people of Queensland, Enoch's family tree includes a Spanish great-grandfather and a Danish great-grandmother, as well as Irish, Scottish, and English ancestors (see also 7.1 for how he describes his family background). Such a heterogeneous heritage, he says, is quite common for many Aboriginal people: "in my world, it is not unusual to have incredibly diverse cultural identities expressed around a dining-room table" (Song Summit's channel 2012). Even though his family moved to the mainland when Enoch was four years old (Enoch & Fidler 2010), the author spent much of his childhood on Stradbroke Island where many of his relatives still live. Here, his father and other relatives would introduce the children to activities such as fishing and dancing. In retrospective, Enoch feels that there was "a sense of culture in all that we were doing at home" although he found that his own experience was totally different to the picture of Aboriginal culture he was presented with at school, a Stone Age relict that had nothing to do with the lived culture he knew (Song Summit's channel 2012). This may be one of the reasons why so many of his works try to determine the ways in which Aboriginal culture presents itself in the modern Australian society.

An extremely wild and violent youth, Enoch reckons that theatre was his way to overcome his aggression, providing him with the opportunity to express his emotions and redirect his energy. Over the years, his fascination with drama and the performing arts increased and finally resulted in an honours thesis on contemporary Aboriginal art. Today, Enoch is one of the most influential Aboriginal playwrights and directors in Australian theatre. He has worked as Resident Director at the Sydney Theatre Company, as Artistic Director of Kooemba Jdarra and Ilbijerri Aboriginal Theatre, as Associate Artist with the Queensland Theatre Company, and as Associate Artistic Director for Sydney's Company B. In 2006, he directed the Aboriginal section of the Commonwealth Games Opening Ceremony (Enoch 2007a: n.p.) and in 2010, at the age of 41, he was appointed Artistic Director of the Queensland Theatre Company; he is the first Indigenous person to hold the position of Artistic Director of an Australian state theatre company (Scott-Norman 2011). The list of his

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directing credits is sheer endless and includes his own work as well as that of other Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal writers. As a playwright, Enoch is probably most renowned for *The 7 Stages of Grieving* which he co-wrote with Debora Mailman. His other works include *The Sunshine Club*, *A life of Grace and Piety*, *Grace*, *Little White Dress*, *Black Medea*, and *I am Eora*. Another major coup as a playwright was his drama *The Story of the Miracles at Cookie's Table* for which he received a Patrick White Award in 2005 and was shortlisted for the NWS and the Victorian Premier's Literary Award (AustLit 2002-2015h). The play, which began to take shape during a three-month Australia Council scholarship in Paris, was first staged in 2006 by Tokio-based Rakutendan Theatre in a Japanese translation; the Australian premiere was in August 2007 (Currency Press 2007-2015c).

8.9.1 **The Play: *The Story of the Miracles at Cookie's Table* (2007)**

Enoch began working on the play during a time he describes as "one of the darkest moments of my career" (Enoch & Fidler 2010), just after he had quit his job with the Sydney Theatre Company and had separated from his partner. The idea for *Cookie's Table* began to form after a family visit to 'Straddie': on his way back to Brisbane, Enoch relates, he began to think about birth trees and wondered what would happen if such a tree was cut up and the wood was used to make a table that was handed down from generation to generation (Enoch & Fidler 2010).

In the first scene of *The Story of the Miracles at Cookie's Table*, the reader and the audience are introduced to the story of Cookie, the main character's great great grandmother, who is born under a tree her mother had chosen as her birth tree. When the tree is felled and made into a kitchen table, Cookie takes employment in the house to which the table has been brought, spending her days preparing meals on that very kitchen table. Cookie's story is resumed and continued at intervals throughout the play: abandoned by the father of her children, a white soldier, Cookie sends her daughter away and burns down the house, killing herself and her two sons. Miraculously, the table survives the fire. Many years later, Cookie's granddaughter Faith buys the rebuilt house, the table still in its position in the middle of the kitchen. The second scene takes readers and audiences to the present: Nathan, Faith's grandson who has become a successful government official, and Annie, his erratic and alcoholic mother, come together after Faith's funeral. Soon, a fight erupts between the two about who gets to keep the table, the underside of which is inscribed with the names of Cookie's female descendants. Nathan wants the table as a reminder of his heritage, his childhood, and his grandmother who raised him. Annie, who left the island and her family shortly after the birth of her son, is determined to hold on to the table herself. Despite her ambivalent feelings for Faith and for her island past, Annie hopes to find

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peace and create a new home in her mother's house. As an approaching storm hinders Nathan from returning to the mainland, the two engage in a fierce debate about their family history and their mother-son relationship. Throughout their verbal exchange, the recently deceased Faith repeatedly appears on stage as snap-shots from Annie's and Nathan's past are woven into the conversation. In the course of the evening and the following morning, the characters narrate episodes from the family's past, laying bare uncomfortable truths and reliving both hurtful and comforting memories before they can finally achieve an approximation.

As in *Windmill Baby* and in many other texts authored by Aboriginal writers, storytelling plays a crucial role in Enoch's play. According to the author, *Cookie's Table* "is about storytelling and how stories bind us together as families" (Enoch 2007a: n.p.), examining how family can be both a nurturing and a destructive force and how stories not only capture the past but also allow for a new beginning. In the end, Annie convinces her son that it is not so much his past that defines who he is but that he needs to turn towards the future and start creating his own story.

One of Enoch's main concerns is to explore how people of Aboriginal background attempt to preserve individual and cultural identity in modern Australia. In the text, the table embodies this continuation of timeless cultural practices:

> *Cookie's Table* is a metaphor for culture lived, lost, found, obscured and metamorphosed into a hybrid reality for contemporary Murri people. The unbroken line of cultural practices, through the feeding and gathering of our families around the table, is as much a sign of our cultural continuity as any anthropological data gathered in the middens, caves and campsites of our forebears. (Enoch 2007a: n.p.).

Enoch denies that the play, set on Stradbroke Island, is autobiographical, even though he admits: "I have written using the world I know well and tried to create a universal story from it" (Currency Press 2007-2015c). There are further parallels to Enoch's own life: just like Annie, his maternal grandmother was a night club singer. After his grandparents had separated, his mother spent some time in a children's home.

8.9.2 **Analysis of *The Story of the Miracles at Cookie's Table* (2007)**

Discussing the autobiographical influence in his play, Enoch revealed that he tried to capture the speech styles of real people in his text: "I have ransacked my life and used my ear for the vernacular of people I know to create characters" (Currency Press 2007-2015c). Therefore, we might expect the dialogue to contain several of the features we have already come across in the previous analyses and assume that it reflects the AborE varieties spoken on Stradbroke Island and the adjacent Queensland mainland. However, on the whole, the

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language used in *Cookie's Table* reveals comparatively few AborE features: the speech of University-educated bureaucrat Nathan varies between standard and colloquial forms of AusE and is interspersed with the occasional slang words as he is fighting and debating with his mother who also makes regular use of colloquialisms and slang. The female characters' idiolects, too, approach AusE but still exhibit a slightly more pronounced influence from AborE. Considering the salient grammatical properties of the dialogue, we find that most features are shared with colloquial AusE and other non-standard varieties of English. They include the use of zero-copula forms such as "Our souls dirty?" (Enoch 2007b: 17), and the omission of auxiliaries, as in "Those August winds coming" (Enoch 2007b: 9). Elsewhere, we can observe lacking subject-verb concord, manifested in the use of *was* for plural and 2nd person singular subjects, as in "How long was you with him?" (Enoch 2007b: 32), and irregular pronoun forms, as in "That cook fella got all gooly up and rowed hisself back to the mainland" (Enoch 2007b: 2). In the phrase "And that day she cooked up the biggest feed [...]" (Enoch 2007b: 2) we can once again observe the elative, that is, a superlative suffix is used to intensify the adjective even though no superlative is expressed. Other features include the use of demonstrative *them*, as in "in them days that was old enough to be a woman" (Enoch 2007b: 2), the use of double negations, e.g. "I don't have to tell you nothing" (Enoch 2007b: 11), and the occasional substitution of the definite article by *this* or *that*, as in "and even later when other women came to live in that house – Cookie ran that kitchen" (Enoch 2007b: 2). In addition to the familiar *what for* which is used in the sense 'why', Enoch's text also displays the combination *why for*: "Why'd you go off and fucken die for?" (Enoch 2007b: 12). It should be noted, however, that all of the above features only occur rarely and some of them could not be observed more than once or twice within the text; double negation is the only grammatical feature which is used persistently. The spelling does not suggest any salient phonological features except for the occasional reduction of consonant clusters, e.g. "your fucken water taxi" (Enoch 2007b: 10) and the elision of unstressed, initial vowels as in "Why didn't the woman get a 'lectric one?" (Enoch 2007b: 31).

A cursory investigation of the play suggests that also on the lexical level, Enoch's text does not deviate much from non-Aboriginal varieties of AusE, and thus reminds of Harding's *Up the Road*, another text for which we have asserted a high proximity to mainstream speech modes. In contrast to *Up the Road*, however, Enoch's text contains at least a handful of Aboriginal language terms, none of which is set apart in the text by italics. The play does not contain a glossary and there is no indication of the Aboriginal language terms' source language(s). Keeping in mind the author's own family background, the location of the action, and his concession about having used the idiolects of

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people he knows as linguistic role models, we may assume that many terms are from Stradbroke Island and south-eastern Queensland languages.

Before British invasion, the northern part of North Stradbroke Island was inhabited by the Noonuccal people, whereas the Southern Island as well as the southern and central part of North Stradbroke Island was home to the Goenpul (Steele 1984: 97). In the 19th century, the Ngugi, originally from Moreton Island, settled on the neighbouring Northern Stradbroke Island (Colliver & Woolston 1975: 91). The language of the Noonuccal people is most commonly referred to as Moondjan, although in some sources (e.g. O'Grady *et al.* (1966b), Tindale (1974), and Wurm (1972)), variants of the northern Stradboke Island people's name (i.e. Noonukul, Noonuccal, Noonukul, Nunugal, or Nunukul) are also employed as the name of their language.

In his *Australian Languages* (2002: xxxiv), R.M.W. Dixon defines Moondjan as a dialect of Yagara, the language of the Brisbane area. This classification is also postulated in Dixon *et al.* (2006: 42):

> This language had a number of dialects. That spoken in Brisbane, probably extending up to Caboolture, was called in the old sources Durubul, Turrbal, or Thoerwel. From Ispwitch south to Boonah and inland perhaps to Laidley, there was the Yagara dialect. The dialect spoken on North Stradbroke Island was Moondjan, and that on South Stradbroke was Jandai. Yagara is generally used as a label for the whole language. A separate language, Gowar, was spoken on Moreton Island.

Other sources treat Moondjan as a separate language, which however, according to Watkin & Hamilton (1886: 222), much resembles Jandai, the language of the Geonpul people. Steele (1983: 97) reports that while Jandai was spoken on South Stradbroke Island as well as on much of North Stradbroke Island, Moondjan was restricted to the northern parts of the Island; a similar view is expressed by Tindale (1974).

There is no indication that any of the Stradbroke Island languages is still fluently spoken today. Holmer (1983: 392) suggests that at the time of collecting data for his work, the late 1970s and early 1980s, "[n]ot one 'native speaker' was […] found to survive on the island and the persons contacted were of the opinion that the recording of the Aboriginal language on Stradbroke Island had started about thirty years too late". He nevertheless reports that some lexical knowledge was retained. In a public speech, Enoch himself confirmed this, explaining that "we knew how to say pretty much all the naughty parts of your body in our language" (Song Summit's channel 2012).

In her study of south-eastern Queensland Aboriginal English, Eades (1983: 150) points out that most Aboriginal people in the area today speak a variety of English as their primary language:

> SEQAB [south-eastern Queensland Aboriginal, K.L.] people today primarily speak varieties of English. There is probably no-one from this area of Australia

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> today who speaks an Aboriginal language as a first (or primary) language. Many SEQAB people speak varieties of "Standard English" particularly in White domains, such as employment and education. Grammatical differences between SEQAB and WA ['white Australian', K.L.] varieties of English are formally minimal. However, […] meanings (speaker's' intentions and hearer's' interpretations) may differ significantly between SEQAB and WA uses of the same or similar English forms. As well, SEQAB people speak varieties of Aboriginal English which grammatically reflect structures of Aboriginal languages. There is quite a range of variability in the Aboriginal English spoken by SEQAB people.

She argues that a small number of traditional language words are employed in everyday conversation, mostly to talk about 'private' issues such as the human body, as tools to affectionately chide someone's behaviour, to denote aspects of Aboriginal culture, or to prevent outsiders from understanding what is said (Eades 1983: 153f).

There are very few sources for the Moreton Bay languages, and those that exist are usually dated and far from being exhaustive. A list of words from Stradbroke Island is included in Holmer (1983) who adopts 'Nunagal' as the general name for what he considers to be one single language. Steele (1984) includes a word list of "the language of North Stradbroke Island and the mainland shore immediately opposite" (Steele 1984: 114f) which he names 'Jandai'. Another short Jandai word list compiled by Watkin & Hamilton is included in Curr's *The Australian Race*, a work which dates back to 1887. Still, neither the lexical data provided by Steele nor that by Watkin & Hamilton yielded any information to the present analysis. A more recent Jandai dictionary, compiled by Margaret Iselin and published in 2011, is not available outside Australia. No extensive records of Yagara exist, but Sharpe's (1998) dictionary of Yugambeh (a variety of Bundjalung, spoken in north-eastern New South Wales and south-east Queensland) and her Bundjalung wordlist in Thieberger & McGregor's (1994) *Macquarie Aboriginal words* have proven valuable. One term was even documented in Ash *et al.'s* (2003) Gamilaraay, Yuwaalaraay & Yuwaalayaay dictionary, and also Haviland's (1979) description of Guugu Yimidhirr, a northern Queensland language, has contributed information on a term for which it was difficult to establish an etymology.

The remaining course of action should now be familiar: all new terms have been cross-checked with Troy (1990, 1993, 1994), Malcolm & Koscielecki (1997), Foster *et al.* (2003), and Harris (1986 and 1988) for currency in early contact varieties. Information on regional variation in Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal varieties of English was obtained from Arthur (1996), Dixon *et al.* (2006), Robinson's *Voices of Queensland* (2001), and the *AND*. Again, the *OED* provided information on the lexemes' use in other varieties of English.

Enoch's text, too, contains a few terms which at first sight appear to be features of AborE even though a more thorough examination reveals that they

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are used in a non-Aboriginal sense: an example is *elder* which Annie uses in the sense of 'parent', that is, not as a reference to a senior person's knowledge and status within the community but to remind Nathan of the fact that she is his mother. The term *lot* which in its AborE sense describes a part of a family here designates a particular group of people, and *belong* is used with a meaning that does not entail the same sense of relating to a particular tract of country that is suggested by Arthur (1996). Other terms found in the text refer to recent political events and Aboriginal political activism, e.g. *land rights* and *Land Council*. Even though these two items are also commonly used in non-Aboriginal varieties of English and feature prominently in the general Australian political debate, they have been included in the present analysis because of their special relevance for Aboriginal people.

8.9.3 **The Results**

As has been noted above, the language of Enoch's *The Story of the Miracles at Cookie's Table* approximates colloquial AusE, an impression that is certainly also guided by the low frequency of salient AborE grammatical features in the text. Still, the play contains 60 examples of lexical appropriation, so that despite the perceived proximity to non-Aboriginal varieties of English, the total number of lexical appropriations found in *Cookie's Table* exceeds that of *Up the Road* and the relatively short text *Windmill Baby*. The great majority of the 60 lexical appropriations are English lexemes; these are complemented by a small number of single-word insertions from regional languages. In addition, there is the element *gooly up* 'wild' for which a source language could not be determined with certainty but which may be a hybrid compound, consisting of an Aboriginal language word and an English preposition. Enoch's text neither includes Aboriginal language words from languages spoken outside south-east Queensland and adjacent areas of north-east NSW nor longer stretches of traditional language. Excluding the item *gooly up* 'wild', only 16 items are attested for in earlier Australian pidgin varieties; ten terms are found in Troy's NSW Pidgin data.

a) All in all, 51 AborE lexical elements are derived from **English**. Thirty-five of these are semantically modified terms. Another 15 have been defined as characteristically Aboriginal usages of English terms. The item *bullyman* 'policeman' is another example of an item that defies a clear categorisation: Arthur (1996: 139) suggests that *bulliman* is derived from a nineteenth century pronunciation of 'policeman'. This appears plausible, as the form can be understood to demonstrate two phonological features described in 6.3.1, viz. the absence of the voiced/unvoiced contrast which might explain the interchangeable use of/p/and/b/, and the distinct use of fricatives which might account for the absence of the word-final sibilant in *police*. Still, when considering the nature of past and present interactions between Aboriginal

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and the Australian police and the oppression and unjust treatment many Aboriginal people have had to suffer on the part of local authorities, we may also wonder whether the verb *(to) bully* has influenced the development of the form. Thus, *bullyman* could be seen as an example of lexical conflation, i.e. as an item that is the result of a phonological confusion of two words, here, of an AborE pronunciation of the term 'police' and of 'bully', which goes hand in hand with the semantic conflation of the two lexemes.

Among the 51 English lexemes, we find 35 nominal elements, including the six noun phrases *big mob*, *big words*, *Old Girl* (also *old girls*), *the old people*, *the old women*, *white men*. The elements *black*, and *blood* occur both as nouns and in adjectival application, and *yarn* is used as a noun and a verb. Five elements are adverbs (*cruel*, *gammin*, *true*, *never*, *what for*), and we find four adjectives (*dark, no good*, *tribal*, and *whitefella*), two verbal elements, viz. *reckon*, and the participle *taken (away)*. Once more, *proper* occurs as both adjective and adverb and the element *eh* has been classified as an interjection.

All of the 16 items attested in former contact varieties are English lexemes:

big mob, black (NSW), *blackfellas* (NSW), *camp, country* (NSW), *eh* (NSW), *fella* (NSW), *gammin* (NSW), *mob, never, no good* (NSW), *Old Girl(s), one(s), what for* (NSW), *white men* (NSW), *whitefella* (NSW). In addition, no less than 40 items appear to have wider currency in AborE as well as in other dialects of English: 16 items are only found in Arthur's (1996) dictionary of AborE and another 19 are listed in Arthur (1996) as well as in sources for AusE or in the online edition of the *OED*.

b) Eight **single-word insertions** could be traced back to **regional Aboriginal languages**, spoken in south-east Queensland or north-east NSW. These also include the item *Kawana* which is used as a personal name in Enoch's text. The item's meaning is explained in the play when Faith relates that her mother's name translates as 'calm waters', a meaning that could not be verified on the basis of the dictionaries and wordlists consulted. As a proper noun, it is one of six nouns (*boodu* 'penis', *bungoo* 'money', *eugaries*, the 'pipi', an edible marine bivalve mollusc, *goom*, an alcoholic drink, *Kawana* 'calm waters', *muppi* 'behind', 'posterior') which are complemented by the adjective *womba* 'mad', 'stupid', and one item that functions as a noun and an adjective, viz. *Murri* 'Aboriginal', used in southern Queensland and northern NSW. None of the traditional language words is documented in an early Australian pidgin variety. The term *eugaries* is listed in the AND and Dixon *et al.* (2006); *goom* also has an entry in Arthur (1996) and *Murri* is listed in Arthur (1996), Dixon *et al.* (2006), the *AND* and the *OED*. Still, the two elements *bungoo* 'money' and *womba* 'mad', 'crazy' also seem to have a wider currency in south-eastern AborE varieties and appear in several works by Queensland writers and poets.

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As has already been indicated, Enoch's *The Story of the Miracles at Cookie's Table* further includes one item which needs to be treated separately as its origin cannot be determined without doubt. It is not clear whether the first element in *gooly up* 'wild' is from an Aboriginal language or whether it ultimately derives from an English word. Haviland (1979: 120) reports that Guugu Yimidhirr, a northern Queensland language has *guli* 'angry', 'full of hate', and Alpher (2004: 435) shows that similar forms are also found in other Pama-Nyungan languages. In Sharpe's (1998) Yugambeh dictionary, the item is rendered as *gulah* 'anger' but here the author suggests that the word may go back to an early pidgin word from the Sydney area. Turning to Troy's (1990: 98) analysis of the NSW Pidgin lexicon, we find the form *coolar* 'anger', 'pick a quarrel', 'make angry', which the author believes to be ultimately derived from the English lexeme *choler*[49]. Dixon *et al.* (2006: 204), on the other hand, suggest that the term *cooler* and its variants *coola(r)* and *coolie* are from the Sydney language. They further maintain that the term was formerly used in Australian pidgin but is now obsolete. Yet, the form *gooly up* is also found in other works by Queensland Aboriginal writers, e.g. in *Auntie Rita* by Rita and Jackie Huggins and in *Is That You, Ruthie?* by Ruth Hegarty. It thus seems to be a comparatively regular feature of Queensland AborE. Note that a similar item also exists in Kriol, viz. *gula* which is glossed as 'be angry' in Lee's (2004) *Kriol-Ingglish Diksheneri*. This suggests that the NSW form has been transported north as a pidgin feature.

In terms of their conceptual categories, the lexical appropriations in *Cookie's Table* are distributed as follows:

a. **Continuation of cultural and religious tradition (10 items):**

- 10 English items:

dances, Aboriginal ceremonial dances, *Hairy Man*, a spirit being taking the form of a large ape-like man, *language*, an Aboriginal language, 'Aboriginal language', *lingo* 'Aboriginal language', *old People, the*, people of the older generations, those living and those passed on, holders of traditional ways of living and wisdom, and spiritual guides for those who come after, *song*, a traditional song, used to hold the knowledge of the law or the Dreaming, *story* (also *stories*), a true account, which may include spiritual truth of a thing, event, or place, here esp. stories that narrate the family history, *tribal*, (of people or societies) relating to Aboriginal life before the British invasion, *way*$_1$, the manner in which one lives as an Aboriginal person, uses language, and performs social and personal activities; the beliefs and cus-

[49] Recall that the First Fleeters used the Guugu Yimidhirr wordlist compiled by Captain Cook in their first attempts at conversation with the people of the Sydney area and thus also introduced the item *kangaroo* to the local population. However, there is no indication that *guli* or a related term had ever been recorded by the Endeavour crew.

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toms which provide meaning for this way of living, *yarn*, refers the telling of stories as a traditional practice in Aboriginal society, here especially (but not exclusively) the telling of family stories.

b. **Kinship structures (4 items):**

- 4 English items:

Aunty, an older woman, often wise in traditional language, having status within her community, here, a female relative of the parents' generation, *blood*, of relatives 'close', *family*, all one's blood relatives; the term is a lot more inclusive than in most other varieties of English, *uncle*, a respectful term of address for an older man; here, a relative who needs not be an actual uncle

c. **Human relationships and social interaction (3 items)**

- 3 English items:

flogging, a 'belting', *Old Girl(s)*, a respectful reference to a woman or women of an older generation, *old women*, *the*, from *old*, 'having recognised wisdom and authority'.

d. **States of feeling and being and ways of conduct (4 items):**

- 2 English items:

gammin, here 'falsely', from the verb '(to) pretend or lie', *shame* 'embarrassment', 'fear', a sense for having transgressed the social and moral code of society, intentionally or unintentionally.

- 1 single-word insertions (regional languages):

womba 'mad', 'stupid'.

- 1 unclear element:

gooly up 'wild'.

e. **Body parts and body functions, intimate and personal aspects of live (2 items):**

- 2 single-word insertions (regional languages):

boodu(s) 'penis', *muppi* 'behind', 'posterior'.

f. **Relationship to the land (5 items):**

- 5 English items:

birth tree, the tree under which a person is born, to which that person has a special connection, *camp*, a living place, temporary or permanent; the term can refer to the living place of either a single person or a small or large group, and can include in its reference a group of houses or a swag under a tree, but always in an Aboriginal-controlled environment, *country*, the tract of land where an Aboriginal person or community belongs, to which they have a responsibility, and from which they can draw spiritual strength, *Land Council*, a body appointed to represent the interests of [Aboriginal people] in Aboriginal land, *land rights*, the entitlement of Aboriginal people to possess their traditionally occupied territory; the acknowledgement of this entitlement.

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g. **Nature and environment (2 items)**

- 2 single-word insertions (regional languages):

eugaries, plural of *eugari*, the 'pipi', an edible marine bivalve mollusc, *Plebidonax deltoids*, *Kawana* 'calm waters', a personal name.

h. **The contact experience (15 items):**

- 13 English items:

apology, refers to Prime Minister Kevin Rudd's 2008 formal apology to the Stolen Generations, former calls for which had been rejected by Prime Minister John Howard, *big words* 'formal English', 'flash language', *black(s)* 1. 'Aboriginal', 2. an Aboriginal person, *blackfellas*, Aboriginal persons, *bullyman*, a police officer, the police, *charge*, a drink, *dark* 'Aboriginal', *feed* 'meal', *government*, also *gubberment*, all public authorities and their officials whether State or Federal, *mission*, an Aboriginal settlement which may or may not once have been a religious institution, *taken(away)*, from *take (away)* '(to) remove a child from its family and community, to be raised outside its culture, either by the government, or by private concerns with the tacit consent of the government', *white men*, from *white man*, a non-Aboriginal person, *whitefella*, a white person, a European Australian or other person with a similar appearance.

- 2 single-word insertions (regional languages):

bungoo 'money', *goom*, methylated spirits, here, 'alcohol'.

i. **Novel conceptualisations of Aboriginality and cultural survival (2 items):**

- 1 English item:

community, 1. a settlement or place where the majority of the inhabitants are Aboriginal, also 2. the Aboriginal community as a community of people; this may be regional and specific, or general and non-specific.

- 1 single-word insertion (regional languages):

Murri, an Aboriginal person from southern Queensland and northern NSW; the Aboriginal people of the area.

j. **Aboriginal way (13 items):**

- 13 English items:

big mob, from *mob*, 1. a group of Aboriginal people, linked by relationship and culture, 2. a group of people or animals, 3. an expression of number; a large group (of people, animals, etc.), a large amount of something, *cruel* 'very', *eh*, an interjection, used as rhetorical comment, usually at the end of statements, *fella*, 1. a person, either male or female though usually male, 2. any animate or inanimate thing, *mob*, 1. a group of Aboriginal people, linked by relationship and culture, 2. a group of people or animals, 3. an expression of number, *never*, an emphatic negative, *no good* 'not any good', 'worthless', *one*, (as a noun) used with adjectives, with the resulting combination, while appearing noun-like, still functioning as an adjective, *proper* 'real', 'really', 'truly', also 'adequate', 'adequately', *reckon* '(to) say' as well as '(to) think', *true*, an intensifier of a statement or response to a statement,

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meaning 'it's really so', 'is that really so', 'truly', *way*$_2$, a productive element in the formation of adverbials of manner and place, *what for* 'why'.

k. **Traditional language maintenance (-)**

For the first time, category *(h) The contact experience* provides the largest number of lexical appropriations. This is somewhat surprising considering the thematic outlook of Enoch's play which focuses on family structures, heritage, and 21st century forms of Murri identity rather than on aspects of culture clash and colonial experience. Thirteen out of the 15 appropriations which describe the contact experience are English words, including three items which have so far not appeared in any of the other texts: *charge* 'a drink', *dark* 'Aboriginal', and *bullyman*, a rendition of the English term 'policeman'. The two regional language words which fall into this category seem to have some currency in AborE varieties spoken in the eastern parts of Australia: *goom* 'methylated spirits, as an alcoholic drink' is listed as AborE lexical feature in Arthur (1996) as well as in several lexicographical works on AusE, and while *bungoo* 'money' is not attested in any of these sources, it features in several works of fiction by Queensland authors. The lexemes found in this category are once again prime representations of concepts commonly associated with black and white coexistence in Australian society and reflect many of the findings of the previous analyses: the contrast between Aboriginal people and Euro-Australians is once more expressed by distinguishing *black*, *blackfella*, and *dark* from *whitefella* and *white men*, while officialdom and authority control are manifested in *bullyman*, *gubberment*, *mission* and *taken*; the term *apology*, too, relates to the government practice of taking children from their parents and further makes reference to comparatively recent political developments. In addition, we find two terms for alcohol in the text, viz. *charge* and *goom*, as well as *bungoo*, an Aboriginal language word for 'money'; *big words* once more describes formal English, which is thought inappropriate for in-group communication.

Category *(j) Aboriginal way* is again the second largest conceptual category with 13 English-derived lexical appropriations which express Aboriginal ways of rationalising experience by employing English lexemes that all seem to have considerable currency in AborE dialects. All elements in this category have also featured in one or more of the texts previously analysed; most are further listed in Arthur's (1996) dictionary of AborE.

Ten items are found in *(a) Continuation of cultural and religious tradition*. As in Milroy's *Windmill Baby*, there is not a single Aboriginal language word in this category but we encounter several items which have so far not been recorded, viz. *Hairy Man*, a spirit being taking the form of a large ape-like man, *lingo* 'Aboriginal language', and *tribal* 'relating to Aboriginal life before the British invasion', 'traditional'. This category further includes the two elements *story* and *yarn* which exhibit innovative applications that shall be discussed later on. References to Aboriginal languages and cultural practices are made

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by the terms *language*, *lingo*, *dances*, and *song* which describe very well-known concepts from the domain of cultural practice by means of widely used English words.

Category *(f) Relationship to the land* again includes the two elements *camp* and *country* that are regularly occurring items in our analyses and widely used in AborE. In addition, we once more encounter the elements *Land Council* and *land rights* that acknowledge more recent political developments and the Aboriginal communities' struggle to regain control over their country. A new item is the element *birth tree* which underlines an individual's personal connection to the land, one that is not shared by the group. With five items, category (f) is astonishingly well represented in Enoch's text.

The four items in category *(d) States of feeling and being and ways of conduct* have diverse origins but they all seem to be more or less widely used: the two English elements found in this category, viz. *gammon* and *shame* are established lexical features of AborE and featured in several of the plays discussed. The two remaining lexical items in this category, *womba* 'mad' from Gamilaraay and related NSW languages and *gooly up* 'wild', possibly derived from a NSW pidgin term, appear to be less widely used. Still, several sources indicate that they have at least some currency in Queensland AborE.

Only four lexical elements are found in category *(b) Kinship structures*. As in several of the previous analyses, the item *Aunty* is used in a sense that is shared with other varieties of English, i.e. as a familiar term for an actual family member rather than as a respectful form of address for an older woman who holds cultural knowledge. Likewise, *Uncle* is exclusively used for a male relative of the older generation, although not always for an actual uncle. The importance of kin, both close and distant, for the formation of individual identity is underscored by the items *blood* and *family*.

We find three items in category *(c) Human relationships and social interaction*. As in *The Dreamers*, the combination *old girl* is used as a respectful reference to an older woman that also carries connotations of familiarity; similarly, *old women* describes female elders who are recognized for their wisdom and authority. The item *flogging* 'a belting' is also prominently represented in the corpus.

Categories *(e) Body parts and body functions, intimate and personal aspects of live*, *(g) Nature and environment*, and *(i) Novel conceptualisations of Aboriginality and cultural survival* each contain a mere two items. The terms *boodu(s)* 'penis' and *muppi* 'behind', 'posterior' which are featured in category (e) can be traced back to a local island language. Describing delicate concepts by using lexical items that are opaque for those who do not share the same Stradbroke Island background, they help to promote intimacy between the two estranged characters. Category *(g) Nature and environment* includes the single-word insertion

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Kawana, which in the text is explained to mean 'calm waters', hence describing an environmental phenomenon. Its use as a personal name merits further attention and will be discussed below. The second term in this category is *eugari*, a regional language term for the 'pipi', a type of shellfish, which has entered AusE as a loanword. *Novel conceptualisations of Aboriginality and cultural survival* not only comprises the term *Murri*, another Aboriginal language word that describes a wider regional Aboriginal identity and is thus yet one more concept prone to be expressed by means of lexical appropriation, but also the lexeme *community* which may refer to a particular community as well as to the Aboriginal community as a whole.

8.9.4 "The Story Goes..." Family History and Murri Identity Seated at *Cookie's Table*

Like Harding in *Up the Road*, Enoch focuses on the interpersonal relationships between his characters, here the complicated family relations within a Stradbroke Island family which collide with the characters' longing for a home and their attempts to create an identity which is based on their heritage and family history.

Although the greater part of the play's action is set in the present and concentrates on the dispute between Nathan and his mother, their quarrels are interwoven with scenes from the past. Through their shared narration of Cookie's and the table's story, Annie and Nathan unfold their family's history. Their individual life stories, however, do more than that: it is through these memories that readers and audience are informed about the circumstances that shaped their troubled relationship and begin to understand the characters' motives and actions. The item s*tory* itself is frequently employed in the text, occurring in the repeatedly used formula "the story goes…" that draws attention to the very act of storytelling and serves as a text-structuring element:

> NATHAN: **The story goes** something like this... When my great, great grandmother was born, it was under a tree – a tree her mother had chosen. We believe the tree you're born under gives you something... like part of its spirit – and this tree was chosen 'cause it was strong with a wide trunk, yet supple enough to bend in the wind to survive fierce storms... While her mother held onto a branch surrounded by her aunts, my great, great grandmother was born.
>
> **The story goes** that my great, great grandmother spent the first years of her live learning all about the island and the ocean. How to fish and cook everything from the sea – dugong and turtle, whiting and eugaries... and even at a young age the older women would bring her things to cook. She had a knack for putting foods together in a way which made them taste better. This was her island, her home.
>
> (Enoch 2007b: 1, my emphasis)

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The various occurrences of the formula "the story goes…" reminds of Milroy's text *Windmill Baby* which also makes frequent use of formulaic repetitions. In Maymay's narrative, however, these do not so much structure the text and serve as discourse markers. Rather, they reveal the cyclical nature of events and express propositions of a wider applicability, reinforced by their recurrence.

The term *yarn*, too, is used repeatedly in Enoch's text to refer to a story or the act of telling a story. So far, the item has only been counted as an instance of lexical appropriation in the analysis of *The Dreamers* since only in this text the word is used in its AborE sense where it refers to narrations that entail cultural or religious knowledge. In *Cookie's Table*, the elements *yarn* and *yarning* relate to the narration of episodes from the family history as well as to the practice of storytelling in general:

NATHAN: *I'm* telling this story....

ANNIE: Well, you're only telling her side of it/okay, okay/sorry – go ahead.

[...]

Go on, you keep **yarning**, off you go.

(Enoch 2007b: 49, italics in original, my emphasis in bold print)

Likewise, *story*, which in *Murras* was used in Arthur's (1996: 59) sense 'the belief system of a person and the society, especially as manifested in accounts of the dreaming', here receives a new meaning, as it describes 'a true account, which may include spiritual truth of a thing, event or place' (Arthur 1996: 60). All the stories in *Cookie's Table* recount events that constitute the family history, and the use of the term underlines the role of storytelling in the characters' search for an identity that is based on their heritage. *Story* nevertheless symbolises the continuation of cultural tradition in the form of oral history:

ANNIE: Those **stories** you tell... you're always going on about those **stories**. Why is this one... (any different?). Listen, Old Girl, maybe you're meant to tell them **stories**, too. The hard ones.

(Enoch 2007b: 48, my empahsis)

Thus, the application of *yarn(ing)* and *story* in Enoch's text shows a shift away from focusing on the transmission of religious content. Instead, the use of the terms in *Cookie's Table* suggests a new interpretation of the lexemes' meaning, denoting the telling of stories which, rather than passing on cultural and religious knowledge, chronicle the family members' past. The episodes of the lives of Nathan, Annie, and their ancestors, too, are endowed with meaning and have the potential to act as guidelines for the hearers. They further provide a framework for the characters' identification as part of the family and allow them to establish and embrace their Aboriginal heritage. The lexical appropriations *story* and *yarn(ing)* and their novel applications in *Cookie's Table*

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can thus be understood as representing the transformative potential of Aboriginal culture which continues to rely on cultural practices that nevertheless may take on new forms.

We find only few examples of characteristically AborE vocabulary in the dialogues between Nathan and Annie or in their remembered conversations with Faith. A much higher concentration of lexical appropriations can be observed in those parts of the text which detail the table's 'lifecycle' and narrate Cookie's story. Several of the salient lexical (as well as grammatical) properties of AborE are most prominent in the passages recited by Annie, who then adopts a speech style that is much more strongly marked by AborE features than the remainder of the text:

ANNIE: The **story** goes something like this... Cookie worked in that kitchen and lived there in the house. Cleaning mostly – but when the **whitefella** cook got crook one day, she was left to feed the house. This young **one** – maybe fifteen, but in them days that was old enough to be a woman – this young **one** left to cook for officers and convicts and soldiers. [*With a smile*] And that day she cooked up the biggest **feed** and, if you believe the stories, she did that loaves and fishes thing, feeding thirty men with half a pound of flour, a lump of meat and some stale tea. [...] That cook **fella** got all **gooly up** and rowed hisself back to the mainland. She was it from then on – and even later when other women came to live in that house – Cookie ran the kitchen. She'd only wanted to be close to her beginning place, her **birth tree**. She was young and beautiful and eventually caught the eye of a young army **fella**, **white one.** [...]

(Enoch 2007b: 2, my emphasis)

The above quotation also features the lexical item *birth tree*, a reference to the belief that a person has a special connection to the tree he or she was born under. This marks the starting point for the family's history which begins with Cookie. Generally, almost all lexical appropriations that relate to cultural knowledge and practice are found in those passages that recount the story of Cookie and her daughters:

ANNIE: The **story** goes... she called for her boys to be brought up to the house and for her daughter to be taken to another family, like she was being promised. When Cookie greeted them **old women** at the door they knew something was wrong. Cookie took the two boys and locked the big door from the inside. She took her two sons, sat tem on the table in the middle of the kitchen and hugged them close, singing them a **song** her mother had sung to her.

(Enoch 2007b: 14).

FAITH: The **story** goes something like this... My mother Kawana worked on the island. [...] From all accounts she kept to herself, didn't have much to do with the blacks in the mission. She didn't do the **dances** or speak the **language**.

(Enoch 2007b: 18)

Note that in the above quotations, the widely known English-derived AborE vocabulary items *dances*, *language*, and *song* evoke what we might call

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'prototypical' concepts from the domain of cultural tradition, that is, the terms evoke images which are readily associated with Aboriginality by most members of the Euro-Australian society.

Having the names of Cookie's female descendants carved into it, the table carries and conserves information about the family's genealogy. Its significance as the 'bearer' of family history is further underlined by it being the place where meals were cooked and where people came together. Strengthening the family bonds, it is a symbol of resistance against the coloniser's culture:

> FAITH: That table's got proper history in it. A hundred years of damper making, a hundred years of chopping and love, a hundred years of yarning and cups of tea. That's what makes it special... you can't get that at McDonalds.
>
> (Enoch 2007b: 6)

Other passages, too, underline the importance of family. While Annie condemns her mother and aunts for how they treated her, she still acknowledges that they were the ones who held the family together and shaped its history. This is reflected in her use of terms of respect for older women:

> ANNIE: But we all needed that table. Kawana, those **old girls**... we needed something to pull us back here, but we don't need that any more. This table belongs down the hill there with **Old Girl**. It's her memories, her past.
>
> (Enoch 2007b: 53, my emphasis)

Another item that reinforces family history in the play is the personal name *Kawana*, an Aboriginal language word which describes an environmental feature. Cookie's choice of a name for her only daughter revokes precolonial naming patterns and contrasts her sons' European names chosen by their father. At the same time, the girl's Aboriginal name reflects Cookie's and her daughter's relationship to the island, thus stressing the female family members' connection with their home. Enoch applies the technique of cushioning to explain the term's meaning to his audience: "She named the boys Nathaniel and Jason and her daughter she called Kawana which means the calm waters" (Enoch 2007b: 7).

Cookie's Table only includes a small number of single-word insertions. Still, we can observe a few instances in which the estranged mother and son use vocabulary items that suggest some degree of intimacy and proximity. Twice, Annie employs Aboriginal language words while trying to establish a more personal level of conversation. Sitting at the breakfast table in their nightwear, Annie takes her son by surprise by abruptly turning the conversation to an extremely intimate topic:

> ANNIE: You filled out nicely.
>
> *She gives him the thumbs up.*
>
> *Silence.*

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How did you go in the downstairs department.

NATHAN: Sorry?

ANNIE: [*indicating size*] How's the **boodu**?

NATHAN: Annie!

ANNIE: I'm your mother, I should know these things.

(Enoch 2007b: 30, my emphasis.)

When Nathan fails (or refuses) to understand her initial innuendo, Annie has to find a more direct way of phrasing her question. She resorts to a word from a Stradbroke Island language which has only restricted currency and is most readily understood and employed by other Stradbroke Islanders. Still, due to several contextualisation cues, i.e. Annie's question about "the downstairs department", her hand gesture, as well as Nathan's indignant outburst, readers and audiences have little difficulty interpreting the word's meaning even without the help of a glossary.

This particular stretch of mother-son conversation is terminated by a sentence including the Stradbroke Island term *muppi* 'posterior', 'behind' which once again demands for shared language knowledge:

ANNIE: Well, I'm gonna go and get decent, too. Can't sit around all day flashing my **muppi**, can I now?

(Enoch 2007b: 32, my emphasis)

From the previous analyses we have learned that another concept preferably communicated through a non-English element that is opaque for cultural outsiders is that of mental instability. Cookie's Table, too, features a corresponding term:

ANNIE: He's always been a bit **womba**, that boy.

(Enoch 2007b: 20, my emphasis)

The same holds for *goom* 'alcohol', another concept primarily expressed by means of an Aboriginal language word. Like many terms from the domain of the contact experience, the use of *goom* is often fraught with emotion as alcoholism is a problem in many Aboriginal communities. Other words from the same conceptual field once again emphasise the tensions between the characters, one of whom is a government official. Annie uses the term *bungoo* 'money', a symbol of colonial power, when she accuses Nathan of attempting to buy himself off from any family obligations. In the same passage, she employs the item *gubberment*, directly linking her son's behaviour to white officialdom:

ANNIE: That's how you deal with family now, is it? Send a cheque so you don't have to talk with us no more. [...] You hang around with those **gubberment** people long enough and you become one, you know that. Just hand out the money, don't ask what the problem is, just throw some **bungoo** at them and let them fight among themselves.

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(Enoch 2007b: 5, my emphasis)

Although her speech generally approaches AusE, Annie here uses a distinctly Aboriginal pronunciation of the term 'government'. An obvious non-standard form, *gubberment* underlines the rejection of every representation of colonial administration and exemplifies the gulf between the Aboriginal people's reality and white bureaucracy. Annie highlights her own Aboriginality, describing the official 'other' by a term that acts against the formality of the concept. Similar reasons apply when she uses the form *bullyman* which evokes echoes of protection and segregation policies:

ANNIE: So she packs up her shit – pregnant, mind/she packs up her shit and then she heads off. Belly popping out, stopping off in towns, getting a bit of work, getting a letter from the local pastor or **bullyman** to get to the next little town and so on and so.

(Enoch 2007b: 28, my emphasis)

Despite being less concerned with the social and political consequences of Aboriginal and white coexistence in 21st century Australia, Nathan's professional background allows Enoch to infuse his text with a number of Zeitgeist references. The play broaches some of the more significant developments, manifested in elements such as *apology*, *Land Council*, and *land rights*. However, these lexemes are devoid of any grave and critical undertones that might be expected when issues such as land ownership or the practice of child removal are addressed. In the following scene, Annie deliberately tries to unsettle her son's professional manner, seizing the opportunity to voice some tongue-in-cheek demands as the opportunity arises:

NATHAN: [*into the phone*] Yes I know the Prime Minister has a meeting – I can meet him there/it's only forty-five minutes by water taxi to the city...

ANNIE: Is that the Prime Minister?

NATHAN: [*to ANNIE*] Quiet! – [*Into the phone*] I have some business here to sort out first...

ANNIE: Tell him we want **land rights**, 'lectric stove and he can shove his **apology** up his arse.

NATHAN: [*to ANNIE*] *Shut up!*

(Enoch 2007b: 31f, my emphasis)

Not only political matters, but also the general socio-economic situation of Aboriginal Australians and the disproportionately high crime rate in many Aboriginal communities are addressed with wry humour:

ANNIE: Hey, I heard this joke... What do you call a **Murri** with a Mercedes?... A thief. What do you call a bunch of **Land Council Murris** busting for a piss? … A tribe-urinal. What do you call a **Murri fella** with a gun? You call that **fella** anything he wants.

(Enoch 2007b: 41, my emphasis)

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The item *Murri* has a high degree of currency inside and outside Aboriginal varieties of English. Expressing a regional Aboriginal identity, the Aboriginal language word is yet another instance of lexical appropriation that follows the now familiar pattern and compares to appropriations such as *Koori* or *Nunga*.

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Part Four:
Findings and Conclusions

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9 Put in a Nutshell: Lexical Appropriation in a Corpus of Australian Plays

In the following, we shall try to recapitulate the results of the previous seven analyses and summarise the major findings. In order to do so, we will take a look at the numbers and frequencies of occurrence of those lexical items identified as instances of appropriations, on the level of the individual texts as well as within the corpus as a whole. In this context, we will also need to consider possible reasons for the great variation both in the amount and in the nature of the lexical appropriations established for each of the texts. After that, we will return to the conceptual categories we have postulated, detail which domains and individual concepts are most strongly represented in the corpus, and scrutinise the means employed to express them. Lastly, we will focus on those lexical items which recur in two or more texts and consider their role as representative examples of the AborE lexicon.

9.1 Frequency of Occurrence of Lexical Appropriations in the Corpus

Taken together, the seven texts analysed have revealed no fewer than 412 different types of lexical appropriation that can be attributed to the influence of AborE speech patterns. Most of them are nominal elements. Only a comparatively small number of appropriations, i.e. 70 items, were also documented in the sources for early Australian contact varieties that were consulted; 42 items are documented in NSW Pidgin. The majority of all lexical appropriations, that is 183 items, are English terms[50], but we find almost as many single-word insertions from different Aboriginal languages, namely 178 items. The majority of Aboriginal language words that occur in the plays come from regional languages and thus serve to identify the setting of the action and the characters' background and linguistic as well as cultural affiliations. Arthur (1996) confirms that 25 of the single-word insertions in the corpus have a wider usage in AborE, and another 36 are also attested in AusE. The great majority, however, appears to be restricted to regional varieties of AborE. The number of the different types of English-derived lexical appropriations is surprisingly small, considering that English terms constitute the major part of appropriations in all texts except for one. Thus, 109 lexical items were found which have undergone semantic modification while another 67 items exemplify how Abo-

50 This includes the items *gubs* and *sit on* for which it is not established with certainty that they are English-derived elements.

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riginal dialects of English use elements from the standard language in unique and often innovative ways; a mere six different English-derived items show phonological modification. Lastly, the item *bullyman* might best be explained as an example of lexical conflation. This shows quite plainly that many English-derived appropriations occur repeatedly in different texts, a point which will be discussed in more detail below. In addition, 23 multi-word insertions are documented in the plays, most of which are found in Davis' play *The Dreamers*. The corpus further reveals 20 hybrid elements that have been counted as lexical appropriations; these include the items *baccaddal* 'tobacco' which is probably a hybrid blend and *gooly up* which possibly goes back to a NSW Pidgin term. Another three appropriations are non-English pidgin terms: Jimmy Chi's *Bran Nue Dae* contributes the 'world pidgin' item *savvy* as well as two elements attributed to Broome Pearling Lugger Pidgin. Finally, our corpus includes five items for which it remains unclear whether they are Aboriginal language words or ultimately spring from another source: *bunjin'* (*The Dreamers*) *munga*, *mungari* (*Bran Nue Dae*), and *wurrah* (*Windmill Baby*) all occur in the three texts written by playwrights from Western Australia. The word *gunjiwarngs* (*The Cherry Pickers*) might be a combination of the English-derived *gunji*, from 'constable' and an Aboriginal language word, but this could not be confirmed.

The preceding chapters have shown that the degree of lexical appropriation established for the different plays in the corpus varies dramatically, ranging from a total of 190 items that were recorded in *The Dreamers* to a modest 46 items found in *Up the Road*. As could be expected, we can detect parallels between the overall number of lexical appropriations established for the individual texts and the amount of Aboriginal language words they contain, that is, those texts that exhibit a larger amount of lexical appropriation are also prone to use a greater number of Aboriginal language words or to include multi-word insertions. A number of factors are likely to contribute to this variation within our corpus, including the playwrights' own backgrounds, the plays' thematic focus, the location of the action as well as the time of writing, the intention with which the plays were written, and the audiences they are aimed at. Further, the degree of lexical appropriation recorded for the individual texts may also depend on the particular variety of AborE that is portrayed and on the extent to which the speech used in the plays approaches realistic language use. We must also not forget that writers are no linguists and that their interest is not the exact representation of a linguistic variety. In her analysis of Aboriginal literary texts included in the curricula of Australian schools, Gibbs (1998: 6) notes that even in the work of Jack Davis, whose dialogues converge more noticeably from StAusE usage than those of many other playwrights, "Aboriginal English is represented selectively and judiciously […] to avoid alienating readers who are unfamiliar with the dialect". She

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suggests that the author "exploit[s] the dialect for literary purposes by selecting only particular aspects of Aboriginal English to convey the flavour of the variety textually." In addition, we need to keep in mind that many of the plays under discussion were workshopped extensively and revised under the influence of Aboriginal as well as non-Aboriginal writers and directors.

Both *The Dreamers*, written in the early 1980s but based on an older script, and *The Cherry Pickers*, written in 1968 and first performed in 1971, belong to the early generation of Aboriginal drama texts. Like many plays of the 1970s and 1980s, they were composed with the intention to illustrate past and present living conditions of Aboriginal Australians and to confront non-Aboriginal theatre goers with realities beyond their field of experience. Thus, one might say that it was not because, but rather despite this thematic focus and the large amount of Nyoongah language that Davis' plays achieved such a high popularity. His biography shows that in his earlier life, Davis was influenced by people who had retained considerable linguistic and cultural knowledge, including his step-father Bert Bennell (Chesson 1988: 40ff), and that his character Uncle Worru is modelled after three elders whom he got to know as a young man and whom he describes as prolific story tellers and singers, with a great knowledge of cultural practices (Chesson and Davis 1988: 20ff). *The Dreamers* is the play which shows by far the largest degree of lexical appropriation, containing no fewer than 190 different types. In addition, it makes the most massive use of Aboriginal language material: Davis' text reveals 91 single-word insertions, 88 of which are from Nyoongah, and another 20 multi-word insertions from the same language. In addition, we find several instances in which items elsewhere occurring as single-word insertions are combined, e.g. *choo kynya*, 'real shame', lit. 'shame' + 'shame'. His text portrays a Western Australian city-dwelling family whose daily routine is determined by poverty, unemployment, alcoholism, and a general hopelessness, but also by a strong sense of family and solidarity. With the arrival of old Uncle Worru the family is confronted with memories of the life on the reserve and forgotten cultural practices. These themes provide ample opportunity for the playwright to interweave his text with lexical material from his ancestral language which relates to a variety of conceptual domains, such as cultural knowledge and practice, local flora and fauna, body parts and intimate or delicate matters, the contact experience, and human relationships. The large amount of Nyoongah language creates a tangible link to Nyoongah culture and lifestyle and is also the reason why *The Dreamers* is the text which has readers and audiences experience the strongest feelings of cultural alienation, presenting them with a world which is linguistically and conceptually foreign. What is more, the longer passages of Nyoongah, in the form of multi-word insertions or songs, disrupt the English text to an extent that is unparalleled in any of the other plays.

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Gilbert's *The Cherry Pickers*, too, highlights the desperate economic situation of many Aboriginal people and the loss of cultural knowledge and practice. His text, which introduces the audience to the camp life of a group of itinerant fruit pickers, further underlines the need for solidarity and unity within the Aboriginal community. It is not clear how much linguistic and cultural knowledge Kevin Gilbert obtained as a child and youth growing up in Condoblin, but the family did maintain close connections to the local Wiradhuri community. We further know that he studied Aboriginal languages and culture during his prison term, and in many of his works, Gilbert tries to capture the speech of the Aboriginal people of NSW in a realistic manner so that we may assume that his language use in *The Cherry Pickers*, too, portrays the speech styles of people he knew, for example of those he met when he earned a living as an itinerant worker himself. *The Cherry Pickers* is the second text within the corpus which is characterised by a marked use of Aboriginal language. The play contains 125 instances of lexical appropriation. Of these, 42 are single-word insertions, including 30 elements from Wiradhuri or other closely related NSW languages. In addition, the text contains two multi-word insertions and eleven hybrid compounds which involve Wiradhuri elements. The Aboriginal language material included in the play describes concepts which pertain to many of the domains that have also been outlined for *The Dreamers*, viz. to cultural practice, body parts and sexual innuendos, interpersonal relationships, as well as to different forms of behaviour.

Bran Nue Dae, written in the late 1980s, was another large success from Western Australia. Penned by Broome playwright Jimmy Chi, the text contains Aboriginal language elements from a variety of different WA languages which underline the linguistic diversity of the northern location. Interspersed with songs by Chi's band *Kuckles*, the road-movie-like plot chronicles Willie's passage into manhood and the characters' search for identity and a place of belonging. *Bran Nue Dae* is the third and last text in our corpus which features a substantial amount of Aboriginal language material, even if it is much smaller than that established for the two plays just discussed. Among the 82 lexical appropriations counted, there are 25 single-word insertions and one multi-word insertion from WA languages. The great majority of the Aboriginal language elements in the text either describes features of the Western Australian landscape or refers to different language and culture groups, underlining the characters' areal affiliation. Most appropriations in Chi's play, especially the lexical items from traditional languages, are found in the lyrics of the songs, many of which were written by *Kuckles* long before Chi began to work on his musical. Other than the remaining texts in our corpus, *Bran Nue Dae* also contains the "World Pidgin" (Harris 1986: 262) item *savvy* as well as terms from Broome Pearling Lugger Pidgin, accentuating the diversity of influences on Aboriginal identity in the northwest of Australia.

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It appears that the texts *The Dreamers*, *The Cherry Pickers* and *Bran Nue Dae* are quite exceptional in their use of lexical AborE features, especially in relation to the amount of lexical material from traditional languages. None of the plays remaining to be discussed makes use of longer stretches of Aboriginal language and also the number of Aboriginal language words established for these texts is substantially lower.

Murras is another early text, written in the mid-1980s, by South Australian playwright and activist Eva Johnson whose work again stands in the earlier protest tradition. We do not know much about Johnson's background except that at the age of two, the author who belongs to the Mulak Mulak people of the Daly River region in the Northern Territory was taken away from her family and spent her childhood and adolescence in different institutions, including an Adelaide orphanage. This personal experience is also reflected in Johnson's work: *Murras* deals with the ways in which government policies affect the life of Aboriginal people, here a South Australian family who are forced to leave their home and move to the city where cultural knowledge and practice are no longer of any importance. *Murras*' main themes, the effects of Australian assimilation policies and the loss of cultural identity, thus reflect the topics addressed by Davis and Gilbert and provide ample opportunity to include Aboriginal language words for culture-specific concepts. Despite this thematic focus, the text shows a much smaller amount of lexical appropriation and a greatly reduced use of Aboriginal language terms: featuring a total of 60 different types of lexical appropriation, *Murras* includes a mere seven single-word insertions. This means that crucial cultural concepts are expressed through English and that there is less 'in-group' communication which is opaque for outsiders. Many of the English or English-derived items which have been identified as instances of appropriation are long-established and widely used AborE words. On the grammatical level, the dialogue is heavily marked by features that can be attributed to AborE and provide the text with a distinct 'exotic' quality. The Aboriginal language words used by Johnson are not restricted to elements from South Australian languages but also include terms from Northern Territory and NSW languages. Therefore, the text noticeably differs in a number of aspects from the other early plays that rely heavily on the insertion of regional language words. Conceptually, the single-word insertions relate to items of clothing, body parts, and cultural practice. A further item describes South Australian Aboriginal people.

An even lower degree of appropriation was recorded in *Up the Road*, written in the mid-1990s by Melbourne playwright John Harding. Harding's text, which chronicles a young, successful Aboriginal bureaucrat's return to his home community, is partly based on the playwright's own experience as a government employee. *Up the Road* reveals the smallest amount of lexical appropriation: the play includes no more than 46 different appropriation types

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and contains hardly any Aboriginal language material. Significantly, the three single-word insertions that are found in the text, viz. *gin*, *Koori*, and *mopoke*, all of which are from NSW languages, have also entered the mainstream dialect where they are now established loanwords. The effect created by this shortage of Aboriginal language words is one that could also be observed for Johnson's *Murras*, viz. that the plays and their characters are not lexically linked to an identifiable area and that the language employed lacks a regional identification. The thematic focus of *Up the Road* is on in-group tensions and family relationships, and while we can observe numerous references to the importance of family ties and in-group solidarity, none of the Aboriginal language terms used in the play strictly relates to conceptual domains associated with these themes. Rather, these are most strongly expressed through English kinship terms which are shared with a variety of ethnic dialects and sociolects of English. All in all, Harding's text appears to rely on well-known and widely used lexical features of AborE; no fewer than 43 of the lexical appropriations established for *Up the Road* are listed in Arthur (1996), the AND, the OED Online, or Dixon *et al.* (2006) and thus appear to have wider currency in AborE or AusE. It is unclear if the small amount of Aboriginal language words in *Murras* and *Up the Road* is an areal phenomenon and possibly reflects a characteristic of the lexicon of south-eastern varieties of AborE. Arthur (1996: 1) provides an argument in favour of this hypothesis when she remarks: "In southern Australia especially, there were great assimilationist pressures placed upon people not to speak their own language". She (1996: 3) goes on to say that,

> there is a major language divide between northern Australian and southern Australia. [...]. In southern Australia, colonisation has been established longest and the proportion of Aboriginal people to non-Aboriginal people is very low. It is the area where there has been the greatest displacement of peoples and the greatest loss of languages and other traditional aspects of life such as ceremony. In northern Australia Aboriginal people have been better able to retain language and traditional aspects of culture because European occupation is much more recent [...], and the population densities of the two cultures and the pattern of European settlement are quite different. This has meant that the Aboriginal English in northern Australia is in general more different from other Australian Englishes [...].

This notwithstanding, we have only just outlined that Gilbert's *The Cherry Pickers*, which is also a text from the south-east of Australia, i.e. from an area that experienced early colonisation and grave loss of traditional languages, shows a remarkably high degree of lexical appropriation and includes a mass of Aboriginal language words.

The two newest plays in our corpus were written in the 2000s by David Milroy and Wesley Enoch, two successful and well-known Australian playwrights and theatre directors. Both have won the prestigious Patrick White Award and their works have become an integral part of Australian main-

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stream theatre. Milroy's play *Windmill Baby*, set on a derelict cattle station in the Kimberley region, once more takes us to the north of Western Australia where a large number of Aboriginal languages were spoken in close vicinity. In this part of the country, the linguistic repertoire of many Aboriginal people further includes a contact language such as Pidgin English or Kriol, so that we are dealing with a location characterised by great linguistic variety. The play portrays the difficult life of cattle station workers in the middle of the 20th century and sketches the relationships of dependence that arose as results of the contact situation in the Australian north. All this is interlaced with a bittersweet love story. In the author's note that accompanies the published text, Milroy reveals that the idea for *Windmill Baby* sprung from conversations he overheard when visiting relatives in the Pilbara, and although he does not explicitly state that the language he uses in his text is based on a Pilbara or Kimberley variety of AborE, his account might lead us to conclude that the play exhibits features indicative of these varieties. In fact, while on the level of grammar *Windmill Baby* includes several salient characteristics of AborE, some of which are shared with pidgins and creoles, the text makes only a moderate use of lexical appropriation, comprising a total of 51 different types, nine of which are regional language words. As in *Bran Nue Dae*, the single-word insertions found in Milroy's play are from a variety of different Western Australian source languages. Four of them describe body parts or private matters; the remaining items belong to different conceptual domains, including the contact experience and the Western Australian fauna. For the first time, we encounter an Aboriginal language word which denotes a white person. Almost half of the English-derived lexical appropriations counted in *Windmill Baby* fall into the conceptual category 'Aboriginal way'. These terms do not so much evoke culturally-bound concepts from domains such as religious beliefs, cultural practice, social organisation, or connectedness to the land. Rather, they provide the text with a general Aboriginal 'flavour' as they exemplify distinctive AborE modes of expressing realities.

Our last play, *The Story of the Miracles at Cookie's Table*, written by Queensland theatre practitioner Wesley Enoch, is set on Stradbroke Island where Enoch spent the first years of his life and where a large part of his family still lives. Again we know from the author himself that the idea for his play arose from a family visit. In addition, Enoch has revealed that he attempted to capture the speech styles of people he knew in his text and that, although none of the island languages are still spoken, he acquired a few Stradbroke Island language words during his childhood. In *Cookie's Table*, a family story centred on Nathan, a successful Aboriginal government official and his estranged mother Annie, Enoch, too, explores issues of identity and the search for a place of belonging. The amount of lexical appropriation and the number of Aboriginal language words found in *The Story of the Miracles at Cookie's Table* is compa-

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rable to that determined for the play *Murras*: while 60 different types of lexical appropriation have been counted, only eight of them are single-word insertions. Still, all the single-word insertions in the text are from local island languages or from languages spoken on the adjacent mainland. While few in number, they relate to a variety of different conceptual domains, including body parts, aspects of contact experience, but also fauna and environmental features. While focused thematically on family history and finding a place somewhere in between tradition and modernity, the play reveals a number of English-derived lexical appropriations which relate to cultural practice and aspects of Aboriginal-European contact.

9.2 Lexical Appropriation across Different Conceptual Domains

As has been stated before, no conceptual category could be determined for the two items *munga* 'just like' and *mungari* 'food', the etymology of which remains unclear. The remaining 410 lexical appropriations are distributed across the different conceptual domains as follows:

a. *The continuation of cultural and religious tradition*
   total number: 88 items
   - 35 single-word insertions, 5 multi-word insertions, 11 hybrid compounds, 24 semantically modified English lexemes, 13 English lexemes that show AborE usage

The domain of cultural tradition is the conceptual category which is most strongly represented in our corpus. This is mostly due to the high number of single- and multi-word insertions which relate to cultural and religious knowledge and practice, especially the many items found in the plays *The Dreamers* and *The Cherry Pickers*, two texts which place a considerable thematic emphasis on issues of cultural maintenance and loss.

b. *Kinship structures*
   total number: 16 items
   - 14 semantically modified English lexemes, 2 English lexemes that show AborE usage, viz. *bruz* and *cousin brother*

It is a remarkable outcome that the domain of kinship is expressed exclusively through English lexemes in our corpus. Most of these have a semantic scope which differs from that found in StE; two items describe culture-specific kinship concepts by means of blending and compounding.

c. *Human relationships and social interaction*
   total number: 31 items

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- 10 single-word insertions, 3 hybrid compounds, viz. *boorah time, booreye time, geenjing time* from *The Cherry Pickers*, 6 semantically modified English lexemes, 11 English lexemes that show AborE usage, i.e. distinct lexical combinations, such as *friend up, old girl*, 1 pidgin term, viz. *savvy*.

In the domain of human relationships and social interaction, on the other hand, one third of all recorded items are Aboriginal language elements. Again, most of the single-word insertions were recorded in *The Dreamers*, but also in *The Cherry Pickers*.

The domain of feeling and behaviour displays an even higher percentage of traditional language words:

d. States of feeling and being and ways of conduct
total number: 34 items

- 14 single-word insertions, 1 multi-word insertion, 1 element that is very probably a hybrid compound (*gooly up*), 12 semantically modified English lexemes, 5 English lexemes that show AborE usage, plus *wurrah*, the origin of which is unclear

Here, Davis' and Gilbert's texts contribute all single-word insertions. Most of the English-derived terms in this category occur repeatedly in the corpus.

e. Body parts and body functions, intimate and personal aspects of live
total number: 46 items

- 39 single-word insertions, 2 multi-word insertions from *The Dreamers*, 1 hybrid compound, 1 semantically modified English term, 1 phonologically modified English lexeme, viz. *kuckle*, 1 English lexeme that shows AborE usage, viz. *gumbones* from *Windmill Baby*, and one unclear item, viz. *bunjin'* from *The Dreamers*.

This is one of two conceptual categories (excluding category *k. Traditional language maintenance*) which almost exclusively contain words from regional Aboriginal languages. The only item which occurs repeatedly in the plays is the English term *finish*. Due to the high density of terms that are opaque for non-Aboriginal people, the items from this conceptual domain play an important role in the creation of a feeling of intimacy among speakers. Again, *The Dreamers* and *The Cherry Pickers* contribute the greater number of items, albeit elements from this conceptual domain are found in all plays except *Up the Road*.

f. Relationship to the land
total: 12 items

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- 3 single-word insertions denoting a type of shelter, viz. *gunyah*, *whurly*, *wiltja*, 6 semantically modified English lexemes, 3 English lexemes that show AborE usage

The connection between the people and the land is one of the two conceptual domains which are most weakly represented in the corpus. However, the category includes the item *country*, a widely used term which describes a central concept in AborE. In addition, we find the lexical items *Land Council* and *land rights* which refer to recent political developments.

g. Nature and environment
total number: 31 items

- 30 single-word insertions, 1 hybrid compound, viz. *jigal tree*

This is the second category which includes almost exclusively Aboriginal language words. Again, the high number of single-word insertions in this category is largely attributable to the ones found in *The Dreamers*. Another text which contributes several items is *Bran Nue Dae*.

h. The contact experience
total number: 62 items

- 18 single-word insertions, 2 hybrid compounds and 1 hybrid blend, 3 phonologically modified English terms, 7 English lexemes that show AborE usage, 27 semantically modified English lexemes, 2 Broome Pearling Lugger Pidgin terms, viz. *butta* and *mukan* from *Bran Nue Dae*, and 2 unclear elements, both of which describe the police, viz. *bullyman* from Cookie's Table and *gunjiwarngs* from *The Cherry Pickers*.

Words that relate to the contact experience form another major conceptual domain which is represented in all of the texts analysed. This category further includes the largest number of phonologically modified English terms which are generally rarely employed as lexical appropriations and also features two lexical items from a northern Australian pidgin.

i. Novel conceptualisations of Aboriginality and cultural survival
total number: 6 items

- 4 single-word insertions, 2 semantically modified English lexemes

All of the single-word insertions which fall into this conceptual category denote a regional identity, viz. *Koori*, *Murri*, *nunga(s)*, *Nyoongah*. Like the two items *black* and *blackfella*, which are the most frequently occurring words in our corpus (see below) but relate to an Indigenous identity derived from the contact experience, they are widely known and used designations for Aboriginal people. Still, *Novel conceptualisations of Aboriginality and cultural survival* is the smallest conceptual category in the corpus.

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j. Aboriginal way
total number: 44 items
- 25 English lexemes that show AborE usage, 17 semantically modified English lexemes, 2 phonologically modified English lexemes

This category, which like *(k) Traditional language maintenance* is not a conceptual category in the strictest sense, comprises lexical items that express realities in ways not found in StE. As such, it is not surprising that we only find English-derived terms, the majority of which exhibit a distinctive AborE usage. No less than 29 of the lexical items in this category are attested in an earlier contact variety and many of them feature in several texts.

k. Traditional language maintenance
total number: 40 items
- 25 single-word insertions, 15 multi-word insertions

Originally set up to account for the numerous Aboriginal language elements found in *The Dreamers* which defy a classification according to our framework of conceptual domains, this category includes only very few elements from other texts, viz. two items from *Bran Nue Dae* and one from *Windmill Baby*.

9.3 Recurrent Concepts

When comparing the results of the individual text analyses, it becomes apparent that sometimes, the same or closely related concepts are expressed by a range of different lexical appropriations. Depending on the play in which they are found, these appropriations may take on different forms, e.g. we may find English-derived terms, hybrid combinations, or different Aboriginal language words. In the following, we shall list the different concepts that recur within the corpus and identify the type of lexical appropriation strategy used to express them. The individual elements are discussed in order of the conceptual category into which they fall.

From the domain of **cultural and religious tradition**, we find a range of terms, mostly Aboriginal language words, which describe different types of mythical monsters, evil spirits, and spirit beings. In addition, the corpus reveals different references to dances or the action of performing such a dance, various names of Aboriginal language groups, and words for the time and space in which different events shaped the world:

- The 'Dreaming':

Dreaming (English – *The Dreamers*)
one time (English – *Murras*)

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Both references to the Dreaming are made by means of English words. While the term *Dreaming* is derived from *Dreamtime*, a (somewhat unfortunate) translation of the Arrernete word *altyerre* (Arthur 1996: 27), the expression *one time* alludes to the idea that in the Dreaming, past, present, and future exist simultaneously and as one. The item *Dreaming* is listed in the online editions of the *AND* and the *OED* and is used in different varieties of English.

- (Evil) spirits:

bugeene (either from the Wiradhuri word *bugiiñ* or possibly from the English *bugan* 'evil spirit' –*The Cherry Pickers*)
mimi, also as hybrid compound *mimi spirit* ('caretaker of the death spirit', Gunwinygu, central Arnhem Land – *Murras*)
moorlies (Nyoongah – *The Dreamers*)
tjennuks (Nyoongah – *The Dreamers*)
widartji (Nyoongah – *The Dreamers*)

All of the lexical items which describe spirit beings are found in the three earliest texts which put their thematic focus on the loss of Aboriginal culture, with the majority of terms coming from *The Dreamers*. As such, it is not surprising that we only find Aboriginal language words to express the concepts in this domain. *Bugeene*, *mimi*, and *moorlies*, however, appear to have a wider currency and are also listed in sources for (regional varieties of) AusE.

- Monsters:

bunyip (either from Wathawurung or from a dialect of Wemba – *The Cherry Pickers*),
Hairy Man (English – *Cookie's Table*)

Different types of monsters are referred to by the widely used Aboriginal language term *bunyip* in one text and by the English word *Hairy Man* in another. The latter item, the English term for a monstrous spirit figure also known by its Aboriginal language name *dulugal* (Arthur 1996: 31), is included in the most recent play which is aimed at mainstream audiences.

- Messengers (of death):

Wallitch, from *walitj* ('nighthawk', Nyoongah – *The Dreamers*)
mabung ('messenger', Wiradhuri – *The Cherry Pickers*)
wahwee bugeene (Wiradhuri – *The Cherry Pickers*)
mook-pook (owl) (either imitative or from the Sydney language – *The Cherry Pickers, Up the Road*)
messenger (bat) (English – *The Cherry Pickers*)

Four different references to the messenger bird are found in Gilbert's text *The Cherry Pickers* alone, where the concept is variously denoted by English terms and Wiradhuri words. In addition, Gilbert's play includes the item

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mook-pook, probably from the Sydney language, which is also found in *Up the Road*, a text that uses hardly any Aboriginal language elements. This underlines the term's high level of currency.

- Dances

corroboree (The Sydney language – *The Dreamers, The Cherry Pickers*)
Inma (Pitjantjatjara – *Murras*)
karda,
middar,
nyumby,
yahllarah (Nyoongah – *The Dreamers*)
kangaroo dance (Guugu Yimidhirr and English – *The Cherry Pickers*)
waitj dance,
yongara dance (Nyoongah and English – *The Dreamers*)
dance(s) (noun and verb, English – *The Cherry Pickers, Murras, Cookie's Table*)
emu dance (English – *The Cherry Pickers*)

Our corpus further reveals a whole range of items describing dances or the act of dancing. Most of them come from *The Dreamers*, a text which not only features a variety of Nyoongah words but also contains the more widely used term *corroboree* as well as different hybrid compounds. Another traditional language term is found in *Murras* while *The Cherry Pickers* shows the use of hybrid compounds and the English word *dance(s)*. The latter item also features in *Murras* and *Cookie's Table*.

- Local names for Aboriginal language groups:

Kamilaroi (Gamilaraay – *The Cherry Pickers*)
Bardi,
Karrajarri,
Nyikina,
NyulNyul,
Yawuru (from the respective languages – *Bran Nue Dae*)

Except for the word *Kamilaroi*, included in *The Cherry Pickers*, all single-word insertions denoting Aboriginal language groups come from Jimmy Chi's *Bran Nue Dae*, indicating the cultural and linguistic diversity of northern Western Australia. All other texts make use of more inclusive terms that describe a wider regional identity.

From the domain of **kinship**, we find one concept which appears in different English-derived forms:

- 'Cousin-brother'

bruz (English – *Up the Road*)
cousin brother (English – *Bran Nue Dae*)

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Below we will see that many lexical items which describe family relations and relatives recur in our corpus. Still, 'cousin brother' is the only concept that is expressed by two distinct lexical forms in two different texts. In both cases, we are dealing with English terms, viz. a blend and a compound.

The conceptual category of **human relationships and social interaction** contributes several terms of respect for elders as well as different words for children:

- Respectful terms of address for elders

moodjarng ('elder', 'old gentleman', Wiradhuri – *The Cherry Pickers*)
old fella (English – *The Dreamers, The Cherry Pickers*)
old girl (English – *The Dreamers, Cookie's Table*)
old man (English –*The Cherry Pickers, Bran Nue Dae, Windmill Baby*)

- Children

koolangarah ('children', Nyoongah – *The Dreamers*)
little fella (English – *The Dreamers, The Cherry Pickers*)

English terms dominate among the terms of address for elders, only *The Cherry Pickers* includes an Aboriginal language word. At the same time, Gilbert's play also contains the English term *old fella* as well as *old man*, an item that occurs in three different texts. Children are referred to by a Nyoongah word in Davis' text, however, both *The Dreamers* and *The Cherry Pickers* also include the English *litte fella*. In addition to the two words for children, our corpus reveals the items *miggai* ('girl', Wiradhuri – *The Cherry Pickers*) and *nop* ('boy', Nyoongah – The Dreamers) which have not been included above.

A number of recurrent concepts are further found among the words which relate to **states of feeling and being and forms of behaviour**, viz., descriptions of madness, expressions for the concept of 'shame', and terms for Aboriginal people who have seemingly taken on 'white ways':

- Madness, crazyness:

gwarngee (Wiradhuri – *The Cherry Pickers*)
ngarabarnng (Wiradhuri – *The Cherry Pickers*)
womba (Gamilaraay, Yuwaalaraay & Yuwaalayaay – *Cookie's Table*)

- 'Shame':

choo
kynya (Nyoongah – *The Dreamers*)
wurrah (source language is unclear – *Windmill Baby*)
shame (English – *The Dreamers, Murras, Up the Road, Windmill Baby, Cookie's Table*)
big shame (English – *Bran Nue Dae*)
shame job (English – *Murras, Up the Road*)

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- Aboriginal people 'betraying' their Aboriginal identity, their community:

black whitefella (English –*The Cherry Pickers*)
coconut (English – *Up the Road*)

Two texts make reference to states of mental disorder, which are exclusively described by Aboriginal language words of lower currency; *The Cherry Pickers* even includes two different terms in one text, another regional language term comes from *Cookie's Table*. Note in this context that the English word *silly*, which also features in *The Cherry Pickers*, is used with the meaning 'incompetent, childish' rather than to refer to a mental state. Most plays in the corpus include references to the concept of 'shame', however, *The Dreamers* and *Windmill Baby* are the only ones which also use a form other than the widely-known English word *shame* or an expression containing this element. In addition, two English terms refer to Aboriginal people who are reproached for having adopted 'white' manners that reject their Aboriginal heritage and identity; both of them play with the black-white contrast.

We further find a number of Aboriginal language terms from the conceptual domain of the **body and intimate aspects of life** which describe a person's behind; other items in this category are words for the end of life, for excrements, and for sexual intercourse:

- Body parts (terms for the 'behind')

booble (Wiradhuri – *The Cherry Pickers*)
dhoomboo (several northern WA languages – *Windmill Baby*)
doolah (Wiradhuri – *The Cherry Pickers*)
kwon (Nyoongah – *The Dreamers*)
moom (several languages of south-eastern Australia – *The Cherry Pickers*)
muppi (Moondjan – *Cookie's Table*)
noora (Bardi, Nyikina, and possibly other northern WA languages – *Bran Nue Dae*)

- Death and dying:

finish (noun and verb, English – *The Dreamers*, *The Cherry Pickers*, *Murras*, *Windmill Baby*)
noych ('dead', Nyoongah – *The Dreamers*)

- Faeces:

goona ('excrement', several Aboriginal languages –*Windmill Baby*)
goonung ('excrement', Wiradhuri and other Aboriginal languages – *The Cherry Pickers*)
koomp ('urine', *The Dreamers*)

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- Sexual intercourse:

bunjin' ('(to) play around (with women)', unclear etymology –*The Dreamers*)
geenjing (here '(to) fool around', Wiradhuri and other Aboriginal languages – *The Cherry Pickers*)

The behind is another concept which is expressed exclusively by regional language words of low currency. Again, *The Cherry Pickers* provides several different words for the same referent. It should further be noted that no fewer than five texts within the corpus make use of appropriations to allude to this body part. Apart from this, we find that four plays use the English term *finish* in reference to death and dying; Jack Davis further includes a Nyoongah word. The items *goona* and *goonung* 'excrement', 'shit' are very probably different renditions of one widely occurring Aboriginal language word.

Gilbert's play *The Cherry Pickers* further supplies a variety of different forms that describe a type of temporary shelter and belong to the conceptual domain of a person's **relationship to the land**. All of the items are Aboriginal language words that have some degree of currency in AusE:

- Shelters

gunyah (Sydney language – *The Cherry Pickers*)
whurly (Gaurna and other South Australian languages – *The Cherry Pickers*)
wiltja (Western Desert language – *The Cherry Pickers*)

The **contact experience** is another conceptual category which contributes a whole range of concepts that are variously expressed. These include descriptions of Aboriginal people which are based on physical appearance, words for white people and for the police, but also terms for alcohol and tobacco as well as for money and for items of clothing:

- Terms for Aboriginal people (based on skin colour):

blackfella(s) and variants thereof (English – all texts except *Bran Nue Dae*)
black(s) (English – all texts)
blackies (English – *Bran Nue Dae*)
dark (English – *Cookie's Table*)
darkie (English – *The Cherry Pickers*)

Two of the terms for Aboriginal people which are based on skin colour are derived from the English colour adjective *dark*. These strongly resemble the use of terms such as *black(s)* and *blackfellas* which appear to be used more widely and also feature prominently in our corpus. Both adjectives *dark* and *black* underline the opposition between the (usually) fair-skinned colonisers and the Aboriginal population.

- Terms for white people:

gudiya (several Kimberley languages – *Windmill Baby*)

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whitefella and variants thereof (English – *The Dreamers, The Cherry Pickers, Murras, Up the Road, Cookie's Table*)
whiteman (English – *The Dreamers, The Cherry Pickers, Bran Nue Dae, Up the Road, Cookie's Table*)

While each of the texts makes reference to white Australians, *Windmill Baby* is the only play which uses an Aboriginal language term (albeit one that has relatively high currency) to describe non-Aboriginal people; all other texts, even *The Dreamers* and *The Cherry Pickers*, exclusively employ the two English words *whitefella* and *whiteman*.

- Terms for the police

linjoo (from the term for 'sour food', several WA languages – *Bran Nue Dae*)
manatj ('black cockatoo', Nyoongah – *The Dreamers*)
bullyman (English-derived – *Cookie's Table*)
gunjis (English-derived – *The Cherry Pickers*)
gunjiwarngs (unclear – *The Cherry Pickers*)

The terms which describe the concept 'police', too, show some variation concerning their source language: two of the texts from Western Australia use regional language words whereas *Cookie's Table* and *The Cherry Pickers*, written by playwrights from Queensland and NSW, make use of English words, both of which involve a phonological modification that causes an alienation effect. *The Cherry Pickers* further includes the term *gunjiwarngs* that might be a hybrid compound, combining the English-derived element *gunji* with an unknown Aboriginal language word, but we have no conclusive evidence for this assumption.

- Alcohol

gnoop (Nyoongah – *The Dreamers*)
goom (several Qld. languages – *Cookie's Table*)
kaep (Nyoongah – *The Dreamers*)
widgellee and variants thereof (Wiradhuri – *The Cherry Pickers*)
jirri-jirri tea (Wiradhuri and English – *The Cherry Pickers*)

Only three texts allude to alcohol, usually by means of an Aboriginal language term. Again, *The Cherry Pickers* shows some variation when referring to this concept, using a hybrid compound in addition to a single-word insertion while *The Dreamers* reveals two different Nyoongah words for alcohol. *Cookie's Table*, the third text, supplies the widely used item *goom*.

- Tobacco

gnumarri (Nyoongah – *The Dreamers*)
bacca (English-derived – *The Dreamers*)
baccaddal (probably a hybrid blend – *The Cherry Pickers*)

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References to tobacco are found in two texts. This time, *The Dreamers* provides a Nyoongah word in addition to the phonologically modified English term *bacca*. The item *baccaddal* is probably a blend of an English and a Wiradhuri term.

- Money

boondah (Nyoongah – *The Dreamers*)
bungoo (Yugambeh/Bundjalung – *Cookie's Table*)

- Underwear, 'panties'

gundies (Narungga – *Murras*)
jowijj/jowitch (several Kimberley and Pilbara languages – *Bran Nue Dae, Windmill Baby*)

The two remaining recurring concepts from the domain of contact experience, viz. those of money and underwear, are expressed exclusively by means of Aboriginal language words.

The last conceptual category which supplies concepts that reappear in different texts is the category that contributes **Novel conceptualisations of Aboriginality:**

- Regional Aboriginal identity:

Koori(es) (Awakabal, eastern NSW – *Up the Road*),
Murri(s) (Gamilaraay and several southern Queensland languages – *Cookie's Table*),
nunga(s) (Nhangka – *Murras*),
Nyoongah (Nyoongah – *The Dreamers*)

Here, references to regional Aboriginal identities are the only concepts which appear several times. While all texts use an English item involving the element *black* to refer to Aboriginal people, only four plays include traditional language terms that describe a more extensive identity associated with a wider geographical region. These items can be contrasted with words which actually belong to a different conceptual domain, viz. the local names for smaller language groups such as Bardi and NyulNyul that have been listed above as examples of the continuation of Aboriginal culture.

Summing up what has been detailed above, we can say that *The Cherry Pickers* shows the highest degree of variation concerning the types of lexical appropriation that are used to express particular concepts. Repeatedly, the same referent is described by a variety of forms, at times, the author resorts to different Aboriginal language words to refer to a particular concept, at others, Aboriginal language words are used alongside hybrid compounds and/or English terms. A similar tendency can be observed for *The Dreamers*, although it is not as pronounced as in Gilbert's play. All other texts usually rely on the

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same lexical item to denote a particular concept, or as in the case of *Murras*, on an Aboriginal language word plus a hybrid compound involving this word, e.g. *mimi* and *mimi spirit*.

We can further detect some tendencies as to which concepts are expressed by which means: not surprisingly, all items that describe Aboriginal language and culture groups as well as those terms which denote regional identity are Aboriginal language words which are derived from individual group names. Aboriginal language words are further employed when reference is made to private or delicate issues such as mental instability, diseases, sexual intercourse, or body parts, as well as to concepts associated with the colonisers and the contact experience, e.g. money and the authorities, or substances such as alcohol and tobacco. In addition, we find that Aboriginal language words are used to describe concepts which belong to the domain of Aboriginal culture and religion and belief systems. The greatest variation in terms of the different types of appropriation which are used to describe the same concept or a number of closely related concepts is found for the 'messenger (bird)' as well as for dances. These are referred to by means of various Aboriginal language words (including the established loanwords *mook-pook* and *corroboree*), hybrid compounds, and English words. A range of concepts are expressed through either single-word insertions from regional languages or English lexemes, viz. spirits or monsters, address terms for elders, words for children, white people, the police, and tobacco, as well as the concept 'shame'. Exclusively English terms are used for the concept of a 'cousin brother', Aboriginal people who have adopted white manners, and to refer to Aboriginal people on the basis of skin colour.

9.4 Recurrent Lexical Items

Not only individual concepts appear repeatedly in our corpus. We can further detect a considerable number of appropriations that feature in more than one text and a few in fact occur in each of the plays that have been analysed. In sum, 90 different lexical items classified as instances of lexical appropriation are found repeatedly in the corpus: These include 52 semantically modified English words, 29 examples of AborE usage of English terms, seven one-word-insertions, one phonologically modified item, and one hybrid compound. Below, all recurring items will be listed according to their conceptual category and underlying appropriation strategy:

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a. *The continuation of cultural and religious tradition* – 16 recurrent items

The most frequently recurring lexemes from this category are *Dreaming*, *Law*, and *way*$_1$, each of which was recorded in four different plays. Both *Dreaming* and *Law* describe central religious concepts and are widely used AborE words. *Dance* (n. and v.), *old people*, and *story/stories* occur in three texts. The three single-word insertions *corroboree* (n. and v.), *kylie(s)*, and *mook-pook/mopoke*, too, are widely known lexemes and have entered AusE as borrowings, though not necessarily with the same sense as in AborE.

- 10 semantically modified English words:

dance (n. and v.), 1. an Aboriginal ceremonial dance, also 2. '(to) perform an Aboriginal dance'
(3 texts: *The Cherry Pickers, Murras, Cookie's Table*)

doctor (n. and v.), 1. a spiritually powerful person whose powers include healing, also 2. '(to) exert spiritual powers over somebody, particularly to heal'
(2 texts: *The Dreamers, The Cherry Pickers*)

Dreaming (n.), a collection of events beyond living memory which shaped the physical, spiritual, and moral world and which is still manifested in and sustains the present
(4 texts: *The Dreamers, Bran Nue Dae, The Cherry Pickers, Murras*)

language (n.), an Aboriginal language, Aboriginal language
(2 texts: *Bran Nue Dae, Cookie's Table*)
In addition, our corpus contains the element *lingo* (*Cookie's Table*).

law (n.), the body of religious and cultural knowledge that informs and directs Aboriginal society
(4 texts: *The Cherry Pickers, Murras, Bran Nue Dae, Up the Road*)

love song (n.), a traditional song thought to lure a male/female
(2 texts: *The Cherry Pickers, Windmill Baby*)

old (adj.) 1. 'Aboriginal', but with an added sense that it is part of Aboriginal culture that belongs to the time before Europeans, also 2. 'having recognised wisdom and authority'
(2 texts: *The Cherry Pickers, Bran Nue Dae*)
In addition, *Cookie's Table* has the item *old women* which is derived from *old* 'having recognised wisdom and authority'.

song (n.) a traditional Aboriginal song, used to hold the knowledge of the law or the Dreaming
(2 texts: *The Dreamers, Cookie's Table*)

story/stories (n.), a true account, which may include spiritual truth of a thing, event or place

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(3 texts: *The Dreamers, Murras, Cookie's Table*)

yarn (n. and v.), 'Aboriginal story', also refers the telling of stories as a cultural practice in Aboriginal society, especially the telling of family stories
(2 texts: *The Dreamers, Cookie's Table*)

- 2 examples of AborE usage:

old people (NP), people of the older generations, those living and those passed on, holders of traditional ways of living and wisdom, and spiritual guides for those who come after
(3 texts: *The Cherry Pickers, Windmill Baby, Cookie's Table*)
In addition, our corpus contains the NP *Old Ones* (*The Cherry Pickers*).

way$_1$ (n.), 1. the manner in which one lives as an Aboriginal person, uses language, and performs social and personal activities; the beliefs and customs which provide meaning for this way of living; the term may also be applied to non-Aboriginal ways, 2. customs, beliefs, habits, practices and so forth that belong to Aboriginal society, esp. those that relate to traditional life
(4 texts: *The Dreamers, The Cherry Pickers, Murras, Cookie's Table*)

- 3 single-word insertions:

corroboree (n. and v.), Sydney language, 1. a dance ceremony, of which song and rhythmical musical accompaniment are an integral part, and which may be sacred and ritualised or non-sacred, occasional and informal, 2. '(to) perform a corroboree'
(2 texts: *The Dreamers, The Cherry Pickers*)

kylie(s) (n.), Nyoongah, 'boomerang'
(2 texts: *The Dreamers, The Cherry Pickers*)

mook-pook/mopoke (n.), ?imitative, ?Sydney language, an owl, Ninox novaseelandiae, here, the 'messenger' bird
(2 texts: *The Cherry Pickers, Up the Road*)

In addition, our corpus contains the hybrid compound *mook-pook owl* (The Cherry Pickers).

- 1 hybrid compound:

dilly bag (n.), Yagara (Brisbane area) and English, a bag made from woven grass, vine or fibre
(2 texts: *The Cherry Pickers, Murras*)

b. *Kinship structures* – 10 recurrent items

Many of the lexical items that pertain to the domain of kinship occur repeatedly in the plays analysed. Half of the terms listed below, all of which are

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English words, appear four times or more in the corpus: *Auntie* is the most frequently recurring term, used in six different texts; *cousin*, *family*, *relation*, and *uncle* appear in four texts. All of the terms have great currency in Aboriginal varieties of English.

- 10 semantically modified English words:

Aunt, also *Auntie/Aunty* (n.), an older woman, often wise in traditional language, having status within her community; also a term of address
(6 texts: *The Dreamers, The Cherry Pickers, Bran Nue Dae, Up the Road, Windmill Baby, Murras*)

blood (n. and adj.) of relatives, 'close'
(2 texts: *Up the Road, Cookie's Table*)

brother (n.), a close relative of the same generation, often a parallel cousin, 2. a form of address for a sibling, or a gesture solidarity with another Aboriginal person of the same generation
(3 texts: *The Dreamers, Bran Nue Dae, Up the Road*)
In addition, our corpus contains the abbreviation *bro* (Bran Nue Dae).

cousin (n.), a relative of either sex, not necessarily close, but of one's own generation; also a form of address
(4 texts: *The Dreamers, The Cherry Pickers, Up the Road, Windmill Baby*)

cuz/coz, a familiar form of address for a cousin, also a term of solidarity
(2 texts: *The Dreamers, Up the Road*)

family (n.), all one's blood relatives
(4 texts: *The Cherry Pickers, Murras, Up the Road, Cookie's Table*)

granny/grannies (n.), 1. a term of respect for an older woman who needs not be a relative, also 2. a relative of either sex of one's grandchildren's generation or of one's grandparents' generation
(2 texts: *The Dreamers, The Cherry Pickers*)

relation(s) (n.), a relation; the term is used much more inclusively than in StE
(4 texts: *The Dreamers*, *The Cherry Pickers, Murras*, *Up the Road*)

sister (n.), a female of the same generation, a biological sister or a close cousin, or a person classified as such; also an address term used to express solidarity
(2 texts: *The Dreamers, The Cherry Pickers*)
In addition, our corpus contains the compound *sister girl* (n.) (*Up the Road*).

uncle (n.), a respectful term of address for an older man
(4 texts: *The Dreamers, Bran Nue Dae, Up the Road, Cookie's Table*)

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c. *Human relationships and social interaction* – 11 recurrent items

Six out of the 11 reappearing elements in this category are English words which have been categorised as examples of AborE usage. Most are designations for people belonging to different age classes. In addition, we find the widely used loanword *gin*. Only *flogging* occurs in more than three texts.

- 3 semantically modified English words:

flash (adj.) 'ostentatious', 'attention seeking', used with the implication that this type of behaviour is more typical for Europeans and not in line with Aboriginal norms of group-oriented and cooperative behaviour
(3 texts: *The Cherry Pickers, Murras, Up the Road*)

flogging (n.) 'a belting'
(4 texts: *Murras, Up the Road, Windmill Baby, Cookie's Table*)
In addition, our corpus contains the related verb *flog* '(to) belt' (*Murras*)

sing out (v.) 'call out'
(2 texts: *The Dreamers, Bran Nue Dae*)

- 7 examples of AborE usage:

little fella (n.), a child
(2 texts: *The Dreamers, The Cherry Pickers*)

old fella (NP), 1. an older person, 2. a person of recognised authority within the community, normally an older person, also an address term
(2 texts: *The Dreamers, The Cherry Pickers*)

old girl(s) (NP), a respectful reference to a woman of an older generation
(2 texts: *The Dreamers, Cookie's Table*)

old man (NP), a figure of authority, also an address term conveying respect, from *old*, 'having recognised wisdom and authority'
(3 texts: *The Cherry Pickers, Bran Nue Dae, Windmill Baby*)

us mob (pron.), a connected group, a whole 'family' or a part of it, a group connected in some other way
(2 texts: *Bran NueDae, Up the Road*)

you mob (pron.) 'you (2. pers. pl.)'
(2 texts: The Cherry Pickers, Bran Nue Dae)

young fella (NP), a young person, usually a young man
(2 texts: *The Dreamers, The Cherry Pickers*)

- 1 single-word insertion:

gin (n.), Sydney language, 'woman', 'wife'
(2 texts: *The Cherry Pickers, Up the Road*)

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d. *States of feeling and being and ways of conduct* – 8 recurrent items

While only eight items in this category are used repeatedly in the corpus, three of them can be found in no less than five texts, viz. *cheeky, poorfella,* and *shame*. Again, all the lexemes listed below are widely used in AborE.

- 4 semantically modified English words:

cheeky (adj.) 'mischievous, but possibly also dangerous'
(5 texts: *The Dreamers, Murras, Bran Nue Dae, Up the Road, Windmill Baby*)

poor (adj.), of a person who has died; (a euphemism for) 'deceased', 'late'
(2 texts: *The Dreamers, Up the Road*)

shame (n.) 'embarrassment', 'fear', a sense for having transgressed the social and moral code of society, intentionally or unintentionally
(5 texts: *The Dreamers, Murras, Up the Road, Windmill Baby, Cookie's Table*)
In addition, our corpus contains the noun phrase *big shame* (AborE usage, *Bran Nue Dae*)

sorry (adj.) 'sorrowful', 'full of grief', 'grieving'
(2 texts: *Bran Nue Dae, Windmill Baby*)

- 4 examples of AborE usage:

gammin/gammon (v. and adv.) 1. '(to) pretend or lie', 2. 'falsely'
(3 texts: *Murras, Up the Road, Cookie's Table*)

make out (v.) 'give the impression', 'pretend'
(2 texts: *The Dreamers, Murras*)

poor fella (NP) and variants thereof, referring to the condition of oneself or others, implying recognition of the plight of the human condition
(5 texts: *The Dreamers, The Cherry Pickers, Murras, Bran Nue Dae, Windmill Baby*)

shame job (n.), an event or situation which can cause a person to feel shame
(2 texts: *Murras, Up the Road*)

e. *Body parts and body functions, intimate and personal aspects of live* – 2 recurrent items

This time, we find only two items which appear in more than one text, viz. the single-word insertion *goona/goonung*, a form which is found in numerous Australian languages and the English word *finish*. This is partly due to the fact that the lexical elements used to refer to concepts connected to the body or to private matters are usually Aboriginal language words that have only limited currency; recall the many different items that were found for the 'behind'.

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- 1 semantically modified English word:

finish (n. and v.) '(to) end, to die', also 'the end, an end',
(4 texts: *The Dreamers, The Cherry Pickers, Murras, Windmill Baby*)

- 1 single-word insertion:

goona/goonung (n.), numerous Australian languages, 'excrement', 'shit'
(2 texts: *Windmill Baby, The Cherry Pickers*)
In addition, our corpus contains the compound *goonamia* 'toilet', Nyoongah (*The Dreamers*)

f. *Relationship to the land* – 4 recurrent items

Of the four lexical elements in this category that are used repeatedly, *camp* and *country* are included in four and five texts, respectively. The items *Land Council* and *land rights* are used in the same sense also in AusE but have been counted as instances of lexical appropriation since they are of special relevance for Aboriginal people and allude to the Indigenous Australian peoples' struggles to repossess their lands.

- 4 semantically modified English words:

camp (n.), a living place, temporary or permanent; the term can refer to the living place of either a single person or a small or large group, and can include in its reference a group of houses or a swag under a tree, but always in an Aboriginal-controlled environment
(4 texts: *The Dreamers, The Cherry Pickers, Windmill Baby, Cookie's Table*)

country (n.), the tract of land where an Aboriginal person or community belongs, to which they have a responsibility, and from which they can draw spiritual strength
(5 texts: *The Dreamers, The Cherry Pickers, Murras, Bran Nue Dae, Cookie's Table*)

Land Council (n.), a body appointed to represent the interests of [Aboriginal people] in Aboriginal land
(2 texts: Up the Road, Cookie's Table)

land rights (n.), the entitlement of [Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples] to possess their traditionally occupied territory
(3 texts: *Bran Nue Dae*, *Up the Road, Cookie's Table*)

g. *Nature and environment* – 1 recurrent item

The only recurring word in this category is *kangaroo*. While the lexeme is a widely used loanword in all varieties of English, all usages in the corpus refer

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to the animal as an item of food, a meaning that is more commonly found in AborE.

- 1 single-word insertion:

kangaroo/roo (n.), Guugu Yimidhirr (Cooktown/northern Queensland), any of the larger marsupials of the chiefly Australian family Macropodidae, having short forelimbs, a tail developed for support and balance, long feet and powerful limbs, enabling a swift, bounding motion, here used with reference to the meat of the animal
(2 texts: *The Dreamers, The Cherry Pickers*)

h. *The contact experience* – 14 recurrent items

Six of the 14 lexical appropriations which describe the contact experience show a remarkably high frequency of occurrence in the corpus. These are *black(s),* which features in every play, *blackfella* and *feed*, occurring in all texts but one, as well as *white man* and *whitefella*, occurring five times. The *AND* and the *OED* confirm that the items *black*, *blackfella*, *white man*, and *whitefella* have currency beyond AborE; the lexeme *feed* 'meal', however, appears to be more common in AborE.

- 12 semantically modified English words:

big words (NP) 'formal English', 'flash language'
(2 texts: *The Cherry Pickers, Cookie's Table*)

black(s) (n. and adj.), 1. 'Aboriginal', 2. an Aboriginal person
(all 7 texts)

blackfella (n. and adj.) (and variants thereof), 1. an Aboriginal person, 2. 'Aboriginal'
(6 texts: *The Dreamers, The Cherry Pickers, Murras, Up the Road, Windmill Baby, Cookie's Table*)

boss (n.), a form of address from an Aboriginal person to a European man, not necessarily an employer
(2 texts: *The Dreamers, Windmill Baby*)

feed (n.) 'meal'
(6 texts: *The Dreamers, The Cherry Pickers, Murras, Bran Nue Dae, Up the Road, Cookie's Table*)

government (n.) (and variants thereof), all public authorities and their officials whether State or Federal
(3 texts: *Murras, The Cherry Pickers, Cookie's Table*)

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In addition, our corpus contains the compound *government fella* (n.) from *government man*, describing a person employed by government bureaucracies (*Murras*)

Jacky (n.), a person subservient to whites
(3 texts: *The Dreamers, The Cherry Pickers, Up the Road*)

mission (n.), an Aboriginal settlement which may or may not once have been a religious institution
(2 texts: *Up the Road, Cookie's Table*)
In addition, our corpus contains the abbreviation *mish* (Up the Road)

missus (n.) a form of address to a white woman, not necessarily an employer
(2 texts: *The Dreamers, Windmill Baby*)

take (away) (v.), '(to) remove a child from its family and community, to be raised outside its culture'
(2 texts: *The Cherry Pickers, Cookie's Table*)

white man (n.) (and variants thereof), a non-Aboriginal person, unmarked for gender
(5 texts: *The Dreamers, The Cherry Pickers, Bran Nue Dae, Up the Road, Cookie's Table*)

whitefella (n.) (and variants thereof), 1. a white person, a European Australian or other person with a similar appearance, 2. (as adj.) 'white', 'European'
(5 texts: *The Dreamers, The Cherry Pickers, Murras, Up the Road, Cookie's Table*)

- 1 example of AborE usage:

tucker (n.) 'food, particularly European food'
(3 texts: The Dreamers, The Cherry Pickers, Bran Nue Dae)

- 1 single-word insertion:

jowijj/jowitch (n.), several northern WA languages, 'knickers', 'panties', 'trousers'
(2 texts: Bran Nue Dae, Windmill Baby)

i. *Novel conceptualisations of Aboriginality and cultural survival* – 1 recurrent item

Only one of the items from category *(i) Novel conceptualisations of Aboriginality and cultural survival* occurs repeatedly in the corpus; it features in two texts. All but one of the remaining words, few as they are, describe wider regional Aboriginal identities. Since the plays analysed come from various parts of Australia, none featured in more than one text.

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- 1 semantically modified English word:

community (n.), 1. a settlement or place where the majority of the inhabitants are Aboriginal, also 2. the Aboriginal community as a community of people which may be regional and specific, or general and non-specific
(2 texts: *Up the Road, Cookie's Table*)

j. *Aboriginal way* – 23 recurrent items

Category *(j) Aboriginal way* is the conceptual domain which reveals the highest number of recurrent lexical elements, indicating that most items from this category are widely used, in AborE as well as in our corpus. Indeed, 13 out of the 23 English lexemes feature in four texts or more. These are *ay*, *true* (both occurring four times), *mob*, *never*, *no good*, *one*, *way*$_2$, *what for* (all occurring five times), *big mob*, *eh*, *proper*, *reckon* (all occurring six times), and *fella* (occurring seven times). Again, we find more examples of AborE usage than terms that show semantic change.

- 7 semantically modified English words:

cruel (adv.) 'very'
(2 texts: *The Dreamers, Cookie's Table*)

deadly (adj.) 'great, fantastic, terrific'
(3 texts: *Bran Nue Dae, Up the Road, Windmill Baby*)

fella (n.), 1. a person, either male or female though usually male, 2. any animate or inanimate thing
(all 7 texts)

mob, 1. a group of Aboriginal people, linked by relationship and culture, 2. a group of people or animals, 3. an expression of number
(5 texts: *The Dreamers, Murras, Up the Road, Windmill Baby, Cookie's Table*)

plenty (adj.) 'much (of)', 'many'
(2 texts: *The Dreamers, Murras*)

proper (adj. and adv.) 'real', 'really', 'truly', also 'adequate', 'adequately'
(6 texts: *The Dreamers, The Cherry Pickers, Murras, Bran Nue Dae, Windmill Baby*, *Cookie's Table*)

reckon (v.) '(to) say' as well as '(to) think'
(6 texts: *The Dreamers, The Cherry Pickers, Murras, Bran Nue Dae, Up the Road, Cookie's Table*)

too much (adj. and adv.) 'very', 'very much', 'a great deal', 'a lot of'
(2 texts: *Murras, Windmill Baby*)

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- 13 examples of AborE usage:

all gone (adj.) 'not present', 'no more'
(3 texts: *The Dreamers, The Cherry Pickers, Murras*)

ay(e) (int.), an interjection, used as rhetorical comment, usually at the end of statements
(4 texts: *The Dreamers, Bran Nue Dae, Murras, Windmill Baby*)

big mob (NP, also used adjectivally), from *mob*, 1. a group of Aboriginal people, linked by relationship and culture, 2. a group of people or animals, 3. an expression of number; a large group (of people, animals, etc.), a large amount of something
(6 texts: *The Dreamers, The Cherry Pickers, Murras, Bran Nue Dae, Windmill Baby, Cookie's Table*)

eh (int.), an interjection, used as rhetorical comment, usually at the end of statements
(6 texts: *The Dreamers, The Cherry Pickers, Bran Nue Dae, Up the Road, Windmill Baby, Cookie's Table*)

longa (prep.) 'next to, with', 'in, at, to'
(2 texts: *The Cherry Pickers, Bran Nue Dae*)

never (adv.), an emphatic negative
(5 texts: *The Dreamers, The Cherry Pickers, Bran Nue Dae*, *Windmill Baby, Cookie's Table*)

no good (adj.), 'not any good', 'worthless'
(5 texts: *The Dreamers, The Cherry Pickers, Bran Nue Dae, Murras, Cookie's Table*)

one (n.), (as a noun) used with adjectives, with the resulting combination, while appearing noun-like, still functioning as an adjective
(5 texts: *The Dreamers, Murras, Bran Nue Dae, Up the Road, Cookie's Table*)

this one/that one (pron.) and variants thereof, used to indicate sth. with particularity, often used alongside the thing indicated, to distinguish it from another in the same category
(3 texts: *The Dreamers, Bran Nue Dae, Windmill Baby*)

time (n.) 'a specific period'
(3 texts: *The Dreamers, Murras, Windmill Baby*)

true (adv.), used as an intensifier of a statement or a response to a statement, 'it's really so', 'is that really so', 'truly'
(4 texts: *The Cherry Pickers, Up the Road, Windmill Baby, Cookie's Table*)

unna (int.), an intensifier to a statement or response to a statement, meaning 'isn't it?', 'wouldn't you say', 'don't you think'
(2 texts: *The Dreamers, Up the Road*)

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way$_2$ (n.), a productive element in the formation of adverbials of manner and place
(5 texts: *The Dreamers, The Cherry Pickers, Murras, Windmill Baby, Cookie's Table*)

what for (adv.) 'why'
(5 texts: *The Dreamers, The Cherry Pickers, Murras, Up the Road, Cookie's Table*)

- 1 phonologically modified English term:

nother (adj.) 'another'
(3 texts. *The Dreamers, Murras*, *Bran Nue Dae*)

Establishing which of the plays contain the highest number of items that occur repeatedly in the corpus, we find that once again, *The Dreamers* and *The Cherry Pickers* lead the field with 57 out of 190 and 54 out of 125 items, respectively. However, both plays also show a much greater amount of lexical appropriations than all other texts, so that percentagewise, the share of recurring items is much lower than that of the other plays. Wesley Enoch's *Cookie's Table*, for example, contains a total of 60 types of lexical appropriations, 42 of which feature in several plays; in *Up the Road*, no less than 38 out of 46 appropriations are shared with the other texts. The three remaining plays reveal 38 out of 60 (*Murras*), 34 out of 82 (*Bran Nue Dae*), and 32 out of 51 (*Windmill Baby*) recurrent items. It does not come as a surprise that those texts which contain fewer Aboriginal language words also make greater use of English lexemes that are more widely used and thus repeatedly occur in the corpus.

Only few Aboriginal language words feature in more than one text, which is mainly attributable to the fact that the majority of the single-word insertions found in the corpus are from local or regional languages and only have restricted currency in AborE. Most of those that are used repeatedly are widely used loanwords, viz. *corroboree*, *gin*, *goona, jowijj*, *kangaroo*, *kylie*, and *mook-pook*. The item *goona* is found in numerous Aboriginal languages and is also a common lexical feature in many varieties of AborE. Only the term *jowijj/jowitch* constitutes an exception as it appears to be restricted to varieties of AborE spoken in the north-west of the country. Nevertheless, the word is found in two different texts from Western Australia. All of the seven single-word insertions appear twice in the corpus, so does the hybrid compound *dilly bag*, which, too, is shared with non-Aboriginal varieties of English in Australia. Generally, the elements which feature in more than one text seem to have a wider currency in AborE and beyond: most have an entry in Arthur (1996) and several are also listed in Dixon *et al.* (2006), the *AND* or the *OED*. Others are discussed in the literature on AborE which indicates that they, too, are regularly occurring lexical features of Aboriginal varieties of English. The only exceptions here are the items *jowijj*, *love song*, and *you mob* which are not documented at all in the literature consulted.

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What remains unclear is whether the appropriations that feature prominently in the corpus do so because they have currency in the areas where the different plays are set or whether they were deliberately employed by the authors as salient lexical markers of their characters' Aboriginality. Above, we have determined a notably high frequency of occurrence for several terms from category *(j) Aboriginal way*, for appropriations which describe Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people (*black/blackfella* and *whitefella/whiteman*), for kinship structures, as well as for terms that refer to central religious and cultural concepts such as *Dreaming*, *country*, and *shame*. All of these lexical items are widely-known features of the AborE lexicon and thus possess a strong emblematic character. Hence, we are once again faced with a problem which has already been alluded to in 9.1, viz. our inability to determine whether the texts are representative of varieties of AborE as used in real life contexts. The degree to which the language of a literary work depicts linguistic realities may depend on a number of factors: "Literary works are after all a special category of text written with a particular aim, within a certain tradition, and according to certain literary, sociological (and even marketing) conventions", as Schmied (1991: 132) points out with reference to the African context [parentheses in original, K.L.]. Keeping in mind what has been said in 7.3 about the influence of non-Aboriginal publishers, marketing conventions, and the audiences at which the plays are aimed, issues such as intelligibility and audiences' expectations may be considered significant factors in the production and publication process of Aboriginal Australian drama texts. So is the playwright's own background: the portrayal of authentic language use inevitably demands linguistic proficiency on the part of the author, that is, proficiency in the variety of AborE presented in the play. Further, it is impossible for us to distinguish between features that are based on observation of real language use and those which may be ascribed to the author's linguistic creativity. In fact, there is the possibility that, at least in some cases, we are dealing with something like a 'stage language' that is sufficiently easy to understand for a non-Aboriginal audience but is spiced with enough widely known AborE lexical features to provide the texts with a distinct 'Aboriginal' quality. Without comparing the texts to realistic speech samples from the individual areas, it is impossible to answer if, and to which degree, the speech portrayed in these texts has been adapted to ensure a better comprehensibility and to meet possible audience expectations. Such a comparison of drama texts to natural speech would represent an interesting area for further research.

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10 Lexical Appropriation in a Wider (Post-)Colonial Context: Findings from Māori and Canadian First Nations Drama

In the preceding chapters, we have tried to discover which motives exist for Indigenous Australian authors to attempt an appropriation of the standard dialect in their works. While a large part of the lexical items discussed above confirm the hypothesis that the lexicon of AborE is characterised by the need to express concepts of one's own in a language that lacks the necessary terminology to do so (e.g. kin terms such as *cousin brother* or appropriations that relate to the domain of cultural knowledge or practices or express Aboriginal peoples' worldviews and ways of conceptualising experience), others are inspired by the desire to promote in-group solidarity (e.g. other kin terms such as *brother*, *sister*), achieve linguistic, social, and emotional proximity, and distinguish speakers of AborE from the mainstream society (e.g. words for body parts and for concepts associated with the contact experience). Others again show how the lexicon of AborE is influenced by pidgins, creoles, or earlier varieties of English spoken by the colonisers. All of these motives for lexical appropriation can be understood as a direct result of the Australian colonisation process, in the course of which Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people were forced to engage in contact with the British colonisers and were under pressure to trade their traditional languages for English. The newly formed colonial society demanded the coexistence of the original population and the British new arrivals, bringing together entirely different values, outlooks on and understandings of the world. Elsewhere, British colonisation has yielded very similar socio-cultural and psychological outcomes, and the introduction of the English language brought about comparable linguistic results. Thus, there existed and still exist numerous contexts that have produced a form of 'culture clash' and created an environment in which the 'colonised' feel the necessity to expand and adapt the colonial language to suit their own purposes, resulting in their taking possession of the colonisers' language and turning it into a distinct new code. These developments are not restricted to former 'settler colonies' where the native population was displaced by the new colonial society and has become an ethnic minority, but may also apply to what Gilbert & Tompkins (1996: 6) term "'occupation' colonies", i.e. to countries such as India, where the ongoing presence of a European colonial power, too, culminated in a shift in the existing social structures and power balances and the demotion of the local culture and language(s).

Hence, we may expect to find that similar processes of linguistic appropriation are at work in other pieces of the body of literature commonly labelled 'post-colonial', drafted by writers who have to cope with the limits of a standard language which may not be sufficiently equipped to meet their re-

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quirements. To provide tentative evidence for the assumption that lexical appropriation is an inevitable outcome of the clash of cultures and languages in contact settings, we shall investigate two more drama texts from the canon of English post-colonial literatures: *Purapurawhetū* by New Zealand playwright Briar Grace-Smith and *The Rez Sisters* by the Canadian First Nations author Tomson Highway. The two complementing text analyses will give us the opportunity to explore whether also drama texts from other parts of the world reveal features that are comparable in their function to those outlined above and whether the conceptual categories established to account for lexical appropriation in the Australian context have wider applicability. Further, we will be able to determine which lexical tools are used to express culturally bound concepts in Māori English and First Nations English texts and compare them to the different types of appropriation that prevail in Aboriginal drama.

The course of action will correspond to that previously taken, and the lexical analyses will once again be embedded in a brief description of the New Zealand and Canadian colonial history, the countries' indigenous population, and the language situation. Still, we will refrain from a discussion as detailed as that in the above chapters: after a short introduction of the authors and their plays, the most important points gleaned from the lexical analyses will be specified, with a focus on the types of lexical appropriation strategy applied and the items' underlying conceptual categories.

10.1 Lexical Appropriation in Māori Drama

Let us now turn our focus to New Zealand, a country which is not only geographically close to Australia but also shares an extended history with its north-western neighbour.

10.1.1 **A Brief Colonial History of New Zealand**

There is still some debate about the time of the first human settlement in New Zealand but most evidence suggests that East Polynesian peoples, the ancestors of today's Māori population, arrived on the islands around 1250-1300 AD. Here, they established permanent settlements and developed elaborate techniques of agriculture and storing food which would ensure their survival (Mein Smith 2005: 6f, 19). Pre-colonial Māori society was divided into iwi (tribal groups), made up of several hapū (clans or descent groups) that comprised up to several hundred members. The hapū were in turn made up of one or more whānau (extended families). The two larger units, iwi and hapū, often carried a reference to their founding ancestor in their name; other means of self-identification were references to the affiliation with a marae (an open

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space or courtyard where people gather), maunga (a mountain), awa (a river), or waka (the ancestral canoe) (Taonui 2013). The term *māori*, meaning 'ordinary' and describing the local people, was not used before the arrival of Europeans and only entered general use in the 1860s (Mein Smith 2005: 16).

Four centuries passed until the next visitors came to the islands in the south-western Pacific Ocean: the first confirmed European sighting of New Zealand was on 13 December 1642 when the Dutch explorer Abel Tasman laid eyes on the hitherto unknown territory while he sailed the South Pacific in search of a vast southern continent which was believed to exist in the area. After a violent confrontation with Māori in Golden Bay, Tasman decided against going ashore, and it took more than 120 years for the next European ship to call at Aotearoa. On 8 October 1769, James Cook landed at Poverty Bay (Wilson 2014). Other visitors of these early years were whalers and sealers and New Zealand became connected with a Pacific-wide trade system (Wilson 2015).

After the arrival of the British, Māori society underwent changes as the colonisers began to drive the Māori people off their land, and inter-tribal conflicts accelerated through the trading of goods for muskets (Wilson 2015). Māori people suffered from introduced diseases, malnutrition, and poverty, and the population of about 100,000 estimated for the late 18th century had been more than halved to 42,000 by 1896. Like Aboriginal people in Australia, Māori people were expected to die out eventually before their numbers began to increase again in the early 20th century.

From the mid-20th century, Māori tribal structures were further weakened by migration to the cities (Pool me Kukutai 2014). This movement to the urban areas boosted inter-cultural contact between Māori and Pākehā (non-Indigenous New Zealanders) while at the same time, Māori people from different groups and geographical regions formed a new urban Māori community (Mein Smith 2005: 186). The increase in the city-dwelling Māori population (77 per cent in 1976) further triggered a changed race relations policy and assimilation efforts were replaced by integration (Mein Smith 2005: 186). In the last decades of the 20th century, New Zealand experienced a Māori renaissance, resulting in new definitions of Māoridom and Māori identity, a heightened desire to obtain more political control, as well as in attempts to strengthen the Māori language (Taonui 2014) In the 2013 Census, 598,602 people or 14.9 percent of New Zealanders identified as Māori (Statistics New Zealand 2013a).

10.1.2 **Te Reo Māori and Māori English**

Contrary to the diverse linguistic situation in Australia, New Zealand has a single Indigenous language, and although te reo Māori – the Māori language –

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shows some degree of regional variation, speakers from different parts of the country have no difficulty in understanding each other (Harlow 2005: 61). Three major dialects of Māori can be distinguished, viz. eastern North Island, western North Island, and South Island (Higgins & Keane 2015). The description of Māori, which is closely related to the languages of Eastern Polynesia (Benton 1996: 167) and probably the best researched Polynesian language, started early with wordlists compiled by explorers and missionaries. First scholarly analyses appeared in the 1960s (Harlow 2005: 60).

Early colonists and missionaries made an attempt to learn Māori, but the continuing increase in the colonial population and resulting power shift made it necessary for the local people to adopt the colonisers' language in order to participate in the New Zealand society (Boyce 2005: 88). Compulsory schooling for Māori children began in the 1890s, accelerating the transition to English. The most massive shift to English, however, took place when Māori men went overseas to fight in the 20th century wars and many Māori people migrated to cities and towns where the government's 'pepper-potting' policy prevented the development of exclusively Māori neighbourhoods (Benton 1996: 167). In the second half of the 20th century, however, students became increasingly aware of issues such as land rights and language maintenance, and universities began to teach Māori studies courses. In the 1970s, the first New Zealand high schools included te reo Māori in their curriculum. One decade later, so-called 'language-learning nests', kōhanga reo, began to operate and Māori-language schools were established. In addition to incentives such as Māori-language immersion teaching, the Māori Language Commission *Te Taura Whiri i te Reo* was founded in 1987, and a national network of Māori radio stations and Māori Television was established in 2004 (Higgins & Keane 2015).

Te reo Māori has left an unmistakable imprint on the lexicon of New Zealand English (hereafter also 'NZE') which has extensively borrowed from it. The colonisers' language has thus become a site of lexical survival as Māori vocabulary is incorporated into an English matrix. As Bellet (1995: 74) argues, the lexical items which Pākehā New Zealanders are familiar with today are not restricted to single emblematic tokens but make up a "lexicon that reflects a much deeper understanding and acceptance of Māori society". While most of the borrowings found in NZE denote concepts particular to Māori culture, some items, such as *whare* 'hut', *mana* 'reputation', 'prestige', *kai* 'food', *puku* 'stomach' are also used in European contexts (Deverson 1991: 19). An even greater portion of te reo survives in the English spoken by Māori people, many of whom incorporate a considerable amount of their traditional language in their variety of English. Today, 21.3 percent or 125,352 of those who identify as Māori are also speakers of te reo, but most speakers are 65 years or older (Statistics New Zealand 2013b). While the Māori language must thus be seen as

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endangered, it enjoys a high status as a symbol of Māori culture and identity. This pride in and concern for the language is also reflected in the tendency of many speakers to embed Māori words into English discourse (Harlow 2005: 61f).

For a long time, researchers have been unable to find conclusive proof for the existence of a distinct Māori dialect of NZE, despite widely held beliefs that some Māori people speak a variety of NZE which is distinguishable from that of other New Zealanders. In the 1990s, these assumptions were confirmed when studies comparing the speech of Māori and Pākehā New Zealanders finally provided evidence that the English of the two groups differed in systematic ways (Bell 2000: 221f). Still, while many of the features which have been identified as markers of ME are more common in the speech of Māori people, it is not possible to draw a clear-cut line between Māori and Pākehā varieties of NZE. Rather, "differences between varieties tend to be relative rather than absolute" (Bell 2000: 222). In fact, many features of Māori English (henceforth also 'ME') are also shared with the variety of New Zealand English spoken by Pākehā people, but occur in higher frequencies in the former (Maclagan *et al.* 2008: 660). Also, it needs to be acknowledged that not all Māori speakers use ME, while at the same time many ME features may also be found in the speech of Pākehā New Zealanders, especially those who maintain close relationships with Māori people. Some characteristics formerly perceived as typical of ME have now spread into mainstream NZE. Generally, the degree to which ME features are employed may depend on factors such as the speech situation, the participants, and the need to signal ethnic identity (Stubbe & Holmes 2000: 260). In other contexts, the features may be used as a tool to signal solidarity (Maclagan *et al.* 2008: 661) or to create a feeling of unity and family relationship (King 1999).

Stubbe & Holmes (2000: 251) suggest that most of the distinguishing characteristics of ME go back to transfer from te reo Māori or reflect cultural differences in discourse norms. They can be found in various domains of the language, the most obvious features, however, are found on the level of the lexicon. Speakers of ME tend to use a much greater number of Māori words than Pākehā New Zealanders and do so more frequently (Stubbe & Holmes 2000: 251). In addition, English lexemes may exhibit meanings not found in NZE, e.g. the use of *Nanny* to refer to any older person, male or female. Not unlike AborE kin terms for older people, *Nanny* conveys respect and affection for the person designated (Holmes & Bell 1996: 179). Other English-derived lexical features of ME include address forms such as *yous* as well as the use of nicknames, pet names, and kin terms such as *mate*, *bro*, *sis*, *cuz*, *aunty*, *uncle* (Stubbe & Holmes 2000: 256). Some speakers of ME may make use of more extended code-switching to emphasise a shared ethnic background and signal their pride in the ancestral language (Stubbe & Holmes 2000: 255).

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It appears that ME is gradually achieving greater prominence in the linguistic landscape of New Zealand. Maclagan *et al.* (2008: 658) go so far as to suggest that it is "the fastest growing of the main varieties of New Zealand English" which is now also frequently heard in mainstream media (Maclagan *et al.* 2008: 661). Some commentators have in fact pointed out the media's role in the maintenance and diffusion of the Māori language as early as 1991:

> This new importation of Maori is seen in particular in the media, in articles and reports and statements on Maori issues; and also in the rapidly growing field of New Zealand literature by Maori authors (Keri Hulme, Witi Ihimaera, Patricia Grace are among the better known). In Maori fiction the potential for nonce-borrowing is limitless, and many texts take on a mixed, bilingual character as not merely words but phrases and whole sentences of Maori are incorporated in the writing. Here it becomes difficult to say how much counts as English and how much remains Maori (Deverson 1991: 20).

The validity of Deverson's statement is confirmed by Gilbert & Tompkins (1996: 170) who assert that the increasing use of traditional language is one of the distinguishing characteristics of contemporary Māori drama and go on to explain that te reo

> functions on New Zealand stages as part of a cultural heritage and, simultaneously, as a living language, a medium through which contemporary indigenous characters express solidarity, reclaim the past, and establish a linguistic location that is closed to non-speakers (Gilbert & Tompkins 1996: 171).

In the following, we shall investigate how features of te reo Māori and ME are used in the work of New Zealand playwright Briar Grace-Smith.

10.1.3 **Briar Grace-Smith: Purapurawhetū (1997/1999)**

First Māori voices in New Zealand drama were heard in the 1950s and 1960s, but it was not until the late 1980s that a more substantial body of plays by Māori playwrights began to develop (Maufort 2003: 205). According to New Zealand playwright Hone Kouka, Māori theatre reached its zenith in the late 1990s and early 2000s (Kouka 2007: 237), and one of the emerging writers who brought Māori theatre to the fore in the last decade of the 20th century is Briar Grace-Smith, born in 1966 of Nga Puhi, Ngati Wai and Scottish descent (O'Donnell 2007: 269). In 1997, Grace-Smith's play *Purapurawhetū*, seen by Kouka as "probably the best Māori play ever written" (Kouka 2007: 245), won the Chapman Tripp Award for Outstanding New Play (O'Donnell and Grace-Smith 2007: 269).

In the preface to the written text, the author explains that the idea for her play came up while she was helping to prepare tukutuku panels, i.e. ornamental lattice work, for the opening of a meeting house. She began to think about the stories that are interwoven in the tukutuku's patterns and set out to write the play *Purapurawhetū* (O'Donnell and Grace-Smith 2007: 276). The play's

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title refers to a weaving pattern that is based on stellar constellations believed to represent the spirits of the ancestors. Once again, we are dealing with a play in which storytelling is a major element: in *Purapurawhetū*, the narration revolves around the story told by the weaving pattern and an old woman's ōhākī, a revelation that she needs to make before her death in order to find peace. The weaver of the panel is a young man named Tyler, who came into the small coastal community of Te Kupenga as an adopted child. Despite not being a blood relation to anyone in the community, he is chosen to preserve the history of his hapū (i.e. his community, his 'tribe') by creating the tukutuku. Tyler has established an intimate friendship with Koro ['grandfather', K.L.] Hohepa, the hapū's leader, who used to be a skilled weaver in his time. Haunted by inner demons, the old man appears to have lost his mind and his power-hungry but incompetent son Matawera is more than willing to become the new rangatira. While working on the tukutuku, Tyler makes the acquaintance of the old blind woman Kui who later on is revealed to be Hohepa's estranged wife Aggie Rose. Kui has come to Te Kupenga to disclose the secret which has turned the formerly thriving village into a sad and lonely place and destroyed the proud Hohepa.

The text does not include a separate glossary and while longer stretches of code-switching in the form of longer phrases and sentences are translated in footnotes, single-word insertions and shorter multi-word insertions remain unglossed. Rarely, cushioning serves to provide an explanation of the meaning of a lexical item:

TYLER: In the direction of the urupā.

RAMARI: Urupā?

TYLER: Cemetery!

RAMARI: Urupā cemetery. Urupā cemetery. (Grace-Smith 1999: 30.)

Elsewhere, the context helps readers to interpret the meaning of the Māori words inserted in the dialogue:

> RAMARI: In fifty years time, my mokopuna ['grandchildren', K.L.] could be sitting in the wharenui ['meeting house', K.L.] underneath this panel. They'll be admiring it and touching it and saying things like, 'Our kuia [here, 'grandmother', K.L.], Ramari, made this panel. See how stunning her stitches are? She was extremely talented.' (Grace-Smith 1999: 30.)

Still, the larger part of the lexical appropriations included in the text are unaccompanied by any tools that aid comprehension. While more than half of the single-word insertions found in the text are also listed in the online edition of the *New Zealand Oxford Dictionary*, underlining their role as integral parts of the NZE lexicon, the meanings of the terms remain opaque for those unacquainted with the Māori language, especially for readers or audiences from outside New Zealand. None of the Māori language is set in italics or stands out from the remainder of the text in any other way.

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Considering the number and nature of the lexical appropriations that occur in the text, Grace-Smith's play is best compared to Jack Davis' *The Dreamers*. All in all, there are more than 150 elements which can fairly certainly be considered as lexical features of ME and were thus counted as lexical appropriations. Like Davis' texts, *Purapurawhetū* contains a vast amount of non-English vocabulary and also includes numerous instances of multi-word insertion, some of which have considerable length. In an interview, Grace-Smith explained that she developed the Māori parts with her father in law who learned Māori as his first language (O'Donnell and Grace-Smith 2007: 278). In addition to the multi-word insertions, the text comprises numerous single Māori terms and a few hybrid elements. English words which show a meaning or usage that differ from StE (thus qualifying them as instances of lexical appropriation) are rare, but we find a few kinship terms such as *auntie(s)* and *uncle* which are used as respectful modes of address to older persons. The item *cuz* once again occurs as an address term for a person of the same generation. An interesting result of the analysis of Grace-Smith's play is that it also features several Māori words which describe kinship relations, such as *koroua* 'elderly man', 'elder', 'grandfather', 'granduncle', *whānau* 'extended family', 'family group', *whanaunga* 'relative', 'relation', 'kin', 'blood relation', *whāngai* 'foster child', 'adopted child', i.e. concepts exclusively expressed by means of English lexemes in the Australian texts.

Other English terms that have an obvious non-standard meaning are *black*, here used in the sense of 'Māori', and *born again*, a term which is used for a person who has recently '(re)-discovered' his or her Māori heritage which he or she may not have acknowledged in more prejudiced times (Taonui 2013). In addition, we can observe the repeated use of *eh* as a rhetoric device inviting the addressee's consent. Political developments current at the time of writing the play are touched upon by making reference to the New Zealand First party and its former MP, Tau Henare. The only two allusions to Māori culture expressed through English words are *(meeting) house*, which is used interchangeably with the Māori term *wharenui*, and *cleansing*, describing the process of sprinkling water to achieve a form of spiritual cleaning.

The strong focus on Māori culture which prevails in Grace-Smith's text is enforced by the many single-word insertions which relate to this conceptual field. Unless indicated otherwise, all following definitions and glosses are taken from the *Te Aka Online Māori Dictionary* (Moorfield 2003-2015); some are rendered in abbreviated form. Examples of lexical appropriations relating to Māori culture include

- the names of buildings or other features of the *pā* 'village', such as *kāuta* 'cooking shed, kitchen, cookhouse', *wharekai* 'dining hall', *wharenui* 'meeting house', *urupā* 'burial ground, cemetery, graveyard',

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- features of social organisation, e.g. *iwi* 'extended kinship group, tribe, nation', *Ngāti Tūora*, name of a tribal group, *rangatira* 'chief (male or female)',
- concepts related to ceremonial proceedings, e.g. *karanga* 'ceremonial call of welcome to visitors onto a *marae* [i.e. the open area in front of the meeting house, where formal greetings and discussions take place, K.L.], or equivalent venue, at the start of a pōwhiri', *paepae* 'orator's bench', *waiata* 'song, 'chant, psalm', *Whaikōrero* 'oratory, oration, formal speech-making, address, speech – formal speeches usually made by men during a pōwhiri and other gatherings',
- Māori heritage and genealogy, e.g. *tīpuna* 'ancestors', 'grandparents', *whakapapa* 'genealogy', 'lineage', 'descent',
- Māori material culture, e.g. *kete* 'basket', 'kit', *pounamu* 'greenstone', 'nephrite', 'jade', *tekoteko* 'carved figure on the gable of a meeting house', 'figurehead (of a canoe)', *tokotoko* 'walking stick', 'pole', 'staff', 'cane', 'crutch', *tukutuku* 'ornamental lattice-work – used particularly between carvings around the walls of meeting houses',
- various references to immaterial culture and cultural practices, e.g. *hongi* '(to) press noses in greeting', *kai tangata* 'man-eater', *mana* 'prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, charisma – mana is a supernatural force in a person, place or object', *mauri* 'life principle, vital essence, special nature, a material symbol of a life principle, source of emotions – the essential quality and vitality of a being or entity', *ōhākī* 'dying speech, parting wish, last words, deathbed speech', *oriori* 'lullaby, song composed on the birth of a chiefly child about his/her ancestry and tribal history', *taonga* 'treasure, anything prized – applied to anything considered to be of value including socially or culturally valuable objects, resources, phenomena, ideas and techniques', *utu* 'revenge, cost, price, reciprocity', *wairua* 'spirit, soul – spirit of a person which exists beyond death'.

Apart from the items listed above, we find frequent references to the names of *atuas*, ancestors with continuing influence over particular domains, and to the names of stars or other celestial bodies.

Several Māori words denote forms of human relationships. As in the Australian drama texts, we find terms of address for older people, such as *Koro* 'elderly man', 'grandfather', 'grandad, grandpa' and *Kui* 'grandma', 'old woman, elderly woman'. Grace-Smith's characters also employ more general modes of greeting, e.g. *kia ora* and *tēna koe* 'hello', as well as the particle *e* which is used before address terms, as in the combinations *e hine*, wherein *hine* can be glossed as 'girl, daughter – term of address to a girl or younger woman', or *e pā*, the latter being a term of address to an older male or superior. Another point to note is that the text also includes English personal names

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which have entered te reo Māori as loans, e.g. *Hohepa* 'Joseph' and *Hamiora* 'Samuel'.

Further similarities to the Australian plays can be detected in the use of lexical items which describe

- local flora and fauna, e.g. *kauri* 'kauri, Agathis australis', a large forest tree, *kawau* 'cormorant', 'shag', *mānuka* 'tea-tree', *pāua* 'abalone, sea ear', *tōtara* 'Podocarpus totara, Podocarpus cunninghamii, large forest trees with prickly, olive-green leaves', *wheke* 'octopus', 'squid',
- body parts or intimate aspects of life, e.g. *hapū* 'pregnant', *nono(s)* 'anus', 'backside', 'bum', 'butt', *puku* 'stomach', 'abdomen', 'centre', 'belly', 'tummy',
- feelings, states of being, and forms of behaviour, e.g. *pōrangi* 'be insane, mad, crazy, mentally ill, deranged, beside oneself', *tāhae* 'thief', 'cheat', 'robber', 'crook', *teka* 'falsehood', 'lie', 'bullshit', *whakahīhī* '(to) be vain, conceited, arrogant, smug'. We further find the interjections *auē* 'oh dear!' and *(e) hika* 'good heavens!',
- the domain of the contact experience, e.g. *kai* 'food', 'meal', *Māori* 'Indigenous person', 'native', 'normal', 'usual', 'natural', 'common', *Pākehā* 'New Zealander of European descent', *Tararā* 'Dalmatian'.

Lastly, a number of single-word insertions should be seen as examples of language maintenance, since, bluntly speaking, they do not fit into any of the conceptual categories established. Among them are interjections such as *āe* 'yes', *taihoa* 'wait', 'don't ... yet', nouns for every day concepts such as *whare* 'house', 'building', 'residence', 'dwelling', 'shed', 'hut', 'habitation', but also the place name *Te Kupenga* which translates as 'The Net'.

Most hybrid elements occurring in the text involve Māori elements that are also found in the form of single-word insertions, e.g. *puku down* 'belly down' and *puku up* 'belly up', terms describing a weaving technique, and *tukutuku panel*. Like *marae meeting* and *marae opening*, they reflect the strong presence of the conceptual field of Māori culture in the play. The domain of nature and environment is reinforced by terms such as *pāua fritters*, *rata flower*, and *karaka tree*. Other hybrid compounds again call to mind the coexistence of the Māori and settler community within New Zealand society, e.g. *Pākehā fulla*, used in a way comparable to that of *whitefella* in the Australian texts, and *Māori Queen*. The expression *Māori time* 'late', commonly used by Pākehā in a derogative manner, once more shows how indigenous people attempt to deride racist mainstream discourse through irony. Another humorous usage of a lexical appropriation is the designation of Matawera as the comic book style villain *Super Teko*, from *tekoteko* 'carved figure on the gable of a meeting house'.

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Almost a quarter of the lexical appropriations recorded in *Purapurawhetū* are instances of multi-word insertion of varying length, ranging from short phrases such as *Ko wai ia?* 'Who is he?' or *Ka kite e Kui*, a form of farewell, to short monologues spanning several lines. While the monologues are exclusively uttered by Hohepa, all characters include longer stretches of Māori in their speech. Most of Hohepa's monologues are directed at or speak of *atua*s, stars, planets, or other celestial bodies, e.g. *Tama Nui te Rā*, personification and sacred name of the sun:

> Auē Tama Nui te Rā. Aroha mai ki ahau. Tukua iho ōu ihi kaha kia mutu ai te mamae o tōku ngākau. Whakamahanatia tōku tinana. Kei te mākatikati ōku kamo. Whakamutua! Kia kitea ai te mea e kimihia nei. Homai te kaha, te māia hoki, kia taea i e au.
>
> Auē Tama Nui te Rā. Take pity on me. Let your warmth fill me, your rays take this pain from my heart. Take the salt sting from my eyes and let me see clearly what I search for. Give me the strength and the courage to complete what I need to do.
>
> (Grace-Smith 1999: 44f, translation provided in footnote to the text.)

They involve a spiritual element and can therefore be seen as expressions of cultural continuity; one is an *oriori*, a lullaby. Another two multiword insertions are exclamations of distress and expressions of the speaker's feelings; the remaining longer passages of Māori could not be assigned to a particular conceptual category.

While translations are provided for longer passages of Māori in the text, this does not necessarily mean that all of the elements are translated into English, e.g. the sentence *E hine, kaua koe e mahara* is rendered as *E hine, don't you worry* in the glossary. This indicates that the author either could not provide an adequate translation of the element *e* (because a direct transfer into English is not possible or would mean that part of the meaning is lost) or that she expects readers to be familiar with the term. Since more than half of the single-word insertions included in the text are listed as part of the NZE lexicon in the *New Zealand Oxford Dictionary*, we can assume that a much higher portion of the Māori language elements have at least some degree of currency in NZE than Aboriginal language words have in AusE.

10.2Lexical Appropriation in Canadian First Nations Drama

Our second analysis of a text written by a non-Australian playwright takes us to the American continent, more precisely, to present-day Canada. Despite the large geographic distance and even though we can detect a number of differences to the Pacific situation, many aspects of Canadian colonial history reflect that of Australia and New Zealand.

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10.2.1 **A Brief Colonial History of Canada**

Once again, the great time depth makes it difficult to determine with certainty when North America was first settled. Dickason (2006: 1) says: "From physical and linguistic evidence, we know that humans were present in the Americas at least by 17,000 BP ('before present')[51] and perhaps by 50,000 BP or even earlier". At the same time, Francis *et al*. (2010: 4) state: "By the 'conservative' criteria, there are four Canadian sites [...] that confirm the presence of humans in Canada at least 10 000 years ago". At the time of first known contact between the Indigenous population of North America[52] and Europeans, more precisely, between the people of the eastern Arctic and the Norse, the inhabitants of what was later to become Canada mainly depended on hunting and collecting food for sustenance, gradually developing techniques of food cultivation (Dickason 2006: 1ff, 21f). At that time, the Indigenous population of North America lived in six different culture areas, viz. Northwest Coast, Plateau, Plains, Subarctic, Arctic, and Northeastern Woodlands, none of which was confined to the territory of modern Canada (McMillan & Yellowhorn 2009: 9). Today, Canada's Indigenous peoples comprise First Nations, the Inuit of the Arctic regions as well as the Métis, descendants of Europeans and First Nations people.

After a period of casual contacts between Native Peoples and European explorers, whalers, and fishermen and a few short-lived attempts at settlement (Dickason 2006: 21ff), the French were the first to establish permanent colonies on Canadian soil in the early years of the 17th century (Dickason 2006: 40). At around the same time, England founded its first North American colonies and in the late 1680s, the interests of the two colonial powers inevitably clashed when English colonisation, exploration, and trading activities pushed forward. North America became the site of a series of conflicts between New France and the English colonies (Francis *et al.* 2010: 75) in which the latter were to finally win the upper hand. From the beginning, First Nations became involved in the struggles as French and English attempted to form alliances with individual groups. Yet, these were not their only battle grounds: with the arrival of the colonisers and their new weapons, inter-tribal wars increased in

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51 The scientific calendar based on radicarbon dating uses the year 1950 as the pivotal point (Dickason 2006: xii).

52 Canada's Indigenous peoples comprise First Nations, the Inuit of the Arctic regions as well as the Métis, descendants of Europeans and First Nations people. In the relevant literature, these three groups are often referred to as 'Aboriginal' Canadians. To avoid confusion with the Aboriginal population of Australia, we shall resort to the terms 'Indigenous' and 'Native' to denote First Nations, Inuit, and Métis. This section generally focuses on the history of contact between Europeans and First Nations people. However, unless otherwise indicated, the terms 'Indigenous' and 'Native' include all three groups.

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gravity and the intrusion into First Nations land caused conflicts between colonisers and Indigenous inhabitants (Dickason 2006: 47ff, 80ff). For the purpose of this chapter, suffice it to say that the developments of the next one and a half centuries follow the well-known pattern of colonisation, that is, the Indigenous population of Canada had to face a rising influx of colonists and the increased economic exploitation of the country's resources. The rising demand for land was satisfied by gradually driving First Nations off their traditional territories and establishing Indian Reserves (Dickason 2006: 103ff). As elsewhere in the history of European colonisation, the loss of land and resources, the spread of introduced substances such as alcohol, and introduced diseases reduced the Native Peoples of the settled areas dramatically (Dickason 2006: 49), and the Native population of Canada, severely reduced in number by the early 19th century, was assumed to die out as a distinct people. Those who would not disappear were to be assimilated into the mainstream society (Dickason 2006: 136). Education, especially in the shape of residential schools, became a major tool for assimilation and the destruction of Indigenous languages and culture (Dickason 2006: 211f, 227).

During the entire colonisation process, Aboriginal Canadians had time and again voiced their resentment against British attempts to displace them from their land as well as against the treatment they received from the part of the colonisers. However, the first significant steps towards a change in intercultural relationships in Canada did not occur until the middle of the 20th century when the civil rights and Indigenous rights movements in the U.S. and in other former colonies also encouraged the rise of political activism in Canada. First Nations demands for civil rights, political recognition, and moderation of governmental control were supported by an increasingly sympathetic Canadian public (Francis *et al.* 2010: 494ff). Political debates of the 1980s and 1990s centred on Indigenous rights and self-government (Francis *et al.* 2010: 497ff). In 1982, the Métis finally achieved official recognition as an Indigenous people (Francis *et al.* 2010: 507) and 1999 saw the creation of the territory of Nunavut, a self-governing territory administered in cooperation with the Inuit (Dickason 2006: 255f).

In the 2011 National Household Survey (NHS), 1,400,685 Canadians, that is 4.3% of the total Canadian population, reported an Indigenous identity. The majority of Indigenous Canadians are First Nations persons: 851,560 people, that is, 60.8% of the total Indigenous population and 2.6% of the total Canadian population, identified as First Nations while 451,795 persons or 32.3% of the total Aboriginal population identified as Métis. Another 59,445 people identified as Inuit; this number corresponds to 4.2% of the Indigenous population of Canada. In 2011, the majority of Native Canadians lived in Ontario and the western provinces (Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Colum-

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bia); in Nunavut and the Northwest Territories, Indigenous people actually outnumbered the non-Indigenous population (Statistics Canada 2014a)

10.2.2 **The Language Situation in Canada**

The Canadian situation resembles the Australian context in so far as prior to colonisation, the country was inhabited by different Indigenous groups who spoke a variety of languages and dialects pertaining to different language families. The colonists, too, were speakers of different languages, viz. English and French, and the influence of the latter has given rise to Michif, spoken by the descendants of French Canadian fur traders and Cree people in the Métis communities of Saskatchewan and Manitoba (Bakker 1997: 3).

Apart from Michif, around 50 Indigenous languages are still in use in Canada today. These belong to eleven different language families or are linguistic isolates. Algonquin, Athapaskan, and Inuktitut are the largest language families, and in the early 21st century, 93% of the languages that continue to be transmitted as first languages belonged to one of these families. The greatest linguistic variety is found in British Columbia where approximately half of the Indigenous languages of Canada are spoken. Most of these, though, only have a small number of usually older speakers and thus need to be considered endangered (Ball & Bernhardt 2008: 571).

In the 2011 National Household Survey, 240,815 people, that is, 17.2% of those who identified as Native Canadians claimed that they were able to hold a conversation in an Indigenous language (Statistics Canada 2014b). In the 2011 Census, the majority of those who reported to speak an Indigenous mother tongue (a total of 213,490 persons) were speakers of Cree, Inuktitut, or Ojibway. Other languages reported as mother-tongue by more than 10,000 people were Dene, Innu/Montagnais, and Oji-Cree (Statistics Canada 2014c). Of those who self-identified as First Nations person, 22.4% responded that they could converse in an Indigenous language. The majority languages, English or French, were spoken by 99.2% of the Indigenous population (Statistics Canada 2014b)

As in other (post-) colonial varieties of English, First Nations and Inuit languages of Canada have left traces in the lexicon of Canadian English (henceforth also 'CanE'). Again, we find that terms for flora and fauna as well as words from related domains prevail. Still, these apparently only have restricted currency in the lexicon of CanE. Boberg (2010: 113f) maintains:

> While the Aboriginal component of CanE is highly distinctive, […] most words of Aboriginal origin other than place names denote objects or concepts explicitly connected with the natural world or with Aboriginal culture and are not therefore part of the daily vocabulary of most Canadians.

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Apart from the lexical influence of Canadian languages on the mainstream dialect, we find tentative evidence for the existence of Aboriginal varieties of CanE, though little work has been conducted in this area and only a few years ago, Ball & Bernhardt (2008: 571) argued that "to date there has been virtually no research on First Nations English dialects in Canada". A few individual scholars and educators have set out to investigate the characteristics of different First Nations English dialects, especially in the speech of children. Unluckily, the studies do not provide any information about the lexicon of First Nations dialects of English.

10.2.3 **Tomson Highway: The Rez Sisters (1986/1988)**

Contemporary Native Canadian theatre is commonly described as having begun in earnest in the 1970s, with a few forerunners in earlier decades. Still, the work of the 1970s and early 1980s did not receive much attention, and Tomson Highway's *The Rez Sisters* (1986/1988) and *Dry Lips Oughta Move to Kapuskasing* (1989) were the first plays by an Indigenous playwright that attracted a larger audience and sparked a heightened interest in Native drama in Canada (Schäfer 2013: 24). While its short flourishing phase ended in the mid-1990s, Native Canadian theatre continues to develop until today (Schäfer 2013: 19).

Tomson Highway was born in 1951 in Maria Lake, northern Manitoba, as the 11th of twelve children of Cree champion dogsled racer Joe Highway and his wife Pelage Philomene Highway. Like his siblings, Highway learned Cree as his first language as he spent his early years with his family, moving around along his father's trap lines. The author did not come into contact with English until he was sent to a Catholic boarding school at the age of six (Highway 1988: vi-vii).

The Rez Sisters, partly modelled after Tremblay's *Les Belles-Soeurs* (1968) (Gilbert 2001: 391), narrates the story of seven women who live on the fictional Wasaychiagan Hill Indian Reserve on Manitoulin Island, Ontario. They all maintain close family connections: six of the women are sisters, half-sisters, or sisters-in-law; the seventh female character is the adopted daughter of one of the women. The women's daily routine is depicted in a grim manner; their lives are defined by alcoholism, spousal abuse, and disputes over men. Despite their permanent quarrels and the tense relationships between individual characters, the group of seven decides to raise money to attend THE BIGGEST BINGO IN THE WORLD (always spelt in capital letters in the text) in Toronto together. During their preparations and eventual journey to Toronto, they reveal their dreams, fears, and secrets. The only other character in the play, and also the only male one, is the Nanabush, a shape-shifting trickster figure who variously appears as a seagull, a nighthawk, and the Bingo Master. The

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narration has a cyclical character: the bingo does not merit the desired large win and at the end of the play, most characters find themselves in the same situation they were in at the beginning of the story; only the death of the cancer-ridden Marie-Adele has changed things on the reserve.

The First Nations languages used in the text are Cree and the closely related Ojibway, reflecting the mix of Cree and Ojibway residents at Wasaychigan Hill (Highway 1988: xi). Both languages belong to the Algonquian language family and comprise a chain of dialects spoken over a vast area which stretches from Quebec to northern Alberta (Frawley 2003: 66f). In the text, the Cree and Ojibway passages are translated in footnotes at the end of which the source language is specified. The only exception is *neee* 'oh you', which remains unglossed when standing on its own.

The lack of information on the lexicon of First Nations dialects of English makes it difficult to determine which elements except for the obvious, that is, single-word insertions or longer passages of Cree or Ojibway, constitute salient characteristics of the dialect portrayed by Highway and can therefore be seen as instances of lexical appropriation. Thus, as in the analysis of *Purapurawhetū*, we shall limit our attention to those English lexical elements which show a meaning or usage that differs from StE or make reference to First Nations people, language, and culture, as well as to political and social organisation and related domains, that is, to concepts which parallel the lexical appropriations discussed in the previous analyses.

The Rez Sisters is somewhat exceptional in its language use when compared to our Australian corpus: while it only contains a moderate amount of traditional language – we find 16 instances of lexical appropriation involving Cree/Ojibway elements – the larger part of these are actually multi-word insertions. Of the seven single-word insertions featuring in the text, two make reference to First Nations culture by evoking the *Nanabush* and the *Windigo*. The use of the word *Nishnawbs*, glossed as 'Indians', once more exemplifies how Indigenous people distinguish themselves from the mainstream society by means of a traditional language word. The term is used alongside the English *Indians*, which occurs in nominal and adjectival application. English terms also occur in other contexts in which a First Nations person is described, viz. in order to designate a member of the First Nations group *Yellowknife* and to disapprove of the *Apple Indian* Annie who dreams of a live with the white singer Fritz the Katz. For the remaining single-word insertions, none of the previously established conceptual categories seem to apply, but a symbolic meaning is inherent in the use of the reservation's name *Wasaychigan* which translates as 'window', an opening that allows spectators to get a glimpse of the life on a *Rez*. The personal name *Zhaboonigan* 'needle', too, is heavy with symbolism, given to a mentally challenged girl who was raped with a screwdriver by two white boys. The family name *Dictionary,* a corruption of the

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original *Dadzinanare*, is as colourful as many of the other personal names occurring in Highway's text, e.g. *June Bug McLeod*, *Little Girl Manitowabi*, *Marie-Adele Starblanket*, *Pelajia Patchnose*, and *Philomena Moosetail*.

Familiar features are once again found in the interjections *eh* and *innit* and in references to *the old language* and *the old stories*. First Nation communities' political organisation is alluded to by the terms *Band Council* and *chief*, both of which, however, are CanE terms. In one scene, Emily Dictionary addresses Zhaboonanigan, one of the two only characters with whom she does not maintain blood relations, as *sister*. This lexical symbol of female solidarity is also mirrored in the play's title *The Rez Sisters* which is ambiguous in its scope of referents. While most of the female characters are actually sisters, half-sisters, or sisters-in-law and they all share the same cultural and ethnic background, *The Rez Sisters* was also the name of Emily Dictionary's all-female, all-Indian biker gang in San Francisco.

None of the multi-word insertions in Highway's text relate directly to First Nations culture. Instead, several show how the use of Cree or Ojibway serves the articulation of emotionally loaded content, as in the examples *Adele, ki-sa-gee-ee-tin oo-ma* 'Adele, I love you' and *Pelajia, een-pay-seek-see-yan* 'Pelajia, I'm scared to death', or to express reprimands, as in *Shkanah, Zhaboonigan, sba-ma-bah…* 'Shush, Zhaboonigan, don't say that'. Two multi-word insertions, both of which occur in conversations between Marie-Adele and the Nanabush, have considerable length. They further exhibit code-switching to English and back which provides English-speaking audiences with just enough information to grasp the crucial points of the utterance:

> U-wi-nuk u-wa? U-wi-nuk u-wa? Eugene? Neee. U-wi-nuk ma-a oo-ma kee-tha? Ka. Kee-tha i-chi-goo-ma so that's who you are … at rest upon the rock … the master of the game … the game … nee-tha … me … come … come … don't be afraid … as-tum … come … to … me … ever soft wings … beautiful soft … soft ... dark wings ... here ... take me ... as-tum ... as-tum ... pee-na-sin ... wings here ... take me ... take ... me ... with ... pee-na-sin.
>
> Who are you? Who are you? Eugene? Neee. Then who are you really? Oh. It's you, so that's who you are…at rest upon the rock … the master of the game … the game … it's me … me … come … come … don't be afraid … come … come … to … me … ever soft wings … beautiful soft … soft ... dark wings ... here ... take me ... come ... come ... come and get me ... wings here ... take me ... take ... me ... with ... come and get me.
>
> (Highway 1988: 104)

Note that, even in the gloss, the element *neee* 'oh you' remains untranslated, so that only those familiar with the item can appreciate its meaning.

On one occasion, Highway uses cushioning to explain the symbolism of the name Zhaboonigan:

> Everybody calls me Zhaboonigan. Why? It means needle. Zhaboonigan. Going-through-thing. Needle Peterson. Going-through-thing Peterson. That's me.

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(Highway 1988: 48)

Only one of traditional language elements found in the play, viz. *Windigo*, is also listed in the Canadian Oxford Dictionary. This and the occurrence of multi-word insertions suggest that even Canadian audiences have little chance of understanding the non-English parts without a glossary.

10.3Lexical Appropriation in Māori and First Nations Drama

While an analysis of a mere two additional texts is by no means sufficient to make any generalisations about the nature of lexical appropriation in Indigenous drama as a whole, the salient lexical features established for the Māori and First Nations plays will nevertheless help us to outline some tentative trends. Summarising the most important points of the results detailed above shall help to answer the questions that have been laid out in the introduction to the present chapter, viz.

- whether parallels and differences can be detected between the Māori and First Nations plays on the one hand and the findings from our Australian corpus on the other,
- which lexical tools are employed to express culturally bound concepts, and
- whether the conceptual categories established to account for the lexical appropriations found in our Australian corpus also apply in a wider context.

The analyses of the Māori and First Nations plays have yielded interesting and, most of all, quite diverse results. As the above discussion already suggested, Briar Grace-Smith's *Purapurawhetū* demonstrates a lot of similarities to our Australian text *The Dreamers*, both in respect to the high amount of insertions from the traditional language (the number of lexical appropriations involving Māori actually exceeds that of Nyoongah elements established for Davis' play) and in relation to the conceptual categories that are represented by the lexical appropriations found in the text. These similarities are in part due to the play's thematic outline and its emphasis on Māori culture. Of course, Australian Aboriginal and Māori material and non-material cultures are unique and therefore incomparable, a fact that is also reflected in the concepts expressed by individual appropriations. For example, *Purapurawhetū* includes several terms for buildings, such as *kāuta* 'cooking shed, kitchen, cookhouse', *wharekai* 'dining hall', and *wharenui* 'meeting house', where AborE has less specific terms for temporary shelters. References to Māori social organisation include terms such as *iwi* 'extended kinship group, tribe, nation'

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and *rangatira* 'chief (male or female)'. Other lexical appropriations relate to ceremonial proceedings, aspects of Māori religion, and cultural practice. Indeed, the large number of appropriations relating to Māori culture underlines the value of this conceptual category for the expression of a distinct Indigenous identity and emphasises that also outside the Australian context, cultural tradition is one of the main domains which demand for appropriation of the standard language in order to be satisfactorily represented. The results from the analysis of *The Rez Sisters* appear to support this claim: while only few of the lexical appropriations found in Highway's text directly relate to any of the established conceptual domains, most of those that can be associated with a particular conceptual category relate to First Nations culture. Examples are the terms *Nanabush* and *Windigo* as well as allusions to First Nations *languages* and *stories*. Another significant fact is that the longest and thus most outstanding passages in traditional language are exchanges between Marie-Adele and the Nanabush who represents the most tangible connection to First Nations culture in the play.

References to or representations of the contact experience are largely restricted to descriptions of Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in the New Zealand and Canadian plays. Examples are *Indian guy/white guy* (*The Rez Sisters*) or *Māori/Pākehā* (*Purapurawhetū*). The New Zealand text also employs the term *black* for Māori people, so that we once more find a distinction between colonisers and colonised which involves the opposites black/Indigenous vs. white/European. Colour is also the decisive element in the lexical item *Apple Indian*, which criticises First Nations people who are thought to deny their heritage and like *coconut* insinuates a 'black' (or rather, a 'red') outside appearance but a 'white' attitude. The ME term *born again*, on the other hand, reflects the low image of those who have only lately recognised their cultural background. The colonisers' impact on the lives of First Nations people and their relegation to a life in a confined and regulated environment is alluded to by *Rez*, a term which reminds of the Australian *mission*. Apart from that, neither text includes any references to the police or government authorities, nor to introduced substances and items including alcohol, tobacco, or money. In addition, *The Rez Sisters* does not make any allusions to domains such as body parts or private issues, modes of behaviour, forms of social interaction, the connection between Aboriginal people and the land, or to the local nature and environment. While none of these conceptual categories was exceptionally prominent in *Purapurawhetū*, they were nevertheless represented in Grace-Smith's text.

Further similarities between the Australian texts on the one hand and the Māori and First Nations plays on the other are once more found in the ways that English kinship terms are employed: while *Purapurawhetū* makes frequent use of Māori terms in order to describe family relations, the text also features

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the English items *auntie(s)*, *uncle*, and *cuz*. Thus, the pattern found in the Australian texts is repeated in so far as we encounter both respectful modes of address to an older man or woman as well as terms that denote a person of the same generation, acknowledging this person as a peer and member of the same social group. *The Rez Sisters* only includes a single kinship term, viz. *sister(s)*, which serves the double function of underlining female solidarity while also accentuating the women's shared status as residents of an Indian Reservation and their general position as Aboriginal Canadians. Finally, the occurrence of rhetoric devices such as *eh* and *innit* that invite the addressee's consent in both plays manifests that these are common features of many Indigenous varieties of English.

A novel feature observed in both plays is the occurrence of personal names which are not based on Indigenous language terms but still deviate from mainstream naming practices: in *Purapurawhetū*, we find *Hohepa* 'Joseph' and *Hamiora* 'Samuel', renditions of English names which have entered te reo as loanwords and have therefore been adapted to the sound system of Māori. A reverse process shows in *The Rez Sisters* where the characters' names are either anglicised forms of a non-English name, as in *Dictionary* which is derived from the original *Dazinanare*, or show how Cree and Ojibway naming patterns have been transferred into the colonial language English, as in the family names *Moosetail* or *Starblanket*. English is also the language of choice to designate a member of the First Nations group *Yellowknife*.

Purapurawhetū further makes frequent use of terms of welcome and farewell, such as *tēna koe* 'hello', 'thank you' or *kia ora* 'hello', 'cheers', 'good luck', best wishes', which constitute a notable and distinct type of appropriation that was not encountered in any of the other plays. In addition, the text includes a number of passages which exemplify modes of address in ME, e.g. *e hine*, particle + 'girl, daughter', as in *E hine, kaua koe e mahara* 'E hine, don't you worry'.

Generally, *The Rez Sisters* contains a much smaller amount of lexical appropriation than Grace-Smith's text. Still, Cree and Ojibway are a discernible element of Highway's text due to the prevalence of multi-word insertions that achieve greater prominence because of their sheer length. In fact, the share of multi-word insertion in both plays is remarkable, but it also has implications for the texts' comprehensibility: readers and audiences are likely to understand single items presented in a context that supports their interpretation, yet, large numbers of longer passages in traditional language are prone to have an alienating effect. In addition, while more than half of the Māori single-word insertions in *Purapurawhetū* are also listed in the *New Zealand Oxford Dictionary*, supporting statements that Māori loanwords have become an integral part of the NZE lexicon and that many New Zealanders are familiar with a range of words and expressions relating to Māori culture, only a single one

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of the First Nations language words employed in *The Rez Sisters* has an entry in the Canadian Oxford Dictionary.

Another characteristic shared by both texts is that while traditional language elements serve as apparent indicators of lexical and conceptual distinctiveness in the texts, only a small number of English terms reveal obvious traces of semantic modification or usages deviant from StE. In the absence of more comprehensive information on the lexicon of ME and First Nations English(es), only few English items could be identified that qualify as instances of lexical appropriation. This sets *Purapurawhetū* and *The Rez Sisters* clearly apart from the Australian plays in which English and English-derived lexemes dominate as appropriation types. One of the most interesting results of the analysis of *Purapurawhetū* is that it features several Māori terms which describe kinship relations, such as *whānau* 'extended family', 'family group' or *whanaunga* 'relative', 'relation', 'kin', 'blood relation', i.e. concepts which in the Australian texts are exclusively expressed through English terms. Also elsewhere, Grace-Smith's play shows bias for Māori terms in contexts where AborE employs English words, either exclusively or besides Indigenous language words. Possible reasons for this preference to use the ancestral language may include the higher degree of Māori language maintenance in New Zealand as well as the more marked influence of te Reo on the lexicon of NZE, resulting in a greater familiarity with Māori words on the part of Pākehā New Zealanders. In addition, while New Zealand has one Indigenous language, the substrate influences on AborE are numerous and vary depending on the locality. Hence, it is not surprising that in AborE, many widely used concepts tend to be expressed by means of English terms that have a wider, pan-Australian applicability, whereas in ME, the need for such comprehensive English-derived labels does not arise. First Nations dialects of English, on the other hand, also have a range of substrate influences. As such, we might assume that in the Canadian context, too, semantic modification of existing Standard English words or processes of word formation are preferred as tools to express widely used concepts. Still, neither the scarce literature on First Nations dialects of English nor the language use in *The Rez Sisters* provide any evidence for this assumption. Further text analyses would be necessary to make any statements on whether the small amount of English-derived lexical appropriations is a general feature of First Nations drama or particular to the work of Tomson Highway.

It has become apparent that while the conceptual domains established in 8.3.3 are largely sufficient for the categorisation of the types of lexical appropriation found in *Purapurawhetū*, many of the Cree and Ojibway elements and passages in *The Rez Sisters* do not neatly fit into the categories that have served so well for the Australian corpus. It already transpired in our analysis of Jack Davis' *The Dreamers* that longer passages of traditional language challenge our

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conceptual classification since, contrary to most single-word insertions, they are not concerned with filling a lexical gap and expressing culturally-bound meanings. Most of the multi-word insertions in Highway's text (and even some of the single-word insertions) are best described as examples of code-switching which allow speakers to react to the situation or express their feelings rather than as indexation of a different worldview or the expression of culture-specific concepts. This, too, may be at least partly due to the play's thematic outline which shows little emphasis on the loss of First Nations culture and related topics which would allow for (or even demand) a greater use of lexemes that actually fill a lexical gap. Still, many of the Cree/Ojibway insertions do in fact fulfil a function that was found to be closely connected to lexical appropriation: expressing highly emotive content, utterances such as *Pelajia, een-pay-seek-see-yan* 'Pelajia, I'm scared to death' are crucial for the creation of intimacy as the code employed is only accessible to few interlocutors. In other scenes, Marie-Adele code-switches to Cree when talking to the Nanabush who announces her approaching death. Here, the traditional language not only underlines the emotive significance of the scene, it also establishes an association between the presence of the legendary trickster figure and the use of traditional language. An interesting aspect of these scenes is that the Nanabush presents itself in the shape of a bird which calls to mind the 'messenger bird' in the Australian plays. Nevertheless, the general impression remains that while the language employed in *The Rez Sisters* certainly possesses the frequently discussed 'exotic flavour' which marks the characters' cultural and ethnic background, the lexical appropriations encountered do not entirely follow the detected pattern of emphasising the different conceptual frameworks inherent in mainstream and ethnic dialects of English.

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11 Summary and Conclusion: Lexical Manifestations of Cultural Distinctiveness in Indigenous Playwriting

The aim of the present thesis was to

- identify those elements that accomplish a lexical appropriation of the standard language in Australian Aboriginal drama texts,
- determine which different types of lexico-semantic features are employed to achieve this goal and make statements about the individual elements' currency in AborE, AusE, and beyond,
- establish the source languages and meanings of the non-English elements;
- examine the concepts associated with the individual lexical appropriations, and explore whether these are culturally bound and grounded in a distinctly Aboriginal rather than mainstream understanding of the world,
- determine if the elements identified as instances of lexical appropriation always fill a lexical gap by expressing meanings for which no St(Aus)E equivalent exists or whether they may also assume functions which go beyond catering for a lexical need.

Most of these questions have already been answered in the previous chapters: all texts employ a range of different lexical elements which serve to appropriate the standard dialect in order to communicate ideas that are distinct from a mainstream understanding of the world. In the Australian corpus, English lexemes that have undergone semantic modification or show a usage that deviates from StE slightly outnumber single-word insertions from Aboriginal languages, even though the analyses of *Purapurawhetū* and *The Rez Sisters* suggest that English lexemes are less commonly employed as tools for lexical appropriation outside Australia. Most of the single-word insertions come from languages (formerly) spoken in the area in which the play is set and where the author maintains family relationships. Other elements identified as instances of appropriation in the Australian texts are Aboriginal language words from other parts of the country which often have wider currency in varieties of AborE and/or AusE, longer passages in Aboriginal language, English lexemes that have undergone phonological modification, hybrid compounds, or terms from contact languages. Most appropriations express concepts that could be assigned to one out of a fixed number of conceptual fields which were established with the help of J.M. Arthur's dictionary of Aboriginal English. Most prominently represented are the domain of cultural tradition, the body, and the domain of feeling and behaviour. These are the categories which include large numbers of Aboriginal language words, many of which only feature in one text. A great number of English lexemes, on the other hand, reoccur in the

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texts, which at least partly supports Leitner's (2004b: 129) claim that it is mostly innovative usages of English terms which render the AborE lexicon unique. Still, the texts have shown that, at least in Australian Aboriginal drama, also words from Aboriginal languages may occur in a variety of domains and are by no means restricted to describing aspects of Aboriginal culture, flora and fauna, or people and regional identities, as is suggested by the studies discussed in 6.4.2.

That said, we can turn our attention towards some of the findings that merit further discussion. It has transpired that in the Australian corpus Aboriginal language words prevail in certain domains while other conceptual categories reveal almost exclusively English lexemes. Another conclusion that can be drawn is that the amount of lexical appropriations determined for the individual conceptual categories, irrespective of the items' source languages, varies considerably, so that while some domains are strongly represented in the corpus, others are only occasionally alluded to. What is more, we can observe that individual concepts dominate in the corpus: for example, most texts include references to the concept 'shame' or terms for the behind. Further, the corpus reveals a substantial degree of variation in terms of the amount of lexical appropriations established for the individual text, a factor that markedly affects the ways in which the texts are perceived.

Another issue that needs to be re-addressed here concerns the reasons for lexical appropriation. Throughout the present thesis, we have been operating on the assumption that the desire to express culturally-bound concepts for which no StE equivalent exists is the major stimulus for processes such as semantic modification, lexical combination, or the insertion of Aboriginal language words into an English matrix. This implies that lexical appropriation is almost invariably motivated by lexical need, i.e. by the requirement to convey certain ideas in a language that lacks the necessary terminology to do so. In fact, for a great number of lexical appropriations represented in our corpus, this appears to be the case: the most obvious examples come from the domains of cultural tradition and kinship where terms such as *bugeene*, *boolya man*, *Dreaming*, or *cousin brother* show that there exist obvious gaps in the StE lexicon which indeed call for innovations. This notwithstanding, the corpus analyses have shown that lexical shortcomings on the part of the standard dialect are not the only reason for lexical appropriation: all of the texts include a number of items that describe concepts for which StE provides alternatives – consider, for example, the different terms for body parts or words for alcohol, tobacco, and other concepts related to the contact experience. Hence, there must be additional factors that determine when a St(Aus)E word is replaced by an AborE lexical feature. But what are these factors? This is another question which we shall attempt to answer in the following, and we will see that the functions associated with many of the lexical appropriations identified in

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the drama texts reflect ideas and statements on the role and functions associated with AborE that have been outlined and discussed above. In this context, the findings from the analyses of *Purapurawhetū* and *The Rez Sisters* will serve to establish parallels and help to corroborate our judgements.

First, however, let us begin with a brief overview of the concepts that are preferably expressed by Aboriginal language words in the Australian corpus. We must admit that some single- and multi-word insertions do not fit into the established conceptual categories and are thus better regarded as examples of how speakers attempt to preserve the greatest possible degree of lexical knowledge of their ancestral language. Still, the analyses have shown that those words and passages which can be associated with a particular conceptual category are most commonly employed to describe the following concepts:

- Aspects of religious and cultural knowledge and practice. Even though widely used English terms such as *Dreaming*, *dances*, or *Law* are also used in these contexts, many texts show bias for the inclusion of local or regional language words to refer to concepts from this domain.
- An understanding of the world which diverges from that of non-Aboriginal people. This comprises a wide array of themes and conceptual domains, including a different sense of connectedness to the land and a more intimate understanding of the environment, distinct moral and social codes, and a classification of people based on age, status, and knowledge. Our results show that various concepts from these domains may also be expressed via English lexemes; yet, some of the texts reveal a marked preference for Aboriginal language words. At the same time, the Australian corpus does not include a single Aboriginal language term which describes notions of family and kinship structures. In the texts analysed, these are exclusively expressed by English terms even though Arthur (1990: 35 and 1996) provides evidence that in some regions of Australia, Aboriginal language words are in fact used to describe relatives and kinship structures. The findings from *Purapurawhetū* where kin relations were conveyed by both English and Māori terms indicate that the use of (more widely used and therefore better known) English kinship vocabulary is more common in the Australian plays. Perceptions of place and time, quality and quantity, too, are exclusively expressed by English-derived terms in the corpus.
- An experience not shared with the mainstream society, one that is grounded in colonial history and pertains until today and combines, among other things, the omnipresence of institutionalisation in people's lives with a reality defined by poverty and unemployment. This differing experience is also reflected in the use of single-word insertions to describe aspects of daily life, a strategy which renders opaque

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even those concepts shared by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal speakers.

- Painful or delicate matters, such as recollections of past sufferings that are often a direct result of the colonial experience, but also allusions to violence, death and disease, and sexual innuendos.
- Aboriginal people. This includes the names of smaller language groups as well as the more recent practice to express Aboriginal identity by means of terms that denote a larger, regional identity and a shared set of cultural conventions. The use of Aboriginal language words in this context often emphasises the contrast between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal society.

The last point brings us back to something that has been touched upon in 9.2, viz. the different types of lexical appropriation that are employed to describe Indigenous linguistic and cultural identities. Most of the texts in the corpus reveal some degree of variation in the designations they use, and Aboriginal language words frequently co-occur with English-derived terms. In two texts, however, English terms are preferred over single-word insertions. One of them is *The Cherry Pickers* which includes a single instance in which a local language group name is employed: the item *Kamilaroi* features in a description of one of the older characters' cultural background, underlining that she is one of the last 'real' Kamilaroi elders. Elsewhere, Gilbert's text relies on the appropriations *black* and *blackfella*, both of which relate to the contact experience and appropriate an English term introduced by the colonisers. There are several conceivable reasons why his text makes a more extended use of these items: The English-derived words have a much wider scope of referents, that is, they are used all across the whole of the country and serve to describe diverse forms of Aboriginality found in Australia by one and the same term, thus embracing and combining a variety of identities. Derived from the English colour adjective *black*, both terms underline the contact experience by distinguishing 'white' colonisers and 'black' Aboriginal society. As such, they may be employed as a linguistic tool which establishes pan-Aboriginal unity and creates a feeling of cohesion. Plus, the terms not only refer to Aboriginal people of Australia but may also be applied to other indigenous peoples elsewhere who share similar histories of oppression and experiences of racism; this is also alluded to in *The Cherry Pickers* when the characters talk about the North American 'Black Power' movement. That the terms were deliberately included due to this function is especially probable for writers such as Gilbert and Johnson whose texts are strongly grounded in the protest tradition and reveal the most vibrant political message. At the same time, Gilbert's *The Cherry Pickers* is characterised by the frequent insertion of Wiradhuri words that express a strong regional affiliation and underline the diversity of Aboriginal cultural heritage in Australia.

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The political message is not as pronounced in *Windmill Baby*. However, Milroy's text is exceptional in our corpus as it is the only text which uses exclusively English terms to describe Aboriginality. It is unclear if it was their role as makers of pan-Aboriginality which prompted Milroy to employ the items *black* and *blackfella* rather than an Aboriginal language word to designate Aboriginal people or if the author had different motives for his choice, e.g. the great diversity of language and culture groups of the Kimberley area, or a reluctance to foreground a particular heritage. At the same time, however, *Windmill Baby* is the only Australian text which employs an Aboriginal language word to describe white people, viz. *gudiya*. In all other plays, Euro-Australians are referred to as *whitefella* or *whiteman*.

In *The Dreamers*, *Murras*, *Up the Road*, and *Cookie's Table*, the two English items *black* and *blackfella* are used alongside the Aboriginal language terms *Nyoongah*, *nunga*, *Koori*, and *Murri* that convey a regional identity. The Aboriginal language terms exhibit a certain unifying element in that they describe a regional affiliation which has replaced a range of former local identities that were destroyed in the wake of colonisation. However, despite their wider applicability, the terms remain geographically restricted and hence involve a stronger identification both with a fixed (if larger) part of the country and a limited set of language and culture groups. Thus, characters who resort to single-word insertions such as *Koori*, *Murri*, or *Nyoongah* signal a more pronounced connection to their heritage than those who refer to themselves and others as *blackfella*.

Areal affiliation is most strongly felt in *Bran Nue Dae* where local names for Aboriginal language groups dominate. Chi's preference for names of smaller, local language groups firmly links the characters to the Broome area and its Aboriginal cultural heritage and further evidences Arthur's (1996: 234ff) findings that in much of northern Australia, original language names have been retained. The insertion of lexical items such as *Bardi*, *Nyikina*, or *Nyul Nyul* thus creates a sharp contrast to the use of the comprehensive terms *black* and *blackfella*. While these mask the cultural and linguistic variety that pertains in Aboriginal Australia, references to local groups highlight this diversity, especially the multiplicity of languages and identities found in the north-west of the country. What all designations of Indigenous people have nevertheless in common is that they serve as a constant reminder of the characters' Aboriginality, setting them apart from the Australian mainstream society.

The contact experience is another domain which is repeatedly addressed in the texts as a factor that distinguishes the Aboriginal characters in the play from the mainstream society. In our Australian corpus, this domain is represented by Aboriginal language terms that relate to alcohol, tobacco, and other 'introduced' items such as money and clothing, as well as to experiences of

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institutionalisation, most markedly expressed by recurring references to the police. Again, Davis' *The Dreamers* provides the largest collection of these terms, for example words for alcohol (*gnoop*, *kaep*), tobacco (*gnumarri*), tea (*marngk*), the police (*manatj*), imprisonment (*woonana* 'behind bars'), Many of the other texts, too, reveal comparable insertions, e.g. alcohol is referred to as *widgellee* or *jirri-jirri tea* in *The Cherry Pickers*; tea is *jiree*. *Cookie's Table* has *goom* 'methylated spirits' and *bungoo* 'money', and *Bran Nue Dae* includes the item *linjoo* 'police'. As has been noted above, all of these concepts could have been expressed through StE so that lexical need cannot account for the occurrence of these appropriations in the corpus. What they all have in common, though, is that they are highly emotionally charged. As references to the colonial experience and its harmful effects on the Aboriginal population, they evoke strong feelings of pain, fear, and oppression. Expressing these hurtful concepts by means of Aboriginal language words moderates their emotional impact. Further, the appropriations underline that painful matters are prone to be expressed by lexemes which are opaque for non-Aboriginal people who are not part of the speakers' social group that is defined by heritage, linguistic and cultural knowledge, and a shared understanding of the world. The prominence of these items in our corpus therefore indicates their significance as tools of linguistic in- and exclusion: choosing a code which only allows cultural insiders to discuss these issues promotes a sense of solidarity among those who share the very experiences of institutionalisation, poverty, displacement, suppression, and racism that can never be fully understood by members of the mainstream society. Meanwhile, resorting to such a code limits the number of speakers who are able to participate in the conversation to members of a close-knit group who have a considerable amount of linguistic and cultural knowledge and possess a common understanding of Aboriginal values and norms. The replacement of existing StE vocabulary by Aboriginal language words therefore underlines that lexical appropriation favours the creation of what is often described as a 'counter-discourse' (see for example Tiffin 1989) that resists and subverts both the colonial perspective as well as its linguistic forms of representation. This counter-discourse, emphasising Aboriginal experience, may also render aspects of every-day life inaccessible for outsiders, so that even concepts such as *marngk* 'tea' or *boogadies* 'shoes' become incomprehensible.

Still, we need to acknowledge that not all lexical items which relate to the contact experience are Aboriginal language words. The pidgin items *butta* and *mukan* that feature in *Bran Nue Dae* underline that the Australian contact experience is not restricted to encounters between Aboriginal people and Euro-Australians. Unlike the remaining texts, *Bran Nue Dae* makes use of gambling terms rather than describing introduced substances such as tobacco and alcohol. What is more, not all lexical appropriations conceal the semantic content

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of what is being discussed and promote an insider code. English lexemes such as *bacca*, *mission*, and *ration* (as well as *Rez* in the Canadian context) are readily understood references to colonial history and as such confront the readers with more obvious representations of the dark side of contact. In addition, non-standard items such as *bullyman* 'police officer', *government fella*, and *whitefella* show that English terms, too, have the potential to subvert the linguistic standards of the mainstream society and undermine the authority of the concepts. So does the ironic and self-deprecating use of words such as *blackie*, *blackfella*, *darkie*, or *Jackie* which appropriates the negative connotations that are inherent in the non-Aboriginal usage of these terms. Another attempt at subverting the power and dominance of the white mainstream society is found in the application of the items *boss* and *missus* in *The Dreamers*. While both address terms commonly serve as lexical reminders of the power exercised by the colonisers over Aboriginal people, Eli employs them when begging, by using a submissive rhetoric to achieve his goals: "Can you spare forty cents, boss? God bless you, sir, God bless you, missus." (Davis 1982: 120). The pervasive nature of the contact experience and its ongoing relevance for Aboriginal people is reflected in the high number of appropriations from this domain and their wide presence in the corpus.

Concepts of a more delicate nature, such as sexual innuendos or descriptions of private body parts, mental health, and diseases constitute another field preferably addressed by Aboriginal language terms. This is exemplified by the large number of single-word insertions for the 'behind' and other body parts as well as by the various references to madness or craziness. The apparent preference for these concepts to be expressed by means of lexical appropriation is supported by the findings from *Purapurawhetū* which exhibits the Māori words *nono(s)* 'backside, behind' and *pōrangi* 'be insane, mad, crazy, mentally ill'. Much of what has been said above also applies here: Aboriginal language terms serve to obscure a concept for which an English word might be felt to be too explicit. At the same time, they provide a tool for the exclusion of outsiders by preventing speakers of the standard dialect from fully understanding the discourse, and only allow those who are able to fully comprehend the terms' meanings to participate in the conversation. This brings us back to the model developed by Koch & Oesterreicher (e.g. 1985) who define criteria for a 'language of immediacy' ("Sprache der Nähe") which has already been addressed in the analysis of Davis' *The Dreamers*. There, we noted that immediacy is not only based on the spatial and temporal proximity of speakers, as is required for dialogues, but also on the social and emotional closeness between the participants in the conversation, as well as on the informal and cooperative nature of the speech situation and an emotionally loaded content. The use of Aboriginal language words in these contexts further reflects the high degree of diatoptic variation found in different varieties of AborE, which is another

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characteristic of immediacy, while aspects such as the dialect's informal and unofficial character (in contrast to the more formal and official standard language) and its function as a social dialect indicate low diastratic and diaphasic levels, two further criteria for immediacy. Whereas the 'language of immediacy' tends to be associated with the spoken word rather than the written text, the model does not suggest that orality and literacy necessarily constitute opposite extremes on a scale and need to be equated with immediacy and distance, respectively. Instead, Koch & Oesterreicher (1994: 588f) locate different discourse types within a two-dimensional continuum in which a horizontal axis connects the opposite end points 'immediacy', which corresponds to 'conceptually oral', and 'distance', which corresponds to 'conceptually written'. The vertical dimension takes into account the medial realisation of the discourse, i.e. the phonic or graphic code. The two-dimensional continuum therefore also accounts for written representations of language which are conceptually oral, such as the dialogues in our plays which conserve spoken language in a graphic code.

While the numbers of appropriations relating to body parts vary considerably for the individual texts, each of the Australian plays except *Up the Road* includes terms from this conceptual category. Eva Johnson's play *Murras*, however, reveals an entirely different usage of a single-word insertion relating to body parts and shows that these may not always contain a sexual or delicate connotation. In her text, the concept of *murras* 'hands' is tightly connected to actions that are often carried out by women. The term functions as the play's leitmotif and a symbol for the demise of Aboriginal culture while it also underlines the role of women as caretakers, providers, and guardians of cultural practice. It hence provides an interface between the domain of the body and that of cultural tradition.

The latter conceptual field, too, contributes a number of features that deserve further attention. Chapter 9.2 has revealed that the domain of cultural tradition contributes the largest number of lexical appropriation types in the corpus, a result underscored by the findings from chapter 10. This could be understood as a more general tendency of many drama texts to foreground aspects of Indigenous culture while it certainly also evidences that this domain embraces many concepts for which there is an actual gap in the lexicon of standard varieties of English. However, we need to remember that while references to cultural and religious practices can be found in every play, the high number of appropriations pertaining to this conceptual domain in the Australian corpus is largely due to the influence of the two earliest texts and as such not representative of the corpus as a whole. Above we have asserted that this category shows bias for single- or multi-word insertions, a statement that is accentuated by the high number of Māori words for aspects of Māori culture in *Purapurawhetū*. While this tendency is undeniable, we can also observe the

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recurring use of widely shared English lexemes such as *Dreaming*, *dances*, *language*, *Law*, or *song* to describe central concepts of Aboriginal belief systems, knowledge, and cultural practice. Yet, not unlike *blackfella*, these are often 'head terms' which relate to a superordinate category rather than to a specific concept. Other, more detailed concepts, e.g. different kinds of evil spirits, particular dances, different tools or implements, and the names of regional or local language groups are often described using the respective Aboriginal language terms which provide more immediate references to individual cultural practices than the rather vague English terms. Compare, for example, a text passage from *Cookie's Table* to two quotations from *The Dreamers*:

> "She didn't do the dances or speak the language." (Enoch 2007: 18)
>
> "Go on, Pop, show him a real middar. Go on, oldy, a real dinkum yallarah." (Davis 1982: 86)
>
> "Oh, that's just Nyoongah talk." (Davis 1982: 96)

Although the corpus is too small to make any definite statements on chronological variation, a change in the way cultural tradition is manifested and represented in the plays can be detected: it appears that the higher number of single-word insertions which was established for the earlier Australian texts goes hand in hand with a) a greater tendency to relate to aspects of cultural tradition and b) a higher frequency of Aboriginal language words that describe these very concepts. This is most notable in *The Dreamers* and *The Cherry Pickers* where elements from Nyoongah and Wiradhuri abound. The more recently written texts, on the other hand, include fewer references to cultural knowledge or practice, many of which are expressed by means of less specific but more widely used English lexemes. This trend, however, seems to be restricted to the Australian texts: *Purapurawhetū*, a more recent text, dating back to 1997, shows that in ME, traditional language elements dominate in these contexts while in *The Rez Sisters*, written in the 1980s, few appropriations describe cultural tradition and Cree and Ojibway languages and stories are referred to as *old language* and *old stories*, a result that certainly also depends on the degree to which the individual dialects (AborE, ME, First Nations English) favour the use of words from the native language(s).

The change in the way cultural practice and religious beliefs are portrayed in the Australian plays is not restricted to the general amount of appropriation or to the types of appropriation encountered in the individual texts. The different applications of the English terms *story* and *yarn*, for example, show an interesting trend towards a second process of semantic shift: in *The Dreamers*, the item *yarn* is employed both to relate to accounts of things that have happened in the past as well as to the narration of spiritually significant content. In *Murras*, the related element *story* is used in the sense 'the belief system of a person and the society, especially as manifested in accounts of the

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dreaming' (Arthur 1996: 59). In *Cookie's Table*, the most recently written Australian play, the term *story* refers to a different type of narrative, viz. to the telling of family history, and so does *yarn* which further relates to accounts of past events or the telling of anecdotes, as well as to the skills needed for 'yarning': "I reckon there is a gap in your upbringing, my lad. Who ever heard of a Murri who couldn't tell a yarn?" (Enoch 2007b: 49). Hence, while *yarning* remains a central aspect of Aboriginal practice, the contents of the *yarn* or *story* need not come from the domain of cultural knowledge associated with the Dreaming. In Enoch's text, they relate to the characters' family background which provides an alternative framework for the transmission of values and knowledge. The application of the terms therefore indicates a novel understanding of how oral history is maintained and continued, indicating a new interpretation of what is regarded as cultural practice and which types of stories are meaningful and may provide a basis for the development of an Aboriginal identity. Both items demonstrate how cultural practice may be adapted and receive a new form; they further support Sharifian's (2007: 182) claim that cultural conceptualisations are not static but may be negotiated and renegotiated, thus expanding or changing over time. Having said that, it needs to be mentioned that category *i) Novel conceptualisations of Aboriginality and cultural survival*, which embraces lexical elements that reflect the changing nature of Aboriginal culture rather than emphasising on aspects that have been preserved since pre-colonial times, is by far the smallest conceptual category.

The family stories told in *Cookie's Table* all somehow revolve around the characters' home island, and like Worru's *yarns* in *The Dreamers*, they demonstrate that this type of narrative is often intricately linked to the landscape. Indeed, the Australian plays reveal that lexical appropriations which describe environmental features or the connection between the people and the land constitute yet another form of cultural continuity. The insertion of Aboriginal language words such as *barni* 'large goanna', *goolil* 'turtle', *mayi* 'bush food from plants' (*Bran Nue Dae*), or *kohn* 'wild potato' and *kudden* 'red gum tree' (*The Dreamers*) not only indicates that speakers possess the lexical knowledge required to relate to the local flora and fauna; it further demonstrates an intimate understanding of the environment and an expertise in living with and living off the land. The insertion of references to this type of knowledge hence confirms a cultural know-how that, although different from the forms of religious and cultural wisdom discussed above, establishes a tangible link to the characters' heritage. The greatest amount of single-word insertions relating to nature and the environment are found in the Western Australian plays *Bran Nue Dae* and *The Dreamers*, and while in the latter, descriptions of religious knowledge and practices such as dancing or ceremonial proceedings by far outnumber those which denote environmental features, terms describing the

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local environment effectively constitute the major references to cultural tradition in Chi's play. What is remarkable in this context is that Johnson's play *Murras* exclusively employs Standard English vocabulary to describe natural phenomena, and also *The Cherry Pickers* contains a mere two elements from this conceptual category, including the loanword *kangaroo* which here describes either an item of food or a totem. *Windmill Baby*, too, includes a word for this animal, the Western Australian term *maloo*. Although an Aboriginal language word, *maloo* has a strong emblematic function here since the most well-known symbol of the Australian fauna is the sole representative of the Australian landscape in Millroy's text which does not include any further references to the Western Australian environment. *Cookie's Table* reveals two single-word insertions from the domain of nature, viz. the loanword *eugari*, a regional term for the 'pipi', an edible marine bivalve mollusc, and *Kawana* 'calm waters'. The latter presents an interesting type of lexical appropriation, one which had not been observed so far: while describing an environmental phenomenon, *Kawana* is also a personal name. Cookie's choice of a name for her daughter therefore raises the connection between an Aboriginal person and the land to yet another level. By calling her daughter 'calm waters', she asserts both her knowledge of the natural environment and the girl's affiliation with the locality, firmly establishing their home island as a place of belonging and showing how closely linked personal identities are to places and locations. Interestingly, the New Zealand text *Purapurawhetū* contains a similar example of how a natural phenomenon is employed as a name. Here, the personal name *Awatea*, chosen by Hohepa for his second son translates as 'middle of the day', '(broad) daylight', 'diurnal' according to the *Te Aka Online Māori Dictionary*.

Other personal names do not relate to environmental features but still have a highly symbolic character: one example is *Zhaboonigan* 'needle' which is used for a character in *The Rez Sisters* who experienced sexual abuse. Another emblematic use of a personal name is found in Kevin Gilbert's *The Cherry Pickers* where a family name illustrates the 'value' of the Aboriginal fringe dwellers within the wider Australian society: "Yeah, Jacky **Shilunsworth** said the whites are tryin' again to kill us orf an' git rid of all us blacks by stoppin' babies with the pill they got now." (Gilbert 1988: 32, my emphasis). However, this particular name has not been included as instance of appropriation, neither have *Wunman and Twoman* that feature in Milroy's *Windmill Baby* and might be seen as yet another example of how experience may be categorised: "You come out first so your name is Wunman and your brother come out last so his name is Twoman." (Milroy 2007b: 209).

The bond between the characters and a particular tract of land and the importance of a life close to this land for the maintenance of an Aboriginal cultural identity is even more apparent in the use of terms from the domain of

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'country'. Still, different terms for shelters that feature in *The Cherry Pickers* are the only single-word insertions found in this category, all other elements are English lexemes which are widely used in different varieties of AborE, e.g. *camp*, and *country*. The items *belong*, *birth tree*, and *born place* once more establish a connection between a person and his or her *country* that is based on the idea of 'belonging' to a place and the links this person has to the land, concepts not found in non-Aboriginal usage. The newer texts further reveal lexical appropriations which express ideas of asserting Aboriginal people's relationship with and right to their ancestral land that are informed by more recent political developments: *Up the Road* and *Cookie's Table* include the items *Land Council* and *land rights*. Like *apology*, these terms are also used in AusE but are of special significance for Aboriginal people as they acknowledge the struggle for their ancestral land.

Contemplating the lexical appropriations used to describe codes of conduct and interpersonal relationships, we find that it is once more *The Dreamers* which provides the largest portion of the Aboriginal language words. Again, we can observe that Jack Davis' text shows a tendency to resort to Aboriginal language words in order to denote concepts elsewhere described by English lexemes, take for example the term *nyoch* 'dead' which is used alongside the English *finish*, or *choo* and *kynya* that are used for the concept elsewhere denoted by the word *shame* or variants such as *big shame*, *shame job*. The only other text which employs a different term for this concept is *Windmill Baby*; the source language of the item *wurrah* 'shame', though, remains unclear. Like the Nyoongah element *choo*, *wurrah* functions as an exclamation of disapproval or distress. Further lexical items pertaining to the domain of feelings and conduct are allusions to physical violence expressed, for example, by the Nyoongah terms *woort beerny* '(to) strangle' in *The Dreamers* or by *binyardi* 'a fight', '(to) fight' in *Windmill Baby*, as well as allusions to mental states in the form of different single-word insertions. In *The Cherry Pickers*, we find two different Wiradhuri words, viz. *gwarngee* 'stupid' and *ngarabarnng* 'silly'; Enoch's *Cookie's Table* uses the term *womba* 'mad', 'crazy' from a neighbouring NSW language (Gamilaraay, Yuwaalaraay & Yuwaalayaay). The role of these single-word insertions as agents of social and emotional proximity and tools for the exclusion of outsiders has been discussed above. An English word is most commonly employed to refer to undesirable or deviant demeanour: *cheeky* 'mischievous, but possibly also dangerous' features in five texts. Items such as *gammin'* '(to) pretend or lie' or *jar (up)* '(to) scold' further show how terms that are now obsolete in other varieties of English have been conserved in AborE. Recognition of the hardship of life is expressed by the item *poorfella* and variants thereof that are found in five texts. In addition, *The Cherry Pickers* and *Up the Road* include terms for Aboriginal people who behave or live in a way that others see as rejecting Aboriginality, viz. *black whitefella* and *coconut*. Note that

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similar terms based in the idea of 'black outside – white inside' are also found in other varieties of English, as was demonstrated by the term *Apple Indian* in *The Rez Sisters*. The ME term *born again*, too, criticises the denial of a person's Indigenous heritage. The concept underlying this particular instance of lexical appropriation is nevertheless a different one.

In the Australian corpus, the domain of interpersonal relationships is marked by the recurrence of different terms of respect for elders, most of which are English-derived and involve the element *old*, as in *old fella* and *old girl*. The Cherry Pickers further has the Wiradhuri term *moodjarng* 'old gentleman', 'elder'. Very similar terms are found in *Purapurawhetū*, e.g. *Koro* and *Kui*, terms of address for an older man and woman, respectively, and *kuia* 'elderly woman', 'grandmother', 'female elder'. Like the AborE terms, these appropriations recognise the wisdom and knowledge associated with old age. Children and young people, on the other hand, are also frequently described by lexical appropriations. The English *little fella* occurs repeatedly in the corpus, but we also find Indigenous language words such as the Nyoongah terms *koolangarah* 'children', *nop* 'boy', and the Wiradhuri word *miggai* 'girl'. The latter two have their equivalent in the Māori elements *hine* 'girl, daughter', *tama* 'son, boy, nephew'; the Māori lexeme *wahine* 'woman', 'female', 'lady', 'wife' corresponds to the Sydney language word *gin* and Nyoongah *yorga*. Other AborE lexical appropriations in this conceptual category trigger notions of amicability and solidarity, e.g. *modgeee* 'friend', 'mate', 'companion' or *us mob* and *us people*, describing a connected group. Again, lexical need alone does not justify the inclusion of any of these one-word insertions. Rather, it appears that lexical items from the domain of human relationships, too, are employed to stress social cohesion within the community of speakers and both call for and strengthen solidarity among speakers.

Finally, it needs to be pointed out that the Australian corpus reveals two conceptual categories that exclusively rely on English-derived vocabulary to appropriate the language of the texts[53]. One of them is the category we have termed *Aboriginal way*, which is a collection of words and usages not or only rarely found in StE, such as distinctive lexical combinations as well as unique applications of function words, adverbs and adjectives. This category differs from the others in so far as the lexical items that pertain to it do not refer to a specific subject or thematic field. Rather, many of the appropriations in this category demonstrate that AborE has ways of classifying and describing experience that differ from non-Aboriginal modes and display structural substrate influence; others show how speakers have tried to find a way to adhere to the pragmatic conventions of their ancestral tongues in a language that does not

53 Here, we include the item *savvy* which is originally from Spanish or Portuguese but occurs widely in English-based pidgins and creoles.

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provide the lexicon necessary to do so. Some manifest that AborE is an outcome of colonial history. These features are ubiquitous elements of AborE varieties and occur widely in all the Australian plays. Thus, we can observe a whole range of appropriations expressing notions of direction (e.g. *this way*, *that way*), position and distance (e.g. *all about* 'everywhere', *longway* 'far (from)'), and time (e.g. *directly* 'in a little while, *-time*, indicating a specific period). Others define conditions (e.g. *all gone* 'not present', 'no more', *all same* 'like', 'similar to'), quality (e.g. *deadly* 'great', 'terrific'), and quantity (e.g. *half*, 'part', *plenty* 'much (of)', 'many', *too much* 'very', 'very much', 'a great deal', 'a lot of'). We further find different function words, e.g. pronouns (*this one/that one*) or prepositions (*longa* 'next to, with', 'in, at, to') and salient lexical combinations such as *big mob* or *what for*. Interjections such as *ay*, *eh*, *unna* directly relate to Aboriginal norms of obtaining information. Several appropriations found in this category have been taken over from the speech of the colonisers in the nineteenth century; many of these terms are also recorded in earlier Australian pidgins.

The great number of items which fall into this category shows that the linguistic variation which arises from structural differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal modes of communication or pragmatic conventions is a pervasive one and must not be underestimated. In addition, many items recur in different texts, indicating that these features are widely used markers of Aboriginal speech patterns. More than half of the lexical items in this category are attested in an earlier contact variety and some, e.g. *by and by*, *longa*, *plenty*, and *savvy*, are also found in other post-contact varieties of English and are testimonials of British colonial expansion. Still, neither the New Zealand text *Purapurawhetū* nor the Canadian *The Rez Sisters* include any corresponding English-derived expressions other than the tags *eh* and *innit*.

Last but not least, we need to address the distinctive use of kinship terms which constitutes another salient characteristic of the AborE lexicon and was found to be a constant feature of all the texts in our corpus. While *Purapurawhetū* has shown that ME employs traditional language terms to describe concepts such as *whanaunga* 'relative', 'relation', 'kin', 'blood relation', or *whānau* 'extended family', 'family group', all of the lexical appropriations found in our Australian corpus that relate to the domain of kinship are English-derived and as such are seemingly easy to understand also for non-Aboriginal speakers. At the same time, they reveal a semantic scope that mirrors an understanding of family relations and kinship structures found in Aboriginal society. Arthur (1990: 33) explains:

> In the traditional kinship terminology of Aboriginal languages, there were generally two processes at work. One was the use of a more detailed kinship vocabulary than is found in English, which made it possible for instance, to distinguish between older and younger brother, or between parallel cousins (children of mother's sisters or father's brothers) and cross cousins (children of

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mother's brothers or father's sisters). The other, conversely, was a widening of the meaning of other kin terms to include biologically more distant relatives who had the same 'social relationship' to a given person.

How these concepts have been transferred into English is manifested, for example, in the use of terms which have undergone semantic widening, e.g. *brother*, which denotes a relative of the same generation who may not be a biological brother, or *granny*, which may be applied to a grandparent as well as to a grandchild, revealing an underlying idea of reciprocity. We further find that more narrowly defined relationships may be expressed by coinages such as *cousin brother* (also *bruz*), describing a concept not found in StE, viz. that of a cousin whose social role corresponds to that of a brother. The large and complex system of mutual responsibilities that is inherent in Aboriginal kinship structures is also reflected in the use of *cousin*, *family*, or *relation* which have a much wider range of referents than in their StE sense. Hence, terms such as *cousin* may refer to quite distant relatives of the same generation, that is, the word includes people who are to be clearly distinguished from *blood*, i.e. 'close' relatives. Kin terms may also be used to express other forms of social relationships that prevail in Indigenous Australian communities. Hence, whereas terms such as *auntie* or *uncle* commonly serve to convey respect for older people, especially for those who hold cultural, religious, and linguistic knowledge, *brother* or *sister* are frequently applied to signal solidarity with a person of one's own generation and call to mind particular rights and obligations. However, none of those addressed by any of these terms need to be (close) relatives of the speaker. In addition to the use of Māori terms to describe kin relations, Grace-Smith's text also reveals the items *aunties*, *cuz*, and *uncle* that are employed in ways which parallel AborE usage, and Highway's *The Rez Sisters*, too, employs a kinship term, viz. *sister*, which promotes accord between the speaker and the addressee and stresses a shared background.

Taking a closer look at the kinship terms found in our corpus, we find that several of them occur in different senses in different plays and that a particular term may even serve various functions within the same text. For example, the character of Aunt Sissy in *Up the Road* really is Ian's aunt. Nevertheless, she is also addressed and referred to as *Aunt(ie)* by the other characters to whom she is not (or only more distantly) related, an application that indicates Sissy's status within the Flat Creek community. In *Cookie's Table*, on the other hand, the women referred to as *Aunty* are either the speaker's biological aunt or a great aunt. What is more, *The Cherry Pickers* shows that the term may serve yet another function, that is, it may be used to encourage loyalty and mutual support: "Well pass on a little of that 'mergency treatment here to your old sister! Your poor old auntie." (Gilbert 1988: 35). This type of variation in the meanings expressed by these terms is also considered by Harkins (2000: 73) who notes that "the semantic scope of *auntie*, *uncle* varies between different groups, and in some places is a general term of respect for elders". In

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a similar vein, all characters in Davis' *The Dreamers* belong to the same family so that Worru, who is generally addressed by means of the term *Uncle*, defined by Arthur (1996: 88) as 'a respectful term of address for an older man', is an actual uncle or great-uncle to most of the Wallitches. Likewise, Roy addresses his younger relative Eli as *nephew*. Still, the text also provides an example of how the same terms are used in Aboriginal society to call for solidarity and support: "There they was: 'Give me fifty cents, brother', 'Give me a dollar, nephew', 'Give me fifty cents, uncle'; and you know none of them black bastards are related to me." (Davis 1982: 105). Another example of the ways in which kin terms function in AborE is provided by John Harding's text *Up the Road* that includes a bar scene in which the young male characters Ian and Charlie repeatedly address each other as *brother*, *bruz*, or *cuz*:

IAN: I got no problem **brother**. I get drunk, I fall down, go to sleep, wake up, go home! No problem!

CHARLIE: Yeah, well, that's not what they reckon up here. You know what the Koori grapevine's like, **cuz**.

(Harding 1997b: 18, my emphasis)

IAN: Thanks, **bruz**! Here, have another one, lighten the load, eh?

CHARLIE: Ta, **bruz**.

(Harding 1997b: 21, my emphasis)

Here, the terms not only promote a connection that is based on a shared background and heritage but can also be understood as expressions of a more general male solidarity, an application which is additionally found in colloquial mainstream usage. The various ways in which kinship terms are employed in the different texts thus reflect Sharifian's suggestion that "members may in fact *more or less* share these [cultural] conceptualisations" (2003: 193, emphasis in original).

To conclude our discussion, we need to return to the question which functions can be associated with lexical appropriation and whether or not these can be understood as a way of negotiating the 'culture clash' in colonial societies. The above has tried to shed some light on the ways in which Australian Aboriginal playwrights utilise the resources of AborE to communicate a world view which is grounded in a unique cultural and religious tradition as well as in the more recently developed conceptions of Aboriginal identity which have sprung from it, a different understanding of family relationships, Aboriginal conventions of social interaction and notions of status and accepted behaviour, the people's bond with the land and its resources, the effects of contact, and, lastly, a different way of categorising and describing experience. The appropriations that are used to relate to these domains largely arise from a need to express concepts for which the standard dialect does not provide adequate means. Thus, they underline the validity of Ashcroft *et al*'s. (2002: 38)

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assertion that "the language is taken and made to 'bear the burden' of one's own cultural experience" which has been quoted in chapter 0. While many appropriations therefore cater for a lexical need, others obviously not only fill a lexical but also a conceptual gap. Examples of this include kinship terms such as *sister* or *cousin* which, in their AborE sense, not only function to establish the speaker's and addressee's relationship and evoke a feeling of solidarity, but also manifest how the schema 'solidarity' conveys expectations of reactions such as support and protection (cf. Sharifian 2007: 188f).

However, those examples of appropriation which have been classified as instances of traditional language maintenance, first and foremost the Nyoongah multi-word insertions found in *The Dreamers*, indicate that a higher amount of traditional language material in a play often goes along with a greater number of insertions which do not fill lexical or other gaps. Rather, many of the passages in question, i.e. *Winjar noonuk?* 'Where are you?' or *Kia kurnan, kunarn!* 'Yes, it's the truth!' can safely be considered examples of code-switching which do not express culturally-bound concepts but create a linguistic environment that appropriates (and abrogates) the standard language by turning it into an exotic code that is inaccessible for speakers of the standard dialect. The findings from the Maōri English text *Purapurawhetū* support this claim. Still, abrogation, which ultimately provides the foundation for appropriation, need not automatically be based on the insertion of non-English material, as passages such as the following impressively show:

> TADPOLE: [reciting] Us people want our land back, we want 'em rights, we want 'em fair deal, all same longa white man. Now this fella longa Canberra, he bin talkin' about a Bran Nue Dae – us people bin waiting for dijwun for 200 years now.
>
> (Chi 1991: 84, my emphasis)

We further found that in some cases, Aboriginal language words are employed to replace existing English terms. Here, the motives for lexical appropriation must be different again and indeed, these items bring us back to the role of AborE in the formation of identities. It should be clear by now that varieties of AborE provide their speakers with an invaluable tool for the creation of a distinct cultural identity. What is more, this identity may involve a strong element of social proximity or distance. In 6.4.3 we have noted that speakers of AborE may deliberately employ stress and intonation, lexico-semantics, and pragmatic features to exclude Anglo-Australian speakers and the above discussion has detailed how exactly the use of particular lexical features assists in the exclusion of those who do not share the same experience, ascertaining that only cultural insiders can fully participate in the conversation. Meanwhile, the same items allow speakers to promote an *in*clusive identity that requires a strengthening of bonds between group members and shows the desire to distinguish oneself and those around one from others. In

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6.4.3 we have further quoted Kaldor & Malcolm who suggest that AborE provides its speakers with a "feeling of belonging and warmth with persons with whom one shares a linguistic and cultural heritage" (2004: 81). By stressing the cohesion within a community of speakers, appropriation of the standard dialect can in fact help to consolidate the individual's social identity, that is, the part of a speaker's self-concept which is based on his or her membership in a particular social group and the resulting distinction from the out-group (see for example Tajfel & Turner 1979, 1986). While this is arguably a general characteristic of social and ethnic dialects of English which comprise many characteristics that distinguish their speakers from non-members of this particular group, it is the lexical reinforcements of solidarity, mutual respect, and a shared experience that appear to have great value for the formation of social identities, more so than features in other domains of language use.

The value of the non-standard dialect for the creation of inclusive, group-centred identity is also emphasised by the emotional content inherent in many single- or multi-word insertions: many of the items that 'replace' existing English lexemes function to cloak concepts of a delicate or intimate nature or cushion painful memories or harsh realities by providing more allusive verbal expressions. In the Australian plays, this is most apparent in those terms that relate to the effects of colonisation or constitute descriptions of private body parts or physical weaknesses and mental instability, i.e. appropriations that evoke strong feelings of fear, pain, or embarrassment that speakers wish to obscure for cultural outsiders. A similar tendency to relate to this category by means of Indigenous language words can be observed in the New Zealand text *Purapurawhetū* which exhibits the Māori items *nono(s)* 'backside, behind' and *pōrangi* 'be insane, mad, crazy, mentally ill'. The Canadian play *The Rez Sisters* does not reveal any such features but still makes use of Cree and Ojibway to communicate personal sentiments such as *Pelajia, een-pay-seek-see-yan* 'Pelajia, I'm scared to death' in a code which is only accessible for those who share the necessary linguistic knowledge. Indigenous languages further provide an outlet for emotions in outbursts such as *auē* 'oh dear!' and *e hika* 'good heavens!' 'far out!', but also exclamations of 'shame' as in *wurrah* and *choo*. The negative impact of governmental control on the lives of Indigenous people, major tools for the creation of an inclusive identity in the Australian plays, is less visible in *Purapurawhetū* and *The Rez Sisters* even though the item *Rez* in some way parallels the experience of forced relocation and regulation of people's lives that is inherent in terms such as *mission*. The use of abbreviations such as *mish* and *Rez* in this context transports a certain familiarity which undermines the authority and severity of the concepts, signalling that these can also be associated with feelings of community.

Other lexical appropriations which aid the creation of an insider code are those that describe different forms of human relationships and social interac-

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tion. We have already discussed various AborE items that foster friendly relations between the characters, such as *modgeee* 'friend', 'mate', 'companion', 'comrade' or address older people in a respectful manner, acknowledging their cultural wisdom and status in the community, e.g. *moodjarng* 'elder', 'old gentleman'. This list could be expanded by Māori words that serve a comparable function and portray norms of showing respect for elders, e.g. *kaumātua* 'elder, 'elderly man', 'elderly woman', 'old man', a person of status within the *whānau* 'extended family'. Group identity can also be derived from the use of English lexemes which express very similar concepts, e.g. *old girl*, *old fellow* or from English kinship terms which are certainly the most commonly employed lexical tools promoting group solidarity, and thus identity. Hence, the lexical items from the conceptual domains of kinship and social interaction reveal a dual function: while they evoke culture-specific categories and schemas not shared with Standard English, they also produce a feeling of familiarity and intimacy between those interacting and allow speakers to express a set of shared values. All this enables the individuals to reinforce their membership in a group which is represented as a closely-knit unit, to foster notions of *gemeinschaft*, and to distinguish themselves from the out-group. In addition, post-colonial contexts or environments in which a minority group coexists with a (usually white) mainstream society provide situations of unbalanced and unequal power hierarchies. Thus, whenever speakers feel the need to assert themselves against other, more dominant forces, solidarity terms can provide a medium of resistance against those in power and also trigger a positive identification of one's social group.

The most obvious 'us-them' distinction made by means of lexical appropriation, however, is that of contrasting *black* and *white* people. The coloured/white distinction also underlies appropriations such as *coconut* or *apple Indian* which criticise the denial of one's heritage and the set of values shared by the community, a type of behaviour which threatens group unity. The non-identification with the Indigenous community in situations of in-group communication becomes further evident in the idea of talking *flash*.

In the introduction to chapter 6, we have stated that AborE provides speakers with "an alternative identity-bearing form of communication" (Malcolm 2013: 44) in a situation in which an increasing number of Aboriginal languages have become extinct. Meeting their communicative needs, the dialect has developed into a tool for the expression of a distinct cultural as well as social identity. The items defined as instances of lexical appropriation in the drama texts underline this role of the dialect as an identity-bearing form of communication as they exemplify how Aboriginal cultural and social identities are maintained and developed further. Recalling Raines (1991: 102) statement on the use of Aboriginal varieties of English as a literary language quoted in 7.3, that AborE is not capable "of fully expressing the diversities of Abo-

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riginal experience without distortion", we can reply that quite on the contrary, the dialect is very well equipped to fulfil exactly this task. The corpus analysis has shown how Aboriginal authors adapt the 'language of the center' to communicate meanings and concepts that are embedded in an Aboriginal world view and both maintain and transmit knowledge of cultural and religious tradition, rules of behaviour, kinship structures, and environmental know-how. In addition, the appropriation of the standard dialect allows them to negotiate the experience of colonisation and express contemporary ideas of Aboriginality. What is more, it favours the formation of a distinct identity which may involve one or more of the following elements:

1. The indexation of a broader, more general Aboriginal Australian identity by means of resorting to AborE lexical elements that allow for the identification as Aboriginal person and convey aspects of this heritage and cultural experience without specifying a particular cultural or linguistic affiliation.
2. The indexation of a regional or local identity: The affiliation with a particular geographic area and one or more language/culture groups, expressed through the use of lexical items which have regional or local currency.
3. The indexation of group identity: This type of group identity is manifested in a collective history and shared experience, a similar lifestyle, and a shared understanding of the world and of particular codes of behaviour.

Employing features of AborE in their texts, Australian playwrights contribute to a wider recognition of Aboriginal modes of speaking within the mainstream society and affirm their status as viable and legitimate codes in their own right. They assert the authority of the dialect as well as that of the concepts that are communicated. Both concepts and the lexical means used to express them are presented to a wider, mostly Euro-Australian audience and disseminated among speakers of the standard dialect. Australian Aboriginal drama thus not only portrays present-day Aboriginal society and a cultural heritage that exhibits a non-static and highly diverse nature. It is an instrument that helps to achieve a better understanding of the semantics of the country's most widely used ethnic dialect also outside academic circles and introduces the non-Aboriginal community to a different set of socio-cultural realities, triggering a form of cross-cultural communication.

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12 Zusammenfassung

Die vorliegende Arbeit beschäftigt sich mit den Besonderheiten im Lexikon des Aboriginal English und der Frage, wie diese es den Sprechern des Dialekts ermöglichen, Bedeutungen und Vorstellungen zu kommunizieren, die im Kontext ihres eigenen kulturellen und sprachlichen Hintergrunds zu verstehen sind und nicht mit den Mitteln des Australian English ausgedrückt werden können. Speziell ging es darum zu klären, wie sich australische Dramatiker indigener Herkunft diese lexikalischen Besonderheiten zu eigen machen, um eine Adaption der Standardsprache zu erreichen, die es ihnen ermöglicht, in ihren Werken kulturspezifische Inhalte zu kommunizieren.

Das Aboriginal English ist ein ethnischer Dialekt des Englischen, der neben indigenen Sprachen oder Pidgins und Kreolsprachen als Erst- oder Zweitsprache von großen Teilen der australischen Aborigine-Bevölkerung gesprochen wird. Auch das Repertoire vieler monolingualer indigener Sprecher umfasst neben Formen des Australian English oftmals eine oder mehrere Varianten des Dialekts. Nach der fast vollständigen Zerstörung der vorkolonialen Sprachökologie Australiens ist das Aboriginal English heute zum wichtigsten sprachlichen Medium der Aborigine-Bevölkerung geworden und dient neben der Verständigung mit Angehörigen der Mainstream-Gesellschaft auch der Kommunikation innerhalb dieser Sprechergemeinschaft.

Der Dialekt ist als Resultat eines Indigenisierungsprozesses der Kolonialsprache zu sehen, als Ergebnis des Versuchs der indigenen Sprecher, sich die Kolonialsprache zu eigen zu machen und sie so zu adaptieren, dass sie ihren eigenen kommunikativen Anforderungen genügt. So verwundert es wenig, dass der Dialekt auf allen Ebenen der Sprachverwendung signifikante Besonderheiten zeigt. Während das Aboriginal English in den Bereichen der Grammatik und der Phonologie viele Merkmale aufweist, die auch in anderen postkolonialen oder nicht-standardsprachlichen Varietäten des Englischen zu finden sind, lassen sich besonders im Bereich der Pragmatik und auf der Diskursebene bedeutende Unterschiede zum Australian English entdecken, die oftmals auf den strukturellen Einfluss des indigenen Substrats zurückzuführen sind. Das Lexikon des Aboriginal English weist ebenfalls vielfältige Besonderheiten auf, die den Dialekt von der Standardsprache unterscheiden. Nicht immer sind diese auf den ersten Blick erkennbar: Während vereinzelte Lehnwörter aus indigenen Sprachen oder aus Pidgin- und Kreolsprachen ganz offensichtliche Abweichungen vom Wortschatz des Australian English darstellen, scheint der Großteil des Vokabulars des Aboriginal English identisch mit dem des Standarddialekts. Bei näherer Betrachtung stellt sich jedoch oftmals heraus, dass sich Wortbedeutungen und deren Interpretationen stark von jenen unterscheiden, wie wir sie im Australian English finden und vom sozio-

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kulturellen Hintergrund der Sprecher abhängig sind. Sie drücken dabei eine Weltanschauung aus, die von der der anglo-australischen Mainstream-Gesellschaft abweicht. Andere Lexeme haben keinen Bedeutungswandel erfahren, erscheinen jedoch in neuartigen Kollokationen oder weisen weitere ungewöhnliche Verwendungen auf, wie z.B. einen Wechsel der Wortklasse. Auch diese Phänomene lassen sich zurückführen einerseits auf den strukturellen Einfluss des indigenen Substrats, andererseits auf die Notwendigkeit, Inhalte auszudrücken, die nicht mit standardsprachlichen Mitteln verbalisiert werden können.

Neben seiner grundlegenden Funktion als Medium für die Kommunikation innerhalb der indigenen Sprechergemeinschaft und mit Angehörigen der Mainstream-Gesellschaft wird das Aboriginal English seit einiger Zeit immer häufiger dazu genutzt, genau diese kulturspezifischen Inhalte, Vorstellungen, Standpunkte und Ansichten auch den Sprechern des Standarddialekts näher zu bringen und dabei bewusst eine sprachliche und kulturelle Eigenständigkeit auszudrücken. Ein Weg dies zu erreichen, ist die Verwendung des Dialekts in verschiedenen Medien, wie in literarischen Werken, Filmen und Liedtexten. Diese noch relativ neue Rolle des Aboriginal English hat auch zu einem Statuswechsel beigetragen, insbesondere dazu, dass die Varietät, die lange Zeit als unzureichender und mangelhafter Code, als ‚schlechtes Englisch' angesehen wurde, nun vor allem von den Sprechern selbst immer stärker auch mit Stolz in die eigene Herkunft verknüpft wird.

Die systematische linguistische Beschreibung des Dialekts in den letzten Jahrzehnten hat zudem zu seiner Anerkennung als valide Sprachform beigetragen. Seit den späten 1960er Jahren beschäftigt sich eine Vielzahl von Publikationen mit unterschiedlichsten Aspekten des Aboriginal English. Viele davon konzentrieren sich auf die Beschreibung regionaler Formen des Dialekts, andere kontrastieren phonologische, grammatische, lexikalische und pragmatische Strukturen unterschiedlicher Varietäten oder untersuchen deren Entstehung und Entwicklung sowie das Verhältnis von Aboriginal English zu australischen Kontaktsprachen. Ein weiteres Forschungsgebiet ist die Analyse von Verständigungsproblemen zwischen Sprechern des Aboriginal English und des Australian English, besonders im Justiz- und Strafverfolgungssystem und in schulischen Kontexten. Trotzdem weist die gezielte wissenschaftliche Untersuchung des Dialekts noch große Lücken auf, so dass Kaldor & Malcolm (2004: 69f) das aktuelle Bild beschreiben als "a jigsaw puzzle from which many pieces are still missing but in which some major patterns are detectable". Nur wenige Studien beschäftigen sich mit der Rolle des Aboriginal English als literarischer Sprache. Diejenigen, die dieses Thema aufgreifen, wie z.B. Shoemaker (1989), Hodge & Mishra (1991) und Polak (2009) beschränken sich auf die Betrachtung einzelner Aspekte, besonders darauf, welche Effekte die Verwendung von Lehnwörtern oder längeren Passagen in indigenen Sprachen auf

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den Leser oder ein Theaterpublikum haben. Einzig Gibbs (1998) und Russo (2007, 2010a und 2010b) betrachten die Thematik umfassender. In ihrer Dissertation untersucht Russo (2007 und 2010b) u.a. Formen der Aneignung und Adaption der Standardsprache in den Werken indigener australischer Autoren und detailliert dabei auch, wie diese Autoren Standpunkte und vor allem Erfahrungen kommunizieren, die der anglo-australischen Gesellschaft fremd sind. Dennoch unterscheidet sich ihre Arbeit maßgeblich von der der vorliegenden Dissertation, da Russo diese sprachliche Adaption vorwiegend vor dem Hintergrund der Kontrolle über literarische Selbstdarstellung und als Werkzeug der Dekolonialisierung der Literatur untersucht. Die aktuelle Arbeit hingegen versucht herauszuarbeiten, welche im Einzelnen die sprachlichen Werkzeuge sind, die das Lexikon des Aboriginal English seinen Sprechern zur Verfügung stellt, um Konzepte zu beschreiben, für die die Standardsprache keine adäquaten Ausdrücke bereit hält. Mehr noch untersucht sie, wie die Kolonialsprache speziell in Theaterstücken indigener australischer Dramatiker adaptiert wird, um dem Leser und Zuschauer bewusst zu machen, dass er oder sie mit einer sozio-kulturellen Realität konfrontiert ist, die nicht seiner eigenen entspricht. Die theoretische Basis für dieses Vorhaben bilden einerseits der Ansatz der *cultural conceptualisations*, der im Bereich der Cultural Linguistics anzusiedeln ist und andererseits der Begriff der *appropriation*, ein Schlüsselkonzept der Postcolonial Studies.

Farzad Sharifian (z.B. 2003, 2005, 2007) hat den Begriff der *cultural conceptualisations* in das Studium des Aboriginal English eingebracht. Sein Ansatz steht in der Tradition der Cultural Linguistics (z.B. Palmer 1996) und versucht eine kulturell-konzeptuelle Annäherung an die Strukturen und Merkmale des Aboriginal English wie sie von Ian Malcolm und seinem Team (z.B. Malcolm & Rochecouste (2000), Malcolm & Sharifian (2002, 2005), Sharifian (2001), Sharifian *et al.* (2004)) initiiert wurde. Sharifians Ansatz geht davon aus, dass Sprache selten objektiv die Realität abbilden kann, da Sprachgebrauch immer beeinflusst ist von Konzeptualisierungen, die kulturell konstruiert sind und denen eine Weltanschauung zugrunde liegt, die nur von einer abgrenzbaren Gruppe von Sprechern geteilt wird. Eben jene Konzeptualisierungen machen es nun nötig, dass Sprecher des Aboriginal English die vorhandenen Ressourcen der Kolonialsprache neu interpretieren und adaptieren und mit Bedeutungen und Interpretationen versehen, die nicht von Sprechern des Australian English geteilt werden.

Ashcroft *et al.* (2002) hingegen beschäftigen sich mit Formen des Sprachgebrauchs in Postkolonialen Literaturen. Sie untersuchen, wie Autoren, die einer ‚kolonisierten' Kultur angehören, sich die Sprache der Kolonialmacht so aneignen, dass sie ihren eigenen Bedürfnissen entspricht und die Sprache dahingehend adaptieren, dass sie es ihnen ermöglicht, eine abgrenzbare indigene kulturelle Identität zu beschreiben. Zwei Prozesse werden dabei als

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maßgeblich identifiziert, nämlich zum einen jener der *abrogation*, also der Verweigerung und Ablehnung des imperialen sprachlichen Standards, zum anderen jener der *appropriation*, der Aneignung und Manipulation der Kolonialsprache. Letzterer ist von besonderem Interesse für die aktuelle Arbeit, da *appropriation* die Verwendung jener sprachlichen Mittel beschreibt, mittels derer die Standardsprache so variiert werden kann, dass sie Erfahrungswerte und Ansichten vermittelt, die eng mit dem sozio-kulturellen Hintergrund des Autors verbunden sind und es somit auch erlauben, Außenstehenden einen Einblick in diese fremde konzeptuelle Welt zu gewähren. Autoren postkolonialer Literatur greifen dabei auf Strategien zurück, wie sie auch im alltäglichen, realen Sprachgebrauch zu beobachten sind und oben bereits beschrieben wurden, indem sie entweder einzelne Lehnwörter oder ganze Passagen der einheimischen Sprache in den englischen Text integrieren oder englische Lexeme verwenden, deren Bedeutung oder Anwendung nicht den Erwartungen des imperialen Diskurs entspricht. Ashcroft *et al.* (2002) stellen mit dem Begriff der *appropriation* also das Handwerkszeug für die empirische Analyse zur Verfügung, die den Hauptteil dieser Arbeit ausmacht.

Die vorliegende Arbeit gliedert sich in vier Teile: der erste Teil, *Setting the Stage – Old and New Australian Language Ecologies* gibt einen Überblick über den Verlauf der Kolonialisierung Australiens und deren Auswirkungen auf die Kulturen und Sprachen der Ureinwohner. Dazu werden neben einem kurzen historischen Abriss die wichtigsten sozio-politischen Entwicklungen thematisiert, die die Aborigine-Bevölkerung des Landes direkt oder indirekt betrafen. Darüber hinaus werden die vor- und nachkoloniale indigene Sprachökologie skizziert bevor wir uns dann im zweiten Teil, *Aboriginal English(es) – an Aboriginal Code in an English Guise?*, genauer mit dem Wesen des Aboriginal English und seiner Rolle innerhalb der nachkolonialen Sprachökologie Australiens beschäftigen. Zu diesem Zweck wird zuerst herausgearbeitet, wie homo- oder heterogen der Dialekt tatsächlich ist und welche Arten der Variation sich feststellen lassen. Eine Beschreibung der charakteristischen Merkmale in den Bereichen der Phonologie, Morphologie, Syntax, Pragmatik und Semantik soll darüber weiteren Aufschluss geben. Das Hauptaugenmerk des zweiten Teils dieser Arbeit liegt jedoch auf dem konzeptuellen Gerüst, auf das sich das Aboriginal English stützt und das verantwortlich für die Umdeutung und Neuinterpretation lexikalischer und anderer Ressourcen des Australian English ist. Es wird dazu noch einmal genauer auf den Begriff der *cultural conceptualisations* eingegangen und es werden verwandte Ansätze präsentiert, wie z.B. der Jean Harkins (1994), die bereits einige Jahre vor Sharifian darauf hinwies, dass die Bedeutung und Verwendung zahlreicher semantischer, aber auch grammatischer und pragmatischer Elemente im Aboriginal English der Alice Springs Region stark beeinflusst ist von den konzeptuellen Strukturen der dort gesprochenen indigenen Sprachen.

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Teil drei, *Forms of Lexical Appropriation in Australian Aboriginal Drama*, widmet sich dann ausschließlich der Analyse von Theaterstücken indigener australischer Autoren und untersucht, wie diese die lexiko-semantischen Ressourcen des Aboriginal English so in ihren Texten einbinden, dass es ihnen gelingt, verschiedenste Aspekte ihrer indigenen Herkunft zu beschreiben und dem Leser/Zuschauer nahe zu bringen. Nach der Erläuterung der Fragestellung werden in sieben Unterkapiteln ebenso viele Theaterstücke aus einem Zeitraum von fast 40 Jahren analysiert. Die einzelnen Unterkapitel beginnen mit einer kurzen Vorstellung des jeweiligen Dramatikers, nach der kurz der Inhalt des jeweiligen Stücks skizziert wird und, ebenfalls in Kürze, die wichtigsten sprachlichen Merkmale der im Stück verwendeten Varietät erläutert werden. Das Hauptaugenmerk liegt jedoch darauf, welche im Text vorhandenen und dem Aboriginal English zuzuschreibenden Elemente dem Zweck der lexikalischen Aneignung dienen. Dazu wird zunächst geklärt, welche Elemente überhaupt als Instanzen lexikalischer Aneignung identifiziert werden können, bevor deren Herkunft determiniert wird. Konkret bedeutet das, es wird ermittelt, ob es sich um einzelne Lehnwörter oder möglicherweise sogar längere Passagen aus indigenen Sprachen handelt, um Lexeme aus Kontaktsprachen, um hybride Elemente, oder um englische Lexeme, die entweder phonologische Modifikation aufweisen oder deren Bedeutung oder Art der Anwendung sich von der im Standard Englischen unterscheidet. Die Wortklasse der Elemente soll, wenn möglich, genauso bestimmt werden wie ihre genaue Bedeutung. Um Aussagen über die Wirkung der einzelnen Elemente als Werkzeuge der Aneignung treffen zu können, muss außerdem deren Verbreitung in verschiedenen Varietäten des Aboriginal English und Australian English bestimmt werden. In diesem Zusammenhang ist es außerdem von Interesse darzulegen, ob und welche Strategien die Autoren anwenden, um dem Leser oder Zuschauer unbekannte Lexeme und deren Bedeutung zu erklären. Schließlich verdeutlicht die Analyse der mittels lexikalischer Aneignung ausgedrückten Konzepte, ob größere konzeptuelle Felder und Strukturen erkennbar sind. Diese sind wiederum bei der Beantwortung zwei weiterer Frage dienlich, nämlich ob lexikalische Aneignung noch weitere Funktionen aufweist als die Beschreibung von Inhalten, die nicht oder nur unzureichend durch das Australian English vermittelbar sind, und wie diese es ermöglichen, eine abgrenzbare kulturelle Identität zu kommunizieren.

Der vierte Teil, *Findings and Conclusions*, schließt die Arbeit ab. In Kapitel 9 werden die Ergebnisse der Textanalysen zusammengefasst und evaluiert. Zusammengenommen lassen sich in den sieben Texten nicht weniger als 412 verschiedene Typen von Elementen finden, die dem Einfluss des Lexikons des Aboriginal English zuzuordnen und als Instanzen lexikalischer Aneignung zu werten sind; die meisten davon sind nominale Elemente. Der Umfang, in dem die einzelnen Texte von lexikalischer Aneignung Gebrauch machen, variiert

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dabei stark, so finden sich im Text *The Dreamers* nicht weniger als 190 Beispiele, in John Hardings *Up The Road* sind es gerade einmal 46. Nur 70 Elemente sind in frühen australischen Kontaktsprachen dokumentiert. Englische Lexeme sind mit einer Anzahl von 183 Items am stärksten vertreten; viele davon kommen in mehreren, einige in allen oder fast allen Texten vor. Weitere 178 Items sind Wörter aus indigenen australischen Sprachen, von denen die Mehrzahl aus Sprachen übernommen wurden, die in der Heimatregion des Autors gesprochen wurden oder werden. Daher verwundert es nicht, dass die meisten dieser Elemente nur begrenzte Verbreitung aufweisen: 25 Items sind für das Aboriginal English dokumentiert, weitere 36 im Australian English. Darüber hinaus enthält der Korpus 23 längere Passagen in indigenen Sprachen sowie 21 hybride Elemente und drei Items aus Pidginsprachen. Für fünf Elemente kann keine definitive Aussage zur Herkunft getroffen werden.

Die meisten Instanzen lexikalischer Aneignung können einer Reihe von konzeptuellen Kategorien zugeschrieben werden, die im Vorfeld mittels J.M. Arthurs *Aboriginal English – A Cultural Study* determiniert wurden. Dabei lässt sich erkennen, dass einige konzeptuelle Felder im gesamten Korpus sehr präsent sind während auf andere nur sporadisch verwiesen wird. Am prominentesten vertreten sind die Kategorien der kulturellen Tradition, die Domäne der Körperlichkeit und eine Reihe damit verbundener intimer Konzepte sowie Begriffe, die Gefühlswelten der Sprecher und Verhaltensweisen beschreiben. Weiter zeigt sich, dass die einzelnen konzeptuellen Domänen Präferenzen aufweisen in Bezug darauf, welche Arten lexikalischer Aneignung genutzt werden, um individuelle Konzepte auszudrücken. So werden ausschließlich Elemente aus indigenen Sprachen verwendet, um australische Sprach- und Kulturgruppen zu beschreiben und regionale indigene Identitäten auszudrücken; indigene Begriffe dominieren außerdem in der Beschreibung traditioneller Kultur, mentaler und physischer Zustände, von Körperteilen, und um Konzepte auszudrücken, die in Zusammenhang mit der Kolonialerfahrung stehen. Die Domäne der Familie und Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen andererseits wird exklusiv durch englische Lexeme repräsentiert.

Zusätzlich lässt sich feststellen, dass einzelne Konzepte wiederholt und in größerer Häufigkeit als andere auftreten: in der Mehrzahl der Texte begegnen uns Begriffe für das Konzept *shame* oder für bestimmte Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen. Zum Teil werden diese wiederholt vorkommenden Konzepte durch sehr unterschiedliche Mittel ausgedrückt, so finden sich z.B. nicht weniger als sieben unterschiedliche Lexeme aus indigenen Sprachen für das menschliche Hinterteil sowie fünf verschiedene indigene und englische Begriffe für die australische Polizei. Es lässt sich weiterhin feststellen, dass einzelne lexikalische Elemente in gleicher oder zumindest stark ähnlicher Form in allen oder fast allen Texten vorkommen. Aus dem Bereich der kulturellen Tradition sind das z.B. die Begriffe *Dreaming* und *Law*, die zentrale religiöse Konzepte be-

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schreiben. Aus dem konzeptuellen Feld der Familie finden sich *Auntie*, *cousin*, *family*, *relation* und *uncle*. Aspekte der Kolonialisierung und des interkulturellen Kontakts werden wiederholt aufgegriffen durch *black(s), blackfella*, *white man* und *whitefella*, die Mitglieder der indigenen und anglo-australischen Gesellschaft unter Bezug auf deren Hautfarbe beschreiben. Unter diesen wiederholt vorkommenden Lexemen befinden sich nur wenige Elemente aus indigenen australischen Sprachen; jene, die mehr als einmal im Korpus vertreten sind, sind auch als Lehnwörter im Australian English etabliert oder haben weite Verbreitung in Varietäten des Aboriginal English. Beispiele hierfür sind *corroboree*, *gin*, *goona, jowijj*, *kangaroo*, *kylie*, *mook-pook*, and *goona.* Es bleibt aber unklar, ob die genannten Elemente aufgrund ihrer weiten Verbreitung im Aboriginal English so präsent im Korpus vertretenen sind, oder ob die Autoren ganz bewusst auf bekannte Elemente zurückgreifen, um die ethnische und kulturelle Herkunft ihrer Charaktere zu unterstreichen.

In Bezug auf zwei dieser wiederkehrenden Elemente, *story* und *yarn*, lässt sich zudem ein ganz anderes Phänomen erkennen. Vergleicht man die Verwendung dieser englischen Lexeme in verschiedenen Texten, so zeigt sich, dass beide in den neueren Stücken einen erneuten Bedeutungswandel erfahren, weg von einer stärker in der vorkolonialen Tradition verankerten Bedeutung, hin zu einer neuen Interpretation, die dem wandelbaren Wesen indigener australischer Kultur Rechnung trägt und in der das identitätsstiftende Element der Oral History und anderen kultureller Praktiken weiter gefasst ist als zuvor. Dieser Bedeutungswandel demonstriert eindrücklich Sharifians (2007: 182) Aussage, dass kulturelle Konzeptualisierungen nicht statisch, sondern wandelbar sind und das Potential haben, sich im Laufe der Zeit zu ändern.

Auch wenn der aktuelle Korpus nicht umfangreich genug ist, um allgemeingültige Aussagen zu chronologischer Variation zu treffen, lassen sich innerhalb der untersuchten Texte Tendenzen erkennen in der Verwendung jener Elemente, die Aspekte kultureller Tradition beschreiben. So sind es vorwiegend die älteren Texte, die Elemente aus indigenen Sprachen als hauptsächliches Mittel zur sprachlichen Aneignung verwenden, und es scheint, als geht die größere Anzahl dieser Elemente auch einher mit der stärkeren Bestrebung, Konzepte aus dem Bereich der kulturellen Tradition auszudrücken. In vielen der neueren australischen Texte hingegen finden sich weniger Verweise auf kulturelle und religiöse Praktiken oder Wissen; falls diese doch vorhanden sind, werden sie häufig mittels weit verbreiteter, wenig spezifischer englischer Lexeme ausgedrückt.

In Kapitel 10 werden die oben beschriebenen Resultate mit den Ergebnissen der Analysen zweier weiterer Texte aus dem Kanon der postkolonialen Literaturen verglichen. Die beiden zusätzlichen Textanalysen geben Aufschluss darüber, ob sich Parallelen und Unterschiede erkennen lassen in der

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Art, wie sich Autoren unterschiedlichster indigener Herkunft der Kolonialsprache Englisch bedienen. Dabei wurde davon ausgegangen, dass der unvermeidliche ‚culture clash' in kolonialen und post-kolonialen Kontexten Mitglieder der ‚kolonisierten' einheimischen Kultur geradezu dazu nötigt, die Kolonialsprache den eigenen kulturellen Bedürfnissen anzupassen. Tatsächlich zeigen die untersuchten Stücke, *Purapurawhetū* der neuseeländischen Autorin Briar Grace-Smith und der kanadische Text *The Rez Sisters* von Tomson Highway, überaus interessante und vor allem äußerst unterschiedliche Ergebnisse auf. So lässt sich für den Text *Purapurawhetū* ein massiver Grad der lexikalischen Aneignung feststellen, der sich hauptsächlich auf die beständige Verwendung von Elementen aus dem Māori zurückführen lässt. Ähnlich wie in den älteren australischen Texten beschreiben viele dieser Elemente in *Purapurawhetū* Aspekte traditioneller Māori Kultur und unterstreichen somit, dass dieses konzeptuelle Feld auch außerhalb des australischen Kontextes ein wichtiger Bestandteil in der Kommunikation einer distinkten kulturellen Identität ist und auf Inhalte zurückgreift, für die keine geeigneten standardsprachlichen Mittel zur Verfügung stehen.

In *The Rez Sisters* finden sich zahlenmäßig weitaus weniger Elemente, die als Instanzen der lexikalischen Aneignung gewertet werden können. Auffällig ist hier aber, dass die meisten dieser Aneignungen in der Form längerer Passagen in Highways Erstprache Cree oder dem eng verwandten Ojibway auftreten, was den Sprachgebrauch in *The Rez Sisters* stark von den anderen untersuchten Texten unterscheidet. Viele dieser Passagen sind als Beispiele für Code-Switching aufzufassen und dienen weniger der Beschreibung salienter kulturspezifischer Konzepte. Beide Texte verwenden nur wenige englische Begriffe, deren Bedeutung oder Verwendung sich von der Standardsprache unterscheidet. Dennoch finden sich auch in *Purapurawhetū* und *The Rez Sisters* Parallelen zu jenen Stücken, die den australischen Korpus bilden: auch hier entdeckt man Beschreibungen indigener und nicht-indigener Mitglieder der neuseeländischen und kanadischen Gesellschaft wie *black/white*, *Indian guy/white guy*, die zum Teil auf Hautfarbe verweisen. Andere Parallelen sind die regelmäßige Verwendung von englischen Lexemen die Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse ausdrücken, wie z. B. *auntie(s)*, *uncle* und *cuz*. Ebenso lassen sich rhetorische Elemente wie *eh* und *innit* finden, die sich, wie im Aboriginal English, auf die Konvention zurückführen lassen, die Zustimmung des Adressaten zu einer Proposition einzuholen oder diesen auf indirektem Weg zu einer Antwort aufzufordern.

Kapitel 11 widmet sich dann noch einmal den wichtigsten Ergebnissen der Untersuchung, versucht eine abschließende Darstellung der Funktionen, die mit lexikalischer Aneignung verbunden sind, und vergleicht die im Vorfeld aufgestellten Hypothesen mit den tatsächlichen Forschungsergebnissen.

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Im Verlauf der Arbeit wurde die Annahme dargelegt, dass der Hauptanreiz zur Verwendung lexikalischer Aneignung darin liegt, kulturspezifische Konzepte auszudrücken, für die das Standardenglische keine adäquate sprachliche Lösung bereitstellt. Das würde bedeuten, dass die Adaption der Standardsprache immer durch die Notwendigkeit begründet wird, Lücken im Lexikon des Standard English zu füllen. Tatsächlich zeigt besonders die Analyse der australischen Texte, dass indigene Autoren vor allem dann auf Vokabular aus dem lexikalischen Bestand des Aboriginal English zurückgreifen, wenn sie bestrebt sind, Inhalte zu kommunizieren, deren Interpretation in direktem Zusammenhang steht mit dem kulturellen und religiösen Erbe australischer Ureinwohner, einem besonderen Verständnis sozialer und familiärer Strukturen und damit verbundenen Rollenschemata, einer einmaligen Art der Verbundenheit zum Land und dessen Ressourcen, einer anderen Perspektive auf die Folgen der Kolonialisierung Australiens und einer anderen Art, die Außenwelt und eigene Erfahrungswerte zu verstehen und einzuordnen. Dementsprechend valide erscheint die Definition von Aneignung als Prozess, in dem die Kolonialsprache "is taken and made to 'bear the burden' of one's own cultural experience" (Ashcroft *et al.* 2002: 38) und wir können festhalten, dass es nicht nur lexikalische, sondern auch konzeptuelle Lücken sind, die geschlossen werden.

Die Textanalysen haben aber auch gezeigt, dass lexikalischer Mangel nicht der alleinige Grund für die Adaption des Standarddialekts sein kann. Zum einen finden sich in manchen Texten längere Passage in indigenen Sprachen, die keine klar bestimmbaren Konzepte ausdrücken, sondern vielmehr ein sprachliches Umfeld schaffen, in dem die Sprache so verändert wird, dass sie für Sprecher des Standarddialekts zu einem unzugänglichen Code wird. Zum anderen verwenden alle untersuchten Texte auch da Elemente lexikalischer Aneignung, wo die Standardsprache geeignete Alternativen zur Verfügung stellt. Beispiele hierfür sind Lexeme aus indigenen Sprachen, die Aspekte der Kolonialisierungserfahrung ausdrücken (z.B. *goom* ‚Alkohol', *linjoo* ‚Polizei'), unangebrachte Verhaltensweisen oder mentale Instabilität beschreiben (z.B. *gooly up* ‚wild', *womba* ‚verrückt') und Körperteile und physische Konditionen benennen oder sexuelle Anspielungen kommunizieren (z.B. *bootjari* ‚schwanger', *moom* ‚Anus'). Hier müssen also andere Motive vorliegen als der Wunsch, lexikalischem Mangel entgegen zu wirken. Tatsächlich ist allen dieser Begriffe gemein, dass sie Konzepte ausdrücken, die stark emotional beladen sind. Die Verwendung indigener Begriffe trägt hier dazu bei, dass Bedeutungen verschleiert werden und damit Angehörigen der Mainstream-Gesellschaft, die weder sprachlich noch vor dem Hintergrund ihrer eigenen Erfahrungen und Weltsicht in der Lage sind, die kommunizierten Inhalte und deren Bedeutung in Gänze zu erfassen, der Zugang zum Diskurs verweigert wird. Durch diese sprachliche Exklusion schaffen die oben beschriebenen

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Aneignungen soziale und emotionale Nähe zwischen den Sprechern des Aboriginal English und tragen maßgeblich zu dessen Rolle als „Sprache der Nähe" (vgl. Koch & Oesterreicher 1985) bei. Soziale und emotionale Nähe wird aber nicht nur durch indigene Lexeme gefördert. Wie bereits mehrfach angeklungen ist, ist der Gebrauch von Begriffen aus dem konzeptuellen Feld der Familie und der Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen ein charakteristisches Merkmal des Aboriginal English, welches sich auch in den analysierten Texten widerfindet. Im australischen Korpus treten alle diese Aneignung in der Form englischer Lexeme auf und scheinen somit auch für nicht-indigene Sprecher vermeintlich leicht verständlich. Tatsächlich geht ihre Bedeutung aber weit über die Beschreibung biologischer Verwandschaftsbeziehungen hinaus und beschreibt soziale Kategorien und Rollenschemata, die das Standardenglische nicht kennt. Daneben ist ihre Funktion als Solidaritätsmarker für die Ausprägung eines Zugehörigkeitsgefühls entscheidend. Wie jene Begriffe, die Aspekte sozialer Interaktion beschreiben, fällt auch den ‚kinship terms' eine doppelte Funktion zu: während sie eindeutig kulturspezifische Bedeutungen ausdrücken, die sich in dieser Form nicht im Standard English wiederfinden, erlauben sie es den Sprechern des Aboriginal English ein Gemeinschaftsgefühl zu entwickeln, das auf geteilten Werten basiert und ihnen gestattet, sich sprachlich wie konzeptuell von der anglo-australischen Mehrheitsgesellschaft zu distanzieren.

All dies führt nun wieder hin zur Rolle des Dialekts in der Ausbildung von Sprecheridentitäten. Die obigen Ausführungen machen deutlich, dass das Aboriginal English ein unersetzbares Instrument zur Gestaltung und gleichzeitigen Kommunikation einer distinkten kulturellen Identität darstellt. Diese beinhaltet auch ein nicht unmaßgebliches Element der sozialen Identität (vgl. Tajfel & Turner 1979, 1986), die auf der Identifikation mit einer sozialen Gruppe und der gleichzeitigen Abgrenzung zu Außenstehenden basiert.

Zusammengefasst lässt sich also feststellen, dass lexikalische Aneignung indigenen Autoren ermöglicht, Inhalte und Konzepte zu kommunizieren, die in einer Weltanschauung verwurzelt sind, die sich deutlich von der der Mainstream-Gesellschaft abgrenzt. Dadurch wird kulturelles Wissen nicht nur bewahrt sondern auch übermittelt. Darüber hinaus erlaubt sie ihnen, die Auswirkungen der Kolonialisierung sprachlich und konzeptuell zu bewältigen und zeitgenössische Formen australischer Indigenität greifbar zu machen. Aneignung fördert die Herausbildung und Bekanntmachung einer eigenständigen kulturellen wie sozialen Identität auf drei Ebenen. Sie ermöglicht

- die Darstellung einer indigenen australischen Identität in weitestem Sinne. Diese kommt durch die Verwendung jener lexikalischen Ressourcen des Aboriginal English zustande, die es Sprechern erlaubt, sich auf einer allgemeineren Ebene als indigene Person zu identifizieren und auf den eigenen sozio-kulturellen Hintergrund

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Bezug zu nehmen ohne Zugehörigkeit zu einer klar definierten Gruppe auszudrücken.

- die Darstellung einer regionalen oder lokalen Identität. Die Zugehörigkeit zu einer oder mehreren Sprach- und Kulturgruppen und die Verbundenheit mit einem räumlichen Gebiet werden durch die Verwendung von Begriffen mit regionaler oder lokaler Verbreitung ausgedrückt.
- die Darstellung einer auf (sozio-kulturelle) Gruppenzugehörigkeit basierenden Identität. Diese wird neben dem Bezug auf den gemeinsamen kulturellen Hintergrund durch Verweise auf eine kollektive Geschichtserfahrung, vergleichbare Lebensstile, eine geteilte Weltanschauung und gemeinsame Wertevorstellungen gefördert.

Durch die Verwendung der lexikalischen Ressourcen des Aboriginal English in ihren Texten tragen indigene australische Autoren unmittelbar zu einer größeren Verbreitung und gleichzeitigen Anerkennung dieser Merkmale innerhalb der Mainstream-Gesellschaft bei. Dadurch wird der Dialekt als eigenständige und legitime Sprachform bestätigt und es werden sowohl die Gültigkeit der sprachlichen Varietät als auch der kommunizierten Konzepte unterstrichen. Diese werden einem größeren Publikum, nämlich den anglo-australischen Sprechern des Standarddialekts, zugängig gemacht. Lexikalische Aneignung in den analysierten Theaterstücken dient so nicht nur dazu, die kontemporäre indigene australische Gesellschaft und deren sozio-kulturelles Erbe zu porträtieren. Sie stellt ebenso ein Instrument zum besseren Verständnis der semantischen und konzeptuellen Strukturen des am weitesten verbreiteten ethnischen Dialekts des Landes außerhalb akademischer Kreise dar. Durch die Schilderung einer für die meisten Mitglieder der Mainstream-Gesellschaft neuartigen Realität und Weltanschauung löst sie außerdem eine Form der kulturellen Kommunikation aus.

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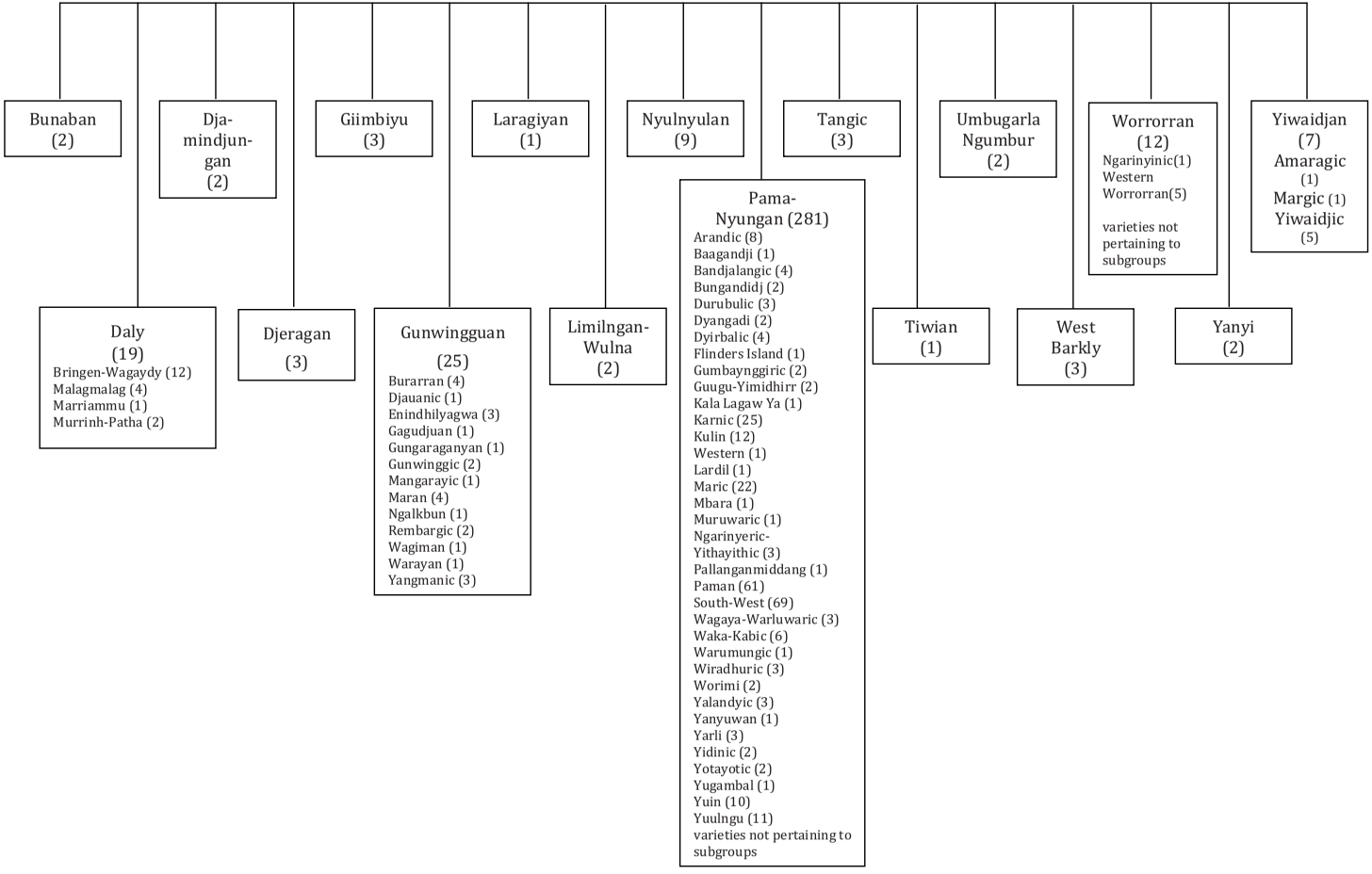
Appendix 1. Australian language families. Adapted from Ethnologue, Australian (Ethnologue 2015)



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